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1. VALUES AS AGENTS IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF ETHNIC SOCIAL CATEGORIES

(pj. / chair Laura Huttunen)

1. Crow Nation Values and the Right for Self-Definition
Marjo Väyrynen

The conservation of values is an important and an increasingly sensitive theme for the Native Americans today. Because much of their homeland has been lost and their ways of life changed, quite often "indigenous values" are what they draw on to characterize themselves as a separate people from the mainstream society.

For many Crows their relationship with the environment is a key trait for defining themselves, but they also construct their distinctiveness through their unity with their traditional homeland. Another reference point is the value of respect, which the Crow perceive to be a central element in their culture. Respect is frequently rewarded for the ability to embody and reproduce tradition, a concept that is seen as inherently positive. All these values are present in the daily discourse, but their meaning is affirmed primarily in tribal ceremonies, which assert the unity of the tribe as a group with shared values.

The Crow explicitly construct the idea of themselves as having a culture based on rootedness, respect, and tradition, as a means to separate identity. On another level, they often relate the Anglo American society with negative values from which they dissociate themselves. Keith Basso argued in his book "Portraits of 'the Whiteman'" (1979, 64) that the Western Apache employ the "whiteman" as a symbol of what the Apache are not. In a similar way, when the Crow define the Anglo Americans, they are actually defining themselves.

As many other indigenous peoples, the Crow struggle to construct their lives on their own terms, as a distinct community, and they do this by declaring their right for self-definition based on their system of values.

2. Values and the Production of Locality in Pre-Colonial Cameroon Grassfields (West Cameroon)
Emilios Tsekenis

The aim of this paper is twofold: first, it explores how values worked through discursive and non-discursive practices (ritual performance, discourses related to the foundation of the community), as well as informal narratives of migration, in order to produce 'neighborhoods' (Appadurai 1995) and 'groups' in pre-colonial Cameroon Grassfields (west Cameroon). These practices (and hence the values that lie behind them), where both 'local' and 'global' (or at least regional) thus producing 'neighborhoods' as well as 'ethnoscapes' (Appadurai 1991, 1995). Notions such as those mentioned above, as well as ideas of hybridity (Hannerz 1997) and interconnectivity (Gupta & Ferguson 1992), among others, usually used in ethnographies of and in contemporary settings to describe the contemporary world can also be used to describe pre-colonial African worlds (Owens 2006). In other words discourses concerning 'globalization' and 'indigenous' peoples usually thought to be characteristic of the post-colonial period, have parallels that antecede the advent of industrial capitalism and the entrenchment of European colonialism. This is the first aim of the paper.

Secondly, the paper suggests that kinship values worked metaphorically, expressing relations of authority and power, and producing categories such as 'autochthons' and 'allochthons'. The value(s) attributed to these cultural categories changed according to context thus investing them with ambivalent meanings. I will try to interpret the logic lying behind these contradictory meanings using Dumont's concept of 'hierarchical opposition'.

The analysis thus combines two perspectives which are usually thought of as mutually exclusive, Dumont being usually categorized as 'structuralist' whereas concepts such those mentioned above (such as 'ethnoscape', 'indigenization', 'neighborhood'/'locality', 'interconnectivity', 'hybridity') are products of post-structuralist anthropology. The second aim of this paper is to suggest that this combination of apparently contradictory scopes can help us to better conceptualize the ethnography and the history of the Cameroon Grassfields.

3. Political Values in the Mobilization of Unemployed Peoples in France
Seung Yeon Kim (IIAC, EHESS, Paris)

The social movement influences actual politics in France, beside political parties and trade-unions of workers (Frédéric Royall, 1998). During the Nineties, the mobilization of the unemployed workers had contributed to the construction of politics of income for the category of people and the protection of their rights. However claims and practices of their protest are not homogenous internally, as they being articulated by different organizations. Political values and beliefs are important subjects to be analysed for understanding this organizational difference, because they explain the perception and the expression of militancy or militant culture on the society and the human-beings in general. They lead us to study the relationship between political group and participants. As Mary Douglas considered this relation in terms of belief between group and grid (M. Douglas, 1978), collective value and individual reason interact in taking action.

In France actually, three associations and one union organize unemployed peoples. Their values and beliefs vary, according to their ideological position, from the question of work to the question of income. Our main concern is to explain how the unemployed peoples themselves mobilise different political values in French contemporary social movements.

4. Value Component of Ethnic Identity: An example of Russian-speaking immigrants in Finland
Polina V. Rumyantseva

Ethnic identity is a psychological phenomenon that refers to realizing of one's belonging to some ethnical group. According to J. Phinney (1990), ethnic identity is a complex, multidimensional construct, including ethnic feelings, ethnic knowledge, ethnic attitudes and potential behavioral reactions. Ethnic identity is usually considered to be a part of social identity, being its important component, closely connected with psychological well-being (e.g., Turner K. L., Brown C. S., 2007; Garza R.T., Herringer L. G., 2001). It is very well known, that characteristics of ethnic identity are closely connected with cultural adaptation process, often determining the strategy of interaction with the new culture.

It is very important to understand, that ethnic identity is not only a rational construct, but it also includes emotional components, and being a member of a certain ethnic group implies a certain value meaning. The main goal of our study was to examine the content of Russian-speaking immigrants' ethnic identity in the context of acculturation process, paying especially attention to value and emotional components of ethnic identity.

The empirical data for this study was collected using deep semi-structured interview. The sample consists of thirty adult (aged from 19 to 63) immigrants from the former Soviet Union, who have been living in Finland for the period from 3 to 19 years. We are going to show the connections between value and emotional components of ethnic identity and cultural adaptation process, as well as with strategies of intercultural interaction, being used by Russian-speaking immigrants.

5. Mapping the Road for Collaboration with Source Communities
Katri Hirvonen-Nurmi

My presentation will reflect upon museum work in Helinä Rautavaara Museum and take in regard museological and anthropological articles since 2000 discussing the dialogic paradigm in museums. Collaboration, taken anthropologically, would go beyond the need to offer a room for the voice of the represented (when this can be defined). There is a difference in how people interpret the words and actions of others and how these others themselves interpret their own words and actions. Interpreting is based on cultural vocabularies anyhow; either the cultural vocabularies of the others or a kind of theoretical vocabulary that attempts to contextualize cultural vocabularies in distinct historical, political and economical settings, opening them for comparison. When museums are seen as communities with their own practises and not only as impersonal organisms applying theoretical tools, the discussion on who collaborates with whom is more fruitful. The source communities of a Finnish ethnographic museum, in the case in discussion, can be for example nations, language or ethnic minorities from nations, immigrants or members of a globalized sport, reknown for its title as intangible heritage of a nation.

2. CONNECTING IDEAS OF VALUE

(pj. / chair Matti Eräsaari & Timo Kallinen)
Group 1, Tuesday May 11th

1. *"Linking South and North and Thereon Westwards": Contextualising "equal partnership" in international drug research and innovation ventures*
Birgit R. Bürgi (University of Cambridge)

Equality, as in the notion of "equal partnership", inevitably brings into focus perceived and actual differentials in the distribution of economic and scientific resources and wealth within collaborative research and development (R&D) ventures linking bio-scientists and practitioners of North- with South-based institutions. Through an analytical prism other than that of knowledge and power relations, this paper interrogates moral value concepts ascribed to the working ideal of "healthy collaboration" in international pharmaceutical research and innovation.

Thailand's growing and expanding bio-business, and the transnational movements of resources circulating within a natural product-focused Thai-Swiss drug development enterprise, provide the ethnographic context. From within this "mi-lieu" – literally meaning between places as anthropologist Paul Rabinow recalls – I examine the principle of "equal partnership" that underpins the BIOTEC-Novartis Drug Discovery Partnership's frame of reference, in order to elucidate and discuss its underlying ambiguities.

This alternative line of inquiry puts into perspective emerging signs of the shift towards the collaborative in national science, technology and innovation agendas and official development assistance (ODA) policy frameworks, and the effect it has on low- and middle-income countries with aspirations to participate in competitive international drug R&D. With ethnographic insight, I explain how research scientists and executives engaging with international science collaboration interpret this compelling principle of best practice. The findings of this inquiry reveal how the inclusion of bio-wealth in a business equation foregrounding non-monetary returns on investment (ROI) counterbalances ideas of values that inform and shape repertoires of collaborative working practice between partners who are unequal on numerous counts.

2. *Complexities of Value in the South African Recording Industry*
Tuulikki Pietilä (Collegium for Advanced Studies, University of Helsinki)

When thinking about the value of music, economic value is not the first one to spring into one's mind. Words or feelings such as pleasure, joy, contemplation or communitas are more likely to arise than questions about the price of the record or the distribution of royalties among the creators of music. This presentation argues that the value creation and distribution model of the recording industry is based on individualistic and economist conceptions, even though music creation and consumption are importantly based on social production of symbolic value. The presentation discusses the conflicts and negotiations that arise due to this discrepancy between the model and the reality. It examines the kinds of value and rewards that various agents in the recorded music value chain officially create and earn, on the one hand, and those that they more unofficially claim for or receive, on the other hand. The presentation is based on the material gathered among the South African recording industry representatives.

3. *Fetishism and Development*
Timo Kallinen (University of Helsinki)

Some time ago James Ferguson characterized development as a "central, unquestioned value" of our times and maintained that entire systems of government and philosophy are assessed according to their capacity to support development. In the context of post-colonial Africa, the value of so-called traditional culture has been both questioned and affirmed by pointing to its supposed disadvantage or advantage for socio-economic development. In its two extremes, traditional culture is seen either as a straightjacket that restricts the individual from realizing his/her economic agency or as a tool that can be used in achieving economic goals more efficiently. These questions have become increasingly topical as current neo-liberal development aid and social assistance policies in Africa focus on activating the hidden entrepreneurial qualities of individual actors. The paper suggests that current debates about the value of traditional culture for development in Africa can be traced to outmoded notions of fetishism. The idea of fetishism has been adopted by many

branches of human sciences and it has been used to discuss certain phenomena in Western societies, but it has its origins in the first contact situations between Europeans and Africans. During the 15th – 18th centuries fetishism became a European theory about misplaced value in African societies (see William Pietz's work). Consequently, the paper argues that instead of making effort to understand African societies many Western observers and theorists merely reproduce centuries-old European representations of Africa.

Group 2, Wednesday May 12th

4. Politics and Value of Exchange in Fiji
Matti Eräsaari (University of Helsinki)

Most anthropological notions of value seem, up to a point, to agree on the fact that the value represented in tokens such as money is typically a representation of a socio-politico-religious value central to a society at another level (Godelier, Gregory, Sahlins etc.). Hence, following Lévi-Strauss, it is even possible to view exchange/prestige items as floating signifiers, pure symbols that seem to have the ability to represent any value; even change their point of reference while remaining essentially the same (e.g. money changing from gold standard to a contractual system of value). A similar shift seems to have happened to exchange items in Fiji, too, where in the mid-19th Century exchange items still derived their "worth" from their assumedly foreign origin – just like the high chiefs of that day – but are today considered to have originated within Fiji rather than outside it. This shift in the value manifested in such items coincides with a historical change in the source of chiefly authority: the chiefs, too, are no longer "strangers" to their people but rather the descendants of the first chiefs to have ruled over the first inhabitants of the islands. In my paper, I will outline the reasons leading to this change in political value and a consequent change in the sphere of ceremonial exchange in Fiji.

5. In/compatible Positions? Yine socio-moral values and Christianity
Minna Opas (University of Turku)

Various ethnographic studies have shown that when indigenous or non-western cultural traditions encounter Christianity the outcome of the encounter can never be known beforehand. The attitudes towards and the consequent processes of domestication or rejection of Christianity vary greatly depending on the context. One major issue affecting these processes is people's values. Do they correspond with or contradict the values represented by missionary Christianities? In this paper I examine this problemacy in the context of the indigenous Yine people of Peruvian Amazonia. In particular, I concentrate on Yine socio-moral values and discuss the ways in which the Yine people are coping both with the similarities and the differences between the two value orientations.

6. Ritual as a Sphere of Values
Marko Veisson (University of Helsinki)

According to some popular theories of rituals (i.e. V. Turner), analyzing the meaning of ritual symbols should enable us to understand values that are manifested through these rituals. This takes place either more or less explicitly or at deeper levels of culture, for example in the phenomenon of communitas. However, since the end of 70s there are also theories that express doubts in meaningfulness of ritual and therefore in the assumption that ritual should have any internal values (independent from the social context) at all.

Both of these lines of thought tend to handle ritual as a sphere of social action differentiated from everyday life. However, it might be asked if such approach to ritual is well-grounded and universal enough? Or is it reproducing the Western tradition to separate the domains of church and state, similarly to the distinction between religious and secular? I find that everyday action might become a ritual without sharply perceived distinction between sacred and profane.

I suspect that handling ritual as a differentiated sphere of values was causing me difficulties during my observations of Gurunsi funerary rites in Northern Ghana. I was expecting to see (specifically) ritualized action and was confused when witnessing scenes that lacked the values that my western imagination would associate with this sphere – the lack of reverence during the rite of soothsayer's séance, for example. Should I explain that kind of cases claiming that values manifested in rituals are culturally different or rather abandon the concept of ritual as a differentiated sphere of values?

3. THE VALUE OF GAMBLING (RESEARCH)

Työryhmä on toteutettu Pelitoiminnan tutkimussäätiön tuella / The session is sponsored by The Finnish Foundation for Gaming Research (pj. / chair Pauliina Raento)

1. The Introduction of the Roulette and the Changing Culture in Finland in the 1960s and 1970s
Riitta Matilainen (University of Helsinki)

According to Gerda Reith, it has long been recognized that analysis of what may appear trivial or mundane can generate insights into fundamental aspects of social life. This is my starting point for studying the introduction of the game of roulette in Finland in the 1960s at the same time as Finns were experiencing extremely rapid structural and social changes. The focus of the presentation is to regard a new legalized form of gambling (i.e. roulette) and to it related discourses and practices as clues in an effort to analyze the changing consumer and leisure mentalities and cultures of Finns.

After some experimentation of roulettes onboard the ships travelling to Germany it became legal to place roulettes in high-class Finnish restaurants and night clubs in 1969. It needs to be noted that the first casino was established in Finland as late as in 1991. Before that restaurant, night clubs, and ships travelling to Stockholm and Germany were the only legal places for roulette playing in Finland. Many newspapers and magazines welcomed the introduction of roulette as a way of offering Finns a glimpse into the "big world" of gambling associated with casinos like that in Monte Carlo, beautiful women and chances of making or losing fortunes overnight. The roulette was considered a sign of Finland finally measuring up to the Western European standards and to the "continental" way of life and consumer culture. However, there was an interesting discrepancy between the image of the roulette and the reality of the game since the price of the chip was very low and so were the winnings in order to avoid accusations of downright gambling. Of interest are also class and gender aspects concerning the roulette. Roulette was marketed as a form of gambling especially suitable for middle and upper classes but was in fact democratized and tamed to fit the image of Finnish state-governed gambling. The role of women was important in the introduction of the roulette; contrary to many other European countries many of the first croupiers were women.

The source material of the presentation consists of 14 contemporary newspaper and magazine articles, interviews of first Finnish croupiers (published in a book), official documents of the roulette operator Finland's Slot Machine Association (hence RAY), and legal documents such as memorandums.

2. The Good, the Bad and the Money: Gambling among African and Asian immigrants in Finland
Perpetual Crentsil (University of Helsinki)

Gambling among African and Asian immigrants in Finland has its uniquely good sides and bad sides, although the gambling practices and attitudes among this group, as racial and ethnic minorities, have been understudied and less documented. Gambling among this group is rooted in social relations and culture and it has contradictory perceptions, experiences and effects. Gambling has even its positive impact on people as well as the economy of the society, although it can also bring about bad effects such as debts and other problems for the individual and families. Stories and narrations about gambling tell things about culture and the societies involved, where events and actions gain significance in a particular social and moral universe. This paper takes insights from the anthropological perspective on gambling as a social and cultural phenomenon (Binde 2007), which raises questions about culture, society, values, human agency, and social relations. Again, in gambling is seen binary structures and images of money as a test of morals and character, luck and ill-luck, good and evil/bad, rewards and unfulfilled dreams or desires, etc., which are structured within specific themes, values, and cultural constructions of the society and people involved. For instance, money, luck, sharing what one has, and social relations are highly valued. Money is an empowering substance and valued as a central denominator for economic activities, including gambling, but there are also ambivalent attitudes about it. These cultural constructions and values portray how meaning-laden gambling is in relation to general social and cultural matters, and makes it fit for inquiries to be made.

3. The Social Value of Gambling Online
Jani Kinnunen (University of Tampere)

Online gambling has become very popular in recent years. There have been gambling games online since 1990s. At first traditional gambling games were moved to digital environment without considerable modifications. Playing these games meant playing against the game operator. There was no need for interaction between players and usually there weren't even possibilities for players to interact. This is why online gambling is usually seen as asocial activity even today.

At the same time the internet in general have evolved towards more social environment, online gambling and new forms of social interaction have been integrated. There are plenty of online gambling games which players play against each other rather than against the game operator. Unlike traditional gambling games, these games are not pure games of chance but they require also some level of skill from the players. Players compete against other players, which is the ground for social interaction also before and after these games in game-related online communities.

New forms of online gambling can attract also those players who don't play traditional gambling games. Money is not necessarily the prime motivation to gamble. Social rewards can be valued higher than monetary wins or losses. On the other hand money and other virtual currencies work also as meters which determine player's status in game-related communities.

4. A Game of Money, Skill or Threat? Reflections on the ethical discussion concerning online poker in Finland
Jukka Jouhki (University of Jyväskylä)

Finland's Slot Machine Association (RAY) is a state-run gambling organization that will launch an online poker service for Finns in 2010. This article describes and analyzes the ethical discussion provoked by an article in *Helsingin Sanomat* (the leading national newspaper) on the issue, and considers the various moral viewpoints taken of RAY as an online poker service provider, as well as discussing online poker as a wider contemporary phenomenon.

A Commentary
Pauliina Raento (The Finnish Foundation for Gaming Research & University of Helsinki)

The discussion reflects on the four presentations; highlights the value of interdisciplinary gambling research; and addresses some future directions in research, especially from the perspective of Anthropology and related fields.

4. WORDS THAT MATTER: EVALUATING CONTRADICTING STORIES
(pj. / chair Eeva Puumala & Anitta Kynsilehto)

1. Flower Hats, Birqa Babes and Windsuit Whales: Ethnodama on transnational women's rooms
Anu Hirsiaho (University of Tampere)

2 Ethical: Challenges Leading to Epistemic Challenges
Inkeri Koskinen

According to Ian Hacking the difference between natural and social sciences is much based on the fact that the human kinds that social sciences study are interactive: People notice that they are being studied and react to the fact, and this can lead to significant changes in their behaviour. Something resembling his description has happened on large scale in anthropology and disciplines close to it during the past few decades. People who have been studied have reacted to the researchers in different ways. Studies can be used to boost local identities, but they can also be dismissed if they seem to contradict traditional beliefs. The former can be observed for example among the Finno-Ugric minorities in Russia, whereas a good example of the latter are the disputes between Native Americans and Anthropologists in the USA.

All these different reactions pose ethical challenges to researchers. The informants' beliefs and views have to be respected and communication about the aims of the research is necessary. Their interpretations can however at times be problematic. Few anthropologists would today compare

religious beliefs to scientific hypotheses, but this attitude becomes difficult as the people studied start making the comparisons. Also the different possible political uses of research can cause serious ethical dilemmas. These problems translate into methodological difficulties, which again lead to epistemic challenges.

The aim of the presentation is to study from the point of view of a philosopher of human sciences, how ethical challenges lead to epistemic challenges, and how ethical reasons are given as arguments for epistemic viewpoints.

3. Valuable Words: Weaving together Personal narratives and official discourse on Human mobility
Anitta Kynsilehto (University of Tampere)

4. Contradicting Truths in the Field - Searching for the shared reality in family interviews
Kaisa Nissi

In this paper I will examine the construction of truth that is created in the field and the ethical questions that are connected to understanding of the other. The material that I use is from the fieldwork that I have done for my PhD.

I have interviewed multicultural couples in which a husband is an immigrant with a Muslim background and a wife is Lutheran Finn. Shared opinions, images of the family life and understanding of the spouse have been under my examination. As often on the field, the common worldview and everyday life seem harmonious on the surface, but deeper the field gets, more complicated it becomes. As the ideal picture of what is told to a researcher differs between spouses, an ethnographer can be in a contradicting situation.

Who is then the one to define the truth and what can be said about the field when there is no shared reality and the interviewed do not agree with each other? I go into these old anthropological debates as I use the examples from my fieldwork.

Questions of power, gender and honour are core concepts for my study. The focus is on the ethical questions concerning the safety of the researcher and the interviewed. I examine how The Other, the difference can be created in the field (both researcher vs. informant, but also informant vs. informant) and what kind of problems

I have confronted in practice and also methodologically.

5. Writing Together - Finding common words
Helena Oikarinen-Jabai (The Aalto University school of Art and Design):

6. Lost in Translation (or not Having It at All): Leaky stories, confrontational speech and the with-factor in accounts of failed asylum
Eeva Puumala (University of Tampere

5. VISUAL ART AND EXPRESSION MEETS ANTHROPOLOGY

(pj. / chair Jari Kupiainen)

1. Visual Abstraction of Rota, Shaman, and Reindeer on Sami Drums in Sacred Rituals
Hee Sook Lee-Niinioja

Historically, to all kinds of objects, the viewer infers a hidden meaning and looks for an interpretation. The more aesthetic perfection of its content to expression is, the greater its symbolic value becomes worthy of worship. Abstraction has dwelt on the human mental activity, thus reduced form is more memorable than an ordinary picture to meditation and association with the occult.

The Sami is an indigenous people with its own territory, population, and language. According to its religion, the world is inhabited by spirits, and all objects have a soul. Invisible spirits have magical powers, protecting animals, plants and places in nature. As all life has dualism, there is a spiritual world where the wholeness exists and the dead continues their life beside the material world. Rota, the god of death, has his realm in the underworld and demands a horse as sacrifice to ride the land of the dead.

A drum is used to connect the shaman to the spiritual world. It has a segmented pattern in three levels: gods, people and a paradise underworld. The often placement of the sun reflects its central point in Sami tradition. Common features and designs of different drums show universal human aspects of a mental map.

The paper discusses of (1) the relationship between god (Rota), people (Shaman) and offering (Reindeer), in terms of their positions and pictorial abstraction on the 71 surviving drums. It means how visual expressions could contribute to the

Sami society, to keep balance between nature and people.

2. Visual Art and Expression Meets Anthropology: An introduction
Jari Kupiainen (North Karelia University of Applied Sciences, Centre for Creative Industries)

Throughout modern anthropology, the visual has entertained an uneasy and often marginal position within mainstream anthropological theory although the main method of anthropological knowledge accumulation has been participant observation – to see with one's own eyes. Visual anthropology critics like MacDougall (2006) have questioned this logocentric presumption and proposed the idea of visual knowledge in addition to linguistic knowledge as a framework for study. Within anthropology of art, parallel arguments have been raised, e.g. Gell (1997), that images are not language, and artistic practices, which explore domains shared also by anthropologists, have been analysed (e.g. Schneider & Wright 2006). These shared domains include themes such as cultural identity, space and place; gendered and situated colonial and postcolonial experiences; and experiences of cultural change and modernity. These themes are visualised in artistic and popular media as well as being studied by anthropologists. Also, in recent years, an increasing number of indigenous and ethnic communities have taken over aspects of the surrounding media industry and established their own television, radio and Internet channels and media productions to empower and mobilise local communities to preserve identities and traditions. There has emerged an overall need for a more comprehensive understanding of themes cutting across visual and media anthropology and anthropology of art. The presentation comments and analyses the situation by using as its ethnographic framework the author's present photographic exhibition, "Encounters in the Solomon Islands".

3. Guangzhou Artists Re-Examining New Chinese Urban Identity
Katja Koort (Tallinn University)

After the 1997 Asian financial crisis China has been facing growing urbanization. The selection of Beijing for the 2008 Olympics and Shanghai for the World Fair Expo in 2010 have increased the pace of urbanization and globalization. During the recent years China's urban construction has created a new spiritual space, within which people's values and preferences are different from any time in the past. Chinese cities have undergone rapid transformation in their way of thinking, lifestyle, social and aesthetic consciousness. As a result, most of them have lost their traditional look and acquired a new hybrid identity, where the elements of different cultures are mixed together and assimilate each other. Today, Japanese cartoons and manga, Hollywood films and both Eastern and Western brands, construct the image of the city. The artists who are witnessing the creation of new urban space and society are willing to re-examine the cultural issues that accompany the process of urbanization. In the current paper I intend to single out and observe the works of Guangzhou artists who focus on the critical issues raised by urbanization in order to discuss the ideological and levelling icons of the Chinese metropolitan reality. I have chosen Guangzhou as an example, because through the history it has been more easily approachable and has received a strong foreign influence which can be seen today in different aspects of city life including visual arts.

4. New Values of Indigenous Language and Culture in the Context of Skábmagovat Film Festival
Reetta Karjalainen (University of Jyväskylä)

This study aims to examine the processes of commodification of language and culture in the context of Skábmagovat indigenous film festival. The festival is held in Inari, Finland, every January since 1999, and it is mainly a film festival for the Sámi people, but also shows films of a visiting indigenous group. The study of the festival shows how globalization processes create new values for indigenous languages and culture that can be put on the niched globalized markets. The authenticity of indigenous products has also become commodified, which raises questions about who has the right to manage and distribute the cultural heritage and language recourses (Monica Heller; 2003, 2007).

The theoretical frame of this study lays in sociolinguistics and tourism and media studies and the methods used are ethnographical fieldwork and discourse and nexus analysis. The data is collected by participating to Skábmagovat film festi-

val (years 2005, 2006 and 2010) and interviewing festival organizers, guests and other participants.

The study shows that processes of commodification of language and culture in an indigenous tourism event context are complex and multilayered, and that the new values offer opportunities as well as challenges to indigenous communities. Skábmagovat festival is a celebration, but it also has political aims that have been able to influence in high level decision making. One of the most important results of the globalization processes that consider Skábmagovat festival are the increasing formation of the international networks of indigenous groups and new funding possibilities and distribution channels to indigenous films.

5. Funeral Photography in Finland – Field Report
Ed Dutton

That Finnish people tend to take photographs at funerals and wakes is a tradition that tends to surprise some foreigners living in the country. Drawing upon interview-based, qualitative, participant-observation fieldwork in Finland with photographers, priests and Finnish laymen, this paper will examine the tradition of funeral photography in Finland. It will look at differences in the kind of funeral photography in relation to age-group, region and linguistic background. It will attempt to discern the borders of acceptability in terms of the style and extent of funeral photography and it will look at the reaction of foreigners in Finland to the idea of funeral photography. Broadly, it will attempt to better understand why funeral photography is acceptable in Finland but not in many other countries. In this regard it will present the suggested reasons given by informants – which varied widely – as well as critically examining possible theoretical explanations. For example, it will be mooted that the funeral photography might be congruous with Dutch sociologist Cas Wouters theory of 'Informalization.' But, broadly, the aim of the paper is to present the findings as a 'field report' and, hopefully, to open up further discussion of the area which appears to have been little examined previously.

6. Generational Filming: The Case Study "The German time was imposed on us"
Lea and Pekka Kantonen

Generational Filming is an artistic research method of watching and commenting on our videos with members of the filmed communities, different specialists, and other viewers with different cultural and ethnic backgrounds. These discussions are filmed, and added to the next edition as a new generation of the video to be shown to other audiences. Viewers are helping us to make both interpretation and theorization. In the process of gathering, conceptualizing and mediating knowledge together with community members our understanding about knowledge and the community is changing.

We practise our method in the framework of visual art and we are not claiming the authority of visual anthropology, though we are influenced by anthropological discourses. In both anthropology and visual art this kind of collaborative exchange is referred to as dialogical, after Mihail Bakhtin. Our method resembles many other collaborative filming methods, for example the method of shared anthropology by Jean Rouch and archeological performance by the Indonesian collective Vision Machine.

The Seto live on both sides of the border between Russia and Southern Estonia, and they consider themselves an ethnic group with a culture and language different from their neighbours. They are especially known for their polyphonous singing tradition, leelo-singing, the skillful leading singers and improvisators, called song-mothers.

Our case study is discussion about the song Säeti meilä Säksä aegu (The German time was imposed on us) composed by the song mother Maria Kukka (Kukka Manni) and presented by the Helbi choir. With this song we want to ask if it is relevant to speak about the Seto in the context of postcolonial theory.

We ask the audience's permission to film the discussion as a part of the next generation of our case study.

7. Natural Classification: The role of public art outside a Norwegian shopping centre
Ruth Woods (Norwegian University of Science and Technology)

The Dandelion is a nine meters tall naturalistic sculpture, painted in intense green and yellow car paint. It stands on a traffic island just outside the entrance to the City Syd car park, one of central Norway's largest shopping centres. The sculpture

is a representation of real dandelions; it therefore highlights an already existing system of classification, and the cultural constructions behind it.

What makes the classification of the Dandelion intriguing is that it is often associated with both positive and negative aspects. Dandelions are often described by informants as weeds; on the other hand they are also described as attractive yellow flowers. There is an implicit duality, and this causes an internal tension within the City Syd Dandelion, which in turn affects its role within the neighbourhood around the shopping centre. Taxonomy has an aesthetic value (Levi-Strauss 1966). Levi Strauss suggests that classification is both empirical and aesthetic; it is not associative madness which succeeds by chance, and it is not just about practical qualities. Informants at City Syd judge or classify the Dandelion according to what they know about the plant, and according to the way it looks. The classification system therefore provides a useful image of public's relationship with the sculpture. It also provides information about the choices made by the public art committee, and their impact on the neighbourhood around the Dandelion.

The intention is to describe the system of classification and how it may be used to understand the role of the Dandelion at City Syd, particularly its aesthetic value.

8. Performative Formations: Engendering art and anthropology in a Delhi gallery
Anna Laine (Dalarna University)

This presentation reflects on an exhibition, staged in Delhi during March 2009. The exhibition, 'Performative Formations', was situated in the overlap between art and anthropology. Using various materials such as text, photography, and video, it investigated how the use of visual/practice based methods and presentations affect the production of anthropological knowledge. The project involved two artists and myself (in the role of both artist and anthropologist). The initiative grew from our shared interest in making the patterns in the context of the kolam practices in South India. The 2 year process leading up to the exhibition raised a number of differences in terms of anthropological/artistic understanding, which were explored and discussed in relation to the common ground otherwise established between us. In the gallery, the completed art works presented these explorations throughout three diverse but deliberately coordinated and site-specific ways of aesthetic expression. Issues of power were deliberately forgrounded by bringing together a self-taught South Indian artist defined as a maker of craft and excluded from her local art scene; a Swedish artist trained and acknowledged n the Western institutionalized art scene; and a Swedish anthropologist-artist straddling the borders between social and artistic research. In addition, we were all women and by some expected to belong to a shared category of female identity. Delhi was chosen for the exhibition as it was an unfamiliar place to all of the participants. We attempted to engender a contact zone, a third space, in the gallery, where preconceived categories could be de- and re-constructed on equal terms. The process of working across disciplinary and cultural difference can be perceived as a collage constructed by the juxtaposition of the artists' different ways of relating to the world and their own identities. During the exhibition, the completed art works and the way they were positioned in relation to the room, as well as the participation of the audience, extended this collage making. People's sensory experience of interaction in the gallery ranged from distance to intersubjectivity, sometimes shared in conversations with the artists.

6. VERNACULARIZATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW ON INDIGENOUS PEOPLES: ILO 169 AND THE STRUGGLE FOR INDIGENOUS AUTHENTICITY

(pj. / chair Reetta Toivanen)

1. Indigenous Autonomies and the Question of Sovereignty in Bolivia's State Transformation
Eija Ranta-Owusu (University of Helsinki)

Within anthropological research of indigenous peoples, it is a common argument that indigenous movements and organizations are not organized to seize state power but rather self-determination through autonomous arrangements. In Bolivia, however, the Movimiento al Socialismo (MAS) evolved rapidly from a popular movement of indigenous peoples to a governing political instrument. The process of state transformation that followed emphasizes indigenous movements as key actors in the construction of a plurinational

state, a conglomeration of autonomous indigenous nations. This radical notion of the state makes it both an object and an agent of change: it combines both the notion of indigenous autonomies and that of national sovereignty as a democratizing potential for Bolivia's indigenous peoples.

MAS' transformational agenda faces severe challenges as the new ideological formations collide with the existing bureaucratic-institutional structures of the state and the increasing discourses of regional autonomy by the economic elite and the political opposition of the Bolivian lowlands. The paper examines the dynamics and contestations around the various definitions of autonomy and sovereignty that emerge between indigenous organizations, the governing MAS, and the political opposition, in the construction of a plurinational state. It is argued that the politics of plurinationalism is a conglomeration of indigenous resurgence and elite resistance at the local level, as well as of travelling indigenous discourses and transnational economy at the global scale.

2. Working in the Field of Ignorance: Sámi in Finland and the Finnish state
Reetta Toivanen (Centre of Excellence in Global Governance Research, University of Helsinki)

This paper addresses the issue of how legal language influence the ways in which indigenous leaders and members of indigenous groups strive for autonomy and emancipation? The laws developed in the international arena, travel to the remotes places on the globe and on their way, dozens, hundreds or thousands of professionals translate (Merry) by transposing and implementing the laws the legal concepts into the local settings. The question is what happens during these "travels"; how are the legal meanings vernacularized to local contexts? As Richard A. Wilson points out, much more research on the process called practice of human rights is necessary because law does not work the same way everywhere and there is a great need for research on why translation between international law, state laws and local cultural norms are partial and unpredictable process.

I am in this paper arguing that looking at the travelling of concepts and interpretations must take the contexts in which the interpretations take place seriously into consideration when analysis the process. This may seem self-evident to say but research indicates that the power relationships

between majority and minority distort the process and it may be wrong to assume that i.e. the minority activists would adapt a certain translation of international input due their cultural or local distinctiveness. Much more the status position and role they play in the society are the key factors in guiding the interpretation and adaption processes. This explains partly, why the vernacularisation of international human rights standards works similarly in many parts of the world: the indigenous peoples share a tremendous amount of similar experience of continuing colonial power relationships.

3. "Otherness" in Saaminess – New identities
Irja Seurujärvi-Kari (University of Helsinki)

In this article I discuss how urban Saami people perceive their lives, relationships and positions and how they negotiate the new social social, cultural and political situations experienced by themselves in urban areas. The aim of the text is to contribute to the discussion on the theory of ethnicity and identity politics. I examine the power structures that urban Saami confront daily and the positions they themselves adopt. I focus on the Saami people who live in the capitals of three states, Finland, Norway and Sweden. They have migrated from Sápmi to cities in different times for different reasons and formed their Saami organizations in the *diasporas*.

My study shows that Saami people have become part of dynamic urban life. The urban Saami organizations, which are not marginal any more, can function as their imagined homes, where they strengthen their cultural traditions and contacts with other Saami people but also with other people. They actively redefine and renew the imagined cultural boundaries between the Saami communities and those in the city areas, for example through the use of new artistic ways or new technologies. In human networks urban Saami have created and produced new subject positions and social identities (Hall 1992). They can be called as *johtti maŋŋemodernat*, postmodern nomads.

Saami migrations and recent global changes have contributed to breaking down the boundaries between the urban areas and Sápmi established by the dominant population but also by the Saami themselves. This has caused a new image of Saami people to appear in the city, not only for

the dominant society but also for the Saami native community.

4. Amazonian Leaderships and Challenge of New Legal Discourses
Pirjo K. Virtanen (University of Helsinki)

Indigenous people have become more visible in local politics of Brazilian Amazonia, as they have negotiated their own spaces previously reserved for the dominant society. Various groups develop new ways of acting amidst complex new social networks as strategies for rupturing the otherness associated with indigeneity. When defining their positions, they refer to the 1988 constitution of Brazil and the Statue of Indian, and the legal discourse appropriated has also been learnt increasingly from the UN human rights of declaration. Drawing upon research conducted with Manchineri spokespeople in Acre state, Western Brazil, this paper looks at ways their spokespeople appropriate national and international legal discourse. In Acre state, regional politics have also started to consider indigenous peoples as subjects and contribute in their education and health services, altering more their positions at state level.

Young Manchineri leaders especially express their rights as indigenous peoples or as equals to the dominant society. However, so called traditional indigenous leaders rarely are knowlegable about of this "Whiteman´s knowledge". Young men´s discourse of individual and collective rights of indigenous peoples produces symbolic capital that contributes to their position as leaders or spokespeople both in relations with non-natives and in their community. Even if there is an appropriation of the legal discourses by the new leaders, these discourses are still regarded as non-native knowledge that is embodied including different forms to speak and act when interpreting it. Thus, it is related to Amerindian way of producing different bodies and relating with the other humans.

7. TEMPORAL DIMENSIONS OF KINSHIP AND COMMUNITY

(pj. / chair Heidi Härkönen)

1. Gender-Differentiated Parenthood and Care as Central Values in Cuban Kinship and in the Revolutionary State Ideology
Heidi Härkönen (University of Helsinki)

This paper discusses the value given to parenthood and care in Cuba both in the conceptualisations of individual Cubans as well as in the revolutionary state ideology. Metaphors based on parenting and care are central in Cuban day-to-day kinship and gender relations as well as in the way in which the revolutionary state gets legitimated amongst Cubans.

The Cuban kinship system conforms largely to the Caribbean matrifocal model, which grants importance to parenthood as the way to gain full maturity for both men and women. There is, however, a deep-seated gender difference in the type of parenthood and care men and women are expected to provide. In Caribbean anthropology, women are noted to be loving nurturers while the estimation of men as fathers is usually based primarily on the physical reproduction of children. While these statements also apply to Cuba to a large degree, I suggest that there are significant ways in which men in the position of father are expected to partake in parenting and care that have been largely ignored in anthropological descriptions of Caribbean kinship. These relate primarily to money and other forms of exchange through which men as fathers are expected to contribute to the well-being of their children and partners. Pregnancy and childbirth make these gendered expectations of parenthood and care especially visible. This period in the lifecycle is therefore the focus of the paper.

In Cuba, pregnancy and childbirth are also highly politicised issues, which occupy a central position in the ideological agenda of the socialist state. The way in which Cubans in practice embrace state conceptualisations of parenthood and care, as well as in many ways criticise them during pregnancy and childbirth, creates an interesting dynamics for the exploration of the value of parenthood and care in Cuba. This provides insights for the examination of the interplay between

state policies, kinship and gender relations in other contexts as well.

2. Changing Chinese Family and Overseas Education of Young Women
Anni Partanen (University of Helsinki)

During the past three decades, the birth control policies have profoundly changed the Chinese family system. Since the introduction of the One Child Policy in 1979, the growing sex ratio and the emergence of 'daughter-only' families have resulted in increased social mobility of women through marriage, and in more family investment in daughters'education and careers. Part of this process is the increased overseas migration of young Chinese women for higher education, which requires a considerable investment from their families. These structural changes and the new social practices emerging contest the cultural categories of kinship in China, which include patrilineality and Confucian familism. As descendants of their patrilineage and obligated by the principle of filial piety, sons have been mainly responsible for the material and emotional care of their parents in old age, while daughters provide care for their in-laws. I will present a discussion and a few examples of how the cultural categories and new social practices interact, and what elements of Chinese kinship are drawn upon in this context.

3. Between Household and Neighborhood: Korean shopkeepers' dialectics of kinship and community
Antti Leppänen (University of Helsinki)

This presentation examines the contradictions and ambivalence between the locality-based entrepreneurial livelihood of South Korean proprietors of small businesses and the family/household reproduction strategies based on that livelihood.

The ethnographic material is from my dissertation fieldwork conducted at the turn of the last decade in a neighborhood in the outskirts of Seoul.

In the mainly residential neighborhood (as distinguished from malls and marketplaces), the shop proprietors form mutual reciprocal relationships with varying depth and intensity, maintained for example through the practices of visiting and sharing and ideas of desirable conduct and expression and display of human affection. These relations

are often formulated by using kinship terminology in addition to other common terms of address and reference.

However, for the kin unit most often responsible for the operation of a neighborhood business establishment, a married couple of a household, the neighborhood environment and business operation within it present contradictions and ambiguities. Entrepreneurship (operation of a business) is mostly meant to be a generational strategy aiming at careers away from the locality, and thus the participation in the communal practices remains a temporally restricted strategy as well, not spanning and lasting over geographical distances (for example after a closure of a shop).

The entrepreneurial livelihood intended for the reproduction of the household/family takes place in the residential neighborhood, from which, by the logic of the generationally temporal strategy, the household as a kinship group needs to be disassociated from.

4. Ritual Kinship in a Moldavian Peasant Community
Eeva Pääkkönen

This paper focuses on illuminating the social structure and kinship system of a Moldavian peasant community in Ukraine. As an ethnic minority in mainly Ukrainian environment and segregated from indigenous ethnic origins the community tries to hold on traditional forms of everyday life, culture and the social world familiar from centuries but different from present surroundings.

The classic social form of kinship is patrilineal and is reconstructed in every new marriage. However, the social system is more complex than it superficially seems; symbolic extensions of kinship are as important as are the typologies of patri/matrilineal relationships. Mainly, the godparents of the newly married couple are no-kin or distant kin and their status and prestige inside the community play the most important role when choosing the godparents. In the future, the godparents are as special as or even more special in the life of the newly married couple than the real parents. The godparents are immediately tied with the system "kin obligations" and are the object and the subject of gift exchange and reciprocity.

The ritual kinship system serves to broaden the range of social ties and practices in the Moldavian

community, helps newly married youngsters to find their place in the village and plays significant role in surviving of traditions in the changing world of today. (Keywords; ritual kinship, extension of kinship, non-kin godparents, social exchange, reciprocity)

5. Defining and Ascertaining the Authenticity of Kinship Ties: DNA testing in family reunification in Finland.
Anna-Maria Tapaninen (University of Helsinki):

In this paper, kinship is discussed both as a legal and social category in the context of immigration and as a theoretical concept anthropological discussions. Kinship, almost by definition, refers to enduring relations that tie people to social groups and to places. In contrast, immigration is often pictured as uncontrollable population flows of consisting of individuals whose identity may remain unclear or contested. Yet family ties – also of immigrants - stand out as a universal right that is protected and can be a basis for family reunification and residence permit. Kinship thus serves as a basis for inclusion in the legal definitions and policies, and can consequently be seen as a possible instrument of frauds. The authenticity of claimed kinship relations can be ascertained by technological means, through DNA testing. This paper is a preliminary examination of the anthropological questions raised by current immigration policies. Does the universal or globally acknowledged value of family units contradict differing notions of kinship ideas and rights? Are the 'natural facts' of kinship put to test in incommensurate ways or are the kinship idioms explicated in new ways?

8. NEW TECHNOLOGIES, NEW VALUES?

(pj. / chair Tiina Suopajärvi & Taina Kinnunen)

1. Memoria Virtualis — Digitalization of death rituals
Anna Haverinen (University of Turku)

In my doctoral thesis I study the digitalization of death and mourning rituals in virtual environments. Death rituals in Western society have changed dramatically in the 20th century, which has led to a "utopia" where sorrow and mourning are concerned as weaknesses and an individual is

able to reach adulthood without ever dealing with death and loss. Some researchers claim it is a result of industrialization and urbanization (e.g. Pentikäinen 1990; Ariés 1976, 1991).

However, new forms of mourning and honoring the memory of the deceased have formed in virtual environments. For example since 1995 virtual cemeteries and virtual memorial sites have increased tremendously in popularity and size. On those websites anyone can create a virtual memorial for anybody to honor the memory of the deceased and to cope with the loss. I have already studied this phenomena in my master's thesis and the results indicate that the virtual nature of the memorial site has a similar meaning as an actual memorial, e.g. gravesite.

Virtual mourning has also more visual shapes in online-games such as World of Warcraft, Aces High II -flight simulator (Second World War) and Second Life. Players of these games can create relationships that last for years, and when a player dies in real life it can cause similar feelings of loss and sorrow as if they had known each other in real life.

In my thesis I am interested in the backgrounds of this conduct and how people value virtual memorials and (virtual) mourning. This phenomena has a clear historical context, which is also my interest. The study of virtuality in Finnish anthropology is not very common, as it is internationally, which is why I would like to represent my study in the Finnish Anthropological Association's spring seminar.

2. Experiencing Pervasive Computer Mediated Exhibitions
Vuokko Härmä (University of Sussex)

The interactive element of museum/gallery visit has the potential to create a truly deep and enduring experience as being a part of the artwork. However, it can also cause feelings of self-consciousness or experiences of shyness that potentially distracts the visitor from the artistic experience. My paper contributes to the resolution of this tension.

Interactive and pervasive technologies have become a part of our leisure time activities in public spaces. It offers hands-on experiences in science and arts museums, and more recently within 3D cinema and technologically mediated visits to zoo and natural history museums. Indeed, even

Arts institutions are currently in the process of transforming from object-centred to interactive-based engaged exhibitions.

In comparison to the traditional object-centred exhibition, aforementioned interactive exhibitions offer more complex and often passively captured forms of interaction, e.g. through sensors that monitors the movement or other embodied activities. This raises concerns about perceived privacy and the feelings of exposure or intimidation.

Drawing from Goffman's dramaturgical theory I argue that the feelings of self-consciousness are triggered by feelings of relative incompetence at the interaction required. In the museum and gallery settings these feelings are tied with performativity, and acceptance of culturally determined rules and norms that apply to these locations. This paper intends, in this respect, to critically explore the visiting experience in contemporary interactive art institution.

3. Metamorphosis of Panopticon
Taina Kinnunen (University of Oulu)

Everyday life is permeated by medical knowledge and technologies. Michel Foucault's statement of the panopticon society with its obsessive surveillance and control of the body is materialized in current health reforms, such as fat panic, radical restrictions of smoking and development of the "functional" food, for example. Besides curing or preventing illnesses, control of the "docile" body aims at enhancing healthy bodies for "individual" purposes. Performing youth and health has become a central concern in current culture representing Foucault's notion of the subjectivisation of power. The socially appreciated body is constructed more and more by utilizing body enhancement technologies offered primarily by the private healthcare sector. In addition, keeping-fit and beauty industry constantly develops new technologies to control the body.

Panopticon seems to find its purest form in ubiquitous computing technology for healthcare and wellness. Pervasive healthcare technology enables twenty-four hours body monitoring through seamless sensory networks gathering data of body functions. Treatment of patients, for example, occurs more and more through the computer screen instead of face-to-face interaction. Pervasive technology is eagerly applied in "home hospitalisation" of elderly people who can

detect their health independently. On the other hand, technology is utilized in developing ways to activate young people, in particular, to exercise more in groups, for example. Is pervasive technology creating a new societal and voluntary form of panopticon by renewing conceptions of time, place and presence?

4. Culture, Conflict and Translocal Communication: Mobile technology and politics in rural West Bengal, India
Sirpa Tenhunen (University of Helsinki)

As media reports of political movements from various locations have shown, mobile technology can be a powerful political instrument. Howard Rheingold (2002) has famously argued that the new information technologies and especially mobile phones enable smart mobs. "Smart mob" is an evocative and yet problematic term in emphasizing the unruliness of protestors thus detracting attention from their patterns of action and meanings.

This paper examines how political activists in West Bengal, India use mobile phones for their daily political work seeking ways to recognize the disruptive and political potential of mobile technology without ignoring its social and cultural rootedness. I illustrate how riots and protests relate to the increase in translocal communication enabled by phones. I also demonstrate how the political use of mobile technology for extra ordinary events is grounded in the social and political processes of ordinary everyday life and draws from the local understanding of politics by emphasizing certain aspects of it.

5. Empowering Design – Accomplishing deliberative design methodology for development of future ICT
Veikko Ikonen (VTT, Human-Driven Design)

Design of future ICT (and services and products) calls for new design methodologies for the greater acceptance among presumable user groups. Furthermore the factors affecting to the design decisions of future ICT are numerous, various and in many cases frequently in conflict. Today user and usability studies (also called today as user experience studies) are conducted in order to get better effectiveness, efficiency, and user satisfaction and user acceptance for new products and services.

Even though the design approach is called human-centred or user-centred the design of new products and services has been quite technology or market driven in Information and Communication Technology (ICT) business. Instead of putting technology or market to the core of design process and product development the human needs and values should form the fundamental basis of design. Human Driven Design (HDD) refers to the design approach which broadens the perspective from focused product or service development process model to the more holistic design perspective. Stakeholder Based Design approach (SBD) as an lower level methodology furthermore broadens the scope and role of involved participant groups in the actual design process. HDD includes assessment of critical issues (i.e. social, ethical) of design process and artifacts while tradeoffs in design have to be well justified.

6. Diverse Methods and Materials in the Study of Ubiquitous Oulu
Tiina Suopajärvi (University of Oulu)

UBI (UrBan Interaction) displays were installed in the city centre of Oulu in summer 2009. The displays offer textual and visual information, but also a side for interaction, where a user touches the screen and hence, chooses the pages s/he wants to visit. User can, for example, get information on current local events, or send a postcard through e-mail. Display returns to passive mode after the user has finished the session.

In our research we are studying how the new ubiquitous technology functions as a part of everyday life in northern urban surroundings. How do people use it and what kind of meanings do they attach to it? Besides individual life-worlds, social hierarchies and norms connected to them might restrict or encourage utilizing ubiquitous technology and social interaction linked with it.

In our study we will exploit different methods: surveys, participant observation, interviews, and diaries. The surveys are collected in UBI displays, where a user voluntarily answers a questionnaire concerning her/his experiences on the display. The interviews of the UBI program planners and the representatives of the city will give us another perspective. They will illuminate e.g. the background of the program, its presumed advantages and future visions. Later we will also interview the city dwellers using the technology. In my presen-

tation I will discuss the relationship between different kinds of methods and materials in studying the usage and meanings of ubiquitous technology; and how could values be analysed from these diverse materials.

9. COMMUNITIES AND INDIVIDUAL ASPIRATIONS

(pj. / chair Mari Korpela)

1. Imagined Communities and the Digital Media Age: The case of the school shootings
Johanna Sumiala (University of Helsinki)

According to Gerard Delanty (2010) the persistence of community consists in its ability to communicate ways of belonging. In today's mobile world (Urry 2008) the idea of belonging has been heavily shaped by the social imaginaries circulating in the media (Appadurai 1996). In this paper drawing on media anthropology I will examine how these imagined communities, to use Benedict Anderson's (1983) terminology, as virtual and displaced forms of sociality are established through visual communication in different types of digitalized media landscapes. The media ethnography conducted in a number of media spaces (mainstream, online social media) consists of visual material of the Finnish school shootings (still images, video clips). The paper looks at how the school shooting images travel from one type of media to another and how they potentially work to establish a sense of belonging through ritualized performance of violence, death and mourning.

2. Nazi Metal and the Values of the Forefathers
Aila Mustamo (University of Oulu)

A Friday nigth in Kouvola: people waiting a gig of American racist death metal band Arghoslent. Lots of young men, noisy talk about niggers, drunken Germans hailing Hitler, a bit confused bands.

In Finland, where heavy metal bands like Nightwish are very popular in mainstream culture, it's hard to imagine the metal culture could have such an extreme wing as NSBM, National Socialist Black Metal. Actually, this quite small but influental music genre has some respected bands in eastern Finland in towns such as Kouvola and Lappeenranta.

Although heavy metal has always promoted all kinds of shock themes, the first band considered to be NSBM was the Norwegian black metal legend Burzum. The only member of Burzum, Varg Vikernes, never called Burzum NSBM, but was among the first ones to combine nazi themes and metal. Nowadays most NSBM bands are from eastern Europe – Russia, Ukraine, Poland – and Greece. The scene is growing also in other countries, probably as a reaction against immigration and multicultural ideology in the west.

The nazi metal scene is a modern, international community of young men based on racial beliefs and criticism of the modern. They are united by music, interaction in the Internet and fanzine circulation. Although most of everyday people in their home countries don't agree with them, they feel they have a mission to unite their nations. In this case, a nation really is an imagined community. In black and folk metal scenes it's not only nazi musicians who are looking back to the imagined values of their forefathers. There is a common, romantic interest in the ancient way of living, pre-Christian pagan religions and nationalist folklorism. As Thomas Hylland Eriksen claims, the nation is seen as a metaphoric family. In spite of being somewhat conservative the nazi metal movement still continues traditions of rock music, individualism and rebellion.

3. Self-Deprivation and Community
Hayder Al-Mohammad (University of Kent)

The Italian philosopher Roberto Esposito notes that the word 'common' denotes that where what is private and appropriable ends, since 'common' is in fact what is not of one, but of many, or even of everyone. Hence, the idea of commonality and community is not related to any notion of sameness, but to otherness. Even the etymology of the word 'community' confirms this hypothesis by deriving from the Latin word 'communitas', that, in turn, contains the word 'munus', whose many meanings and senses could be translated as 'gift,' 'obligation' or 'duty'. Accordingly, the members of a community are not identified by a common belonging but by a common duty of 'alteration,' by a reciprocal obligation impelling everyone to partially give up one's personal identity and 'expropriate' oneself in favour of the other. This is the meaning of munus: a disposition to establish a relationship with the other by losing something of

oneself, by partially depriving oneself of one's own identity. It is this point of 'self-deprivation' in order to enter fully the world of the 'common' which I want to focus on in this paper by drawing points of comparison and departure from Victor Turner's work on 'communitas' to highlight the limitations and virtues of both thinkers and also to aid in the theoretical account when thinking about 'community'.

4. Negotiating Commitments to Peg-Communities: The case of international students in Finland
Fred Dervin (University of Turku & University of Joensuu)

In my research on exchange and international students, I have used Z. Bauman's concept of "peg-community" to describe the students' experiences in Finland. A peg-community is a community "formed by hanging individual concerns on a common 'peg'", for a short period of time (Bauman, 2001). In the case of the students, this translates into "sticking together" exclusively with other foreign students during their stays (3 to 9 months) and going their separate ways afterwards. This has some consequences on both their experiences in Finland and their discourses on these peg-communities. One of the criticisms directed by the students at these peg-communities is the fact that they prevent them from entering other communities such as the imagined "Finnish community", and thus learning the "local culture" and "language". Many students that I have interviewed have expressed their disgust at the international students' peg-communities and their wish for stepping out of them.

In order to explore the other side of the coin, my presentation will be based on a corpus of interviews with international students who have managed to "enter" peg-communities other than international students' during sojourns abroad. I am interested in how these students conceive of their sociality in these peg-communities. Also I want to find out, in comparison to "normal" international students, if their discourses on these communities are stable/faithful (i.e. can we sense a wish for other "sociality"?) or unstable/unfaithful and to examine how they are weighed against other "normal" international students' communal values and practices.

5. Magic Hat Economy
Janne Juhana Rantala (University of Eastern Finland)

In my paper I will address the magic hat economy, which is practiced in my research field among the spiritual and counter-cultural Nordic Ting Community. At first sight the participants descriptions of their way of life, including the economical sphere, resemble the way mainstream economists speak of the individualism in today's market economy. There is however an essential difference between the concepts of individual freedom in these two economical systems.

The Ting Community is a network of people which is constituted around the Ting gatherings held twice a year. The gatherings usually take two weeks and attract on an average 200 participants from all around with about 80 % of the participants coming from northern Europe. Since the beginning in the 1979 there have been more than 3000 different participants. Even though there is no official membership, for many, those regular, and some occasional smaller, gatherings of the community are very important parts of their life to which they regularly return.

If we would like to find social structure in the community we should take a look to a system of circling responsibility of the 'families' of the four Nordic countries (Danmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland) to host gatherings. However, this helps the community to avoid solid roles in organizing. Anyone can voluntare in organizing and nobody is personally responsible to participate. For the community members this means the maximized amount of individual freedom.

There is no entrance fee or the price for the camps various outcomes. All money is collected with a magic hat where all the contributions are voluntarily based and anonymous. Thus the gatherings are meant to be economically reachable for everyone just opposite than the comparable products are on the market. The community is not organized as formal associations with formal positions and memberships. However, the gatherings are organized regularly, they are relatively big, and usually function well. The community has managed to maintain itself without the mentioned aspects of social structure.

6. Westerners in Varanasi, India: A permanent yet temporary community.
Mari Korpela (University of Tampere)

A few hundred Westerners live in the city of Varanasi in northern India for several months every winter. Most of them return there year after year. In Varanasi, they form a tight community. The community is fluid as individuals come and go as they please. However, although the community is temporary in terms of individuals, it is very permanent, even stagnant, in terms of practices.

In my paper, I argue that the community culminates at the time of individuals' departures. The continuity of the community is emphasised at the very moment when the fluidity and temporality are visible. Using moments of departure as my empirical base, I discuss the characteristics of the community of Westerners in Varanasi. I argue that strict rules and stagnant practices are necessary means of keeping the community alive since the bases of the community are so fluid. Moreover, as a result of fluidity, the communal connections and feelings need to be strengthened continuously. In my paper, I also elaborate on the coexistence of individualism and communality among the members. I argue that the community has neo-tribal characteristics but it is nevertheless a lot more consistent that the neo-tribes Maffesoli writes about. The communal belonging is based on individual choice and the members are lacking a (permanent) commitment, yet, they nevertheless temporarily highly appreciate communal life and belonging.

10. REMEMBERING AND THE PRESENT

(pj. / chair Marie-Louise Karttunen & Katja Uusihakala)

1. Revaluing One's Own Ancestors: The ritual making of Yoruba lineages in southern Benin
Joël Noret (FNRS/ULB, Belgium)

In the region of southern Benin dominated during the nineteenth century by the Fon kingdom of Dahomey, the vast majority of Yoruba families that arrived under Fon domination were slaves raided by the Dahomey's army. Since the 1890s however, after the French conquest and the demise of the Dahomey kingdom, relations between masters and slaves were progressively reconfig-

ured under colonial rule, and Yoruba identities emerged more firmly. Drawing on fieldwork conducted since 2003 in the region of Abomey, the capital of the pre-colonial kingdom of Dahomey, this paper will use the historical and social trajectory of a Yoruba masquerade and ancestors cult (the egun or *egungun* cult, imported into the Abomey's region by descendants of Yoruba slaves) as a starting point to highlight how this cult has been key in the strategies of Yoruba emerging lineages in their struggles for emancipation from their past Fon masters. Gaining the right to worship their own ancestors has been an important step in the affirmation of a distinct identity for many Yoruba families. Since the 1930s at least, the *egun* cult has allowed emerging Yoruba lineages to invoke a prestigious origin of owners of an original masquerade that has offered them an alternative symbolic resource which put them in a position to partially subvert the stigma deriving from their past slave condition among the Fon.

2. Repatriates not Refugees: Narrating (post-) transnational community.

2. Repatriates not Refugees: Narrating (post-) transnational community.
Marie-Louise Karttunen (University of Helsinki)

In 1917, as imperial Russia disintegrated, a large community of British merchants and their families which had been resident in St. Petersburg since 1723 left the capital 'with dignity' and without possessions 'as though planning to return' – according to the instruction of the British Ambassador in Russia at the time. The 'Anglo-Russians' dispersed into small, kin-based knots across England and the apparent lack of future contact between members of what had been a vibrant and self-consciously ethnicised community means that the memory writings which have survived in private possession and in various archives were produced in something of a vacuum. It's an interesting situation which allows exploration of the potentially divisive elements countering the concept of a unitary collective memory – such as the various scales at which memories are acquired and transmitted, and the range of statuses and roles inhabited by memoirists. However, such exploration also demonstrates that a fundamental similarity between the texts goes beyond the undeniable fact of shared lives at the time of acquisition of memory, to underline the impact of 'the present' in memory reproduction.

Comparing the corpus of memory writings which provided data for this discussion with life writings such as diaries produced during the community's existence, it becomes apparent that the metanarrative of the those who left Russia after generations of their families' residence there is one of 'Britons returning to our homeland'. Wertsch's 'schematic narrative template' framed members of the group as repatriates rather than refugees and colonized the experience of Russia as 'home' which had coloured perceptions of the everyday for nearly two centuries. It was a template that was necessary in early to mid-twentieth-century Britain and, therefore, a product of the specific time and place of narration – rather than acquisition – of memory.

3. Handing Down or Studying Up? Tradition as skill and knowledge

3. Handing Down or Studying Up? Tradition as skill and knowledge
Timo Kaartinen (University of Helsinki)

While performance, creativity and context have been established as the focus of research on oral traditions, the notion of "tradition" still implies continuity between human generations and historical situations. This continuity is not always based on a mechanism of transmission of specific narrative and linguistic forms. Recent scholarship has identified several forms of metalinguistic and metacultural awareness in which a specific type of discourse appears as a carrier of meaning which can be carried over from one generation to the next. The paper focuses on two kinds of agency involved in this ideological and dialogic process. By "handing down" I refer to performative strategies which anticipate and prefigure the reception of certain discourse in future situations. By "studying up" I mean the effort to parse together a tradition from pieces of meaningful discourse which indicate specific positions in the social world. The examples discussed in this paper are drawn from an ethnographic environment in which tradition is not transmitted as a meaningful whole; instead, later generations are forced to reconstruct traditional discourse and make it meaningful in new performative situations. Each of the two kinds of agency involves specific reproductive strategies, but the fact that they rely on each other means that tradition itself is more than an outcome of actorial strategies. Instead, I argue that performative strategies are motivated by the ideological

horizon in which a certain historical continuity is signified by traditional discourse itself.

4. Soothing Commodity: Moomin as self and other in Japan
Hideko Mitsui (University of Cambridge, UK & Centro Incontri Umani, Switzerland)

Figures of Moomintrolls are ubiquitous in Japan, particularly in the forms of various commodities. While Tove Jansson's books are considered to be children's literature in Japan, it is Japanese adults in their late thirties and early forties who avidly consume the words and images from books on Moomin, collect all Moomin goods that are available, cherishing the Moomin quotes on Twitter, and travel to Finland, preferably to smaller cities and villages with very small populations, in search of the 'slow' and 'non/anti-materialistic' lifestyles that they once saw as children in Jansson's books. Anthropologists of Japan have argued that the Moomin fever is part of the larger 'cuteness fetish' as well as just one instance of Japanese people's desires to buy and collect imported goods from the West. Although it is undeniable that Moomin commodities are making good business, it appears that it is precisely the idea of the non-commodifiable that Moomintrolls embody in the minds of Japanese aficionados of Finnish culture that people use as a mnemonic device to recall Japan's pre-bubble-economy past.

In this paper I will introduce the post-1990 revival of the Moomintrolls in Japan as a sociocultural phenomenon. Through ethnographic observations, interviews and analysis of key published materials on Moomin in Japan, I take a second look at the Moomin phenomenon since the early 1990s when Japanese people were thrown into a profound existential crisis. I argue that Moomin's revival served as one of spiritual guides to the souls affected by the extreme affluence in the 1980s and the sudden loss of such material wealth. This imagined 'spirituality' of Moomin and 'Finnish culture', I argue, are serving as powerful mnemonic tools people use to reconstruct their lost innocence as well as their childhood itself. In this process people are attempting to recall and recreate the sense of values they lost in Japan's gilded age.

5. Reminiscence Tours and Pilgrimage Sites: Commemorative practices in ex-Rhodesian diaspora
Katja Uusihakala (University of Helsinki)

In this paper, I want to reflect upon forms of temporality and movement as they appear in the commemorative practices of the ex-Rhodesian diaspora community. I examine this by discussing how members of the community regularly 'go back' to the past in the present, firstly by means of intentional construction of memory sites and commemorative venues; and secondly by concrete 'return trips' to Zimbabwe on reminiscence tours. I wish to consider how and if constructions, travels and movements related to such commemorative practices may be thought of as kinds of pilgrimage. The composing of memory sites and venues involves conscious selection and representation; what then are the selected elements that are seemingly good to remember with? How do they emanate a sense of going back as pilgrims? The return-trips in turn include both organized reminiscence tours as well as more intimate family travel. Both forms of journeying, however, are occasions intentionally designed and organized in order to enable the participants to look back and to remember together, to make a pilgrimage, as the Rhodesians themselves often say.

6. Fragments of Lost Origins: Authenticity, community and the Ottoman Empire in contemporary Istanbul
Pekka Tuominen (University of Helsinki)

In my paper, I will discuss how various signs of the Ottoman past are represented and circulated in the cityscape of contemporary Istanbul, what meanings and values are attached to them and how they are related to the official Republican history. My focus will be on how the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923 is represented both as a major rupture from backwardness and a return to the mythical line of development of the original Central Asian Turks in a truly modernist way, and how the 700-year long period of the Ottoman Empire has been considered as foreign and contrary to Turkish 'essence'. I will consider how the more superficial features of the Republican reforms – such as regulations on appearance and dress together with representational/conceptual reforms of the alphabet from

Arabic to Latin and calendar from Islamic to Gregorian – as well as major administrative reforms – the abolition of the Caliphate, replacement of the Sultanate with a parliamentary system and replacement of the Sharia law with a Swiss legal code – are associated with radically different and incompatible epochs despite their evident continuities and overlaps. I will argue that this constant deconstruction and polarization of historical processes and their present-day outcomes by Istanbul's inhabitants has resulted a situation in which the sense of authenticity and nativeness have become increasingly important. In opposition to the official Republican history, a great variety of styles, ideas and practices have been placed under the umbrella term of neo-Ottomanism. I will explore how these different nostalgic framings of the Ottoman past(s) employ the notions of community and authenticity with very different views on historical development and its relation to modernity, individuality and cosmopolitanism when compared to the secular values of the Republic.

11. LAND RIGHTS AND POLITICAL ECOLOGY

(pj. / chair Tuomas Tammisto & Heikki Wilenius)

1. Political Ecology of West Bengal — Its present and future trends
Prof. Santi Gopal Pal (Retired, University of Calcutta)

Post-independent West Bengal is characterised by the presence of many different tribes, adivasis (archaic and nomadic forms of humans) and a colossal migratory elements immediately following the partition of Bengal in 1947. The ethnicity and endemism of most of these populations are hardly bounded by secure social, political and economic stabilities. This situation raises several volatile but daunting human problems with respect to their social reliance, political objectives and emancipation in a broader canvas of the state of West Bengal and India per se. An objective analysis of the conditions of the millions of tribal peoples living in various districts of West Bengal as well as in the neighbouring states, like, Orissa, Chattisgarh, Jharkhand, etc. Have not yet been addressed. The natural resources of these areas and in particular those of the West Bengal have

not been measured in terms of their accessibility and consummation by the poor mortals. The earlier historical and pristine ecological landscapes with green forests, hills, valleys, rivers, springs, caves, plateaus, fauna and flora have gradually turned into hopeless islands where man (in the administration) has to exercise his restraints of authority; but often an unjust institutional frameworks do the networking and bring about untold but unequal sufferings in the common and diverse tribal populations. One of the causes of backwardnesses of these tribes and subtribes is their landlessness.

The recent political history of Europe is an inadequate model for some of the states in Eastern India; the societies and communities of Basque, Czechs, Austrians, Magyars, Bulgarians and Slavs, etc are in all practical purposes behaviourally less dominant and enterprising compared to the others. For their economy different political institutions, norms of behaviours and attitudes have appeared. Can a similar Balkanisation be achieved to ensure a priori a healthy ecology in the Indian subcontinent? The order of justice, proverty, development among the various sects, aborigines and tribes of Indian states does hardly show a linear axis, to counter occasional the rise of militancy, violence and crimes among Naxals, Kamtapuris, Lodhas, etc. Indeed, we have a fluid situation here and our attempts to reorganise such dwindling populations have brought meagre results.

2. Land Use and Ownership in Northeast Madagascar
Jenni Mölkänen (University of Helsinki)

Like elsewhere in Africa (Peters 2007, Lund 2008) there is pluralism of land tenure systems in Madagascar: One system is based on the French Civil Code according to which the state owns the land and the other based on collective memory and understanding (fomba casy) resulting in a situation in which some land is registered e.g. to the dead person (Evers 2008, Cole 2001, Brown 2004). Among the Betsimisaraka, one of the dominant groups in the Sava region in Northeast of Madagascar, elders provide the access to the land. 'Making a living' is carried out on two levels: Rice farming is the source of their subsistence. The other concerns ritual activity that enables communication with ancestors. (Cole 2001.) Betsimis-

araka also continue to practice slash-and-burn cultivation (tavy) prohibited by the government although tavy has been pointed out as reasonable method in the tropical environment of the eastern Madagascar with heavy rains and cyclones (Brown 2008, Pollini 2007). For the Betsimisaraka the land means securing the continuity of the family and lineage as well as social recognition (Brown 2004, Cole 2001, Keller 2002). This differs from the views of the international donors (e.g. World Bank, IMF), Malagasy state and NGOs who argue in the name of the individual rights, marketing and protecting the diverse nature by forming national parks and making restrictions against slash-and-burning activities.

3. Governance and Its Side-Effects in Forest Disputes in Finnish Lapland
Simo Sarkki (University of Oulu)

Traditionally management of state forests in Finland has been directed in a top-down manner. In the 1990's participatory processes were introduced, which however, have not been able to stop the emergence of forest disputes between forest sector and other interest groups. This presentation will look at three recent forest disputes in Finnish Lapland: Inari, Forest-Lapland and Muonio. Common for these disputes was that the dissatisfied interest groups (e.g. NGOs, Sámi organizations, tourism entrepreneurs, reindeer herders and individual activists) sought for new means to influence, as from their point of view the participatory processes facilitated by state forestry enterprise Metsähallitus did not offer appropriate opportunities for participation. Within the current society there are structures and processes (e.g. international courts, increasing attention to indigenous peoples and environmental issues, media), which enable participation also outside formal participatory processes. However, I argue that utilization of these structures can create catch-22 type of problems for many of the involved parties. Catch-22 refers to a situation where individual or group loses whatever s/he does. Examples of catch-22 situations include firstly, representing reindeer herding as essential for Sámi culture offers a powerful political means for argumentation for indigenous land rights, but at the same time it neglects other forms of being Sámi. Secondly, environmental NGOs can use market based campaigns efficiently, but they are non-parliamentary

and perhaps undemocratic ways of engagement. These problems could be alleviated if the contradictions could be solved within the existing and improved participatory processes.

4. Kastam and Incorporation: Reproducing and restructuring matrilineal clans among the Mengen of Papua New Guinea
Tuomas Tammisto (University of Helsinki)

In my presentation I will focus on questions of social reproduction and change in relation to large scale development projects among the Mengen of Papua New Guinea. Commercial logging operations have been conducted, with the consent of local landowning groups, in the Mengen areas from the 1990's and recently scale development project combining logging, road building and the establishment of oil-palm plantations has been planned in order to connect the rural areas of New Britain with the island's two provincial capitals. According to research and more importantly the Mengen themselves, logging and development projects have brought with them and unprecedented number of land disputes. Among the Mengen land is communally held by matrilineal clans and in the past flexible user rights allowing swidden cultivation have been more elaborated than ownership of land areas. Logging, however, has brought the question of ownership in a new to the front, because in order to work legally, the companies need the permission of local landowners and must pay compensation to them. Thus landowners must be identified in midst of user rights and disputes emerge. In order to facilitate the management of land by "traditional groups", often dubbed as clans, the land legislation of Papua New Guinea allows the incorporation of existing groups into so called Incorporated Land Groups, provided they have a "corporate nature under custom".

In this presentation I will ask how social relations might become reconfigured with the incorporation of matrilineal clans into corporate landowning groups. Does logging, and the incorporation of land groups, form new ways of reproducing lineages, or matrilineal clans? How on the other hand has logging and the long participation in the money economy changed notions "traditional" ways of reproducing clans, namely the paying of brideprices and other customary activities dubbed as kastam? Do notions about kastam and changes

in them provide us with a window into the relationship between social and environmental change among the Mengen?

5. Together on the Field and Alone in the Forest. Livelihood trategies in a Kalimantan swidden economy
Heikki Wilenius (University of Helsinki)

The Dayaks of West Kalimantan have two major sources of livelihood: swidden agriculture and collecting the sap of rubber trees. These activities have differing relationships to their environment and are given different cultural meanings. Managing the swiddens and the rubber groves together forms a specific and multifaceted economical strategy. Swidden farming and rubber collecting complement each other ecologically and because of their differing time requirements, can be taken care of concurrently. However, there is a cultural contradiction between these two practices that in some circumstances may have political and ecological dimensions.

The main source of nutrition for people living in the interior of Borneo is swidden rice. A single village has to cooperate together in order to secure a sufficient crop, because the time constraints of swidden agriculture vary considerably during the agricultural year. During phases that are most laborious, a work exchange system is utilized. Working together, sharing the work and its products are seen as a good in itself. On the other hand, in order to satisfy their ambitions or to acquire goods produced elsewhere people want a monetary source of income too. The most common way of acquiring money is to gather the sap of the Hevea Brasiliensis rubber tree and sell it. This is usually perceived as an asocial activity. When viewed from an ecological or economical perspective, swidden agriculture and rubber collecting are complementary activities, and they both belong to a long tradition of Bornean economical activities. Still, the marks they imprint on the Kalimantan landscape and how they are culturally valued differ greatly.

My presentation will discuss the livelihood activities of Menterap speaking Dayaks in Sekadau river valley in West Kalimantan from an ecology of practice perspective. I will compare the results from the fieldwork of my Master's thesis to other studies done in West Kalimantan about Dayak land usage patterns. I argue that swidden cultiva-

tion and managing rubber groves constitutes an ecologically sustainable livelihood strategy, but the balance is rather fragile. Interventions by forestry companies or by the state might force people to intensify their land use, which can threaten both the economic and ecologic balance between the two livelihood strategies, and aggravate the cultural contradiction between them.

12. MATERIAL CULTURE, MATERIAL BODY AND THE IDEAS OF VALUE

(pj. / chair Tereza Kuldova)

1. Managing Clothes, Expressing Values: The Indian middle-class and the game of aligning values with clothes
Tereza Kuldova (Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo)

The paper discusses the dialectical and mutually constitutive relationship between clothes, social persons and their bodies. Arguing that it is not possible to divorce material culture studies from the study of the body, and believing that the boundaries of the body are flexible and can be in a sense extended to include many objects, the paper tries to cast light on our various relationships to clothes. It focuses on their value and meaning, but also, on what they actually do to us and on how they act back on us. Drawing on the empirical material from the urban Indian middle-class setting in Lucknow, the paper exemplifies these relationships through the focus on the ways in which the middle-classes manipulate their clothing in order to project certain messages and values in different social contexts, playing with values as well as with the value of clothes. The paper also draws attention to the phenomenon of active appropriation of the dress as seen and experienced in the Bollywood movies. It discusses the notion of transmission of personal characteristics of another person onto the wearer by using that person's clothes or even by using similar clothes to those worn by an appreciated person (be it a Bollywood star, a politician, a model or any other role model), focusing on the experience of wearing particular clothes. Further, it addresses some of the ways in which using material objects serves the reproduction of social values and the fortification of the middle-classes.

2. Playing Nintendogs: Valued objects and the creative potential of human action
Minna Ruckenstein (University of Helsinki)

Allison Pugh's (2009) recent study offers a thought-provoking study of why children need consumer objects. One of the most intriguing questions that the ethnography poses, but never fully explores, is why some playthings transform into objects of desire while others don't. The paper focuses on this question by discussing children's playing with a game console, Nintendo DS. Pugh explains children's desire to own gaming systems with "the economy of dignity" that refers to the way children collect and confer dignity in order to have the right to fit in. I argue, however, that social belonging is only a partial explanation of why game consoles are so desired. Instead, playthings propose certain actions, thereby extending and transforming children and childhoods. In order to illustrate the argument I use one particular game, Nintendogs, to demonstrate that playing is valued by children because it generates the creative potential of human action and supports meaningful relations between children and objects. Thus Nintendo DS is needed in order to enter a world, where desire emerges in relations between children and digital objects with human-like capacities. From this perspective, playing Nintendogs tells us a much more general story about how social relations become intertwined and affected by the possibilities offered by valued objects. The focus on children's intense engagements with playthings also contributes to overall theorizing of people in relation to objects and digital technologies.

3. From Gift to Commodity: The shifting value of body parts in organ transplantation process
Susanne Ådahl (University of Helsinki)

The anthropological study of organ transplantation offers us an illuminating window onto discussions on the shifting values of the material body. Ambivalent discourses exist on the way the donated body and its parts are viewed by the various social actors involved in organ transfer processes. What is interesting to discuss are the points where these shifts occur, the situations and moments in which the transplantable body as "gift of life" becomes merely a commodity and where the idea of value in the context of the gift metaphor meets with contradictions. One particular contradiction the paper will focus on is the concept of the "tyranny of the gift", i.e. when body parts as gifts cannot be reciprocated.

4. The Ritual Body
Marianna Keisalo-Galván (University of Helsinki)

My research is focused on the Yaqui Easter ritual in Northern Mexico. In this paper I explore the ways ideas about 'the ritual body' are expressed in terms of physical aspects of ritual performance, and how they are related to more general ideas about the body, religion and culture. Many aspects of Yaqui ritual are physically quite taxing, and the Yaquis themselves say their religion is "hard work". Ritual affects the body in many ways. There are restrictions on sleeping and eating. The rituals last a long time, they involve hours of kneeling on the hard floor and marching in the scorching sun or in the cold dark nights. Some sacred vows involve walking on one's knees for long distances. However, the emphasis is on fulfilling one's obligation and enduring the difficulties, not suffering or punishment. The Yaquis are Catholic, but I see this orientation as different from many Christian traditions. There are many statements of how pleasurable the exhaustion is after ritual work, or how the work gives energy to the performer, who feels he could "continue forever". The focus is also more on taking turns and sharing the ritual work than on the individual; ritual kin may help even with the individual vows. The emphasis on and pride taken in enduring painful or difficult situations are also reflected in other contexts. The ability to endure is seen as an important part of what it means to be Yaqui by both scholars and the Yaquis themselves.