PEKKA KANTONEN

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A VIDEO DIARY AS EXPERIMENTAL AND PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH

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Acknowledgement

The video diary, that my research is based on, was begun in 1990, while my family, together with the help of professional builders, friends and the security of a loan, was building a house in the village of Hermanonkimaa in Mäntsälä. Also, I was able to complete this research with the help of professionals, friends, a loan, and luckily some research grants. The main setting for the video material is mostly the aforementioned house. I am in gratitude to architect Timo Jeskanen for designing our home, Rauhala. The most important people during the first few years of shooting the diary were the three families who were simultaneously building houses in Hermanonkimaa. I am especially thankful to the neighbours' children who are now all adults. The Haarlas, Ahos, Lukinmaas, and later, in the 2000s the Kutvonens and Heikkinens formed a community, which helped me understand that there are two types of friends: those who like to be filmed and those who find it awkward. Recognising this boundary was particularly useful as the video diary shoots extended to other communities.

The encouragement and critique towards the project during the decades has marked my friendship with Heidi Tikka, Agnieszka Wolodsko, Irmeli Kokko-Viika, Sakari Viika and Mika Aalto-Setälä. Saku has, for two decades, faithfully photographed our works and processes. The illustrations in the book testify to the fact that Saku has played a crucial part in our projects. Mika's distinctive and minimalist lay-out, sensitive to my explanations on the contents of the book, is present throughout the work.

The main viewing laboratory for the video diary has been the Doctoral Studies Department at the Academy of Fine Arts, run by Jan Kaila, whose seminars and international meetings have provided me fertile ground in which I have been able to show my videos and the filmed comments on them. I am grateful to all my colleagues and the professors for their cri-

tique and comments during my seminars between 2007 and 2009. Thank you to Eija-Liisa Ahtila, Simo Alitalo, Jan Erik Andersson, Eeva Anttila, Annette Arlander, Niran Baibulat, Stig Baumgartner, Rustom Bharucha, Dan Graham, Terike Haapoja, Minna Heikinaho, Timo Heino, Hanna Johansson, Shoji Kato, Petri Kaverma, Pertti Kekarainen, Esa Kirkkopelto, Jay Koh, Johanna Lecklin, Liisa Lounila, Tuomas Nevanlinna, Maija Närhinen, Robert Palmer, Merja Puustinen, Heli Rekula, Markus Rissanen, Elina Saloranta, Henk Schlager, Jan Svengungsson and Denise Ziegler. Extended thanks go to Sami van Ingen, Pekka Niskanen and Marjatta Oja for filming the seminars, and to Jari Haanperä, Jay Koh, Ray Langenbach and Johanna Rossi for filming some of the viewing situations. The case study *Autobiography of a Friend* would not have been finished without discussions with Katri Hirvonen-Nurmi, Ray Langenbach, Anita Seppä, Helena Sinervo, Heidi Tikka and Elina Vuola.

Both of my supervisors, art historian Grant Kester and artist, researcher, curator Ray Langenbach have been ideal. It has been a luxury to have two supervisors who are at the top of their fields. Grant is an exemplary coach and his help was essential at the start and the finishing up of my dissertation. During my research Ray has become one of my closest friends and I have started to call him my "theory slave". One of Ray's greatest attributes is the ability to only read meticulously. His remarks left the pages full of comments and suggestions. He eagerly shared his knowledge, views, artistic and research ideas, as well as the warmth of a friend. After my spouse, Lea, Ray has definitely had the most influence in the contents of my research. In May 2007, at a viewing in Leeds I was given the best description of Ray's part in our videos: "Your camera really loves this Leonard Bernstein looking guy."

In the fifth chapter, *Scolding*, I explain how the research method emerged through an anthropological field work exercise. I took part, as a (lifelong) anthropology BA student, in Thomas Strong's, a visiting US lecturer at the University of Helsinki, courses in 2007 and 2008. Tom's lectures are the liveliest and most encouraging university education I have received in over 40 years. Another route towards the emergence of the method was through the *Asking for Advice* performance (Chapter 4: *Hot Soup*), an idea which Lea got in 2002 from our artist friends Jay Koh and Chu Yuan in Singapore at the International Symposium and Seminar on Investigating Public Engaged Art. Jay made a simple proposition that an artist could ask her collaborators for advice during the process rather than wait for feedback after the work is finished. Afterwards, Jay and Chu Yuan have organised *Asking for Advice* performances internationally. The first *Asking for Advice*

performance was organised by artist and curator Agnieszka Wolodsko in Gdansk in August 2005.

For organising the viewing situations I would also like to thank Janne Ahonen, Rocio de Aguinaga, Mirka Flander, Jari Haanperä, Oscar Hernández, Marja-Liisa Honkasalo, Aare and Rieka Hõrn, Shauna Laurel Jones, Kristiina Kajesalo, Andreas Kalkun, Irmeli Kokko-Viika, Jón Próppe, Amparo Sevilla Villalobos, Anna Thuring, Roberto de la Torre, Pirjo Kristiina Virtanen, and the following institutions:

Theatre Academy of the University of the Arts Helsinki, Aalto University, Imatra Art School, University of Helsinki Student Organization Mana, Mänttä Art Festival, Finnish Antropological Society, Society for Cultural Studies in Finland, Becoming Bologna research seminar at 53rd Venice Biennale, European Association of Social Anthropologists EASA, University of Leeds, SIM-house in Reykjavik, Laznia Centre for Contemporary Art in Gdansk, Suomesta-gallery in Berlin, Värska Cultural Centre, Seto Museum and Seto Seltsimaja in Obinitsa, Tartu Literary Museum in Estonia, Secondary school Tatutsi Maxakwaxi in San Miguel Huaistita, Photographic Center Manuel Álvarez Bravo in Oaxaca, ITESO University in Guadalajara, Nacional Institute of Anthropology and History INAH, La Esmeralda, National Center of the Arts in México City, Sunway University, University Tunku Abdul Rahman, Lost Generation Space, MAP-White Box –gallery, Kuala Lumpur in Malaysia, Post-Museum, P-10 Gallery in Singapore, NICA, Yangon in Myanmar.

The list of professional help is not distinctively different from the list of friends. After building the house, professional help was mostly needed as we created the most important artistic part of my research, the *Ripples at Home* exhibition at Helsinki Kunsthalle in the spring of 2011. In a few days Eero Yli-Vakkuri, with the help of Lauri Isola and Jani Karimäki, and Kunsthalle's personnel built the exhibition, while Pro AV Saarikko's group finalised the more demanding video projections. Epa Tamminen helped with sound editing before the show.

Three communities have been extremely helpful and inspiring in my research. A chapter has been dedicated to each. The Seto song mothers living in Helbi village in southeastern Estonia greeted us with open arms and taught us about the aesthetics of their traditional *Leelo* song and how best to film it. As I write this the members of the choir, Alovere Olli, Kala Manni, Kilevi Alli, Kuhi Anne, Kukka Manni and Sillaotsa Liidi have passed into another world but the *Leelo* they fostered thrives in Setoland. With the Tarros and Hõrn families, Õie Sarv, Ülle Kauksi, and Evar Riitsaar, who live in the village of Obinitsa, we have been able to continue recording and

researching the Seto song, and to take part in traditional festivities and cultural events.

The teachers and pupils of Tatuutsi Maxakwaxi shool in the Wixárika village Tsikwaita (San Miguel Huaistita) allowed us to use our filming method in the planning of their community museum, which is also supported by the Finnish Saami community, especially Irja Seurujärvi-Kari and Ilmari Laiti, the Siida Museum, and The Saami Education Institute SOGSAKK. Outi Hakkarainen, Pauliina Helle, Katri Hirvonen-Nurmi and Heli Kuusipalo, all long-standing members of the non-governmental organisation CRASH, have shared the troubles and dreams of the *Tunúwame* project. The Tatuutsi Maxakwaxi school community has shown us how to get the best results – also in our art project – when decisions are based on communal discussion and aspire to consensus. The third community is the size of a nuclear family, the artists Goa Zweygbergk and Ilkka Sariola's blended family have shared both the dialogical art project and a decades-long conversation on art that has enriched our method.

In over fifty filmed viewing situations hundreds of people have given valuable comments. Only a fraction of these are quoted in the research. I hesitate to mention any one of the precious sources of information as, should I mention one, I would leave another one out. One of the central features of the method is that no comment is meaningless nor indisputably more important than another one.

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(1)

Introduction

Conducting research on one's own video diary is a sort of avant-garde dream in contemporary art. Not only does it combine art and daily life, it also includes research. While this research project has kept alive and made meaningful a video diary that I started with Lea Kantonen in March 1990, it has simultaneously threatened to devour its researcher. As a researcher, I feel as if I have a hold on the research materials, but how strong is my grip? The video diary renews itself every day, it is never complete, and no final interpretation can be made. It is like a long take in the sense Pier Paolo Pasolini (1922–1975) expressed it:

> The substance of cinema is therefore an endless long take as is reality to our senses for as long as we are able to see and feel (a long take that ends with the end of our lives); and this long take is nothing but the reproduction of the language of reality. In other words it is the reproduction of the present. (Pasolini 1980:6)

Pasolini draws a parallel between life and a long take. Only an end, in the shape of a cut or death, creates meaning.

The excerpts that this research focuses on includes only a small portion of the entire video diary, which by January 2017 contained more than two thousands hours of video. I focus on four individual shots, two scenes comprised of two shots, one video installation and one documentation of a socially engaged art project. In addition to these primary materials, the research covers all of the filmed commentaries, discussions and events related to them that are also part of the video diary. Even if a video diary could be considered the prime example of an archive, I discuss only briefly questions related to archiving, since in this research I have merely lifted the lid of my personal Pandora's box and become acquainted with the first impres-

sions that have flown out to greet me. In Chapter 10 titled *Ripples at Home*, I shortly discuss the indexing of materials from the point of view of planning installations, and in the final chapter I return to the topic of archiving from the viewpoints of artistic research and possible future projects.

The people that appear in our family's video diary are mainly Lea and I, and our three children, sons Pyry-Pekka (b. 1987) and Ukko (b. 1989) and daughter Tyyni (b. 1999). In addition to us, close friends and relatives who have consented to be filmed appear in the videos. On our travels I have filmed both our interactions with people from different cultures as well as particular events.

The subject matter of this research is the method with which I have approached our family's video archives. I have developed it together with Lea Kantonen, and it is a method of filming, watching and commenting that we have named *Generational Filming*. We watch and comment our home videos with people from different age groups, different specialists, and other viewers with different cultural and ethnic backgrounds. These discussions are filmed, and then added to the next edition as a new generation of the video to be shown to other audiences. Viewers help us conceptualise both the interpretations and the theorisation of our footage. We have arranged more than fifty screenings in order to analyse the data in a collaborative way. The notion of generationality also fits to describe the circumstances of filming, since several case studies of the video diary deal with the relationships between our family's different generations.

Generational filming takes reflexivity to exhaustion or to a kind of saturation point. The chain of watching and commenting changes the meaning of the first shot, of the first generation of the chain. The focus of watching gradually changes from the viewed to the viewer. While listening to the interpretations made by previous viewers the subsequent viewers start to make comparisons between different cultural positions, and self-reflexivity begins to govern the experience of watching. My study concentrates on epistemological issues connected to the documentary approach. My research interest could be distilled into the following questions: What happens when an event is recorded (on film, video, etc.) and the recording is subsequently viewed? What are the truths, meanings and interpretations that emerge in the process of filming, editing, viewing and discussing a video diary? How does the spectator's experience of watching change when watching filmed comments of that which has just been shown?

The subheading of my research, A *Video diary as experimental and participatory research*, conveys how we have used the method on our video diary. From the point of view of research, the diary is a non-hierarchical way of

organising experiential material in a reflexive way. From the point of view of the researcher, reflexivity means acknowledging that the researcher himself is part of the research data. The diary is an intimate way of working with thoughts, experiences and memories. In a video diary the reflexive process happens through filming. The structure of the research takes each day and each written entry – or filmed shot of the video diary – as equally valuable, and each text or shot positions itself chronologically in relation to others like a single bead in a string of many. The generational method alters the non-hierarchical nature of a diary without ruining it. Each generation positions itself both as part of the string as well as "above" the previous generation, since the new generation can comment and "know more" than the previous generations. The method "twists" the string of shots in a spiral motion making their meanings unstable.

Experimentality and participatoriness are manifest in the method in several ways. The video diary's shots provide materials for the test viewings. When different audiences watch and comment on shots of the video diary, they are placed in conditions comparable to a laboratory experiment. The different audiences also take part in a laboratory experiment since their comments are filmed and evaluated by other audiences. Experimentality is also manifest in the way the method gets defined within visual art and moving image as experimental art or experimental film, due to its marginality and incomplete nature. Participatoriness is the overarching principle of the method, and it directs the discussion on the nature of the method in each of the four discourses on art and research within which I place the work. These four frameworks of this research are: artistic research, socially engaged art, film research and ethnography. In addition to these four areas my research has also been inspired by indigenous studies, literary studies, performance studies, and postcolonial research.

My research consists of eight case studies. I borrow the term case study from sociology as it corresponds well to the manner in which I have both delimited and approached the area of study. A case study[1] is a limited whole, which exposes the topic of research from a couple of perspectives. Case studies, including each of the case studies presented in this book, can stand independently. A case study is usually precisely defined in terms of time, location and included data. These eight case studies present an overall view of *generational filming*. With the term case study I refer both to the video and to the writings on it, which have been assembled as chapters in this book. The videos and texts are also case studies in themselves. I have named six of the video works case studies of *generational filming*. In these six video works, generations are presented chronologically or hierarchically as

Favourite place of Isabel Cruz Gonzalez. Aboreachi, Rarámuri village in Northern Mexico 1999–2002.

either single or multi-channel video works. Case studies may have layers of up to six or seven generations. *Autobiography of a Friend – Artist in Service* displays characteristics of *generational filming* but does not follow entirely the working methods of the approach. The work takes the form of a spatial installation. As I write this, the *Tunúwame* Project – in which we apply the method of *generational filming* to the museum project of the Wixárika of Mexico for artistic, political and developmental purposes – has not yet materialised as anything other than plans for a project, discussions between villages, institutions and activists, and as a dream of seeing a theoretical and aesthetic construct devised in the art world become socially significant.

The artworks that I present in this book are as much research as are the texts written on them. The texts and artworks are in dialogue and have produced each other. The artistic works presented in this book were shown at Lea's and my exhibition *Ripples at Home* shown from 19th March to 17th April 2011 at Kunsthalle Helsinki. All eight case studies were shown and alongside them three installations on domestic space, which have characteristics of *generational filming*. My artistic doctoral dissertation also

includes two earlier exhibitions with Lea Kantonen: *Favourite Place* (2004) in the project space of the Museum of Photography Helsinki, and *Most Important in Life* (2005) in Helsinki City Art Museum Meilahti.

I started my doctoral studies in 2003, and my original research plan concerned the artist's role in community-based art projects. I was supposed to deal with our community art projects and our video diary. The first two artistic parts represented community-based projects. *Most Important in Life* gathered documents of all our long-term community-based works between 1996–2005. Most of them were realized in schools with indigenous students.[2] *The Tent*, the installation on which all subsequent projects were based on, was also exhibited. (See Kantonen and Kantonen 1999, Kantonen, L. 2005.) In summer 2005, after the show in Meilahti, I began my research work on the video diary material. I soon realized that combining the community-based projects with the video diary in the same research amounted to too vast a body of data to present in one study. Also I was more inspired to study the video diary because as research material it was new territory. During the Meilahti show Lea finished her doctoral dissertation *Teltta. Kohtaamisia nuorten taidetyöpajoissa* (*Tent. Encounters in Workshops with Young People*) (Kantonen. L. 2005), which deals with our community art projects extensively in Finnish. Even though my emphasis would have been on the audiovisual material of those projects, my research would have somewhat presented the same information as Lea's. After the first public screenings of the video diary material in fall 2005 I changed my research plan gradually to the one that is carried out in this study. During the process of my doctoral research our community projects and the video diary have come closer to each other, and I now consider all filmed material used for artistic or research purposes as video diary material. We have shown both materials filmed at home and in the communities we have worked in at the same screenings. The on-going museum project *Tunúwame* (See ch. 7) is the clearest example of such an approach, in which two types of projects become one.

Each chapter in this book is an independent piece of writing. However, all of the chapters have as their focus the video diary as experimental and participatory research. The structure of the book attempts to follow a chronology of thought, aiming to invite the reader to empathise with the development of the artistic and scholarly process. The style of writing differs in different chapters. I have consciously tried to find an appropriate point of view and style for each of the case studies. The generational method itself has a tendency to repetition. To avoid repetition in the text, I vary the approach in different case studies. Chapters 6 and 7 differ from

the other chapters by their subject matter and video material. They are not based on our home videos but on our video research in a Seto village in Estonia and in a Wixárika village in Mexico. Their style is also distinct because I have written them together with Lea Kantonen.

Artistic Research

Since the 1970s, artistic research has been applied in academic dissertations, although initially only in Great Britain and Japan, becoming a paradigmatic question in Europe only at the turn of the century. According to American art historian James Elkins (b. 1955), artistic doctoral dissertations can be undertaken today in 280 educational or research units worldwide (Elkins 2013:10). Although the name employed for such research depends on the country, in this study I use artistic research to denote all research done in art institutions at doctoral level.[3] I limit my perspective to visual arts.

The proliferation of artistic doctorates in visual arts has to do with the so-called pedagogical turn. It was foreshadowed by art becoming increasingly theory-based in the 1980s, especially owing to the representation critical approach. In the 1990s art pedagogy became available at university-level in all artistic disciplines in western Europe. This upheaval made possible the organising of the first cycle, meaning teaching at the BA level, and the second step was to secure studies at the MA level. In academic speak doctoral studies are referred to as third-cycle education. The Nordic countries and Great Britain became forerunners of education in art at this level. Dutch art researcher Henk Borgdorff (b. 1954) refers to the Nordic approach as the *sui generis perspective* (Borgdorff 2013:148). His term is an apt description of the nature of Nordic – as well as our Finnish – artistic research, which seeks to emphasise that each artist-researcher creates her own research plan and method without paying respect to the rules of the academic world. In his pamphlet *The Pleasure of Research*, Dutch professor of artistic research Henk Slager defines as the primary objective of art academies "the creation of a space for freedom of thinking" (Slager 2012:13). According to Slager, due to academisation art academies have lost this original objective and adjusted to laws of accountability and scholastics. In Slager's reading, artistic research was created as a new defence for freedom of thought. "Artistic research as an institution within an institution can have a catalysing effect: it generates working bases, nodes and networks with others to be able to think and create beyond corporatized social networks" (Ibid.10).

■ *The Tent* (1991–1995), Kluuvi Gallery,
Helsinki 1995.

■ *Four Corners* (1996–2000), Kluuvi Gallery,
Helsinki 2000.

PHOTO: SAKARI VIIKA

PHOTO: SAKARI VIIKA

◪ *If You Want to Stay Alive, You Need a Heart / Juos don vuosten áiggut eallit, de gal dárbbašat váimmu* (2001–2002), Helsinki City Art Museum Meilahti 2005.

◪ *The Visit* (1996–97), Helsinki City Art Museum Meilahti 2005.

Slager paints a terrible picture of the European spiritual landscape, which he believes is defined by neo-liberal economic policies; in such machinery art and other like activities are "knowledge production" and "cognitive capital".[4] Slager's antidote to this is:

> doctoral research as *Temporary Autonomous Research* (italics Slager) without any need to be led by the formatted models of the established scientific order. This will be a form of research not swayed by the issues dictated by the late-capitalist free market system and knowledge commodification, in short, this will be an *authentic* research that comes about through an *artistic necessity entirely independent* (italics mine) of the rhetorics of social economic relevance. (Ibid.14.)

Slager's impassioned writing condenses aptly the ethos of the descriptions of the field provided by the networks of artistic research SHARE (Step-Change for Higher Arts Research and Education) and EARN (European Artistic Research Network).[5] The excerpt from the pamphlet is a description of a dream. The spirit of the avant-garde is floating over us whenever independent artistic research is written into the continuum of the independent arts. The paradox, aptly put forth in the SHARE manual (Share 2013:229), is that art academies – even if they have become departments or other parts of larger institutions – want to nurture the avant-garde, which was born more than a century ago to resist the hegemony of art academies.

Contemporary academic artistic research wants to represent the area of the arts that might not yet be recognised as art. If this unrecognised part were to be acknowledged as artistic research, it would be evaluated as educational credit and become international currency in the job market. Following Louis Althusser's philosophy, German cultural historian and artist Tom Holert writes in the Journal of Artistic Research how artistic research interpellates into the academic system:

> The problem is, once you enter the academic power-knowledge system of accountability checks and evaluative supervision, you have either explicitly or implicitly accepted the parameters of this system. Though acceptance does not necessarily imply submission or surrender to these parameters, a fundamental acknowledgement of the ideological principles inscribed in them remains a prerequisite for any form of access, even if one copes with them, contests them, negotiates them, and revises them." (cit. in Slager 2012:11.)

Share. Handbook for Artistic Research Education (2013:35–48) compares two research paths, the Graduate School approach and the Master-Apprentice

model. In the former research is conducted in peer groups, and in the latter under the guidance of a more experienced artist or researcher. For the most part, the handbook regards the Master-Apprentice model outdated and the Graduate School approach, which encourages networking, more suitable for the challenges of this day and age. In my own experience, both approaches contain unique advantages, which the other model is unable to offer. Other doctoral students have been my most important and long-standing audience in the test viewings of *generational filming*. One of my supervisors, Ray Langenbach (b. 1948), has been one of the most persistent test viewers attending the same test viewings. However, his personal guidance has been constant interaction to the extent that our Master-Apprentice relationship has turned, carnivalesquely paraphrasing Hegel, into a Master-Slave relationship, in which my supervisor has become my "theory slave". Companionship – or, as Ray puts it, complicity – is an appropriate description of our relationship in terms of supervision, and the support of a group could not have compensated for it.

Artistic research based on the Nordic model includes both art and writing about art, or art writing, and the artist is rather free to define the relation of art and writing in her own research. I still consider Finnish media researcher Tere Vadén's (b. 1969) article "Should it be spelled out? Observations on an experience-based research methodology" published already in 2002 a good guideline. In his article, Vadén suggests that independent artistic research should be based on not separating art and research from each other, but by letting them intertwine organically, without the researcher having to play the roles of artist and researcher at the same time:

> There is no added value in having a person first make art and then adopt the role of a researcher who studies that artist. This prevents the artist's experience and skill from directing the research in other than unconscious and untransparent ways. This system of two worlds splits the research and the researcher in two. The artist is seen as a practical subject who is then transformed into an object by the researcher-subject. (Vadén 2002:90)

My own research is one suggestion to answer to Vadén's warning. In none of the phases of this research have I been able to discern when I have been making art and when research. The works of art that are part of this research would not have been created without the research project in mind. I would not have approached the video diary in a way that searches for a method to understand it theoretically without the intention to make

research. Neither do I begin this book with an introduction to the theories I have applied. I will rather apply the theories directly to my art. Other interpreters, who have previously applied different philosophies to the analysis of art, often come to my aid.

Socially Engaged Art[6]

The art projects presented in this research can be understood as socially engaged art due to each of them being dialogical and emerging from the social relations between the people involved.

Researchers and critics writing on socially engaged or social art evaluate works and projects with different methods and justifications depending on their tastes and views on art, but also according to the social philosophy they have adopted or even the social philosophy that they have been exposed to while growing up. The same applies to artists making socially engaged art and, for example, to the two of us. However, artists are seldom consistent with their ethical and aesthetic choices, and this applies to us too. Both artists and researchers often explain coherently the reasoning behind their choices only in retrospect.

Now at the beginning of the millennium the discussion on socially engaged or social art[7] revolves around a couple of spirited writers and a handful of artists. The works of the artists are argued for and against. In order to sound convincing in this discussion one has to comment at least on Santiago Sierra's (b. 1966) and Rirkrit Tiravanija's (b. 1961) works. The discussions of the turn of the century – the earlier debate having been in the 1990s – was initiated by Nicolas Bourriaud (b. 1965) and his booklet *Relational Aesthetics* (1998), which regardless of its inaccuracy – or perhaps because of it – became the catechism of socially engaged art shown in biennales. An artist favoured by *relational aesthetics* creates a concept that comments on the capitalist experience industry, which the audience then participates in either under the guidance of or bewildered by the artist. The artist creates a micro-utopia inside the art project. The sharpest critique developed against *New Genre Public Art*, a trend that had emerged a decade earlier, in Korean-American art researcher Miwon Kwon's (b. 1961) study on site-specific art *One Place After Another* (2002). *New Genre Public Art* was made up mainly of social projects that aimed to do good, and they had been the rallying point of the previous debate. Site-specific art valued by Kwon professed in the spirit of French philosopher Jean-Luc Nancy (b. 1940) that community was a fiction, and therefore its aim was to cre-

ate short-term institution critical projects and temporary communities. In her extensive article "Antagonism and Relational Aesthetics" (2004), English art researcher Claire Bishop (b. 1971) attacked "feel good art" favoured by Bourriaud. In an article written in the end of the 1990s titled "Rhetorical Questions: The Alternative Arts Sector and the Imaginary Public" (1998), my supervisor Grant Kester (b. 1959) defined the relationship between avant-garde artists and the public as orthopaedic – meaning the correction of a wrong posture (or attitude). In his book *Conversation Pieces* (2004) he presented his own positive alternative, *dialogical aesthetics*. It is based on listening rather than confrontation, and long-term projects rather than interventions. To this list I shall add two more names. Norwegian art critic Ina Blom makes a clever move in her book *On the Style Site Art, Sociality and Media Art* (2007) by pointing out that contemporary communities are born and die mostly according to style. In her reading, Kester's long-term projects and the antagonism favoured by Bishop are not as interesting alternatives as are the interventions Bourriaud favours or the temporary communities valued by Kwon. Interesting art creates new social relations through style. In *Social Works, Performing Art, Supporting Publics* (2011) American performance researcher Shannon Jackson (b. 1967) highlights the significance of supporting structures and props in socially engaged art – and in the visual arts in general. An important artist to mention in this context is ecology-oriented performance artist Mierle Laderman Ukeles (b. 1939), whom I refer to in the second chapter as inspiration for my technique of *maintenance filming*. Jackson takes up Kwon's institution critical analysis without being as openly critical towards the symbiotic relationship between artist and institution. She emphasises that art often happens with the support of such assistants and supporting structures that go unnoticed. Inspired chiefly by Bishop's antagonism, Jackson creates a barometer of socially engaged art with each end representing ideal extremes for different art critics. The latter of the first pair corresponds to Bishop's antagonistic view and the former is closest to Kester's *dialogical aesthetics*:

> Such a critical barometer measured an artwork's place among a number of polarizations: (1) social celebration versus social antagonism; (2) legibility versus illegibility; (3) radical functionality versus radical unfunctionality; and (4) artistic heteronomy versus artistic autonomy. (Jackson 2011:48)

On the Social Philosophies
of Socially Engaged Art

More than in any other field of art, socially engaged art emphasises the social philosophy behind its aesthetic and critical assessments. I shall briefly introduce philosophies affecting contemporary socially engaged art that have helped me in my definition of our own dialogical and socially engaged art, and especially the art projects presented in this research. My selection is not broad; it is calculated and confrontational. I base my background research mainly on Finnish philosopher Tuija Pulkkinen's (b. 1956) study *The Postmodern and Political Agency* (2000) and Belgian social philosopher Chantal Mouffe's (b. 1943) article "Deliberative Democracy or Agonistic Pluralism" (2000). My choice is personal and limited, and can be criticized of relying on only a few sources, and giving somewhat simplified view of social philosophy. For example I let Mouffe define the *deliberative democracy*, though her own social philosophy is meant to be an alternative to the *deliberative democracy*. In the same vain I use Pulkkinen´s historical schema of political philosophy.

Pulkkinen divides the political ontology of modern western social philosophy into two strands, the liberal Anglo-American tradition and the tradition based on German idealism. The difference between these ontologies can be summarised in a question about priority: Which comes first, the individual or the community? Liberal thinking takes as its starting point the free, transcendental individual whose actions are governed by her own interest. Pursuing one's own interest is seen as the positive, driving force of society. In the Hegelian-Marxist approach communities are moral subjects that make value judgements. From the community's point of view, individual interest is perceived as negative. According to Pulkkinen:

> The aim of the community (in the tradition of German idealism), conceived of as abstract general will, is self-conscious and self-command. The political is supposed to be above and in command of special interests, as morality is supposed to be above and in command of the sensual.

> The liberal Anglo-American tradition does not conceive of the political as a sphere beyond private interests, but, contrarily, sees it as the battlefield of interests. Democracy, in the liberal tradition, is the state of affairs which guarantees the fair play of interests. (Pulkkinen 2000:105–106)

According to Belgian philosopher Chantal Mouffe, after the dissolution of The Soviet Union liberal democracy has become the only desirable form of society. Its ideals follow the liberal tradition's views on the relationship between individual and community. Mouffe uses the term "aggregative model" to describe the nature of liberal democracy. The model is based on Austrian economist Joseph Schumpeter's views presented in his book *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy* (1947). According to him, the idea of a common good for the people is an illusion and societies that believe in it are living under the power of this illusion. One's own interest motivates people more than the notion of common good. In a society working according to the aggregative model political activity is organised into parties, which work for specific interest groups. Direct participation is discouraged, since it only serves to weaken the functionality of the system. Mouffe formulates the post-World War II need for regeneration in the following way: "A new understanding of democracy was needed, putting the emphasis on aggregation of preferences, taking place through political parties for which people would have the capacity to vote at regular intervals." (Mouffe 2000:1.)

At the end of the century, neoliberal capitalism based on the aggregative model became established as the global economic system. Lacking proper alternatives that could oppose it, challenges to the aggregative model formed within liberal democracy itself, of which, according to Mouffe, *deliberative democracy* is the most serious contender. Mouffe believes that in neoliberalism economics dictate political decisions. The sphere of politics has become instrumental and is lacking ideals. Professional politicians have distanced themselves from the people and needs have arisen for populist extremism. *Deliberative democracy* attempts to solve the crisis of representative democracy by strengthening the role of civil society in the preparation of decisions and in the decision-making itself. Representative democracy will not suffice, and civil discussions and value debates must become integral parts of deliberative democratic decision-making, in which also the voices of minorities and the underprivileged are heard. The ethos of such decision-making is reaching out for consensus.

Mouffe names the two strands of *deliberative democracy* according to their main philosophers. (In relation to Pulkkinen's division between the Anglo-American and the German tradition, it is interesting to note that one of the philosophers, American John Rawls (1921–2002), represents liberal thought and the other, German Jürgen Habermas (b. 1929) represents the Hegelian-Marxist tradition.) Mouffe writes that supporters of both strands

believe that instead of pursuing one's own interest democratic decision-making can be organised so that the governing principle is practical rationality. Their different premises – the priority of individual or community – are evident in the ways in which individual interest and common interest are assembled. The strand Rawls represents assumes that it is a natural drive of humans to pursue their own interest, and this is why there needs to be regulation through juridical principles. The Habermasian strand emphasises how a community creates equal frameworks and procedures for decision-making:

> Both Habermas and Rawls believe that we can find in the institutions of liberal democracy the idealized content of practical rationality. Where they diverge is in their elucidation of the form of practical reason embodied in democratic institutions. Rawls emphasises the role of principles of justice reached through the device of the "original position" that forces the participants to leave aside all their *particularities and interests*. His conception of "justice as fairness" – which states the priority of basic *liberal principles* – jointly with the "constitutional essentials" provides the framework for the exercise of "free public reason". As far as Habermas is concerned, he defends what he claims to be a strictly proceduralist approach in which no limits are put on the scope and content of the deliberation. It is the procedural constraints of *the ideal speech situation* that will eliminate the positions to which the participants in the moral discourse cannot agree." (italics mine) (Mouffe 2000:4–5.)

Mouffe's interpretation of the *deliberative democracy* of Rawls and Habermas is serving her agenda to promote her own model, *agonistic pluralism*, that was fashioned from the Hegelian-Marxist social philosophy as a critique against the model of *deliberative democracy*. Mouffe believes that *deliberative democracy* relies too much on people's abilities to make decisions based on rational reasoning. The model overlooks people's feelings and passions. It undermines power relations and brackets them out. In *agonistic pluralism* the political is understood as potentially conflicting. Instead of attempting to reach consensus, political decision-making should strive towards alleviating antagonistic, hostile conflicts without trying to make them disappear. Conflicts and differing opinions belong to social life and politics:

> I consider that it is only when we acknowledge the dimension of "the political" and understand that "politics" consists in domesticating hostility and in trying to defuse the potential antagonism that exists in human relations, that we can pose what I take to be the central question for democratic politics. (Ibid.15.)

According to Mouffe, antagonism belongs to liberal democracy, but the nature of opposition can be altered even if it cannot be erased. In Mouffe's model antagonism may remain, but instead of enemies the participants become adversaries. One does not need to approve of the opinion of one's adversaries, but one needs to recognise their rights to express their views. This can only happen if the opposing parties agree on the principles of freedom and equality in liberal democracy. And if not? Mouffe does not comment on this in her article. Mouffe´s *agonistic pluralism* (See for ex. Crowder 2006) has been criticized for leaving out the forces that don´t agree with democratic values. Also her interpretation of *deliberative democracy* is too rationalistic for some critics.

What does the ontological division of social philosophy into liberal and Hegelian-Marxist strands and Mouffe's interpretation of the western liberal model of society have to do with the contemporary discussion about socially engaged art? My aim is to construct a web of concepts in which different philosophies, aesthetics, art writers and even artists are entangled. Another metaphor for this attempt of mine is a pile of transparencies forgotten on an overhead projector. In the final chapter of this research, the web or light of the projector has caught our case studies. The web or pile of transparencies is not, however, complete. Discussions on aesthetics and their theorists are lacking.

I begin with an ontological division. Not one of the theorists of socially engaged art mentioned is wholly in support of liberal philosophy, unless Shannon Jackson proves otherwise. My supervisor Grant Kester supports "do good" art that defends the underprivileged, relying on Habermas's thought that represents the Hegelian-Marxist tradition of critical philosophy.

Kester recognises the value of Habermas's analysis of communication in the creation of his own aesthetic theory. In Kester's reading Habermas divides communication in two: the discursive and the instrumental form. Habermas's notion of discursive communication is the basis for Kester's *dialogical aesthetics*:

> These self-reflexive (albeit time-consuming) forms of interaction are intended, not to result in universally binding decisions, but simply to create a provisional understanding (the necessary precondition for decision making) among the members of a given community when normal social or political consensus breaks down. Thus their legitimacy is based, not on the universality of the knowledge produced through discursive interaction, but on the perceived universality of the process of human communication itself. (Kester 2004:109.)

Habermas's notion of the "ideal speech situation" – the space that *deliberative democracy* also relies on – corresponds to the ideals of dialogical art. In an "ideal speech situation" everyone relates their ideas, everyone is heard, and the best alternative is arrived at in the spirit of consensus. Habermas consciously brackets off power relations from public speech situations. He recognises ideal circumstances, but he does not even assume they exist in real communication. Even if there is a strong ethos of consensus in Kester's *dialogical aesthetics*, he does not approve of the reasons for bracketing off power relations. It leads to turning a blind eye to crucial constraints and making the model too theoretical. Another characteristic that Kester criticises is that Habermas's ideal is based on argumentation: people state their opinions and are completely capable of doing so. Kester speculates how Habermas's statement "may the best argument win" can be realised in consensus. The questions "who's best and in what way?" always remain unanswered. (Ibid.112–113.)

Kester's main adversary Claire Bishop relies on neo-Marxist philosophers Mouffe and Laclau, that is to say on the Hegelian-Marxist tradition, in her antagonism. Kester's and Bishop's tastes in art are directly opposed. Kester values art that is realized with coherent existing communities and deals with factual issues of that community. Bishop has her doubts that art projects with good intentions may be complicit in the conditions they seek to change. She values art that recognises its own conditions as art. Kwon and Bourriaud, as well as Ina Blom, who follows their lead, are leaning more towards the Hegelian-Marxist approach than liberal thought most of all due to their ties to French and continental philosophy.

All theoreticians writing on socially engaged or social art that have been mentioned here share a critical stance towards neoliberal capitalism, and thus towards the aggregative liberalist model of society. The break between liberal and Hegelian-Marxist core values – that posit either individual or community first – is intriguingly paradoxical. Kester is most apparent in his support for social action, but his writings are an interesting mix of American liberal thinking and Habermasian togetherness. Bishop is consistent in her emphasis on conflicts, which could even be interpreted as Marxist class conflicts. Bourriaud's ideal art that comments on the capitalist service economy leaves politics to professionals. Kwon favours art that retains its criticism of power, without committing to support any particular view. Jackson reacts most favourably to neoliberal economic policies deeming them a necessity. In her opinion, the current economic system requires recognising the realities and letting go of the welfare state's unsubstantiated yearning, which she calls welfare melancholia (Jackson

2011:188). In the conclusions, I discuss the case studies of this research in light of these different strands of socially engaged art. In chapters 6 and 7 written together with Lea Kantonen we bring a different vantage point to the case studies by discussing our art projects in the context of postcolonialism and art activism. Of the discussed theorists on socially engaged art we are most familiar with Kester's views (even if we do not completely agree with his political theory). More than anyone else, he emphasises the collaborative process of art-making and the agency of the participants, to the extent that participants become collaborators rather than targets of artistic intervention or materials for the artist (see Kaitavuori 2012). The agency of the viewer-participants is fundamental to the viewing process of *generational filming.* Not only do they watch the videos but they also construct the interpretations and the theory with us.

My Journey to Socially Engaged Art

The social character of my art can be seen already in the first art projects that I was involved in. My artistic practice, since the beginning of the early 1980s, has always been based on co-operation with other people. First in the art groups Turppi[8] (1982–84) and Auki[9] (Open) (1984–1987), then as a coordinator of a solidarity movement for Central America (1987–1989), and since the early 1990s together with Lea and our children both at home and in different indigenous communities. Since 1999 our art projects in Mexico have been realized mostly in the framework of the Finnish NGO CRASH (Coalition for Research and Action for Social Justice and Human Dignity).

   The beginning of the 1980s was an euphoric time for young artists. We could experiment with new art forms and tools that the older generation of artists had neglected for a decade. The spirit of the underground and the happenings of the late 1960s had been limited to politicised art that adapted its ideals and ideologies from the socialist states. In the 1970s most of the artistic experiments and new media like video were labelled bourgeois. Turppi was formed at a land and environmental art symposium for Nordic sculpture called "Experimental Environment III," in Lehtimäki, Finland in the summer of 1982. During the week of the symposium we made an installation of stones hanging from pines, two performances for live audiences based on contact improvisation, one performance for still camera, and one for video. The last one, *Earth Contacts,* was dubbed the first Finnish art video (Johansson 2000).[10] We were very inspired by German performance art. Dieter Appelt (b. 1935) visited the art academy, and at the
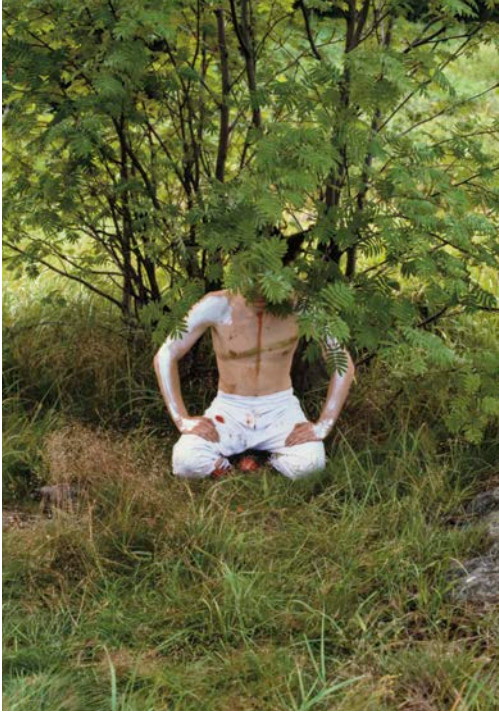
Auki group:
Opening performance.
Our home in Meilahti,
Helsinki 1984.

Turppi group: *Resting Place*, installation
and performance. "Experimental
Environment III" land and environmental
art symposium for Nordic Sculpture,
Lehtimäki 1982.

opening of the international ARS exhibition, he made a performance lying naked in chalk water.[11] Rosemarie Trockel's (b. 1952) videos and Joseph Beuys's (1921–1986) film *Eurasienstab* (1968) were watched with reverence at the student house screenings organised by gallerist Asko Mäkelä.

During the last year of Lea's studies we invited three art students and one art model to build an exhibition in our home, which was a commune living in a wooden house without any comforts. I had worked two years as a researcher at the Theatre Academy following the experimental works of the most eminent Finnish theatre directors Kalle Holmberg (1939–2016), Ralf Långbacka (b. 1932) and Jouko Turkka (1942–2016), and writing reports on their productions. I was immersed in the physical method of Turkka, and I applied his method as faithfully as I could to create material for our own performances. In addition to Turkka's exercises, we practiced contact improvisation and aikido. British dancer and performance artist Mary Prestidge introduced contact improvisation to Finnish actors and dancers in the Theatre Academy, and Lea and I were able to join the course. We were impressed by her ability to create a weird space in her performances just by moving the ordinary furniture of the room.

As emerging artists we were dissatisfied with the way art was presented in the established art scene. We were longing for a different kind of relationship with our audiences and hoped to break the barrier between art and life. In the press release of the exhibition *Auki (Open)* we stated: "We want to break the intimacy of our home, share our lives with strangers, and work together not only as a group but with the people visiting the show." Performance researcher Helena Erkkilä described *Auki* in the catalogue of Kiasma museum's *The Art of Act and Space*:

> In it performance and environmental art were combined with painting and installations and ways of working, which did not then have a name, but which since the late 1990s have been called social art. [...] During the happening the artists kept company with the audience, hung around and ate. Shiatsu massages were provided for anyone wanting them. Every day at 9pm there was either a performance or a concert. (Erkkilä 2000)

The performance was constructed of emotional improvisations inspired by each performer's history with Christianity. Religion was present in the show in various ways. In one room we had a wall with growing plants that we called prayers. After the performances we spent time singing and staying silent with guests who stayed longer. Before performances one of us performed as a living jukebox singing hymns for money that was collected

for the Central American peace movements. In the opening we performed a mourning ritual as a sign of a seven year promise of which the content was kept secret. We were inspired by the one year performance of Taiwanese Tehching Hsieh (b. 1950) and American Linda Montano (b. 1942), in which they spent one year tied together with a rope without touching each other and which had just finished before our show. Hsieh made several one year performances, and Montano started in 1984 her performance *Seven Years of Living Art,* in which she lived each year according to one chakra colour. We admired the endurance of the artists, and were attracted to their personal histories with religion.

For Erkkilä *Auki* differed from other artistic representations of religion in the way how:

> the artist's own body, his or her own self, was placed at the centre of the religious experience. [...] I see the Open group as placing themselves along the circumference of the circle, thus maintaining a relationship with both the outside and the inside. Postmodernism has attempted to understand such a placing of the self theoretically, for instance through the concept of double coding. It is a subtle positioning, which endeavours to show that there is no pure, ethically neutral starting point. (Ibid.)

After the exhibition four of us flew to New York, and Lea and I continued from there to Mexico. In the spring of 1984, while preparing the show, we had read enthusiastically Lucy Lippard's book *Overlay. Contemporary art and the art of prehistory*. (Lippard 1983) Our interest was especially in how contemporary artists connected their work with ancient places and rituals. After reading the book, we were convinced that there was no point for us to go to the centres of performance art in order to learn the genre and return home to do something similar. Our interest was in visiting communities where art, religion, and daily life formed a holistic unity. We also wanted to visit all the important pre-Colombian archeological sites, which we subsequently did and documented as photographs during our two-year stay in the region.

Our first weeks in Mexico City were spent in the library of the Museum of Anthropology. While visiting the exhibition, one display stood out. Placed on display was a little wooden chair, a hat with feathers, and a small circular yarn painting with bright colours. These ritual items were the paraphernalia of a Huichol shaman. The hat resembled a hat Lea had once made of feathers, hay and reed for the art academy's critic day. Also the little chair made for gods resembled something Lea had dreamt she would make. (More about dreaming as a method in chapter 10.)

After half a year of travelling in the mountainous indigenous regions we decided to visit some friends in California. In Los Angeles we happened to see an advertisement of a free lecture in UCLA by Jerzy Grotowski (1933–1999), the world-famous Polish theatre director whose "poor theatre" had been a paragon for me even before getting to know Turkka's method. Already in the 1970s Grotowski had left the theatre and started to organise pilgrimages and events without an audience but with participants that were led into contact with nature and each other. In UCLA Grotowski talked about ritual art and his most recent project, *Theatre of Sources*, which consisted of death rituals presented by people with different cultural backgrounds. For this project Grotowski had visited the Huichols in the Western Sierra Madre mountains.

After returning to Mexico City we were introduced to Nicolas Nuñez (b. 1946), the leader of the Theatre Research Workshop (TRW), who invited us to salute the sun with his theatre group the following Sunday at 6am. The performance was a solemn act in the Chapultepec Park without audience and based on the Nahuatl (Aztec) traditional cosmic knowledge. Nuñez was a close collaborator of Grotowski, and two people from Grotowski's group had joined TRW: Refugio Gonzalez, a Huichol artist, and his Polish wife Ita, who was an actress. We asked Refugio to take us to the Huichol mountains. He agreed, and we left for the Eastern celebration to the ceremonial centre of San Andrés Cohamiata. The visit permanently changed our way of understanding art.

For the first few days we were not allowed to enter the village, but had to stay in the INI (Instituto Nacional Indígenista) post owned by the Mexican government. We could walk freely in the mountains, which we enjoyed just like our hikes in the arctic wilderness. We found places like a slope where the winds meet, or a rocky mound that looked like a pile of human skulls, or a little hay hut facing the sunset. Our hosts said that all of them were sacred places belonging to different deities or deified ancestors.

The culmination of our visit was to participate in the ceremony organized for the *peyoteros*, people who had returned from a pilgrimage to Wirikuta, the sacred desert where the peyote cactus grows. Huichol knowledge is informed by visions the shamans have after taking peyote. For us the all night long celebration was like the idea of the *gesamtkunstwerk* that we had learned from the art and writings of Joseph Beuys. Lea wrote a detailed description of the ceremony for the Finnish art magazine Taide (5/1986). All of the elements, the shaman, the *mara´akame's* singing, the architecture of the temple, *tuki*, the women serving food, the movements of the people, and the movements of the celestial bodies like the morning star

served a shared purpose. Their intent was first to guide the *mara´akame* to salute the deities, and in the end to have the peyoteros return safely home. During the pilgrimage the peyoteros had been gods, but now they had to return to their human forms and continue their daily tasks. Lea wrote:

> Each artist is a shaman, and each shaman is also an artist. All art is prayer and all art is made for the gods. Works of art are not meant to last forever but are left on holy mountains to be beaten by wind and rain, or are thrown into the ocean. The works of art are steps on the pathway of a shaman. One that strives towards perfection, wholeness. (Kantonen, L. 1986)

The bright colours of the clothing and yarn paintings of the Huichol and the flickering of simultaneous contrast in our eyes changed our attitudes to colour.

In 1999 we returned to the Huichol mountains with our three children aged twelve, ten and six months. We organised art and photography workshops for the secondary school children of the village of San Miguel Huaistita, which belonged to San Andrés Cohamiata. We learned that the Huichols are called in their own language Wixárikas. In the workshop young Wixárikas took the pictures that became the beginning of the community art project *Favourite Place*. In December 2002, we conducted the *Favourite Place* workshop and exhibition as a part of *Taller de la Tierra*, an international conference on land rights organised in Wixárika communities San Miguel Huaistita and Bajio de Tule. Besides the Wixárika communities, the organisers came from different universities and NGOs like the Finnish CRASH, which we are members of. Invited people represented indigenous peoples from various continents. Pekka Aikio, the president of the Saami Parlament in Finland, invited the Wixaritari to visit Sápmi. In fall 2006 CRASH organized the visit of three Wixárikas to Finnish and Norwegian Saamiland. The visit was the beginning of the community museum project *Tunúwame*, which is one of the case studies in this study. (See chapter 7.)

The other life and art changing experience of our first journey to Mexico and Central America took place in the warring Central America. We acted as human shields at a march for peace in El Salvador, an event which was mostly partaken by impoverished mothers that had lost their sons in the war. We – a group of around twenty foreigners – distributed ourselves on several busses while visiting army barracks or conflict zones. It raised the soldiers' hesitation to attack our little convoy of cars; the American media that followed us were authorised to report on the march only if something happened to a western peace activist that was improbable. In the neighbouring Nicaragua,

Auki group: *God´s Eye*. Pilgrimage to Northern Norway 1987.

the Sandinistas fought the right-wing US trained Contras. The country's foreign minister, Marist Catholic Miguel D'Escoto organised a Via Crucis peace march that lasted for 15 days and travelled from the border to Honduras to the country's capital city Managua. Tens of thousands took part in the march by walking alongside it for some part of the 300km route. The peace march consisted of several legs and station points. Via Dolorosa, the suffering of Christ and his path to Golgotha, was commemorated at the stations in keeping with the Catholic Via Crucis tradition. The people of Nicaragua represented the suffering Jesus whose clothes were gambled for and who was ridiculed. The peace march was an activist event, which followed the principles of Brazilian Augusto Boal's (1931–2009) *Theatre of the Oppressed*. The theatrical event had no spectators, only participants. Each of them could influence the shared work of art, whether by raising a banner, wearing a costume, saying a prayer, making an altar, giving a speech, or by taking part in any other artistic activity. The age-old structure of the Via Crucis tradition served as a framework for carrying out an artistic and political intervention. Boal divides the arts in minor and major arts. For him the superior of all arts is the political. "Nothing is alien to Politics, because nothing is alien to the superior art that rules the relations among men." (Boal 1979:11.)

Our return to Finland was a cultural shock to us. The most heated discussions in the Finnish art world revolved around postmodernism. We had spent two years in Mexico and Central America looking for art connected with everyday life, life and death, religion and politics. The *Auki* exhibition had dealt with these issues and themes in an instinctive way, and we had received media attention and caused controversy among artists.[12] The most positive phenomenon in the Finnish art world was the birth of MUU, the association for alternative art, which was open to all art forms and artists. We joined MUU and with some fellow artists formed a working group for "life-style art".

We found two ways out from our artistic deadlock. We contacted the members of the Auki group, and started together a year-long Gestalt therapy process. After the process in summer 1987, we made a pilgrimage to the Saami area in northern Norway mountains close to Lakselv. There we filmed material for performances that we loosely based on our dream work in the Gestalt therapy. The pilgrimage was an appropriation of the Wixárika pilgrimage to Wirikuta. We could not agree on a collective performance, but the exhibition *Jumalan silmä* (*God´s Eye*) was a series of personal presentations of each of us based on the videos and slides filmed in the wilderness. The only shared rituals were moving tv-monitors as a solemn act when Handel's Messiah was playing, giving out flowers to the audience and saying a few words of encouragement to each person. Later Lea and I had to admit that as a group we did not share the same values and aspirations as did a group of Wixárika peyoteros. In postmodern terms we were missing the "grand narrative". Today our pilgrimage could be seen as appropriating Wixárika culture, but in the 1980s it was not discussed in the Finnish art world.

Artist and art critic Erkki Pirtola described us poetically (and with humour) as a new art tribe:

> The Auki group believe in mountains and behold: the mountains crash into the seas in sweet reflexology. They hike the Finnish fells, sleep in fiery triangles, bewitch NATOm weapons, clothe their children in flowers. Love lives between them for they have tasted the moon. They not only make art, but send a message to the entire humanity. (Pirtola 1987)

More than a decade later in the catalogue of Kiasma Museum's exhibition *The Art of Act and Space* art historian Hanna Johansson saw the connection between *God's Eye* and our personal land art projects realized in the beginning of the 1980s:

> *Open II* (*God's Eye*) and the pictures from the river Reisa referred to many changes brought on by postmodernism: the blurring of the limits of works of art and the breaking down of the boundaries between different forms of art. When we no longer know how to differentiate a work of art from action and space or a sculpture from a painting or a picture from a painting, we cannot be sure where the denominator separating reality and the representation is. (Johansson 2000)

She concluded that "In its entirety, *Open II* with its different parts from different times presents a *dispersed* (italics Johansson) representation characteristic of land art, in which a relationship with the work of art is finally always unattainable." (Ibid.)

More relief from artistic deadlock came from outside the art scene. I was offered a half-time job in the Student Union of the University of Helsinki as a secretary of its solidarity work. From that post I organized the first Via Crucis event in Finland.[13] I invited Rutilio Sanchéz, a poet and a guerilla priest from El Salvador, as the main speaker. On the other stations of Via Crucis there were Finnish women dressed in black who spoke about disappearances as mothers of the disappeared, as well as depictions of the violence of US politics and the injustices of the global economy. The common denominator of the short speeches was a comparison between the sufferings of Central American people and the sufferings of Christ. In every station there was a visual sign, installation, human still life or theatrical scene. Inspired by the Easter celebration of the Na'ayeri (Cora) people of Mexico, I rehearsed with a group a routine of demons terrorizing the solemn procession. In Easter young Na'ayeri men become demons that chase different manifestations of Christ in the streets of the village without obeying any norms of decent behaviour. In a shopping mall we, the demons, chased Maria and the newborn child, who in the last station, in the station of resurrection, finally escaped into a cathedral. There, as a symbol of resurrection, our eldest son Pyry-Pekka was baptized. Via Crucis displayed traits of Boal's *Theatre of the Oppressed*. Every participant in the procession was a character just by being present and thus taking part in the dramaturgy of the event. Our audience were the passers-by and lookers-on of downtown Helsinki.

In retrospect, I see our early art, our two-year stay in Mexico and Central America, and the solidarity work, as the foundation of our socially engaged approach, my research work, and the theoretical discussions I am currently participating in. In Turppi group we discussed new art forms and new tools to make art. In Auki group we dived into the deep waters of our minds. In Foucauldian terms we were practicing technologies of the self in

Na'ayeri captains of the Easter festivities in Jesús María, Mexico 1986.

order to make art. All the original members of the Auki group save one has completed or is finishing their artistic doctorate. Many of the people with whom I organized the Central American solidarity work are now professors, other academics or professional activists, and many of them belong to the same NGO CRASH with which we are now striving towards realizing the community museum *Tunúwame*. Our attitude towards other cultures has obviously changed. In the 1980s we were curious cultural tourists. In the 1990s we wanted to do art in contact with other cultures, and inform our public about different ways of living. Gradually we started making community projects, and now in the *Tunúwame* project we try to follow the guidelines and advice given to us by the Wirárika community.

Ethnography

Ethnography is a field of knowledge, which literally means writing about a group of people. Ethnography is research written by an anthropologist after having extensively familiarised herself with the life of a certain group of people usually through the method of participant observation. The

The first Finnish Via Crucis, Helsinki 1987.

significance of audiovisual recordings in ethnographic research has been recognised ever since the first decades of film history, but at the same time its significance has been overlooked in research. One of the most prominent advocates of ethnographic film, American anthropologist Jay Ruby (b. 1935), selects French anthropologist Félix-Louis Regnault (1863–1938) as the first anthropologist to use film for ethnographic purposes in his recordings of the pottery making of West African Wolof women at the turn of the century. Regnault called his decades long work a "cross-cultural study of movement". The first full-length ethnographic film shown in theatres was American photographer Edward Curtis's (1868–1952) romantic epic *In the Land of War Canoes* (1914). The first full-length ethnographic film to become widely known was Robert Flaherty's (1884–1951) *Nanook of the North* (1922), which regardless of its fictive storyline is thought of as the beginning of both documentary and ethnographic film. Since the 1930s Franz Boas (1858–1942), German-born founder of American cultural anthropology, took his camera with him on his fieldwork trips. His student Margaret Mead (1901–1978) together with her husband Gregory Bateson (1904–1980) refined filming into a scientifically precise tool in their recordings on Balinese rituals and everyday tasks (Ruby 2000:7–9).

In the years between the World Wars and during the 1950s positivistic humanist research appreciated film because, according to the thinking of the time, it was able to record individual things and events as they were. Nonetheless, the received appreciation consigned film to a subordinate role in relation to writing.

"Film demonstrates that which writing gives meaning to," summarises Danish anthropologist Kirsten Hastrup (b. 1948) (Hastrup 1992:13). She believes film can serve as supplementary teaching material, since it can indexically exhibit how a task is done, what happens in a particular ritual, or what is the appearance of a particular object. In 1976, American Karl Heider (b. 1935) wrote a statement in his book *Ethnographic Film* that has since become a catch phrase. He argued that ethnographic film shows "whole bodies, whole interactions, and whole people in whole acts" (Heider 2006 [1976]:114). The majority of anthropologists who even take the trouble to reflect on film's role in ethnography still relegate it to a secondary position. Heider does this as well, even though he is an ethnographic filmmaker himself. Heider revised his book in 2006, but ethnographic film has never been rid of its subordinate status in his writings: "No ethnographic film can stand by itself" (Ibid.59).

The situation portrayed above did not change even when anthropologists began to question the objectivity of their writings in the 1970s. This is when anthropology underwent one of its biggest paradigmatic shifts called the literary turn. Anthropology and ethnography entered the postmodern era. In the spirit of positivism, previous mainstream anthropology had believed that as a result of meticulous fieldwork the anthropologist was able to produce objective information about the community in question. American historian James Clifford (b. 1945) describes the shift as a loss of scholarly innocence:

> Henceforth neither the experience nor the interpretative activity of the scientific researcher can be considered innocent. It becomes necessary to conceive of ethnography not as the experience and interpretation of the circumscribed 'other' reality, but rather as a constructive negotiation involving at least two, and usually more, conscious, politically significant subjects. Paradigms of experience and interpretation are yielding to discursive paradigms of dialogue and polyphony. (Clifford 1988:41.)

An influential text during the postmodern turn was American anthropologist Clifford Geertz's (1926–2006) essay "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture" published in 1973, in which he argues that anthropological research is fiction. It is fabricated and exists only in the

form of a book, a film, a presentation, or as some other kind of construct. Geertz provocatively named French writer Gustave Flaubert's (1821–1880) realistic novel *Madame Bovary* (1857) as ethnographic research, alongside anthropologists' monographs (Geertz 1973:15–22). Thanks to the debate generated by Geertz anthropological research began to consider itself first and foremost literature. The researcher wrote herself into her research. Fieldwork was described as interaction and dialogue, in which both the researcher and the studied community participated. *Writing Culture. The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (1986), a collection of writings edited by James Clifford and American anthropologist George E. Marcus (b. 1946), became the cornerstone of postmodern anthropology. Present-day anthropology distinguishes between the time before and the time after *Writing Culture*. In the same year, together with anthropologist Michael M. J. Fischer (b. 1946), Marcus released the polemical book *Anthropology as Cultural Critique. An Experimental Moment in the Human Sciences* (1986), which serves both as a guideline for interpreting new anthropology and an introduction to a collection of interesting texts. The preface to the book reads as an outpour of enthusiasm, and even the book's subtitle claims that it is the time for scientific abandon:

> 'What is happening' seems to us to be a pregnant moment in which every individual project of ethnographic research and writing is potentially an experiment. Collectively, these are in the process of reconstructing the edifices of anthropological theory from the bottom up, by exploring new ways to fulfil the promises on which modern anthropology was founded: to offer worthwhile and interesting critiques of our own society; to enlighten us about other human possibilities […] Anthropology is not the mindless collection of the exotic, but the use of cultural richness for self-reflection and self-growth. (Marcus and Fischer 1986:ix–x.)

Regardless of the predictions in these writings, the postmodern turn brought nothing new to ethnographic film. There is no mention of ethnographic film in *Writing Culture*, even when its central theme is how ethnographic knowing can be transmitted. *Anthropology as Cultural Critique* has only half a page on film. In these couple of lines not much else is said except the pious wish is expressed that ethnographic film would gain foothold in a world that becomes increasingly more visual (Ibid.75).

In contemporary anthropology, the literary turn has established itself as the reflexive turn, which extends even to mainstream research. It is expected that the researcher writes herself into the research and reveals openly her position in the research process. Reflexivity is a given, but its

limits and aims are certainly under negotiation. (See e.g. Hämeenaho and Koskinen-Koivisto 2014:9.)

Marcus' most recent writings include "The Legacies of *Writing Culture* and the Near Future of Ethnographic Form: A Sketch", which was translated in Finnish as "Etnografian uudet haasteet *Writing Culture* -liikkeen jälkeen" in 2014 [14] and in which Marcus himself acknowledges that the critical collection of writings in *Writing Culture* have become a convention that allows or even encourages reflexivity in anthropological research (Marcus 2014:32). In an assessment of the situation in the 2010s, Marcus states that the modes of scientific communication have changed in ways that are no longer governed by the field of study itself, but rather global forces such as digital technology and the internet. Fieldwork is no longer conducted in one place, and para-sites, temporary and longer lasting third spaces located between the field and places of study, such as studios and laboratories, are places of research. Marcus emphasises that fieldwork and research have become increasingly multi-sited collaboration. The so-called "social imperative" governs more than ever ways in which an anthropologist conducts her research (Ibid.39). Research may not necessarily aim at a written monograph any longer. Instead, "the prototypes of ethnographic projects today, meaning the work versions predicting the final result, are more important as products than the final, polished interpretations" (Ibid.47). Reception becomes part of the research when it does not find closure in the publishing of a book but lives on in virtual form (Ibid.41).

Generational filming is a method that has undergone a similar developing process as the schema Marcus outlines. The "laboratory experiments" were first made in our home by filming the video diary. The second "laboratory phase" has been organising the viewings for different kinds of audiences. The research has then quite literally formed out of reception, out of the audiences' comments. In my research the case studies presented here are prototypes that establish possible methods of working on moving image.

Marcus' image of contemporary or future anthropology is neither unambiguous nor homogenous. Anthropological fieldwork is scattered across many tangible places, virtual spaces and discourses. The aim of the research might not self-evidently be the making of a coherent research report. It might rather be the creation of a prototype, a plan – or even an artistic totality. In Marcus' formulations future anthropology threatens to move towards art, and especially community-based art. In this anthropology of multiple appearances and expressions ethnographic film seems to drown in an audiovisual flood of new technologies. The video camera

has become a commonplace tool alongside notebook and pen (or laptop) in anthropological fieldwork, but it is still primarily used as an aid to the written work.

A text by two young researchers, Malian visual anthropologist Sidylamine Bagayoko and Finnish ethnologist Sanna Tawah, titled "Vallankäyttöä linssin edessä ja takana: visuaalinen etnografia ja kaksi tutkimusta Länsi-Afrikasta" ("The Exercise of Power Behind and In Front of the Lens: Visual Ethnography and two research cases in West Africa") is an apt example of the prevalent casual attitude towards using video in research. The article is a lively description of how Bagayoko makes ethnographic films according to the ideals of observational documentaries, and how Tawah uses a video camera to aid the making of field notes. Neither one of them contemplates on the fact that video could also be a tool for analysis. The camera is used "to record social interaction *for later analysis*" (Bagayoko and Tawah 2014:187) (italics mine). The article speaks of "real film" and how "visual material aids ethnographic research" (Ibid.205, 208) – which suggests that video is not ethnographic research in itself but rather "added value for research" (Ibid.209).

In a collection of essays that challenges the hegemonic status of *Writing Culture* already in its title *Picturing Culture. Explorations of* Film & Anthropology (2000), Jay Ruby is willing to give up the notion of ethnographic film entirely and replace it with a new unwieldy but pristine term *anthropologically intended film*. According to Ruby's observations, even in the programming of festivals of ethnographic film the thinking is present that ethnographic film denotes, even for professionals in the field, mainly documentaries on exotic peoples. Ruby has a dream:

> The promise is the construction of a theory and practice of ethnographic film that challenge the logocentric basis of anthropological theorizing – that is, in the profound sense of the term, constructing a visual anthropology while at the same time making a clear demarcation between ethnographic film and other pictorial attempts to represent culture. (Ruby 2000:5–6.)

Ruby dictates clear maxims for ethnographic film. Most importantly, the work should be "good anthropology" and not necessarily "a good film". For Ruby, "good anthropology" means that the film is based on theories of anthropology and the vision of a professional anthropologist. Any filmic narrative is applicable, as long as it is based on theories of anthropology. Ruby even encourages visual ethnographers to affiliate themselves with experimental filmmakers instead of mainstream documentary filmmakers,

since according to him ethnographic film should shake off the baggage of filming exotic communities and focus on theoretical clarity. Ruby endorses the approach at the expense of an expected ethnographic value. If filmed materials are edited according to anthropological theory, the result is anthropological research in the form of video. Ruby clearly positions himself in favour of regarding film (or video) as independent research. He compares film takes to anthropological field notes. Both are data for research. In the same way as a literary anthropologist organises and rewrites their notes as research text, an ethnographic filmmaker organises their takes and edits them as visual research (Ibid.244). From such premises, ethnographic film can be seen as independent research and not only an elucidating visualisation used for literary research. In a video of the diary I discuss with Lea while on a walk in the woods the relationship between the writings and the artworks in my research.

> In visual anthropology, especially when it comes to ethnographic film, there have been discussions about whether film can be considered anthropological research. Jay Ruby and David MacDougall argue that film has its own epistemological system, while others say that film can only be an additive, supporting the written part. For me it's the other way around. I argue that the videos are artistic research and as an addition to them there is written research. Would the written part work without the videos? I both write and film, without settling for one or the other. Both within artistic research and visual ethnography, it is a relevant research question to ask in what kind of relation film and written research are positioned, as well as the artwork and writings about art. I don't position them in hierarchical order since they are complimenting each other. I could call it not an oppressive relationship but a symbiotic one. (Hermanonkimaa forest, March 24, 2014)

Research on Moving Image

Film history is understood as the history of works of art and their makers. In this study, I approach film history from the point of view of watching, since *generational filming* is above all a statement about watching and interpreting what one sees. In my analysis of the culture of watching I apply Miriam Hansen's (1949–2011) chronological division of the cultures of viewing into pre-classical, classical and post-classical cultures. She describes the early stages of film as pre-classical. Hollywood cinema's golden age is the classical period, and the post-classical period contains all the multiple ways of watching that exist today.

Films of the pre-classical period were short numbers among other performances. No special venues were built for viewing films; there were only temporary venues, amusement parks and, in the US especially, vaudeville theatres that served as their stages. Films were not viewed silently in the dark, but were rather one sideshow among many others, all of which were watched while talking to acquaintances and occasionally visiting the bar. The first spaces dedicated to film in particular were the nickelodeons, which were located in the ground floors of department stores and could be visited at any time during non-stop screenings for a five-cent entrance fee. Classical viewing culture was brought about by Hollywood sound cinema. Listening to the scratchy soundtrack demanded sitting in silence and minimising all other distractions. It was no longer appropriate to talk to the person sitting next to you like it had been while watching silent films. Films became increasingly longer plot-based narratives that demanded concentration and viewing the entire film from beginning to end.

Hansen discerns several similarities between early cinema and presentations of the post-classical period. Both are opposed in varying degree to the classical Hollywood cinema's immersive inclination to dark spaces. The viewing events of *generational filming* belong to Hansen's post-classical viewing culture. They seek a performative approach to film and moving image in general. In the versions constructed through the method, the work is complemented or developed by the viewer's experience. With her comments the viewer fills the gap that is present in the version she is viewing. At the same time, each comment creates a new gap that demands filling by the next public's comments or statements. In my research, generational viewing events find comparison in German Oscar Negt and Alexander Kluge's notion of the *proletarian public sphere*. The *proletarian public sphere* denotes public space based on common social experience that resists or is an alternative to public space defined by power structures.

Case Studies

In every chapter of this written part of my research I concentrate on a special phase of the *generational filming* process: the birth of the idea, filming, performing for camera, arranging and indexing the material, editing, screening, commenting, and making new versions of the case study. This way a comprehensive view of the method is sketched. Some phases are connected to each other or repeated many times. Nevertheless, the order of the phases is never repeated in an identic way in different cases.

In the first case study, *The Dream and Blueberry Soup*, which I present in the second chapter, I concentrate on the different ways of filming our video diary. I relate and compare them with conventions and modes of representation in visual arts, documentary and ethnographic film. I explain in detail French ethnographic filmmaker Jean Rouch's (1917–2004) *ciné-trance*, because it bears several resemblances to the reflexive and participatory method of filming that I search for in my work. Inspired by Rouch's ciné-trance, I call my own ideal method of filming *video intoxication*. Both have to do with the raptures of filming and with the camera turning into an anthropomorphic being. I call the way I film at home, participating in our daily chores with a handheld camera, *maintenance filming*. I use the term to gesture towards the *Maintenance Art* actions made in the 1970s by American pioneer of art of institutional critique Mierle Laderman Ukeles. I write about the dark side of filming, the side that we family members cannot see, but which is apparent to concerned members of the public in our too comprehensive home videos. The long take is a convention of early filmmaking that I try to preserve in my filmmaking. In the end of the chapter I discuss the specifics of static and handheld filming, as well as my own ideal shot.

In the third chapter, *Spying and Counter-Spying,* the focus is on acting in front of the camera. As with *The Dream and Blueberry Soup,* I do not present the feedback we received about the case study through the method of *generational filming*. Neither do I proceed past the first generation of filming. My approach to the case study is derived from performance studies and spatial studies. In my analysis of the use of space I apply French multidisciplinarian Michel de Certeau's (1925–1986) separation of strategic and tactical activity. My guide to uncover the theatrical nature of an everyday situation is Michael Kirby (1931–1997). He created a matrix, in which one end denotes matrixed performance – in other words acting – and the other non-matrixed performance. I compare the spying games of two little girls to Belgian filmmaker Chantal Akerman's (1950–2015) film *Jeanne Dielman, 23 Quai du Commerce, 1080 Bruxelles* (1975). In the subsequent interpretation I reflect on Sri Lankan-born Australian film researcher Laleen Jayamanne's writings on Akerman's film.

In the fourth chapter I am already closer to the method itself. I introduce the *Asking for Advice* screening-performance, which preceded the actual *generational filming* method. The method of *generational filming* was developed in two ways. One was the performance *Asking for Advice* and the other was an exercise in anthropological fieldwork that I return to later. In the beginning of the fourth chapter, I write about the early stages of our video

diary. We filmed for 10 years, from March 1990 onwards, one single take of a single event each day without moving the camera that stood on a tripod. I describe how our filming changed during the decade and found a new direction, especially after we started performing *Asking for Advice*. We discovered through the performance how much the shots of the video diary, which contained only one event in one take, reminded us of early cinema. The viewing situation, which was constructed as a performance event, reminded us of early film screenings where films took part in social events made up of several kinds of entertainment. Another viewing situation that served as an example was French anthropologist Jean Rouch's *shared anthropology* and its practice of showing the raw edit to those he had filmed and then editing the final version according to their comments. In the end of the chapter, I consider our performance *Asking for Advice* as part of film researcher Miriam Hansen's post-classical viewing culture. The case study of this chapter, *Hot Soup*, is one of the shots in the video diary that has received the most controversial receptions of all of the diary entries that are included in this study. I interpret the reactions it has generated in terms of culture and gender. To describe the space created amongst the viewing public I borrow German philosopher Oskar Negt and filmmaker Alexander Kluge's notion of the *proletarian public sphere* and Rouch's *shared anthropology* to formulate what I call a *shared space of watching.*

In the fifth chapter, we get to the actual birth of the method. *Generational filming* was developed in the case study *Scolding*. The earliest version of the method – the version that was not yet a method – was developed for a fieldwork exercise on a basic course in anthropology. In this chapter I describe in detail the development of the method of *generational filming* and how it has been transformed by different viewing experiments. The starting point of the method is a home video shot in 1995 in which we scold our children. I organised viewings of this case study in which the viewing public saw the different generations of the video in reversed order. All the discussions were watched first and only afterwards the original event. I analyse how a small-scale academic exercise gradually grew into the method that is the subject matter of this entire research. The video was shot with a standard home video camera placed on a tripod without any other special arrangements. Although it is formally like any other home video, its content differs from the usual. *Home mode* videos present homes as havens of domestic bliss and harmony, spaces that are primarily meant for celebrating the birthdays of family members. The scene in question shows the other side of this ideal: scolding naughty children on an ordinary weekday. *Home mode* is American anthropologist Richard Chalfen's

term for homemade super 8 film shots. American media researcher James M. Moran uses Chalfen's term in his research on home videos. By comparing the video diary to *home mode filming* I attempt to make visible to what extent I am part of this tradition and to which extent not. The main focus of this chapter is in examining what kinds of cultural interpretations can be derived from footage of scolding and apologising. I also examine how each generation or layer produce and transform the meanings of previous generations, and how the viewer experiences her place potentially as part of a future version of the case study or the final artwork, depending on the aims of the project. The chapter is structured so that first I describe the development of the method and the process of its naming. I then analyse the case study *Scolding* generation by generation from the first to the sixth film generation.

The sixth chapter steps out of our house. In this case study, the method of *generational filming* is applied to ethnographic research. It is a case study written together with Lea Kantonen, and it studies the Estonian Seto people's song tradition in the light of postcolonial research. The text is based on a performance called *Videopildi põlvkonnad: 'Sääti meele Säksa aigu',* which we presented at the first conference on the Seto leelo, or traditional song, in the cultural centre of Värska, Estonia in the autumn of 2009. The first version of the text was published in the first Finnish work on visual anthropology, *Kuvatut kulttuurit. Johdatus visuaaliseen antropologiaan (Depicted Cultures: Introduction to Visual Anthropology)* edited by Jari Kupiainen and Liisa Häkkinen and published by Finnish Literary Society (2017). In this chapter, we apply *generational filming* to the recording and presentation of unstable collective knowledge. *The German Time Was Acted upon Us (Sääti meile Säksä aigu)* examines a song made by the song mother of the choir of the village of Helbi, Kukka Manni, which is an emotional account of the history of the region of Setomaa under the rule of Germany and the Soviet Union. In the video of the case study each generation moves further away from private space into the public sphere, from Kala Manni's cottage to the community centre of Obinitsa and the leelo conference in Värska to broader discussions in visual anthropology and the visual arts. In the end we return to Kala Manni's home. Our most important collaborators on the project were the women in the choir, the song mothers of the village of Helbi, with whom we collaborated since 1991. At the time of writing this introduction all of the song mothers have died. The chapter is dedicated to the choir of the village of Helbi. One of my dreams as a researcher is that the audio-visual heritage that the Helbi choir has donated to us could remain in the use of the Seto community.

The seventh chapter, *Tunúwame – Generational Filming in Collaborative Museum Planning*, is another chapter written together with Lea Kantonen. We write about a project in which we apply *generational filming* as a tool for a cultural development project and communication between indigenous peoples. The chapter is based on the article "Wirarikojen ja saamelaisten keskusteluja taiteen ja käsityön opettamisesta" ("Discussions Between the Wixárika and the Saami on Teaching the Arts and Handcrafts"), which was published in the end of 2013 in the first book on Finnish research on indigenous studies titled *Alkuperäiskansat tämän päivän maailmassa* (*Indigenous Peoples in the World Today*) (Pirjo Kristiina Virtanen, Lea Kantonen and Irja Seurujärvi-Kari (eds.), SKS 2013). The chapter discusses into which directions this method, developed in the warmth of the hearth and standing by the refrigerator, is taking us. The latest phase of the *Tunúwame* project is that it has become a part of the ArtsEqual research initiative, coordinated by the University of the Arts Helsinki, which "examines arts and art education as equal basic public service from a new, holistic and systemic perspective, […] how art as a public service could advance equality and well-being in society." (http://www.artsequal.fi/about)[15]

The *Tunúwame* project is in its early stages, even though it began already in the autumn of 2006 when Coalition of Research and Action for Social Justice and Human Dignity CRASH, an NGO that we are members of, organised for the Mexican Wixárika delegation to visit the Saami. I filmed the visit, showed part of it to the members of the delegation and filmed their comments. With the help of *generational filming* we have created a forum reminiscent of a slow Skype discussion between the Wixárika, the Saami and others actively participating in the project. We document, translate and edit video discussions between the Wixárika, the Saami, and several Mexican and Finnish experts. The chapter is a written summary of how the Wixárika and the Saami understand the value of the arts and handcrafts (which are often hard to distinguish and artificial to separate from each other when it comes to indigenous peoples) in the discussions recorded through the method of *generational filming*. These discussions and the readings inspired by our fieldwork have led us to re-think our own artistic and research practice. Writings about so called the ontological turn or the material turn in anthropology help us to conceptualize our professional work differently. (See ch. 11: *Conclusions*.) Contemporary anthropologists are discussing about new methodologies that would consider the things from the field – artefacts, records, documents, interviews – as sui generis meanings, and not as a basis for later analysis. In this framework "rather than going into the field armed with a set of pre-determined theoretical crite-

ria against which to measure the 'things' one already anticipates might be encountered, it is proposed that the 'things' that present themselves be allowed to serve as a heuristic with which a particular field of phenomena can be identified, which *only then* engender theory". (Henare, Holbraad and Wastell (Eds.) 2007:5) (italics Henare, Holbraad and Wastell) When applying the *generational filming* method we have followed the theoretical and interpretative guidelines given by our screening audiences without predetermined criteria, and central concepts of this research have come out from these discussions. (See in detail ch. 5: *Scolding*) In the introduction of the article collection *Thinking Through Things* the editors just mentioned emphasise how the ontological turn leads the cultural studies from epistemology to ontology. Then the anthropological research is about different worlds, and not about different worldviews. (Ibid.10–11) When working with the Wixárika in the museum project the approach introduced by the ontological turn help us to understand and analyse the way Wixárika see the museum project from the viewpoint of their deified ancestors. In the end of the chapter, we speculate on the relationship artistic research and indigenous studies have to the scientific canon.

The eighth chapter tries to demonstrate, how ethnographically rich topic of research home video clips can be. The case study *The Haircut*, is the chapter that I hope sets the tone of the whole research. Its first generation, two shots of a couple of minutes filmed with a static camera, created the most paradoxical and diverse research data. As I wrote the chapter, I several times had the thought that my entire research could focus only on these couple of minutes that were recorded in the kitchen of our home in July 1992. These couple of minutes of recording have neither emptied out nor left me in peace.

The chapter on *The Haircut* presents a reversed relationship to anthropology compared to the previous chapters. In the two previous chapters we try to demonstrate that *generational filming* is applicable to ethnographic research, while this eighth chapter focuses on the fact that home video, for instance a scene commenting on the cutting of a child's hair, is a valid topic for ethnographic research. I do not see myself in either of these chapters as a visual anthropologist in the sense Jay Ruby (See Chapter 11: *Conclusions*) intends it. Especially in *The Haircut*, I write from the position of an artist carnivalising anthropological research. I picked the toughest sparring partner I could possibly find for writing this chapter, one of the central figures of postmodern anthropology, Australian Michael Taussig (b. 1940). His work on otherness, *Mimesis and Alterity* (1993), opened up for me the anthropological strategy of observing what happens when an

everyday event is repeated ritualistically, jokingly mimicked and turned into representation. *Mimetic excess* is a notion of Taussig's, which made me compare the teary haircut event in our kitchen to the ecstatic West African Hauka ritual and to the haircuts given outside the gas chambers in Nazi concentration camps. I admit that the comparison between kitchen and gas chamber represents bad taste, and French director Claude Lanzmann (b. 1925), the maker of *Shoah* (1985) and a director I admire, were he to know, he would be the last one to forgive me for this comparison. Lanzmann is a role model for the entire research project. The people he interviews for his film are free from the shackles of documentarism and are called instead *characters*. Lanzmann's insight is that the people that appear in *Shoah* do not merely relate stories from the past; they relive the horrors of the holocaust. Lanzmann uses no historical documentation in his film, everything happens in the film's present. Likewise, the video generations show the present moment of filming, which is then pushed into the past by the next generation. The question that the writing in this chapter asks is how to reach the present in film narration, and it is a question originally posed by Lanzmann. Jean Rouch is the other role model for this chapter. The *ethno-fictions*, in which his African friends improvise scenes that waver between reality and fiction, remind me of the events in *The Haircut*.

Both of my supervisors, Grant Kester and Ray Langenbach, became guinea pigs for *The Haircut's* generational video. Grant was my other sparring partner for the case study. He asked me an unpleasant yet relevant question: "So how is that culture of constant performance and acting out, and the very conscious awareness of every step? Would you say it is different in a kind of family situation that you created vs. the normative mass consumer culture context where the performativity is a kind of given now? Is there any tension in between that or is it simply a continuation of the way culture constantly turns life into a performative interaction? Is there a moment of resistance or self-reflection where that comes up?" From the point of view of political art, the most important question for this case study became how *generational filming* could be a form of resistance. I try to answer as best I can.

In the ninth chapter I write about a process where we apply the method for making a socially engaged video installation. It was made together with visual artist Goa von Zweygbergk. The work tries to describe Goa's summer identity through a research-based fourfold. The name itself, *Autobiography of a Friend – Artist in Service*, is an oxymoron. I approach the subject, Goa's summer identity, through American philosopher Judith Butler's (b. 1956) theories on the construction of identity and Russian semiotician

Mikhail Bakhtin's (1895–1975) dialogism. I interpret our collaboration through Grant Kester's, *dialogical aesthetics*. I fail in my attempt, but at the same time expose to myself my homelessness in the application of theories. This chapter is the book's most recently written part, and its writing process was also the most painful. During the final stages of writing I read the novel I admire most, Fyodor Dostoyevsky's (1821–1881) *The Idiot* (1868). I compare Goa and myself to the main characters and write about my experiences as part of the research.

In the tenth chapter, *Ripples at Home*, I discuss indexing and editing the *generational filming* case studies for video installations. I introduce the Kunsthalle Helsinki exhibition (2011), in which we presented all the eight case studies in either installations or one-channel videos besides three other video installations based loosely on the method of *generational filming*.

In *Conclusions*, the final chapter of this book, I look at the results of the study and into the future. I have consciously disregarded and excluded one obvious point of view and theoretical framework: the analysis of domestic relationships and practices. I have not approached my video material from an auto-ethnographic viewpoint, even though the material would have obviously rendered that approach possible. The emphasis of my writing is not on my self-reflection but rather on how the viewers reflect on the videos.

I describe the results of each case study and attempt to understand the significance of the method and its position in different academic and artistic discourses. I have placed these discourses under four headings: *generational filming* in the tradition of moving images, *generational filming* as ethnography, *generational filming* as socially engaged art, and *generational filming* as artistic research. My study concerns the video recordings, and in their analysis, the aforementioned theoretical frameworks are appropriate.

About the Method and About Homelessness

Lea and I have divided our work in the video diary project and in this research in the following way. During the first years, both of us filmed a shot of the video diary every day. In the mid-1990s I filmed both of our shots, and from the turn of the millennium I was primarily filming the video diary alone. Anyone of us family members or people close to us might occasionally film a take for the video diary. All of the artistic parts, exhibitions and performances, are collaborations between Lea and me. Two of the chapters in this written part were written together, while I wrote the

rest of the texts. The sixth chapter, *Case study: The German Time Was Acted upon Us*, and the seventh chapter, *Tunúwame – Generational Filming in Collaborative Museum Planning*, have been written together.[16] In both chapters we address case studies that deal with the preservation and documentation of endangered cultural heritage. Lea's parts focus on cultural description and discussions on heritage. My parts focus on the analysis of documentation. In all case studies our roles are quite exactly defined, although the process of thinking and developing the project is done together.

In my research I apply theories and research on visual arts, film theory, anthropology and performance studies. I am a professional or a student in all of these fields, and then again I am not professional, having never fully dedicated myself to any one of these fields. The research echoes my relationship with all of these fields of research and art. Homelessness and heresy form a subtext that resonates in everything I write. The reader should beware because as a researcher I constantly threaten to overstep my boundaries. It can be seen partly as a defence mechanism, since I do not feel safe in any discourse, research community or subculture. I both watch my words and want to say out loud everything that should not be said. In my experience, the more specific a subculture is, the more norms there are that dictate how one should behave. In spite of feeling orphaned, I view as one of the strong points of this research the fact that in my search for an artistic habitat I have had to familiarise myself with very many different theories and modes of research. Due to the very broad or even sprawling framework I assume that not all of the philosophers, researchers and artists are familiar to the reader. This is why I introduce most of them in detail in the contexts they appear in, hoping that not all of the information is too trivial. I have considered when to mention the nationality and, in the case that the author is dead, the years of birth and death. Mentioning these dates may hopefully help the reader understand the coevalness of the fields of research pertaining to this study.

This research introduces the method of *generational filming* in light of the realised case studies. All of the characteristics and possibilities of the method will not, however, be introduced in this written part or in the included video works. I believe that the method is both an ethical and aesthetic statement about the prevailing type of documentary expression in moving image. The method is not confined to our work on the video diary. It challenges prevailing conventions of documentary filmmaking and can offer inspiration to documentary filmmakers on how to approach their subjects. At the end of the book, I reflect on the use of the method on any kinds of materials of moving image regardless of their maker or making process.

Generational filming is a collective and reflexive way of making research through video. Its results are left open-ended and are not anticipated. The format is flexible. We followed quite faithfully the order of the video generations with the home video material, but with the projects realized in the Seto and Wixárika communities, we adapted the method according to the needs and aspirations of the community. Reflexivity governs the method itself.

As a preface to a viewing of one of the case studies (See chapter 5: *Scolding*), I articulated my research premises as follows:

> I'm looking for a shared or participatory way of dealing with the theory and building the theory. I have not decided in my research that I will make the theory. Actually it will come in discussions, and I hope that this discussion is part of it, and also the videos that you will see, are part of the theory making. (Finnish Academy of Fine Arts, November 22, 2007)

I apply very many different theories and approaches in my research. I have abided by the above directive that I gave myself. I have followed the theoretical hints and operating methods suggested by participants and viewers. I have not followed each lead offered to me. For instance, discussion on reality television and the expressive ways of using video on the internet is very limited. Both of these subjects have exploded into such vast topics that their connections with the introduced method would demand entire research projects. I discuss the filmed materials in relation to theatrical expression in two chapters, in the second and the eigth chapter, even though all case studies based on home videos have a strong Brechtian dimension and even if as a researcher I first became competent, in the 1980s, in the field of theatre studies. These limitations are also based on personal preference: I try to discuss fields of research and art that I have been inspired by. Due to the above principles, the application of theory in my research is eclectic. I commit to no single research tradition, philosophical approach, field of study, or even artistic medium. I have engaged with each cited philosophy or film, concept of performance studies or anthropological theory, discussion based on visual arts or artwork sincerely and endeavoured to introduce each of them respectfully. I have learnt my method of reading theories and novels, looking at works of art and watching films from my most important artistic mentor, theatre director Jouko Turkka.[17] He taught me that films that feel meaningful should be watched over and over again, and books should be read slowly so that everything that happens in the book happens to one's self, whether the events in question are twists in a novel or philosophical theories. Such an approach is immer-

sive. I have been under the sway of each of my sources while making this research. I have tried to convey this emotional level in the writing. I have also tried to apply another one of Turkka's counsels, one that he applied in his work as director. Turkka advised that the key scene of a piece has to be polished into a diamond. It would then echo in all the other scenes, even if there was no time left to rehearse them properly. I wrote the eighth chapter, *The Haircut*, according to this advice, though the result is rather a granite sculpture than a diamond. Anyway, I hope it resonates in all of the other chapters.

Several people that I mention in my research, either by name or not, have helped me in my research and have been directly quoted from the videos. I stated at the beginning of each viewing that the recording of the discussion might possibly be used in my research as well as in the next edition of the video generation. I requested the viewing public to inform me, for example by e-mail, if they did not want me to use their comments. I have received four such e-mails. I have not adhered to a specific manner of introducing the person whose comments are used. According to the nature of the chapter, I have either mentioned or left unsaid the viewer's identity. The identification of a person can be variable depending on the information that I had about her. Often I did not know the name, but only the profession or activities she dedicated herself to. Sometimes only the gender. When I mention the same name consecutively I use either their first or last name depending on our relationship. Using the last name of a dear friend or referring to an esteemed researcher, whom I have met only once, by her first name would feel artificial. My relationship with someone might, however, change in the course of the chapter. In the use of names I have adhered more to a fictional narrator's choices than to the logic of a meticulous researcher, because I choose to think of the viewers as Lanzmann chose to think of his characters. I have not asked the viewers individually whether I can use their words in a particular context. I have not asked the people mentioned by name to read the final version of this text. I have exercised the freedoms of artistic research, which for example a dissertation in the social sciences might not permit. I have sought to be ethical, so that people's words don't appear in the wrong contexts, like they do in Finnish comic Fingerpori's sensationalist rag Ilta-Finger[18]. Each statement, whether critical or supportive, has been a gift. Hundreds of people have gifted me with theory, analysis, opinions, stories, memories and emotions. I am grateful for all of them.

The completion of this English version was made possible with the help of two translators: Hannah Ouramo and Perttu Järvenpää. I am grateful to

both of them for their dedicated work. Using two translators can lead into problems, as has happened in my case. My two translators' terminology and sentence structures differ. I don't know how to solve this problem that I see in front of me on my own. My solution is to refrain from solving it. I have left dissimilarities in the text by purpose, and thus a generationality created by the translations is visible in the text. The sensitive reader notices the differences between each chapter, which are independent from the original author. This subtle friction hopefully serves to keep the reader on her toes. All translations made from the Finnish language share the need to decide how to substitute the gender-neutral third person singular of the Finnish language. I have wanted to avoid the expression he/she and his/her, and have replaced it with a clear choice. One of my translators suggested using the genitive form *their*, but it felt foreign to me. I resolved to use the personal pronoun *he* when writing about filming in the third person. When I write about the viewer or an otherwise undefined person, I use the personal pronoun *she*. The most difficult choice has been defining the gender or the personal pronoun used for the camera. In our domestic speak the video camera is sometimes referred to as "dad's baby". It is often thought of as a person. The pronoun *it* serves as a reference to the video camera's genderless nature as well as to it being an object.

My research is in several respects of the in-between. It is artistic research, which commits to and comments on film research, anthropology and socially engaged arts. This is why I have contrary to standard academic research mentioned mostly, if not always, the profession and nationality as well as the life span or year of birth of each literary source or source of inspiration. I have wanted to make visible the coevalness of different thinkers, researchers and artists and offer the kind of basic information that I myself often wish for when I read about experts working on topics I am not that familiar with. I am annoyed when a researcher cites a Jackson and I have to check the references to understand whom of the five or of the thousands of Jacksons they might be referring to.[19]

Carnivalism and Perspectivism

Any diary – whether written, filmed or even drawn – is taken, unless otherwise proven, as a sincere depiction of the central values, observations and experiences of its maker. In principle, a diary reflects its author's ethics. As I analyse my personal source materials my approach is best described by the cognitive interest of perspectivism and carnivalism.

French philosopher Michel Foucault (1926–1984) inherited from German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900) perspectivism's technique of understanding historical developments. For me most important in the perspectival interpretation of history, in genealogy, is that instead of searching for the origin of things, one looks for lineage. Things descend from previous generations, but their origins are never revealed. Applying perspectivism to *generational filming* means that when I show the first generation of a case study, I am showing a representation and not the original event. The original event has disappeared out of reach, and only a video trace is left. Perspectivism accepts several simultaneous truths and rejects the possibility of one single truth. Truth, or the interpretation of it, has always been tied to a viewpoint. Foucault writes that "the final trait of effective history is its affirmation of knowledge as perspective" (Foucault 1987 [1984]:90). During the process of writing, especially when writing about the *Tunúwame* museum project (Ch. 7), I have become conscious of the critique on Nietzschean thinking presented by scholars who identify themselves with epistemologies critical to Eurocentric philosophical traditions. The(ir) "epistemologies of the South"(Sousa Santos 2015) present an alternative that helps me understand Wixárika thinking in planning the museum.

Russian semiotician Mikhail Bakhtin's carnivalism aptly describes my way of relating emotionally to my research materials. According to Bakhtin, medieval and Renaissance carnivals were characterised by near complete equality. Ambivalent laughter broke social restrictions:

> Carnival laughter is, first of all, a festive laughter. Therefore it is not an individual reaction to some 'comic' event. Carnival laughter is the laughter of all the people. Second, it is universal in its scope; it is directed at all and everyone, including the carnival's participants. The entire world is seen in its droll aspect, in its gay relativity. Third, this laughter is ambivalent: it is gay, triumphant, and at the same time mocking and deriding. It asserts and denies, it buries and revives. (Bakhtin 1965:11-12.)

In the carnivals Bakhtin describes, everything could be ridiculed. However, mockery was not considered simply teasing or sacrilege, the aim of ridicule was simultaneously to ambivalently pay respect. An upside down logic prevailed in a carnival. Everything seemed temporarily relative and mutable. "All the symbols of the carnival idiom are filled with this pathos of change and renewal, with the sense of the gay relativity of prevailing truths and authorities" (Ibid.11). According to Bakhtin, carnivals showed people that things were susceptible to change.

My own carnivalesque attitude to life stems from my family's roots in the countryside of Central Finland and from taking part in celebrations in Mexican villages that I have visited frequently during the past three decades. The carnivalesque celebrations that Bakhtin describes are still living social practices in Mexico and Central America. My own carnivalism emerges both in everyday interactions and in filmmaking. I prefer filming small everyday events in which good manners or norms are twisted or overturned entirely. For example, in the case study *The Dream and Blueberry Soup* my focus moves in the middle of Lea's dream description from her to the cat licking a saucepan on the porch and to Tyyni the toddler, drawing shapes on the patch of blueberry soup that has dropped on the front of her chest. In everyday life, carnivalism is most clearly manifest in word-plays, misunderstandings and momentary role plays. In the video diary and in this research carnivalism can be understood as subtext. I make academic comparisons that can be seen as a turning of the inside out, as bad manners and even as offensive. In the chapter on *The Haircut* I liken our house's kitchen to the entrance of a gas chamber in a concentration camp and compare the event of cutting hair to an ecstatic possession ritual. *Autobiography of a Friend* is characterised by almost deadpan discussion on any topic whatsoever. The death of a sparrow and the aesthetics of addressing a viewer are attended with the same gravity. According to Bakhtin carnival is play that is simultaneously real life. Fools of carnivals do not merely play fools, but live as fools. "In reality it is life itself, but shaped according to a pattern of play" (Ibid.7). In a similar way, filming the everyday is play in which everyday tasks, filming them and playing for the camera are life itself.

Endnotes

1   The Oxford Dictionary defines a case study as follows: "a process or record of research in which detailed consideration is given to the development of a particular person, group, or situation over a period of time. A particular instance of something used or analysed in order to illustrate a thesis or principle." (http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/american_english/case-study)

2   *Most Important in Life* was an exhibition that collected together all of our socially engaged art projects between 1996–2005, and we called it *The Tent Project*. It was exhibited in Helsinki Art Museum Meilahti (2005), Lönnström Art Museum in Rauma (2005), and Rovaniemi Art Museum (2006). The origin for these projects was our installation *Tent* (1991–95), which was made out of a felt tent that we had prepared out of wool and in which we had lived with our little boys when staying with the Saami in Lapland, the Seto in Estonia and the Rarámuri in Mexico. In addition to the felt tent, the installation also included three photos, in which the same tent is shown in three different locations, as well as a recording that tells about our life with the families of these communities. The written and visual documentation in the installation was also a preliminary version of the travel book *Tent – A Book of Travels*. The *Tent* installation was part of the *Most Important in Life* show.

Works of *The Tent Project*:

The Visit (1996–1997)
The installation consists of telefax correspondence, a group photo, a traditional Saami peat hut, and a travel video playing in the centre of the hut instead of a fire. The scenes in the video were shot in Utsjoki, Finnish Saamiland, by school children from Rauma, and in Rauma by school children from Utsjoki, when they visited each others' schools.

Women's Room/Men's Room (1997 and 2005)
As part of the Utsjoki-Rauma school project a group of five high school girls from Rauma decorated a room that parodied male and female stereotypes. After an interval of eight years they furnished a new version, which is, if possible, even more feminine than the first one. The new room featured videos made in 1997, some of them by the five girls who made the room, others by other girls from Utsjoki.

In 1997 *Men's Room* was built in the holding cell of the yard house of the Lönnström Art Museum by boys from Rauma and Utsjoki. The room was philosophical, meditative and visually ascetic. The same group was brought together for this exhibition after a break of eight years to design and build the room anew. Three boys of the original group of five were able to participate. The young men began their work on the basis of the videos and texts that were preserved from the previous exhibition. They drew a *mandala* on a round table, with one part dedicated to each of them, including the two boys who could not build the new version with them.

Gratitude (1991–2005)

The installation consists of presents given to us during our visits to Setoland and when our Seto friends visited us in Finland. In addition to the gifts, the installation also includes recordings of two songs.

Four Corners (1996–2000)

The installation is the result of correspondence between Finnish first grade pupils of Sääksjärvi School and Estonian and Seto first grade pupils of Obinitsa school, who were all learning to read and write. In a traditional Seto house, the four corners of the main room all have their own function and name: the stove corner, the sleeping corner, the sacred corner and the living corner. The children took photos of their homes, made interviews with their families and friends, drew house plans for the installation, and also wrote about the functions and meanings of the four corners today.

A Day in Guachochi (1999)

This is a sound work that was designed and recorded together with secondary school children in the town of Guachochi in Mexico. On the tape, the young people discuss their national and ethnic identities through themes such as music, food culture and love. The tape was broadcast by the local Radio Xetar.

Favourite Place (1999–2005)

The photographic series was shot together with young people from Karigasniemi and Inari (Finland), Aboreachi, Basihuare and San Miguel Huaistita (Mexico), San Xavier (US), and Obinitsa (Estonia). The young people have posed for each other and taken photos of their favourite places. Some of the photos were enlarged and a new photo was taken of the children holding the enlarged photo in their lap.

Living Room (1999–2000, 2005)

The installation is a reworking of the concept used for *Men's Room* and *Women's Room*. School children in Obinitsa, Estonia, and in Sääksjärvi and Helsinki, Finland, arranged objects on the bookshelves in their living corner or living room at home and took photos of them.

Unrest Below the Surface (1999–2000)

In two workshops, conducted in Gdansk, Poland, and Rauma, Finland, young people used old school desks to build installations that tell about their world. A school desk is a child's workplace and also their private space at school.

If You Want to Stay Alive, You Need a Heart (2001–2002)

The installation was created together with students from the Karigasniemi secondary school in Utsjoki and the Raumanmeri school in Rauma. The children made paper sculptures on the theme

of identity and also studied Finnish and Saami words associated with identity and space. The texts projected on the sculptures were excerpts from their studies.

3 The Share Network has recently published a wealth of information in their manual *Share. Handbook for Artistic Research Education* (2013). (Eds. Mick Wilson and Schelte van Ruiten. Amsterdam: ELIA.) The manual is my most important source as I write of current practices in doctoral training.

4 *Share. Handbook for Artistic Research Education* explains the backgrounds of concepts that are currently applied to culture: "Human capital theory comes from the Chicago School of Economics and has become a dominant way of thinking about education planning and policy because of the adoption of these ideas by bodies such as the OECD. Human capital theory places the emphasis on the generation, through education, of people who can add value to the economy by virtue of their ability to generate new knowledge, apply that knowledge in new ways, and so forth." (Share 2013:15.)

5 I refer to the following works by the networks and their affiliated universities:
   – *Artists as Researchers. A New Paradigm for Art Education in Europe* 2013. Eds. Mika Hannula, Jan Kaila, Roger Palmer and Kimmo Sarje. Helsinki: Finnish Academy of Fine Arts, University of the Arts Helsinki.
   – *Share. Handbook for Artistic Research Education* 2013. Eds. Mick Wilson and Schelte van Ruiten. Amsterdam: ELIA.
   – Slager, Henk 2012. *The Pleasure of Research.* Helsinki: Finnish Academy of Fine Arts.
   – *Artistic Research.* Eds. Satu Kiljunen and Mika Hannula. Helsinki: Kuvataideakatemia.
   – *The Artist´s Knowledge. Research at the Finnish Academy of Fine Arts* 2006. Editor in Charge Jan Kaila, editing Pekka Kantonen. Helsinki: Finnish Academy of Fine Arts.
   – *The Artist's Knowledge 2. Research at the Finnish Academy of Fine Arts* 2008. Editor-in-chief Jan Kaila, co-editor Anna Herlin. Helsinki: Kuvataideakatemia.

6 I apply the notion of socially engaged art as a general concept without separating the different views that have to do with its practice. Socially engaged art is in this context an umbrella term, which contains all sorts of arts based on collaboration or discussion, regardless of the ways in which collaboration has been reached.

7 This short provocative overview is mainly based on Lea Kantonen's article 'Yhteisötaiteen estetiikkaa ja menetelmiä: Yhteistyötä, vuoropuhelua, palvelua ja provokaatiota'. In Kantonen, Lea (ed.) (2010), *Ankaraa ja myötätuntoista kuuntelua. Dialogista kirjoitusta paikkasidonnaisesta taiteesta,* 74–84. Helsinki: Kuvataideakatemia.
"The Ethics and Practices of Community-based Art: Collaboration, Dialogue, Service and Provocation" in *Rigorous and Compassionate Listening. Dialogical Writing on Site-Specific Art* The tone of writing is, however, different and perhaps closer to a soap opera's plot description or the back cover blurb of a novel's paperback edition.

8 Turppi group was formed by Marikki Hakola, Jarmo Vellonen, Lea and I. A year later Martti Kukkonen joined us.

9 Iiris Koistinen, Tarja Pitkänen, Juha Saitajoki and Heidi Tikka participated in the first *Auki* exhibition with us. Works by Heli Hiltunen, Martti Kukkonen and Norwegian Håkon Göthesen were shown outdoors. In *Open II* we were joined by Ami Hyvärinen, Iiris Koistinen, Jouni and Katri Pirttijärvi and Tarja Pitkänen.

10 In the 1960s artists used video in performances, but as a genre the art video did not exist in the Finnish art scene before 1982.

11 We wrote an article 'Ajan hengen imupaperi' about Dieter Appelt for the Finnish art magazine Taide (Taide 3/83).

12 *Auki* exhibition was in the headlines of the main evening news of the national TV station YLE 1, and on the front page of the biggest Finnish newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat* with a picture, and a statement: "Blasphemy or confession, is asked about the performance of the Open group." (HS 27.7.1984).

13 Via Crucis is nowadays an annually organised religious-artistic Easter event in which thousands of people participate. The main characters are played by professional actors. For unknown reasons the organizers don't take into account the four Via Crucis events of the 1980s. In the Finnish Wikipedia (26.2.2017) the Via Crucis of 1996 is mentioned as the first one. (https://fi.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pääsiäisnäytelmä) The three Via Crucis events that I was involved in received considerable media attention, especially the first one. The whole front page of the Lutheran newspaper Kotimaa (16.4.1987) was devoted to Via Crucis, and all the main Helsinki-based newspapers wrote about it. Lea and I wrote a short article for the art magazine Taide (4/87) The 1989 Via Crucis was televised by YLE 1. Every year our main speakers from Central America were interviewed by both electronic and print media.

See Helsingin Sanomat 14.4.2017. "Via Crucis valloitti kadut jo 30 vuotta sitten. Opiskelijoiden ja taiteilijoiden Ristin tie yhdisti 1980-luvulla Raamatun kärsimyshistoriaan poliittista kritiikkiä. http://www.hs.fi/kaupunki/art-2000005170738.html

14 An earlier English version of this text has been published in *Cultural Anthropology* (4/2012). In this text I refer to its Finnish version.

15 After writing this chapter I have finished two articles concerning the *Tunúwame* project: *"Ciné y video sobre, con y por pueblos indígenas"* in Museos vivos comunitarios wixárika, na'ayeri y saami. (Ed. Lea Kantonen) ITESO, México 2017, and *"Living camera in ritual landscape. Teachers of the Tatuutsi Max-*

akwaxi school, the Wixárika ancestors, and the teiwari negotiate videography.” (written together with Lea Kantonen) *Journal of Ethnology and Folkloristics.* (upcoming)

16 In the sixth chapter the pages 209-221 are written by Lea. In the seventh chapter the pages 231–240 are written by Lea, the pages 245–251, and 255-261 are written together, and the rest are written by me.

17 I received my teachings from Turkka while I was working as a research assistant in the Theatre Academy of Helsinki 1982–1984. I followed two educational productions directed by Turkka, *Kamelianainen* and *Puotilaa hengiltä -kavalkadi.* I recorded rehearsals on video and wrote research reports. All of the research data that I had collected disappeared from the archives of the Theatre Academy 1984–1986, during the time I was in Mexico and Central America. In 2001, I wrote my Master's thesis in Theatre Studies at the University of Helsinki based on my own notes. It was titled *Turkan uusi näyttelijä. Jouko Turkan ohjaukset Kamelianainen ja Puotilaa hengiltä -kavalkadi Teatterikorkeakoulussa (Turkka's New Actor. Theatre Academy's productions of* Kamelianainen *and* Puotilaa hengiltä-kavalkadi *under the direction of Jouko Turkka.)*

18 In some of the strips of Finnish comic Fingerpori everyone's, especially the mayor's, words are attached to wrong contexts.

19 Australian anthropologist Michael Jackson has written an amusing essay, 'What´s in a Name? An Essay on the Power of Words' (2005), about his experience having the same name as the king of the pop, formerly the youngest member of the pop group Jackson Five.

2 **CASE STUDY:**

The Dream and Blueberry Soup

Video Intoxication

The picture descends from the silhouette of a landscape bathing in the evening sun to a huddle of clay houses resembling sugarloaves at the outskirts of the Saharan desert. We are in the village of Simiri, Nigeria, in March 1971. The cameraman moves towards a group of musicians perched alongside the outer wall of a house but on his way towards them turns to film a herd of sacrificial goats resting in an enclosure. A worried looking elderly man dressed in a blue robe, a *zima* priest, approaches him. The priest walks past just like many others, ignoring the filmmaker and his sound engineer. Locusts threatening a crop of millet cause his unease. For three days, amidst the rhythms of the *Tourou* and *Bitti* drums, mediums have tried in vain to enter into a trance in order to call forth and be possessed by the *gandyi bi* spirits that protect the growing crop. The camera focuses on the musicians playing. The drummers up their tempo momentarily but soon, frustrated, stop playing. The camera keeps shooting concentrating on a solitary *godey* violinist who draws new power from the presence of the camera. Soon the drums awaken and someone shouts: "Meat!" A male medium has entered into a trance and is possessed by *Kure*, the hyena spirit. The camera follows him for a while until its attention is drawn to an elderly woman leaping across the yard. She is chased by another woman who grabs hold of her, throws a black robe on her and ties a white cloth, which had dropped off her onto the ground, around her hips. *Hadyo*, the slave spirit, has possessed her. The musicians beat their instruments excitedly. The *zima* priests negotiate with *Kure* terms by which he will agree

to protect the crop. Goat meat has to be offered as sacrifice. The camera follows the discussion that is eventually drowned out by the beating of the drums, then pulls back to end the scene as it started, with the silhouetted landscape of the setting sun.

Jean Rouch's ethnographic film *Tourou and Bitti: The Drums of the Past (Les Tambours d'avant: Tourou et Bitti)* (1971) is a good ten minutes long. It was filmed in two takes. The second take is the one described above, and has the duration of one ten-minute film cassette. The film inspired Rouch to call his ideal method of filming *ciné-trance*.

The camera approaches a woman sitting on a wooden sofa reading her own diary. "Imagine an odorant sugar torso, seen from below, with its folds and cavities that I had stuffed with sugar!" Through a window behind the woman the view opens up onto a porch. The camera comes closer to the woman, but leaves her as a silhouette on the right side of the picture, filling the frame with the view to the porch where a black and white domestic cat reaches into a large pot so that only its backside and tail remain visible. The woman's monologue continues without interruption: "Of course the picture would be wilder if it was male, if the anus would be the only cavity, and the idea of stuffing would be wilder. It did not occur to me, because in the dream it was female. [...] Actually she was, or the story was, a voice-over on the picture, shot like your videos, the cameraman being strongly present, the woman whirling around in the water and flirting with the camera, and the camera whirling with her." The picture pans slowly back to the indoor space, passing the woman and turning instead towards a dinner table where a two-year-old girl is eating her morning porridge with blueberry soup. The camera circles to the other side of the table and is placed on it, right next to the plate of porridge. The little girl's head nearly fills the frame. As the girl spoons porridge into her mouth, the woman is seen from under her arm as a silhouette with its arms held up. Her description of the dream continues: "She was a witch-frog with her arms like this, standing on the shore, and gradually the water started flowing into the lake. Actually she acted like a Mayan priest or a king ascending to the top of the pyramid and conjuring: 'Let the sun go out!' or 'Let the sun appear!'" The girl lifts the plate up in front of her face. The plate is bigger than her head and, aside from a sliver of the lowermost part of the frame, fills it entirely. Pools of blueberry soup, like bleeding wounds, appear on the child's chest. The description of the dream ends: "The dam was then opened and the water came in. She was somehow able to cancel the controlling, she was an activist, and then, mystically, the fishes started returning, too. The voice-over was of a fisherwoman. She ended the story:

The first generation of *The Dream and Blueberry Soup* and the screening in the SIM-house, Reykjavik 2010.

It was the night when she saved the lake and our livelihood." The plate is empty, the dream has been told to its end. The camera rises towards the ceiling, and the picture fades to darkness.

I filmed the first generation of the case study *The Dream and Blueberry Soup* in our kitchen on the morning of the 2nd of August 2001. The duration of the chosen take is 5 minutes and 20 seconds.[1] It is an example of a method of filming that I call *video intoxication*, which is inspired by Rouch's ciné-trance. It is my own ideal method of filming.

In this chapter, I shall focus on the various ways of filming that have been used in our video diary. I compare them with the methods and conventions found in visual arts, documentaries and ethnographic film. I discuss in detail Rouch's *ciné-trance* since it has many similarities with the reflexive and participatory method that I sought. Both in Rouch's *ciné-trance* and in my *video intoxication* the camera becomes an anthropomorphic being. I have termed the scenes filmed at home, in which I take part in everyday chores with a handheld camera, *maintenance filming*. I use this term to refer to Mierle Laderman Ukeles' acts of *maintenance art* in the beginning of the 1970s. I write about the dark side of filming – that which remains unseen by us but is detected by apprehensive viewers watching our very explicit home videos. The long take derives from the beginnings of cinematography and is a technique I attempt to preserve in my own filming. In the latter part of this chapter, I shall discuss the particularities of stabilised and handheld filming and reflect on my own ideal take.

For the first ten years of filming our video diary, the camera always remained motionless and mounted on a tripod. Since the beginning of the millennium, I began filming with more freedom, moving the mounted camera or shooting handheld. I was particularly interested in developing methods of filming that would enable filming to become an even more natural and integral part of our daily life. I wanted to breach the division between the world in front of the camera and the world behind it.

Ciné-trance and Video Intoxication

Jean Rouch travelled to Africa for the first time in 1941 as a recently graduated engineer hired by the Nazi-minded Vichy regime to oversee dam construction in the French colony of Nigeria. After becoming acquainted with the Songhay people at the construction site, Rouch applied to study ethnography under the most prominent scholar of African studies at the time, Marcel Griaule.[2] Already in a couple of years, Rouch took part in research

projects led by Griaule in West Africa. In 1946, Rouch made a canoe trip down the river Niger with his friends and a 16-millimetre camera bought from a Parisian flea market. According to his own accounts, due to his tripod being swept away by the current, the self-taught Rouch began to film handheld against general instructions. Anthropologist Paul Stoller, who has written about Rouch as a filmmaker, believes that Rouch's clumsiness had resulted in a broken tripod. (Stoller 1992:37.) Both versions, however, offer justification for the fact that Rouch began filming handheld already in the late 1940s, while equipment for stabilised handheld filming was developed only after the 1960s. Rouch's spontaneous method of filming that relied on chance and improvisation was inspired by the Surrealists. Rouch had been interested in Surrealist art and poetry as well as black jazz music since his schoolboy years in the mid-1930s. The art forms shared a sense of improvisation and promised freedom from the shackles of rational thought. As a young student, Rouch began to frequent the jazz clubs of Paris and the exhibition openings and poetry nights of the Surrealists. The Surrealist term *rencontre*, meaning an encounter based on chance and the unconscious, became the guiding principle of his filmmaking in Africa. He never wrote the scripts for his documentaries himself; he composed them together with his African assistants and with the people whom he was filming. Consequently, sudden whims or unexpected encounters could supersede the planned filming schedule. (Henley 2009:28–31.)

Rouch filmed West African possession rituals for a quarter of a century before he reached true *ciné-trance*. The scene I describe at the beginning of this chapter was Rouch's first and, according to his own accounts, his best example of reaching such a trance. Rouch's *ciné-trance* is an event that exceeds everyday consciousness, an event in which the person filming enters a similar state of mind with his camera as the person in the trance enters with his double. An experience that is mediated by the lens of a camera thereby preventing the person filming from entering into a "real" trance. Rouch believed that the Songhai mediums perceived him differently when he was behind the camera than when he was without it in the everyday. Rouch imagined the mediums saw his double filming in *ciné-trance*. Rouch understood *ciné-trance* in the Vertovian sense, as an event in which the camera becomes the double of the person filming.

According to Vertov's understanding, the camera is the mechanical eye of its wielder, the *ciné-eye* (*kino-glas*) that perceives phenomena the human eye is unable to detect. This interpretation of the camera was, for Rouch, satisfactory justification for the cameraman not to use a tripod. If the tripod constricted the cameraman's double, the organic bond with the cam-

era would break and its function as anything else but a mechanical recording device would be hindered.

> The only way to film is to walk with the camera, taking it where it is most effective and improvising another type of ballet with it, trying *to make it as alive as the people it is filming*. I consider this dynamic improvisation to be a first synthesis of Vertov's ciné-eye and Flaherty's participating camera. I often compare it to the improvisation of the bullfighter in front of the bull. […] Leading or following a dancer, priest, or craftsman, he is no longer himself, but a mechanical eye accompanied by an electronic ear. It is this strange state of transformation that takes place in the filmmaker that I have called, analogously to possession phenomena, 'ciné-trance'. (Rouch 2003:38–39.) (italics mine)

In his writings, Rouch turns the camera into an anthropomorphic figure brought to life by the filmmaker. Rouch's *ciné-trance* is like a ballet, in which touching the camera is like the prince's kiss that revives Sleeping Beauty from her sleep. However, such a miracle occurs only when people taking part in the ritual identify the camera as a living creature, as the double of the filmmaker. A similar miracle transpires in *video intoxication.* The camera becomes a part of me, or attains its own identity. It is frequently referred to as "daddy's baby", since it usually sits in my lap. Although "babying" the camera sounds incontestably dreadful, such wordplay has become a crucial part of filming our family life. The camera is given a position that differs from both the invisibility of observational documentarism and direct contact preferred by reflexive documentarism.

There is a third position. The camera's presence is neither invisible nor pronounced but flexible – in the same way as is any human being's or living creature's presence in the space. The camera switches from being unnoticeable to being the centre of attention – and at times it occupies the in-between, just like the rest of us. The anthropomorphism of the camera is evident in how it is spoken about, but also in the eye contact directed towards it. It is looked at just like anyone else is looked at in the room. At times eye contact with it is actively sought, and at times, when something is directed at the person filming, the speaker looks over the camera. Personifying the camera creates a perplexing viewing experience because the spectator's locus of looking oscillates between invisibility and exposure, never permanently settling on either. The spectator is drawn into an alien persona, which both is and is not human.

In our video diary project, the tripod offers the anthropomorphic camera a place of rest. It can sit still without having to participate in the action and

ignore that which happens outside the frame. In Rouch's terms, its "electronic ear" still registers the sounds resonating in the space. When mounted on a stand, the camera is not compelled to react. However, its safety is uncertain. In the worst case, it might fall over, get shot at with a bow and arrow or become the target of snowballs or wet paper balls. It can, however, also receive friendly attention and, for example, be offered tea.

The cameraman in Rouch's *ciné-trance* understands the object of filming intuitively without the use of spoken words and, guided by spirits, moves to the right ritual positions. Since no one can guide him during the ritual, the cameraman has to surrender himself to it.

> And, certainly, a masterpiece can be created if the inspiration of the observer is in the unison with the collective inspiration of those whom he is observing. But this is so rare, it requires such a connivance, that I can only compare it to those exceptional moments of a jam session between the piano of Duke Ellington and the trumpet of Louis Armstrong, or the electrifying encounters between strangers as described on occasion for us by André Breton. (Ibid.185–186.)

Ciné-trance is an exceptional state and reaching it has nothing to do with the cameraman's skills and intentions. The spirits possess whom they will. For Rouch, *ciné-trance* was an ideal that could not be decided upon beforehand. Certain measures could, however, be taken to ensure being in the right frame of mind and having the right attitude. A parallel notion to *ciné-trance* can be found in the concept of grace. Similarly, grace cannot be learnt, taught or forced to appear. Film researcher and documentarian Paul Henley interprets Rouch's understanding of grace as "an allusion to the condition that Friedrich Nietzsche referred to as Dionysian, a completely amoral state in which creativity is spontaneous and intuitive rather than rational" (Henley 2009:257). Grace takes the cameraman into the ideal realm of the Surrealists where moral has no say and spontaneous improvisation guides all action.

From an ethical point of view, succumbing to *ciné-trance* and grace is justified if there is a mutual understanding about questions regarding power and representing the other reached beforehand, or if the filming has become a joint effort after years or decades of collaboration. Rouch was able to submit to *ciné-trance* after a friendship with his co-participants and informants that spanned two decades. In my case, experiencing *video intoxication* amidst a foreign culture took place in Estonia, among the Setos – after a decade of acquaintance and collaboration. I have filmed their traditional song festival Kirmas in the village of Lepa since 1993. After the turn

of the millennium, I have returned to film nearly every year. I have also occasionally filmed the entire celebration without interruption, from its preliminary preparations until the August dusk has obscured my camera's ability to see anything else but the flames of the Kirmas bonfire. I shall not discuss video intoxication among foreign cultures in detail in this case study. Chapter six, written together with Lea Kantonen, discusses the possibilities of *generational filming* in relation to research conducted on the Seto song tradition.

According to Rouch, his camera was a significant encouragement to the mediums of the Simir village in their attempts to attain trance and save the crop of millet. The drummers gave up hope but Rouch continued filming. The *godey* player believed that his camera – his double – had seen the *gandyi bi* spirits without which the crop would be lost. The violinist played on in exultation and the spirits possessed the mediums! Although Rouch's *Les Tambours d´avant: Tourou et Bitti* does not reveal how the crop turned out in the end, it captures the moment the spirits appear. Believing is seeing.

The Long Take

After the discovery of *ciné-trance*, Rouch strove to film events in one take. This desire was rarely realised either because events were too long to be shown in their entirety or due to interferences with filming: the cameraman stumbling, sudden lighting changes or something blocking the line of vision.

The long take is a convention of early cinematography (See Chapter 4: *Hot Soup*). Pier Paolo Pasolini writes in his short essay *Observations on the Long Take*:

> The substance of cinema is therefore an endless long take as is reality to our senses for as long as we are able to see and feel (a long take that ends with the end of our lives); and this long take is nothing but the reproduction of the language of reality. In other words it is the reproduction of the present.

According to Pasolini, a montage kills a take and turns its presence into a thing of the past. When a take becomes a thing of the past, it gains meaning. Pasolini believes that takes and human lives are in this sense similar: both acquire meaning only after they end. An endless take and an endless life are open to several meanings. The long take defies death. (Pasolini 1980:3–6.) The long take can also bring the sense of death closer

to the viewer like when watching Andy Warhol´s 24 hours-long shot of the Empire State Building.

In a discussion with anthropologist Rane Willerslev film-maker Christian Suhr (Suhr and Willerslev 2014) relates the long take with shock and a possibility to something that is not seen but sensed. The long shot can reveal the moments of becoming in social life. "In this way, long, uninterrupted takes can be shocking exposures of how concepts, ideas, emotions, ways of perceiving, ways of living, and ways of film-making are born in the midst of the interaction between humans and their environments." (Ibid. 83.) His examples of shocking long takes are from ethnographic films. Long takes in *Koriam´s Law and the Dead Who Govern* (2005), a film by Gary Kildea and Andrea Simon, are first incomprehensible for an outsider viewer, but gradually become understandable. The viewer starts to see the display of food as real food for the invisible ancestors. (Ibid.87.) The second example is David and Judith MacDougall´s film *Gandhi´s Children* (2008), which shows extreme long shots of everyday life of children at a Delhi orphanage. For Suhr the long takes cause the children to appear as full human beings, and not only victims of social injustice. (Ibid.83.) Both Willerslev and Suhr see that the long take is a way to question conventional ways of seeing the strange, and the familiar. The case study *Throwing* (only mentioned in the chapter 10 as a part of the section *The Home as Stage* in the *Ripples at Home* exhibition) is an example of a long take, where the children become full characters during the shot. In the beginning of the shot three-year old Ukko is almost invisible in the foreground of the image, when the bigger children are catching the attention when throwing wet paper balls to each other. Gradually the spectator starts to pay attention to Ukko´s action when he is building his own hiding place and slide of a chair and a quilt.

According to general understanding (See for example Aaltonen 2011:255–260.), a good documentary filmmaker thinks about the end result while filming. He knows that however important the event is, it has to be reduced into a fraction of its original length. One can never know how long an event will last. Therefore, one should film both long shots and close-ups, and everything in between. The filmmaker should also take into consideration the film editor, whose task is to create continuity out of filmed fragments. This is how I was taught filmmaking. And this is what I am against. In such reasoning, there are so many parties to please already while filming – the editor, your own script, the imagined public of the finished product, the gate keeper of whatever forum the film emerges through – that there is no point in waiting for the appearance of Rouch's grace. How and what does a documentary filmmaker actually observe if his primary concern is in get-

ting everything necessary filmed of an incident that is unfolding in front of his eyes. Following Pasolini's argument, the take has been killed already before its birth, since its capturer has already edited it in his mind. The filmed event has, thus, a prearranged structure that conforms both to the end result and the prerequisites of its production. I do not claim that an excellent film cannot be made through such a process. It can produce the best possible one, especially when a limited resource, such as film stock, is used. I do question, however, such guidance when resources in terms of stock are limitless, as they frequently are in digital filming.

When I film I search for Pasolini's endless take that cannot be edited without killing it. It is a dream of capturing an entire life and its timely death. My method of filming is immersive. I enter the event with my Verto-vian *ciné-eye*, but the corporeal 'I', the part of me that speaks and interferes with the events, is also present both in the image as well as on the audio track. I do not contemplate possible ways of editing while I film because I know that such agreements are never stable and can be broken at any time. In an ideal situation I reach an immersive state of filming that Rouch could call grace. Then I imagine that what I film wants to get filmed, and the decision to stop filming is always a decision to abandon the subject at hand. For the person filming, and for those who are being filmed, deciding to end a take is as important as the decision to begin one. Both are violent acts; the beginning is an interruption in the flow of everyday events, and the end is the abandoning the character.

Long-term Filming at Home

Long-term filming at home is what best describes all of the takes in our video diary. If the filmed takes would result from random filming, the viewer would in all likelihood have a different reaction to them. They would not be taken as seriously. However, the added weight given to them makes our project both controversial and meaningful. Both of these characteristics seem to strengthen with the passing of time and the continuation of the project.

Filming a video diary with people close to you follows a different dynamic than filming a conventional documentary in which the filmmaker gets acquainted to the people during the project. Collaboration with people you are intimate with contains a number of truisms, taboos and liberties that other relationships lack. When a documentary filmmaker begins to collaborate with an unfamiliar group, the horizon of his expectations, which is governed by his ethics and norms, aligns and adjusts itself with

the general norms of the community he is filming. During the process, these norms and manners of conduct are refined. With time, particularly if the film is shot for several years, general normativity gives way to the particularities of the relationship between the filmmaker and the community and their unique relationship increasingly defines the practice.

We began shooting our video diary regularly when our firstborn son was three years old. Naturally as parents we decided what, how and when to film. The only agreement we had clearly articulated amongst ourselves was that we would film one take each day. We did not make any decisions about its content; we did not decide at what time of day we would be filming, whether we would film wherever we went, whether our friends would be filmed in the same manner as our own family, whether we would film secretly or explicitly, or whether all aspects of our everyday life would be filmed. The unwritten agreements related to filming developed over time through trial and error.

During the first two years of filming, the restrictions and agreements related to content reached more or less their present forms. In some respects, they have become more stringent in recent years, especially since the internet has become increasingly commonplace. In the early years, the most important limitations to our filming had to do with friends and relatives. The early stages of our video diary coincided with taking a loan in order to build a house in the village of Hermanonkimaa, in Mäntsälä, Finland, with two other families with children. Although each family was building their own house, we became a tight community during the construction period. In many respects, three families were living as one. We realised very quickly that the bond between our families did not approve of our filming, and after a few embarrassing attempts, I gave up filming the adults of the other families. I did get permission, however, to film their children whenever they were on our turf.[3] Eventually, the video diary focused on our immediate family, with the addition of some friends who had a positive reaction to being filmed.

Filming was never separate from the rest of our family's life and work. A family member was free to protest against it like any other household chore. If someone was not pleased with his or her activities being filmed, I could be told to stop without giving any particular explanation. I had learnt through my experience with the neighbours not to shoot video if the person disliked it. Why would I want footage about people in discomfort? Little by little, an unwritten rule formed within the family and with visiting friends: filming was permitted unless otherwise stated. There were a couple of situations in which restrictions were put in place. Our son Ukko

Maintenance filming: Washing the kitchen floor with Tyyni 2000.

did not want to be filmed while practicing on the violin. Our other son, Pyry-Pekka and Lea disliked being filmed while they ate, so I framed shots of the dining table so that they had their backs towards the camera. I never begun filming in secret, but, naturally, someone might have entered a space when the camera was already rolling. Showing the filmed material to outsiders was and is always agreed upon separately.

Is filming provocative? Does the camera make children rowdy and adults more dramatic? In the early footage, it is quite evident that it is the person filming who is more provoked by the rowdy children than vice versa. The children were playing with abandon and the filmmaker tried to capture their impulsiveness following the aesthetic principles of the decisive moment. The filmmaker tried to take part in their moment. It is also evident that the presence of the camera did not subdue the children. They took the camera into their play only when it served a purpose. I would not call such behaviour performing for the camera; being filmed had already become too everyday and uninteresting for them compared to the world of make believe.

Maintenance Filming

In 1969, American visual artist Mierle Laderman Ukeles published her *Maintenance Art Manifesto*. The manifesto was a proposal for an exhibition that ultimately never took place. However, the text became a piece of art history in itself and was printed in several significant works, such as *Theories and Documents of Contemporary Art* (1996) edited by Kristine Stiles and Peter Selz.

Frustrated, Ukeles wrote the manifesto in one sitting in a fit of rage. She had just had her first child and tried desperately to combine the roles of mother and artist. As a young female artist, she admired the male geniuses of the avant-garde, Marcel Duchamp and Jackson Pollock, both of whom accomplished what were believed to be the most important tasks of an artist: to be free and to create one's own unique works of art. Ukeles' own life revolved around everyday routines, which repeated without variation. As her life did not permit the ideal circumstances for artistic creation outlined by the male artists she idolised, Ukeles decided to make art out of the tasks she had to perform in her everyday life. (Ukeles 1998.) "Now, I will simply do these maintenance everyday things, and flush them up to consciousness, exhibit them, as Art. [...] I will sweep and wax the floors, dust everything, wash the walls (i.e. "floor paintings, dust works, soap-sculpture, wall-paintings") cook, invite people to eat". In addition to proposing to perform everyday routines in the exhibition, Ukeles' manifesto proposed to conduct interviews with the audience on the theme of maintenance and to organise demonstrations in which the public was taught how to clean contaminated land, water and air. Ukeles used the pompous manifesto, the form favoured by the avant-garde artists, to declare unremarkable activities art: "Everything I say is Art is Art. Everything I do is Art is Art." In the manifesto, the avant-garde is pronounced as the art of the Death Instinct and maintenance is celebrated as art of the Life Instinct. (Ukeles (1969) in Stiles and Selz 1996:622–624.)

Four years after the manifesto was written, in 1973, Ukeles had the opportunity to put her *maintenance art* into practice when she washed, dusted and polished the interior, entrance and plaza of the oldest art museum in the United States, the Wadsworth Atheneum in Hartford, Connecticut. The performances in her *Maintenance Art Performance Series* left literally no trace in the atheneum, and it was only after the birth of *new genre public art* some twenty years later that art historians began to regard her action as a significant work of art. A high contrast monochrome photograph of Ukeles washing the museum floor captures feminist, institution critical and site-specific performance art as one extremely marginal moment.

I remember reading about Laderman Ukeles' *maintenance art* in *High Performance* Magazine in the beginning of the 1990s, at the start of our video diary project, and getting irritated. *Maintenance art* seemed boring and anaemic in its lack of individual expression. I did not understand then that its sharp institutional critique was exactly in its impersonal form of expression. It dared to be so casual. Another thing that irritated me was that we were making different kind of art out of everyday life than Laderman Ukeles. Ten years later, I understood that the kinship between our works was much more important than all the differences. Lea and I realised that a certain mode of filming the everyday could be associated with *maintenance art*. Such filming grew more frequent with the birth of our daughter Tyyni in 1999, as I took the main responsibility of nappy changing, feeding, potty training and wrestling her into baby clothes – all the tasks that had previously inhibited the careers of female artists. I had grown tired of gainful employment and did it voluntarily. Lea had been offered a place at graduate school and she had the qualifications that promised higher income. I began to perform the everyday routines of a parent with a video camera. When I applied to graduate school at the Finnish Academy of Fine Arts for the first time in 2002, I showed the panel a long take that was shot handheld, in which I wash the floor with our daughter, two-year-old Tyyni. (See the picture on the page 75.)

Since the turn of the century, *maintenance filming* has become one of the methods that I apply consistently. I define *maintenance filming* as handheld filming performed alongside an everyday, recurring household chore such as washing the floor or cooking porridge. Since neither action dominates, tension builds between filming and performing the chore, and they disturb each other and sometimes also support and spur each other on. At times the quality of filming suffers and typically the speed in which the chore is performed is reduced. The most fascinating aspect of *maintenance filming* is trying to fit two incompatible actions together, and it is a practice that also invites impure *video intoxication*.

Clear *video intoxication* comes closest to identifying one's self entirely with the camera and with the moment of filming. It is then that I am free of everything else except filming. However, in *maintenance filming* I am responsible, for example, of ensuring that the porridge will not burn, that the child will not get burnt (cf. Chapter 4: *Hot Soup*), and that this event connected to the maintenance or wellbeing of the family gets recorded in an interesting way. What is fascinating in *maintenance filming* is its insistence on finding harmony or at least some form of coexistence between two actions that are perfect strangers to each other. Filming always disturbs the smooth performance of an everyday task. On the other hand,

performing with another person or with another living being (in our case a cat) creates a sense of community and communication that would hardly exist in the absence of the camera. The everyday chore becomes exceptional. Performing chores together, such as washing the floor and airing the carpets, become tasks that not only maintain an orderly house; filming promotes the actions as extraordinary *maintenance art* that is based on communication. It also creates a representation of the activities and sets certain challenges for the quality of their performance. That which is usually easy and ordinary becomes challenging and fun.

Filming an everyday activity while one is performing it is a political act in multiple ways. Its political content becomes apparent in public performance. Laderman Ukeles' act of washing the steps of the museum becomes political through its documentation. My activities in the kitchen become political when I make them forms of public representation. A man performing activities that are traditionally feminine with his two-year-old daughter while filming them is a provocation both towards the patriarchal order and its feminist critique. There are too many distractions in my action to interpret it simply as critique against the predominant gender division or as support of its feminist critique. The evidentiary force of *maintenance filming,* and of Laderman Ukeles' *maintenance art*, lies in its duration. Maintenance is the opposite of momentary intervention. It requires endurance, persistence and caretaking.

The Sunday Walks

Another dialogical method of filming that I frequently apply is *the Sunday walk*. The dialogue below is an excerpt of one of approximately a hundred videotaped walks in the forest that constitute an artistic method and technique of filming that we have termed *the Sunday walk*. Although I do all the filming, we define and theorize on the filmed scenes together, as well as develop the methods of filming and decide which scenes to show publicly. The fact that I produce the material that arises of a method we have conceptualised together and Lea theorizes on it likewise confuses traditional gender roles. Lea can associate her thoughts freely while I have to take care of recording besides my own thinking and talking.

> **LEA:** Your camera takes part materially in our everyday space, and your *maintenance art* camera, which stirs the porridge and searches for the oven mitt and lifts the bread out of the oven and gets fogged up from its heat, is after all the material side that
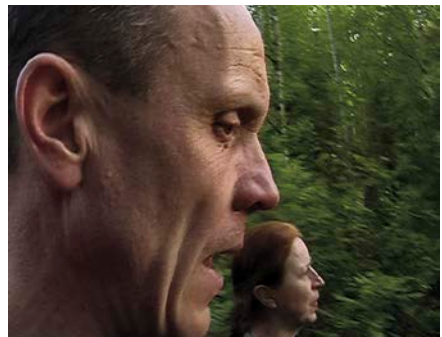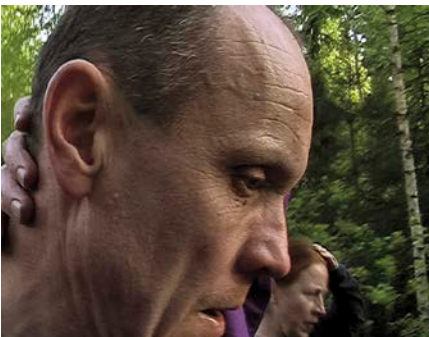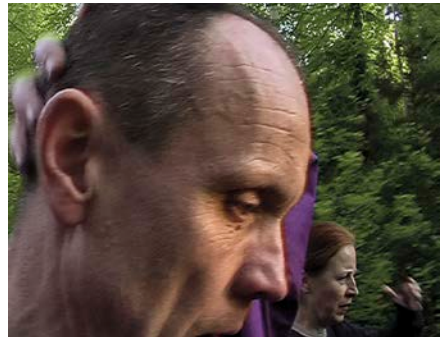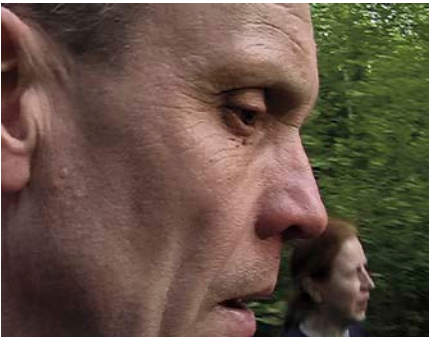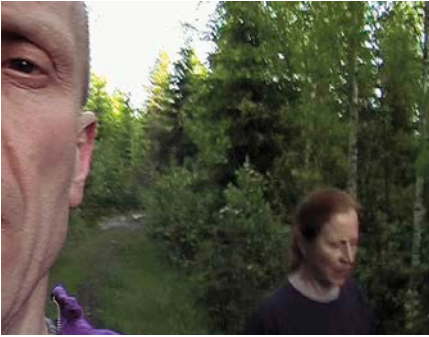
A Sunday walk in the forest of Hermanonkimaa 2008.

conveys what you are actually doing, that you are maintaining, this is your way of participating, this is how you take part in this family's life and in its customs, and not only in our family's but in the other communities as well in which you film. That's the whole point; the fogged up lenses and the clichéd gestures of wiping the camera are just a way of expressing it.

PEKKA: It's comparable to a kettle being dirty – then it's washed. If the lens is dirty, it's wiped. They are both everyday objects that have to be taken care of. They belong to the expression (of *maintenance art*). Somewhere else they would have dramatic effect.

LEA: [...] You bring it into the realm of art. What is it then? You represent a group of artists whose art is in the everyday. It feels as though this is something that certain circles have a hard time accepting, as if it would be somehow exploiting, of course it might exploit, it might exploit family members, if you are taking care of them while you...

PEKKA: That it has a double message, that on the other hand I'm giving, but I'm also taking. Then there has to be a basic assumption that filming is in itself exploitation.

LEA: Yes, that there's a "shooting" aspect. [...] When you involve family members in your filming, the camera is situationist since it calls for something other than a consumption-oriented life and its pre-arranged roles – a situationist camera can change the roles suddenly – and roles are played around with and everything happens at the brink of ambivalence, at the threshold of gender performance. I think it happens all the time on video, the children also comment on it, they comment lovingly and affectionately and slightly mockingly on the crazy father who makes them objects of his own research and gives them an opportunity to have fun.

(The forest of Hermanonkimaa, May 20, 2007)

The Sunday walk was developed gradually as a tool for artistic work. In the spring of 2006, we were preparing an installation for a group show. We decided to use the exhibition space for living and working with our video material while the show was on. The idea of *Studio Kitchen* was to include all the phases of the artistic process inside the installation. For this reason, we started to film the moments when we were planning the project. For the installation we edited the filmed conversations that prepared us to build the artwork.

The experience of documenting our free-floating conversations was so fruitful and encouraging that we decided to develop it as a conscious artistic practice. Gradually, it has become a working practice with its own rules. Its origin is the conventional recreational activity of walking in the woods without any purpose. Its non-instrumental character is paradoxically the basis of *the Sunday walk* as a working practice. We go for *a Sunday walk* with a video camera, and, depending on the season, with a bucket for berries or mushrooms. The discussion of artistic interest is filmed. The

camera is not only for documenting our conversations, but also for triggering or encouraging us to talk. *The Sunday walk* has its own taboos. It is forbidden to mention anything that is connected to timetables, deadlines, definite plans, money or anything that triggers the ordinary chain of thoughts that connects us with the weekly routine of earning money, gaining artistic prestige or accomplishing our social duties. *The Sunday walk* is a place for ideas to float without necessarily having to be accomplished. Freedom of thought is based on strict rules. Sometimes our conversation deviates to concrete plans, and the mood of free thought is spoiled, and may not be recovered during that walk.

The Sunday walk is an open call for our friends who frequently visit us. My mentor Ray Langenbach is one of our friends who is always willing to join us. He commented the previous version of this text:

> I can't separate the video at this point from this other act of *walking the talk*. In a sense it is also a kind of 'maintenance of theory'.

Filming while thinking and talking is a craft that has to be learnt. And through practice you become better at any skill. Technical problems of focusing, framing and exposure are common to all filmmakers. More difficult is learning to keep the inner process of the mind floating and free while filming. To put myself in the frame, when walking, talking, thinking, and filming, demands a certain divided and alert concentration. I have to balance my attention. I frame the picture without watching the screen. I discuss and have eye contact with the person through the camera screen.

Walking in nature is a quintessential way of gaining ideas. Fresh air and slow movement offer enough oxygen for the brain to wander. The right company feeds ideas. The presence of the video camera has a double effect on the walk. Making a representation of the intimate moment; the private is put on stage. By staging the private event, the camera heightens the flow of time. The ordinary time is transformed to video time.

The Sunday walk as an artistic practice functions in different phases of the artistic process. As a life experience, it is a structured way of creating and processing artistic ideas. As a filming experience, it is a structured way of producing artistic material. These two categories of experience have different criteria, but the criteria are also intertwined. *The Sunday walk* as a life experience is evaluated immediately by the significance of the ideas expressed during the walk and by the effect on your body and mind. The artistic material is evaluated only after it has been watched as a representation of *the Sunday walk*.

A Sunday walk with Irmeli
Kokko-Viika and Sakari Viika in the
forest of Hermanonkimaa 2010.

The Dark Side of Filming

There are strict standards for what and how everyday life ought to be recorded for the family album, cine film or home video. In the fifth chapter entitled *Scolding*, I look more closely at the so-called "home mode", the unwritten law that governs filming at home and has a tendency to normalise everything. Most audience comments have assessed our video diary project either directly or indirectly as non-normative or even as abnormal. In this context, ordinary or "normal" refers to perceptions and values that require no justification. I shall point out the main motivations for such moral criticism. Our project is already, in its duration and scope, unusual since filming happens on a daily basis and has no fixed goal. Its subject is the opposite of "home mode" filming since it tries to capture everyday social relations and activities, and is not limited to chronicling family celebrations and producing cherished memories. For several years the filmed subjects were pre-schoolers, who were not expected to be able to assess the effect that filming had on their psychological and social development. The dark side of filming is that we, the parents, cannot see the possible effects that a number of audience members claim to see. This

dark side is essentially out of our reach. The discussion below relates to the case study *Scolding*.

PEKKA: Someone brought up in a comment that by creating such a construction I am withholding what really happens between the children and us, since the camera is at the centre of our focus and becomes the most important thing and not the kids. [...] I call this the dark side of filming, which refers to the whole context, the whole environment in which the filming is done. Presenting the context to an outsider in a verifiable manner is quite impossible, since I'm always reconstructing a representation of a situation, which has its limitations, and the same problems arise once again. [...] Here lies the limit of representation; its documentary value is that it never proves anything. It can, of course, provide proof of who hit whom first, those are the kinds of things it proves, but it does not reveal the mechanisms of psychological power or oppression or lack of love or objectification, since it always gets framed in a certain way when it is edited. So, it is the person editing who exercises power. I cannot look at my own exertion of power from the outside. Then it (the exercising of power) prevents it (the image) from having any evidentiary value. Do you get what I'm saying?

LEA: Not quite. But you're onto something.

PEKKA: In one sentence: the evidentiary value of an image is limited. An image can provide an impression, a hint about a way of living, a quality of living, but it never opens up so that we could say: watch the video and you'll see that the boys have accepted the filming and haven't been traumatised by it. We can never say that by showing the video.

LEA: If we would say that this filming of yours is dark, then one could ask what kind of filming is not? What kind of imagery is acceptable? I could imagine that if I'd believe that some sort of filming is acceptable, it would be filming that has some sort of higher meaning than filming itself. [...] The more I listen to you, the more I realise that you don't have such an agenda: that you would want to tell or prove or argue something through filming. [...]

PEKKA: Why? That scares me.

LEA: Yeah, it's scary. You're renouncing the great story of modernism, which entitles (the artist) to use dark means for good causes.

PEKKA: Can I say that myself, though? If I were to say that, wouldn't I fall into my own trap, that I speak openly of my own darkness which I myself cannot see. We get to a lovely paradox [...]

LEA: If you film something for the sake of filming, and then you show it to people, it works as a reflective surface and reflects the value systems of its commentators back to you.

PEKKA: Where did the value systems come from?

LEA: It's a reflective surface; how the person comments reflects his or her value system, and in the end your work argues that there is no truth, only conflicting worldviews. You function endlessly as a receiver of all the blows, as a soft reflecting mirror.
(The forest of Hermanonkimaa, July 8, 2007)

In *The Emergence of Cinematic Time* (2002) film researcher Mary Ann Doane explains my "great revelation" that a documentary never discloses proof of anything else except of its own indexical relationship with visible, physical reality and time. Film and video are capable of recording temporal duration in space, but cannot express their own relationships with temporality. Film is mute in the sense that it cannot express its own relation to time. For this it needs narration, supplementary text or description. Without this neither the origin of the take or its relationship with temporality can be verified.

The image is the imprint of a particular moment whose particularity becomes indeterminable precisely because the image does not speak its own relation to time. Film is, therefore, a record of time, but a nonspecific, non-identifiable time, a disembodied, unanchored time. The cinema hence becomes the production of a generalized experi-

ence of time, a duration. The unreadability and uncertainty concerning the image's relation to temporality and to its origin are not problems that are resolved – they are, in fact, insoluble. But they are displaced through the elaborate development of structures that produce the image of a coherent and unified 'real time' that is much more 'real' than 'real time' itself. The resulting cinema delicately negotiates the contradiction between recording and signification. (Doane 2002:162–163.)

Doane's claim that the film's narrative creates an experience of temporality that is even more real than the real passing of time justifies why we as spectators so easily accept cinematic truth. Narratives conceal the fact that the truths that we so readily accept are constructed and do not originate from the take itself, even if that is how we experience them. Strong moral statements about our daily home videos are an indication of the fact that film, even in its primitive forms, constructs its own reality that makes us associate it with the truth of the real world.

The Ideal Take

In the early days of our video diary, when we were filming with a camera mounted on a tripod, there were naturally fewer possible variations of the ideal take than there are now when I film more freely. During the first decade, the decision to begin filming was primarily based on anticipating an event or a temporal sequence. A good framing meant predicting what was going to happen. The aesthetics of a decisive moment[4] or a dynamic duration governed my choices. A "good take" captured also something that the filmmaker had not consciously anticipated; owing to successful framing and appropriate duration he got much more than he had hoped for. Rowdy children were gratifying to film since activities were improvised at a fast pace.

A stationary camera that records sound and movement is an inspiring collaborator. It forces the filmmaker to listen to the takes and see beyond the frame. The tension between the image and the world that belongs to it but is left out is its most alluring quality. The filmmaker constructs this relationship without being able to intervene with it during shooting. Decisions have to be made beforehand. A static camera is the best device for recording the condensing, slowing down and speeding up of time. Above all, it captures duration – as opposed to the moving handheld camera. Time or temporal duration is more clearly seen in the images of a stationary camera, since the camera does not create temporality through its own

movements. The moving camera creates montage-like dramaturgy as the framing, the sensations of movement and the lighting conditions change continuously. The moving camera prevents the viewer from distinguishing subtle changes in temporality.

When we were building our *Every Moment* installation (See Chapter 4: *Hot Soup*), which consisted of takes with a stationary camera, our main focus in editing was on the temporal changes inside each individual scene. In addition to searching for the decisive moment, I looked for its opposite: an event in which nothing happens but which is still fascinating to watch. It was almost as if these scenes also concealed a decisive moment, a change in lighting, the air thickening, a hint of something that could not be identified but whose presence could be felt. Such takes were discernible usually only after viewing the filmed version on tape. The stationary camera captures the lack of structure of domestic life accurately. It shows the state of things in a reduced manner. It does not merely reveal the chaotic state of objects, but also the chaos of events and conflicting actions.

Hand-held shooting has different strengths and weaknesses than mounted filming. A camera on a tripod creates the illusion of an objectifying and hierarchical gaze. The camera has literally been put on a pedestal. (In Finnish language, the same word is used for "pedestal" and "stand".) Rouch's rebellion against filming from a tripod in the 1940s was aimed primarily at the period's documentary and educational films. Static shots supplemented with the voice of an omniscient narrator created the impression of a fixed objective truth. The Dogme 95 movement established by Lars von Trier and Thomas Vinterberg provided an even harsher critique on tripod filming and other technical tools and methods through their manifesto on orthodoxy.[5] The camera was to be hand-held even when it remained immobile. Finnish researcher of aesthetics Martti-Tapio Kuuskoski calls the hand-held filming of Dogme 95 "artistic cognition filming." He believes that cognition filming is a new kind of artistic imaging that takes into account all kinds of human cerebral activity from instinctual behaviour to intellectual mechanisms. In his article, Kuuskoski anticipates the birth of a new kind of art film spearheaded by von Trier. (Kuuskoski 2005.)

Von Trier's *The Idiots* (1998) perhaps best exemplifies the nature of *artistic cognition filming*. The relentlessly moving camera prevents the viewer from objectifying what she sees. Since its framing is in constant flux, the viewer is not granted the opportunity to position herself in a hierarchical relationship with the characters of the film. The characters cannot be controlled or limited to a definite space. The viewer has to give up her observer's position and surrender to the role of emphatic viewer. *Artistic cognition filming*

leaves the spectator in state of uncertainty since there is no safe position to watch from; instead, the characters come too close or cannot be seen properly due to elliptic editing that leaves a lot out. In accordance with the Dogme rules, nothing is added to the all-inclusive image and sound, and filming conditions are never amended so that the subject of filming would be in better view.

In Von Trier's fiction films, just like in *The Idiots*, the aim is to create a diegetic world that differs from Hollywood tradition. The viewer is brought dangerously close to the fictional characters. The boundary between real people and fictional characters becomes hazy. Being close to the characters and inside the movement does not, however, create a more immersive experience, even if the viewer is almost drawn into the screen. This haziness between the inside and the outside creates, on the contrary, a sense of alienation. When the screen becomes pierced like this by holes the size of the viewer, the diegetic world gets visitors from the outside world. The alienation von Trier creates is related to Brechtian theatre, but it is created through a method of acting that is the complete opposite of the acting advocated by Brechtian drama. His actors not only empathise with their characters but lose their minds with them. This is particularly evident in *The Idiots* where the characters are in search of their "mentally defective" selves through movement termed "spassing", spastic jerking and drooling. Violent camera movements emphasize the sense of spassing and make the viewer emphatic to it.[6]

Moving into free filming at the turn of the millennium changed significantly our video diary project. One of the earliest hand-held takes was the almost ten minutes shot *Hot Soup* analysed in the chapter 4. It is the take presented in this research that comes closest to von Trier´s cognitive filming analysed by Kuuskoski. Watching the take the viewer gets involved in the drama of household activities, and is forced to take sides as an emphatic witness. The viewpoint is constantly changing, and sometimes the viewer is "dangerously close" to the hot soup, or the hot oven shelf. My desire was to connect the world in front of the camera to the one behind it. It would not have been possible without hand-held filming. In terms of Bill Nichols' documentary modes, my aspiration could be described as performative and excessively reflective.[7] If Nichols' observational mode posits the camera as "fly-on-the-wall", and the participatory mode pertains to the perspective of "fly in the soup", in the excessively reflective mode the perspective of the camera is "fly-all-over-the-place". The excessively reflective camera wishes to challenge conventions. It wants to destroy notions of bad filming. Thus, it understands quality as always situation specific

and contingent. The take *Hot Soup* is in many ways a textbook example of bad filming: the shared responsibility of the adults fails in a precarious everyday situation, pumping the autofocus betrays the filmmaker's anxiety, lighting shifts uncontrollably and the camera swerves from place to place and at times stares squarely at the floor. Now and then the camera and the person behind it separate into two different personas. Due to its faults, the take is perfect as a description of a family in a state of asynchrony. The quality of filming does matter, but its criteria never remain constant. Sometimes faults turn into expression.

Digital technology has changed documentary filmmaking in many ways. Before the digital age, non-professional camera use, which many artistic practices relied on, used the loupe to crop and adjust the image. Digital technology created, however, a small screen beside the camera, a viewfinder, through which we can now see the image in colour. We no longer have to squint with one eye to see a black and white image, or hold the camera on our shoulder or with two hands in front of our faces. The camera sits in our laps, is held in one hand or in any other way that best suits our uses. The screen can be tilted into a suitable angle so that the person filming can even turn his back on the filmed subject and see simultaneously the subject on the screen and the world behind the camera. If one wishes, one can even master a 360-degree panorama while filming.[8]

I make use of the possibilities provided by the digital screen especially when filming *Sunday walks*. In a typical filming situation, Lea sits down on the tussock to pick blueberries without interrupting our discussion on art, while I turn my back to her, place my large head on one side of the image and focus the other side of the image on Lea. This framing I call *video-selfie.* Selfie is the common practice for the social media to document yourself in a photo taken by yourself with your phone or camera. As we discuss, I look at her through the screen and she sees my facial expressions through it if she wishes, although from a distance. Our eye contact passes through the digital camera. We look at each other as if through a mirror. When spectators see our eye contact on screen, they see both of us looking at them, although we are really looking at each other. What is the position of the spectator when, in a sense, we look at each other through her? The time and place of the event are concurrently the same and different. We are in the forest and the spectator watches us in the forest. We watch the spectator sitting in the auditorium, although we see only each other. The contact that is realised through the screen is almost unnoticeable because the difference between the size of the image that is looked at and the image inside it in the viewfinder makes the eye contact difficult to perceive

let alone empathise with. The image that passes through the video camera and is relayed in the viewfinder is also a couple of frames slower than the larger image. A still reveals its obvious delay.

Thanks to the viewfinder I can participate more equally in the discussions conducted after the public viewings of our videos. When I answer or comment on something, I sometimes turn the camera towards myself and check the cropping through the viewfinder, without stopping the flow of conversation. Some members of the audience have experienced this as a momentary relinquishing of the seat of power I hold behind the camera and as me subjecting myself to the revealing powers of the camera, just like all the other participants. Although the camera remains in my hands, the public can temporarily take my place behind it.

The digital age with new tools and media has changed enormously and with a high speed the field of documentary filming. In this research, however, I shall restrain from discussing other kinds of digitalisation than digital filming and editing. I shall leave out discussion of new ways of production, distribution and receiving digital image. However, my ways of filming, archiving, and editing my video diary has been formed according to digital technology. Without a digital video camera I would not film like I do today, I would not archive my footage on outer hard discs and would not use the editing possibilities offered by the editing program. At the same time my filming takes part in the tradition of audiovisual diary that is its own genre of documentary filmmaking. It can be described as a film or as a process of autobiographical filming. When filmmaking and everyday life meet, there is no longer a clear hierarchy determining what is more important, cooking porridge or getting a good shot of it. Filming is one way of organising the world. When I film, I am in search of chance rather than structure. The world reveals its contingent nature in chance.

In this chapter I introduced the different ways of filming that I have applied in the video diary filming. In the next chapter I shall analyse the use of space and the ways of performing in front of the camera in a video diary shot.

Endnotes

1   The scene can be viewed in the Research Catalogue
https://www.researchcatalogue.net/view/352318/352341.

2   Griaule was appointed professor by the Nazi-minded Vichy regime and worked at the University of Sorbonne. According to reports made by his contemporaries, he occasionally lectured in his officer's uniform. During the war, Rouch neither worked for the resistance movement nor participated actively in politics like Griaule. After the war, Griaule became the supervisor of Rouch's doctoral thesis as well as his life-long friend. (Henley 2009:8–9.) Cinematic history seems to have written off the projects of the great post-Second World War filmmakers, funded by the fascists before the war or after it, as youthful indiscretions. The father of neorealism, Roberto Rosselini, and the most celebrated director of Italian modernism, Michelangelo Antonioni, for example, learnt filmmaking by participating in the production of Mussolini's propaganda movies in the 1930s. (See more Ben-Ghiat 2015.)

3   Another environment where I gave up filming almost entirely was in our professional life. The reason behind this decision was not the distaste expressed by the artists and journalists that made up our professional community, but the fact that I was unable to obtain interesting footage in my work environment since the camera remained on its stand. I also very quickly consented to filming relatives only during festive occasions, such as Christmases and birthdays.

4   The notion of a decisive moment is usually associated with the works of French documentary photographer Henri Cartier-Bresson. Capturing exactly the right moment in the right graphic form is characteristic of his photographs. "To me, photography is the simultaneous recognition, in a fraction of a second, of the significance of an event as well as of a precise organisation of forms which give that event its proper expression." Henri Cartier-Bresson (1952). *The Decisive Moment*. New York: Simon and Schuster. pp. 1–14.

5   The Ten Commandments of Dogme 95:

1. Shooting must be done on location. Props and sets must not be brought in (if a particular prop is necessary for the story, a location must be chosen where this prop is to be found).
2. The sound must never be produced apart from the images or *vice versa*. (Music must not be used unless it occurs where the scene is being shot.)
3. The camera must be hand-held. Any movement or immobility attainable in the hand is permitted.
4. The film must be in colour. Special lighting is not acceptable. (If there is too little light for exposure the scene must be cut or a single lamp be attached to the camera).
5. Optical work and filters are forbidden.
6. The film must not contain superficial action. (Murders, weapons, etc. must not occur.)
7. Temporal and geographical alienation are forbidden. (That is to say that the film takes place here and now).

8. Genre movies are not acceptable.

9. The film format must be Academy 35 mm.

10. The director must not be credited.

Dogme 95 (1995) The Vow of Chastity: Dogme Manifesto. Copenhagen.

6 In his movie *Trash Humpers* (2009), American filmmaker Harmony Korine extends the aesthetics of "spassing" to the technical aspects and the quality of the film. The movie, shot at night by the light of streetlamps with an antiquated VHS camera, shows the deformed and incestuous "Trash Humpers" at their nightly activities humping trashcans and garbage heaps, pounding public property into forms that please them and wreaking havoc without any particular reason. There is no plot; the film moves from one scene to the next with the help of the static of analog video. The overall rhythm is meaningfully tedious. The actors are made up of Korine and a group of friends.

7 In his doctoral dissertation *Todellisuuden vangit vapauden valtakunnassa – Dokumenttielokuva ja sen tekoprosessi* (*The Prisoners of Reality in the Realm of Freedom: Documentary Film and Its Production Process*), documentarist and film researcher Jouko Aaltonen gives a clear summary of Nichols' scheme of documentary modes and its critique. In the research conducted on Finnish documentary films, Nichols's modes authoritarian have become to some extent since all three doctoral dissertations concerning the field of documentary filmmaking completed in the 2000s at the film department of the Aalto University apply Nichols' documentary modes. (cf. Aaltonen 2006; Helke 2006; Korhonen 2013.) There are six modes in Nichols' scheme. The *poetic mode* highlights visual poetry and approaches experimental film since its early forms can be seen in the avant-garde films of the 1920s. The *expository mode* relies heavily on textual explanation and, in its most traditional forms, on an omniscient narrator. It presents arguments in support of a certain cause. The *observational mode* aims at portraying reality without any kind of interference. An ideal observational documentary is filmed as if the camera was never present or, at most, through the "fly-on-the-wall" perspective. In the *participatory mode* the filmmaker participates in the activities and even provokes action, as is evident in Jean Rouch's films. The documentarist is a "fly in the soup". The *reflexive mode* is conscious of the fact that the reality presented in the film is a construct, and it aims to make this evident also for the spectator. The filmmaker and the film itself reflect on their relationship with reality, the spectator and the conventions of filmmaking. In the *performative mode* presenting and performing are emphasised and filming moves closer to fictional films. A performative documentary participates actively in the creation of the reality which it records. It uses different forms of narration subjectively. (Aaltonen 2006:81–86.) Stella Bruzzi criticises Nichols of Darwinism; she believes Nichols creates a false chronological development story in which the primitive documentary develops into more advanced forms. The performative mode, which mixes all of the other modes, is the culmination of creation. Nichols' thinking has also been criticised for its formalism. Aaltonen defends Nichols as a film practitioner, and believes that the modes should be applied according to practical needs. He does, however, criticise Nichols of the obscure description given for the performative mode. It becomes a dumpsite, which houses all new documentary films that

suit no other category. Nichols added the performative mode only later to his family of modes of documentary. (Ibid.87–89.)

8 In 2015 cheap 360 degree video cameras were introduced. Without experiences of my own I only mention this new gadget.

Spying and Counter-Spying

The Home as a Stage of Strategic and Tactical Action

The case study *Spying and Counter-Spying: The Home as a Stage for Strategic and Tactic Action* is an example of filmed events in the home space, a spying scene in which persons actively re-organize the space for their own purposes. There I apply the theory of Michel de Certeau about strategy and tactics to a play in which the video camera is an active agent. Another theoretical model applied is Michael Kirby´s matrixed and non-matrixed acting. The chapter has been published in Finnish in the book *Ankaraa ja myötätuntoista kuuntelua. Keskustelevaa kirjoitusta paikkasidonnaisesta taiteesta,* *(Rigorous and Compassionate Listening. Dialogical Writing on Site-Specific Art.)* ed. Lea Kantonen (Helsinki: KUVA, 2009)

The spying scene was a game that was filmed in our home on December 10, 2007, between 6 and 7 p.m. The recording contained 26 minutes and 15 seconds of footage in five takes. The five scenes described at the beginning of this chapter comprise an eight-minute sequence edited from takes three and four of the original recording. My analysis has focused on this edited version of the event, which was shown in public screenings. I have made a conscious choice to ignore the deleted scenes and any other sources concerning the event. The version that I´m writing about is the same as was seen by the audience both in the *generational filming* screening, and in the exhibition *Ripples at Home.*[1]

Scenes from the case study *Spying and Counter-Spying* 2007.
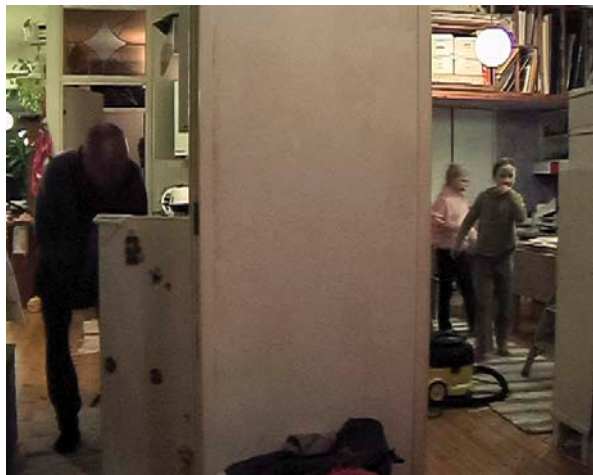
SCENE I

The camera films a view divided in three: on the left, a doorway to the kitchen, in the middle, the pale wall of the entrance hall and, on the right, a study. A man enters from behind the camera into the hall, goes into the study and sits down. After a dissolve, the man is still seen sitting and staring straight in front of him. A brick wall blocks the view from the study to the kitchen. As the man exits the frame to a room at the back, a girl under the age of ten darts by. She sees the man and returns to the hall to issue a warning:

— *Tyyni, watch out! Pekka!*

The following exchange can be heard:

— *Lea, have you rested?*
— *I want some coffee.*

The man reappears in the kitchen, fills an electric kettle and moves out of sight to the left. There is movement in the far end of the kitchen. The man returns to the sink, takes a coffee filter out of the cupboard and taps it against the palm of his hand.

— *Are you sure? It's almost seven o'clock. Hey!*
— *There's no way I can think…*
— *Okay, just a little drop.*

The girl returns to the entrance hall, peeks into the kitchen and notices her friend tiptoeing across the study. The kettle begins to boil as the woman steps into the kitchen with a sigh.

— *That helped a little.*

The man shakes some ground coffee into the filter. The woman wanders into the office, glances at the spot the man has been staring at and goes to the back and out of sight. The man stretches stiffly in front of the sink and asks:

— *Would you like to have some pie or some Christmas pastry or…?*

The woman steps into the kitchen and answers:

— Everything.

The man gets a plastic container from a fridge close to the camera and takes it left and out of sight. He exits to the back and reappears after a moment in the study. The man sits down, taps the desk with his forefinger and starts staring in front of him.

SCENE II

After the picture dissolves, the man still sits in the same position but now he is wearing headphones. Unseen, the woman moans:

— Give me coffee!

The frantic, non-verbal whingeing of children can be heard. The camera starts to move apprehensively. A small hand appears in front of the lens. The man removes his headphones and goes to the kitchen through the back. The camera halts at a crooked angle, the sounds of the children cease.

The man pours water carefully through a filter. The camera turns slowly to centre on him. The sounds of the children sound determined. The adults discuss:

— Anything nice to read?
— Have you read the latest Voima?
— No. Voima's just what I'd like to read right now.

The man stoops out of sight, and then gets up again. A whacking sound. One of the girls sneaks to the doorway of the room to pick up an object that looks like a picture book or a board game. The man sips from his coffee mug and takes it left and out of view.

SCENE III

The picture dissolves to reveal the same framing as in the first scene. The man enters the kitchen from the back, gets a mug from the left and shakes a sieve on top of it. He stops at the sink and takes a careful sip from the mug. On his way to the fridge, he straightens the rag rug. As he sniffs at

Epilogue of the case study *Spying and Counter-Spying*.

a container, which he took out of the fridge, the girls cross the study and enter the entrance hall on tiptoe. Their lips are smeared with red paint. The girls discuss wordlessly, pulling faces and gesturing with their hands. They are both moving their flexed arms sideways and looking at the camera. Their hands are balled up in fists. One of the girls stoops as if crouching to jump on prey. The other leans backwards and strikes a pose with a smirk. The man sniffs again at the container, turns it around, opens a lower cupboard and bangs the container against the edge of something. The girls dart behind the camera. The camera is shaken violently and the picture goes black.

EPILOGUE

The picture fades in and the camera turns to look behind itself: a small study with its desks full of piles of books and papers. The camera films its own shadow cast onto the door, the upside-down cabinets, a foot disappearing under the bed, one of the girls curled into its nook, the rows of CDs on a shelf. Accompanied by the clatter of the tripod, the camera pulls back to the entrance hall and settles at the same threefold framing as in the beginning. As the picture fades to black, no one is in view.

Strategy and Tactic

French multidisciplinarian Michel de Certeau studied rhetoric, the "science of speech", for methods with which to analyse daily life. According to Certeau, statistical research and scientific approaches focused on fragments lose their target. Such research understands only the recurrences of everyday life but does not recognise its particularity or the form of its events. (Certeau 1984:xviii.) Certeau draws parallels between speech and everyday practices such as walking, dwelling and cooking. Certeau argues that linguistic terminology such as tropes and metaphors find their equivalents in everyday tasks. Language use includes two logics of action: the strategic and the tactical. The strategic contains the application of dominant language use, the tactical its adaptations and distortions. (Ibid.xx.) The same dichotomy occurs in the everyday. A pedestrian may choose strategically the gravel path designed by the park's administration or tactically to tread his or her own way through the turf, followed with a couple of chin-ups on a nearby branch.

Certeau defines strategy as a calculus/plan that can be localised and is fraught by power relations. Strategy always has its own place. It is a quality found in strong and stable institutions. Its place-bound nature enables the use of the panoptic[2] gaze. Strategy contains the supremacy of place over time. (Ibid.xix.)

Tactics, on the other hand, is planning that lacks its own place. It is the plan of the weak and the homeless. It requires the ability to seize opportunities. It does not have the capacity to institute permanent change – without turning into strategy. It is time-bound. According to Certeau, several everyday practices, such as talking, reading, cooking and shopping, are tactical by nature.

Applied to the setting of the home, strategy is manifest in the floor plan drawn by the architect. It defines the strategic use of the home; each of its rooms has its normative purpose. Routes taken by people inside the home and such uses that counter the plans of the architect are, on the other hand, tactical. (Saarikangas 2002:30–32.)

Inspired by Certeau, I understand the above spying sequence as a battle between the strategic and the tactical. The fact that such terminology originates from warfare further encourages my reading. The scene of battle is the home and the battle is fought over space and the video camera. Seeing and being seen regulates action and power. Seeing is power, being seen is losing power and becoming exposed. The man and the woman are guardians of strategic power, the girls its tactical destabilizers.

The strategy of living in the home is culturally bound. The basis of this strategy is in architectural design. It defines how to act in a home: where to cook and eat, where to write and where to rest. The arrangement of the rooms defines how to move in the home. The home discussed here has a circuit structure. Its centre is the brick wall of the oven, around which one can circle. The kitchen is I-shaped with all its furniture arranged along the same wall. Passage from the hall to the rooms in the back runs past the desk in the study and between the furniture and the dining table in the kitchen. The back of the kitchen is off this route.

In the first scene, strategic positioning and tactical movement in the home are central. In the opening sequence, the man has placed himself in the study in order to be filmed. No one else is visible but it is soon evident that the girls are in the back of the living room/kitchen and the woman is somewhere in the back of the study. As soon as the man abandons his position, the girls begin to defy authority. They must pass unnoticed by the man from the back of the kitchen to the entrance hall – to a position from which they can observe the man. One of the girls is successful, but the other gets trapped in the kitchen.

The man and the woman gain control over the central space of the home, the kitchen, through the strategic act of preparing coffee, which complies with architectural arrangement. The scene ends with a momentary victory for the girls, as the other girl succeeds in fleeing from the kitchen by way of a route that the camera fails to capture.

In the first scene, the camera has marked the man's strategic panoptic surveillance gaze, which has kept watch over the space and documented the man on his throne of power. The camera has been invisible and its gaze natural and universal – it has provided a window to reality. In the beginning of the second scene, the girls are at the height of their power: they have invented their own secret language and taken control over the device controlling the surveillance gaze, the camera. The shaking picture reveals the presence of the camera and its voyeuristic nature. The gaze that was once universal is now vulnerable and personal. The camera receives both a punishment and a warning. It is shaken and struck. Its final position and crooked angle constitute a crippled panoptic gaze. After this dressing-down, the camera turns to watch the man preparing coffee. Power has changed hands – temporarily. The girls have seized the medium of the panoptic gaze.

The third scene does not follow logically from the previous. Strategic power – the stable panoptic gaze of the camera – has been restored. The girls perform another tactical attack, armed with new weapons. Their secret language is mute pantomime and their red-painted lips and rigid movements emphasise their wild hunting instinct. The hijacked camera suffers a more aggressive handling than in the previous scene and the picture blacks out.

The epilogue celebrates the authority of the camera. The camera films itself, its own shadow, before exposing the hiding usurpers and finally returning to its original lookout post. The camera is the sole ruler of empty space.

The man and the woman are guardians of the strategic trinity of space, power and knowledge. They master the strategy of the home and relay this knowledge to their offspring. The spying scene reveals, however, their own imperfections and the power relations between them. They too disrupt the spatial strategy they have created themselves.

The relationship between the man and the woman appears to be that of servant and mistress. The man controls space through his actions, the woman passively through speech. The woman's throne is hidden. Her words are heard coming from an undefined direction and, despite her weariness, they fill up the space. The man's throne is also under her rule; the woman visits the study to inspect what the man has been staring at.

The man exercises the power of servitude. He governs the use of space and regulates the woman's actions; he determines how much coffee she can drink, which treats she can have and which magazines she can read. The man's functional power is best exhibited in a gesture with double meaning: in the straightening of the rug. The man upholds the rules of the space, defines its arrangement and marks his own territory. By his movements next to the fridge the spectator can discern that the man has the power to decide what in the fridge is eatable and what should be discarded. However, his behaviour of stretching by the sink, blocking the passageway, reveals that even adults do not consistently abide by normative spatial strategy. The ultimate controller of the video document is the editor, the man possessing the recording device.

Acting and Not-acting

In his article "Acting and Not-acting" (Kirby 1987:3–20.), American performance theorist Michael Kirby places different levels of performing on a linear continuum. At one end of the scale is not-acting, behaviour that is "nonmatrixed", and at the other end is acting, performing according to the matrix. Sri Lanka-born Australian film theorist Laleen Jayamanne applies Kirby's model in her analysis of Chantal Akerman's film *Jeanne Dielman, 23 Quai du Commerce, 1080 Bruxelles* (1975) in her essay "Modes of Performance in Chantal Akerman's *Jeanne Dielman*". (Jayamanne 2001:149–160.) In light of Akerman's film and Jayamanne and Kirby's texts, I shall look at the abovementioned spying scene and try to determine to what extent its events are acted out, performed or whether it is merely a recording of a sequence of activities.

Kirby does not give a definition of performance. Jayamanne makes this clarification in her discussion on Kirby's model. She points out that performing is understood as placing one's self under the scrutiny of people or mechanical recording devices.[3] Kirby writes about live events, while Jayamanne applies his model to film. As an example of nonmatrixed performance, Kirby presents the stagehand that performs set changes in front of the audience. If the stagehand is dressed in tune with the performance, for example in a cowboy costume, he becomes embedded in the symbolic matrix of the performance even if he does nothing besides his set activities. If he then begins a game of cards with his friends/colleagues onstage, his performance is read as received acting, even if he would not aspire to perform a role in any way. (Kirby 1987:4–7.)

Kirby believes that the fundamental difference between these categories lies in pretending. When the performer pretends to do or say something she is acting. Kirby's scale of acting ranges from simple acting to complex acting. The scale has nothing to do with good or bad acting. It explains the diversity of methods. In its simplest form, acting consists of a person speaking a set text as herself. At its most complex, acting consists of portraying a fictional character according to the intent of the director. (Ibid.10.)

Celebrated French actress Delphine Seyrig plays the main character in Akerman's film. She plays the widowed middle-class housewife Jeanne Dielman who spends her days mainly doing household chores. During afternoons, however, while her teenage son is at school, she receives male visitors and makes love to them for money. The three hour long movie covers the time span of three days and focuses on the monotonous activities of the mother, which she performs either alone or in the company of her son. These events are usually captured in one shot by a camera standing on a tripod. Seyrig performs the activities calmly and efficiently and without apparent intention to convey emotion. Her laconic lines are spoken clearly and without additional gesticulation. Jayamanne places Seyrig's acting close to the nonmatrixed end of Kirby's continuum, still without question on the plane of acting. Jayamanne uses the double name Dielman/Seyrig to emphasise the close, partly merged relationship between actor and character. (Jayamanne 2001:152.)

In an interview, Seyrig describes the part she played as exceptional in her career, explaining that usually she experiences acting as portraying someone else and then adding something of herself that can be read, so to say, between the lines.

> But now I feel I don't have to hide behind the mask, I can be my own size. It changes *acting* into *action*, what it was meant to be. (Ibid.153, italics Jayamanne.)

Jayamanne believes Dielman/Seyrig performs the household activities both for herself and for the camera. The actions are not metonymic as they are in realistic acting. They are shown in their entire duration and their function is not to convey any other meaning than what they themselves constitute (Ibid.156.). A parallel between the film's time and that of its viewer's is built by showing activities in their entire duration.

The spying scene discussed above is similar to Akerman's movie in its aesthetic look and performative actions. In both cases, the space of the home is central in determining people's actions and movements and their expressive quality. The camera is likewise fixed on its tripod and mainly

remains stationary. The spying scene captures everyday actions and arranges them as a triptych. Akerman's movie contains a strong vertical division, which emphasises walls and hall-like spaces.

In both the spying scene and *Jeanne Dielman*, editing reveals what is not shown. Movement and rhythm are created inside takes rather than by editing. Editing is elliptic by nature. It is contrary to both Eisenstein's montage, in which images collide into each other, and narrative editing focused on the illusion of continuity.

Jeanne Dielman is a fictional film that emphasizes through its narrative "the images between the images", the scenes that a typical fiction film about quotidian life omits. Akerman shows the making of a bed, cooking and eating in their entire durations without cuts or movements of the camera. In her monograph on Akerman's films, *Nothing Happens* (1996), American film scholar Ivone Margulies defines the nature of Akerman's body of work as hyperrealist everyday. Akerman's shots are too long and repetitive for narrative purposes. She invites the spectator to watch something else than the action in the scene. We see details, colours, shades and forms in the furnishings that do not forward the narrative. (Margulies 1996:4, 22.) Margulies traces the historical thread of everyday representation in film from neorealism, American experimental cinema – especially in Andy Warhol's and Michael Snow's works – to the modernist cinemas of Michelangelo Antonioni, Robert Bresson and Jean-Luc Godard and finally to the films of Chantal Akerman. European post-war culture was enthralled with the quotidian: phenomenology, existentialism, semiology, the Annales School and feminism considered the everyday as their subject matter (Ibid.24). In film the challenge was to make representations of unrepresented quotidian reality. In neorealism the mundane was approached by analytic editing, emphatically understanding the life of ordinary protagonists like the old man in Vittorio de Sica's *Umberto D.* (1952) Warhol filmed and showed hours of eating (*Eat*, 1963) or sleeping (*Sleep*, 1963). The use of amateur actors, the emphasis on the materiality of the pro-filmic, and the reenactment of the filmmaker's own experiences were common strategies to film the everyday. According to Margulies, all of the mentioned filmmakers influenced greatly Akerman's career. (Ibid. 2, 24.) Akerman's films have inspired my work only recently, but the same directors and film traditions have been important to me even before I started filming.

In *Jeanne Dielman* Akerman worked with a professional actress and written script to create by minimalist hyperrealist filming and editing strategies the mundane world of a middle-aged middle-class housewife. What is exceptional to the ordinary is that the protagonist of the film works as

a prostitute in her bedroom in the afternoons, and murders one of her clients with scissors. For the spectator this dénouement is an ambiguous shock, because it appears like a real act, and at the same time convinces the spectator that *Jeanne Dielman* is only a fiction.

Spying and Counter-Spying is a short documentary that by editing resembles a fictional narrative. It has a loose plot structure that the spectator is guided to follow. The spectator is tempted to feel excited over who will win the spying game. The dénouement is a symbolic closure: the camera is hovering and detecting the hiding girls, and returns to the stable position as in the beginning.

On the scale of acting and not-acting, the spying scene is far more ambiguous than *Jeanne Dielman*. The filming of Akerman's movie followed a script; the performed actions have been agreed on and lines spoken follow a set written text. It is reasonable to assume that "accidents" such as dropping a knife on the floor and other mistakes in performance are scripted since they occur at the end of the film and foreshadow its disastrous ending, frustration finally leading to murder. The matrix is simple but permanent.

In the spying scene, however, the matrix of performance changes constantly. The persons or agents, the camera included, each fulfil a different matrix and can change their matrix on the fly. One obvious reason for such volatility is that there is no script. There is a plan for shooting but it gets questioned during filming. There are at least two plans of action: the girls' plan to spy on the adults and the man's plan to counter-spy on the girls with the camera. There are also two performance directions: toward the camera and toward the people present in the space of the home.

Applying Kirby's model to the situation reveals that the man's performance is closest to acting and Akerman's main character. However, strategies behind the man's and Dielman/Seyrig's acting/performing differ. Dielman/Seyrig performs everyday tasks as economically as possible in order to avoid additional meanings. The man performs everyday tasks precisely in order to add meaning to them: he sniffs at the container, he straightens the carpet, he stretches his legs and makes a clatter. Like a magician, he tries to deceive the film's future spectators and hide the artfulness of his actions. The man is constantly aware of the camera and of the girls' attempts to spy on him. He plans his actions so as to not see the girls. He avoids approaching the camera so that its placement remains ambiguous and does not reveal his cunning. He moves in the space illogically at times in order to produce the intended result.

The woman's matrix is not revealed. Since she never approaches the camera nor looks in its direction, she seems unaware of it all through-

out the episode. However, she might be aware of both the camera and the girls' spying. She might just be playing ignorance toward the rest of the agents or for some of them. Also the girls might be deceiving the man by only pretending that they don´t know about his counter-spying. The edited video document doesn´t give an unambiguous answer.

The matrix within which the camera performs, changes during the episode. At first, it inhabits its natural role as the invisible recorder outside of any performative matrix. When the children shake it and hit its lens, it becomes visible. When the children gesticulate to it, it gets personified in the eyes of the spectator. In the epilogue the camera has already become an active agent, a revealer. In a sense, the camera becomes even more of an agent than the card players in Kirby's example (received acting), since, unlike them, it actively participates in the events on stage.

Home videos are usually received in two ways. On the one hand, they are thought to depict what truly happens in the home. On the other, it is believed that the presence of a camera destroys authenticity. These attitudes can be reduced to the following statements: "The camera simply records the event as it is." And: "When a camera is present, everyone starts acting."

Using the theoretical frameworks provided by Certeau's analysis of the everyday and Kirby's performance continuum, I have sought to examine the several levels of meaning embedded in an audiovisual construction of the everyday. By applying Certeau's two logics of action, the strategic and tactical, I have outlined how power manifests itself in the domestic space. The use of Kirby's model reveals the levels of the documentary and the fictitious, of the lived and the performed that are visible in the recording. The video documentation of the spying event is an example, where documentary and fiction are intertwined so that you cannot distinguished them of each other. I will return to this thematics in the 8th chapter *Haircut, Hauka and the Mimetic Excess*. In the next chapter I shall write about *the Asking for Advice* performance that preceded the invention of the *generational filming* method.

Endnotes

1 The scene can be viewed in the Research Catalogue
https://www.researchcatalogue.net/view/352318/352341.

2 *The Panopticon* is a design for a prison created by Jeremy Bentham in the late 18th century. It is based on the idea that a prison could be effectively surveyed from a watchtower in the middle without the inmates knowing that they are being watched. French philosopher Michel Foucault uses the term to describe a gaze that controls a space so that those observed are unaware of being watched. (see Foucault 1980:237–256.)

3 "If 'performing' can be taken as a more or less generic word to designate the act of placing a body in front of an observer (human or mechanical, i.e., a camera), then a continuum can be established between two extreme modes of doing this: MATRIXED PERFORMING – NON-MATRIXED PER-FORMING." (Jayamanne 2001:151.)

PHOTO: TYYNI KANTONEN

Watching Chantal Akerman´s *Jeanne Dielman* with Ilkka Sariola in our living room 2017.

Hot Soup

The Birth of the Asking for Advice Performance

Introduction

The method of *generational filming* got invented by two routes. The first was the performance *Asking for Advice*, I shall come back to the second in the next chapter. In this chapter I describe first the initial phases of our video diary. During ten years we filmed a shot every day without moving the tripod-supported camera. Further on I describe how our filming changed in the course of a decade and got a new direction after we had started *Asking for Advice* performances. The performance revealed also for ourselves how much our video diary shots documenting one event with only one shot resembled early cinema. The screening event, arranged as a performance resembled those of early films in which the films were a part of a social event consisting of varying numbers in the program. Another screening event, exemplary for us, is *shared anthropology,* a screening practice invented by French ethnographer and film-maker Jean Rouch: to show the raw edition of a film to the filmed persons and to edit the final version according to their comments. Finally I shall look at how the *Asking for Advice* performance actualizes the viewing culture of post-classical film characterized by Miriam Hansen. Like Hansen I utilize Oscar Negt and Alexander Kluge's concept of *proletarian public sphere*. According to Hansen the early 20th century nickelodeon actualized Negt and Kluge's ideal of the *proletarian public sphere* in many ways. I claim that *Asking for Advice* creates a *proletarian public sphere* and utilizes Rouch's idea of *shared anthropology*. Following the two theories I suggest that *Asking for Advice* and *generational filming* could be viewed as *shared sphere of watching*.

The Early Phases

The video diary project started on the 11th of March, 1990. We were visiting, with our one and three-year-old sons, Jaana and Jaap Klevering's Dodance dance centre in Oskola, North Carelia. The Kleverings had asked me to shoot an international contact improvisation dance event on my video8 camera. I had decided earlier that in Oskola I would start my first own art project, a video diary. First I filmed myself reading out my thoughts on breathing in my diary. I also filmed myself with the boys. The camera was still on a tripod. Every day I shot one picture with myself in it, with at least a glimpse of me.

When I started the video diary my aims were related to the making of a documentary. My purpose was to film everyday life in a direct and diverse way. The video camera was a window to my life. I tried to avoid the mediating effect of recording at all costs. The point of view was subjective. The picture was supposed to be a mere recording of what happened in front of the camera.

Even though the video diary was initially my project, I discussed it with Lea every day. It was our common breathing space at a moment in life when there was no time for art. We were a four-person family, with no regular income or assets, building a house in the country with loan money. From the start I was shooting an art project, although without any idea of what type of works would result from the process. We had given the project a few restricting parameters and initially we kept to them. Our ironic motto during the early 1990s recession was: "If we lose the house, we'll still have the video!"

The first private viewing of the material was during an art therapy course in May 1990. I showed a 15-minute clip. The most positive comment was: "There should be a scene from life at the Kantonens' every day on TV – a little counter-information to regular media!" I suggested the video diary project for the AVEK (The Promotion Centre for Audiovisual Culture) video artist Leonardo course and it was approved. The second push for making a piece was from *High Performance* magazine that we had been reading since the 1980s. There was an open call in the magazine requesting for artworks for an exhibition with the theme White, Middle-Aged, Heterosexual Male. I couldn't finish my proposal before the deadline and later I read in the same magazine that the project had been cancelled, because they had not received enough applications. Sparked off by feminism, the concept for the show had probably been ahead of its time.

Following the Leonardo course the first version of the video performance *xxx-days*[1] was screened at the MuuMediaFestival in May 1991. The

PHOTO: SAKARI VIIKA

Every Moment performance and installation.
MuuMediaFestival, Helsinki 1993.

Every Moment performance and installation.
MuuMediaFestival, Helsinki 1993.

whole family took part in the performance, although it was credited to me only. *Xxx-days* depicts the life of a male artist in respect to family life, paid work, the zeitgeist and his own body. Being an artist does not appear as independent action; it is full of dependency, conflicts and compromises. Being an artist is founded on several contradictory and random factors that pull the artist in many directions. We did not want to separate any part of life outside the role of an artist. George Kuchar´s (1942–2011) humorous *Weather Diaries*, and Bill Viola´s (b. 1951) video works were inspirational in their inclusion of both everyday life and events of birth and death in the art works.

For the second screening we credited the performance to both of us. Although the point of view of the piece mainly questioned the normative male ideal, I was not the only author. The presence of the whole family added to the diffusion of authorship. The performance contained a scene in which Lea and I circled the performance space and read out the events of the day. Details were mentioned in the following order: time of day, the action, the feeling and the motive. First we read out the events of our day and then the events of the two and four-year-old boys. One reason we stopped performing *xxx-days* was because imagining the points of view of the boys seemed artificial and breached the documentary viewing of the piece. Later that particular distortion has become fascinating because, due to its fictional value, it creates a layer of doubt as to the reliability of the piece.

The video works we made in the 1990s, the video performance *xxx-days* (1991–92) and a video installation and performance *Every Moment* (1993–98), were based on the aesthetics of an unedited shot. Each event was only shown in one shot, though sometimes there were two shots as we both had filmed the same event (for example in *The Haircut*). The videotapes consisted more or less of a series of independent shots that joined up either through a straight cut or a sub-heading. In *Every Moment* the main attention is on the parallel relationships of the time of the performance, the time of the viewing and the time on tape. During the performance or within the installation the viewer makes her own edit by turning her head or changing the focus of their attention.

For eight and a half years we both filmed parallel video diary shots, although after the first year Lea let me shoot the shots that she had planned. Filming as a technical feat took far too much thought and time for her. For the coming *Every Moment* installation we needed shots with Lea and shots of me from the same day, as one of the sequences in the installation was a continuously updated week in the life of each of us. It was not signifi-

cant who was filming, but rather who was in the shot. When we stopped screening the *Every Moment* installation and performance in the autumn of 1998 we also stopped the parallel filming.

One Shot off a Tripod

For the first ten years we filmed one shot a day. The camera was on a tripod and recorded what was in front of it, a view or an event. Framing did not change during the shot. The themes of the shots can be divided into four categories: a monologue for the camera, a discussion in front of the camera, an everyday event or an event related to an art project. The shots in the first category are traditional, improvised narration in the form of a diary directed at the viewer. They are performed for the camera. The discussions were mainly recordings of everyday conversations and rarely set up for the camera. The art project shots documented the projects themselves. There were rarely any arrangements for recording everyday events. I turned on the camera if I anticipated that something interesting might happen. Anticipating the event was the main criterion for framing. There were no recurring restrictions to framing. The camera was left to shoot whatever was in front of it. After a while I turned it off.

In a video shot the turning on and turning off of the camera define the boundaries of an event. The most interesting sequence of events may have taken place before or after the shooting but the video event is what has been recorded. Editing may tighten the event. I never filmed two shots of the same event unless there was a technical problem.

According to the film researcher Mary Ann Doane, an event becomes relevant only in relation to another event. The naming of a time sequence as an event means that another time sequence becomes a non-event, dead time. Continuous temporal moments are contingent by nature: anything can happen, and when something happens, an event is created. The passing of time itself avoids the construction or solidification of meaning, but at the same time it includes the possibility for perceiving structure. According to Doane: "the concept of the event is on the cusp between contingency and structure, history and theory" (Doane 2002:140).

The shooting of our video diary is somewhat similar to filming during the early days of cinema. Out of many different possibilities cinema became the dominant form of recording reality at the end of the 19th century.[2] Photography was able to record a moment but cinema could record the passing of time, duration. The first films from the end of the 19th century

were recordings of events that researchers have named *cinema of actualities*. The Lumière brothers showed how a train arrives at a station, how a child eats, how workers leave a factory. The audiences were terrified and fascinated. According to urban legend the first screening by the Lumière brothers created panic in the audience and made them jump out of their seats as the train approached the station. Film researcher Tom Gunning disputes the version told by many film researchers. Gunning has been unable to find any evidence about panic during the first screening. The audience's terrified reaction has been reported in other screenings of the approaching train and the Lumière brothers' traffic film. (Gunning 1994:114–115.)

In the press reports of the first screenings cinema was celebrated for conquering death: "Speech has already been collected and reproduced, now life is collected and reproduced. For example, it will be possible to see one´s loved ones active long after they have passed away." (Le Radical). And La Poste: "When these cameras are made available to the public, when everyone can photograph their dear ones, no longer in a motionless form but in their movements, their activity, their familiar gestures, with word on their lips, death will have ceased to be absolute." (cit. in Doane 2002:62.) It is important to remember that in the first screenings the film was mute and in black and white. The miracle of resurrection was shown literally. At the beginning of each film the audience would see a still image that came to

Wixárika children watching Lumiere´s *Demolition of a Wall* (1896) at the Tatuutsi Maxakwaxi school in San Miguel Huaistita, Mexico 2014.

life when the projector started running. According to Gunning it was this metamorphosis that created the reactions of terror and fascination rather than the naive fear of an approaching train. (Gunning 1994:119.)

Most of the films in the first ten years were recordings of reality. The cameraman was supposed to frame a temporal and spatial sequence of reality that included an event. The cameraman could define the starting point but the event itself was contingent and could change into something completely different from what was anticipated. According to Doane the contingent nature of reality preoccupied the people of the time. It was seen both as a threat and a temptation. (Doane 2002:144.) Cinema was born to represent the passing of time.

The cinema of actualities created a feeling in the audience that something extraordinary was happening in front of their eyes. Doane says the intensity of cinema lies in its ability to record time, but film is only realised as a recording of past time when it is projected on the screen and the audience views the projection, merging film time and the viewer's viewing time. Film is both a recording and a presentation. In fact, an unedited single-shot film consists of three parallel times: the time of the event shown in the film, the film time and the viewing time of the viewer.

The *Every Moment* installation and performance deals with the comparison of video time, i.e. the representation of time, and time in reality. The way time manifests itself in a shot was the main criterion for including it in the work. Time seemed to fly in some shots and nearly stop in others. In the most interesting ones the experience of time changed during the shot.

We represented time on three different scales: the time of the event shown in the film, the film time and the viewing time of the viewer.

In our video image the real time of everyday life had become a representation of real time. It consisted only of fragments of the representation of real time and did not include the illusions of the continuity of time, space and events of cinematic editing. The transitions from one shot to another always lead to a different time and space.

Glued on the walls were sheets of A4 with the day's events recorded in half an hour segments. The texts were of the same form as in the ritualistic part of *xxx-days* performance in which we walked in a circle. Stated in the text were time, action and emotion during the action and motive. The motives were divided into eight categories: Basics, Personal need, Family, Human relationships, Non-voluntary acts, Money, Art and Politics[3]. *Xxx-days* included the events of a single day but the sheets of paper in *Every Moment* recounted the events of nearly a year, hour by hour. In the accompanying text for the piece we wrote:

Our motives as well as our emotions are often mixtures of contradictory forces, for example art and human relationships are often intertwined as well as money and human relationships or family and personal need. We are conscious of the fact that registering an emotion unavoidably changes it.

During the show we faxed descriptions of our life to the gallery space so that the audience could follow our life nearly in real-time. The fax-machine created its own sense of time. We kept up this laconic diary for around four years. Some of the events in the written diary were completely or partly fictive.

The third temporal scale became apparent in the performance. During the half an hour video loop we cooked food and ate amidst the monitors. Some of our actions and dialogues were the same as they are in the videos. The real and acted events were mixed in the performance. The same dialogue in several versions on video and in the real-life performance questioned the documentary value of the material. Time in the performance was not simply the time during the performance. We really cooked and ate. The time of everyday life and of the performance were mixed.

In her book *The Emergence of Cinematic Time* Doane analyses the epistemological shift during the time of the birth of cinema. Doane is interested in what was then thought of time as a subject of knowledge. Instead of looking for a historical chain of cause and effect she uses Michel Foucault's concept of *episteme* to chart the modes of thought and the subjects and possibilities of intellectual curiosity of the period. (Ibid.20–21.) Foucault's contemporaneous concept concerning coevalness of episteme comprises how and what can and cannot be said. Foucault himself defines *episteme* in the following:

> By *episteme*, we mean […] the total set of relations that unite, at a given period, the discursive practices that give rise to epistemological figures, sciences, and possibly formalized systems. […] The episteme is not a form of knowledge (*connaissance*) or type of rationality which, crossing the boundaries of the most varied sciences, manifests the sovereign unity of a subject, a spirit, or a period; it is the totality of relations that can be discovered, for a given period, between the sciences when one analyses them at the level of discursive regularities. (Foucault 1972:191.)

In his early work on Western thinking Foucault defines three wide-ranging epistemological epochs: the Renaissance, the Classical Age and Modernity. Doane scrutinizes the concept of episteme only on the turn of the 20th century. I use *episteme* in a similar fashion. (More closely on Foucault's episteme cf. Dreyfus and Rabinow 1983:16–21.)

According to Doane the shift in episteme at the end of the 19th century mainly happened due to a change in the concept of time. The standardization of time took place in the years preceding the advent of cinema. The 24-hour time zone world was created in 1884. The pocket watch became a fashion item as the bourgeoisie started to "dress in time." The spread of pocket watches can be compared to the invasion of mobile phones in the 1990s, first in the industrialised countries and later globally. When leaving home one has to "wear" a mobile phone, and to paraphrase Sonera's advert to be "always, immediately and everywhere" (in reach of your employer).

When we started the video diary the episteme shift was imminent. In the year 1990 not only was the mobile phone missing from everyday life but so were the internet and reality television. The change in the concept of time was about to arrive in almost the same manner as in the years preceding cinema.

The time when watches became common coincided, according to Doane, with the industry demanding a more synchronised work force. Working hours were strictly enforced. *The Principles of Scientific Management* by Frederick W. Taylor, or *Taylorism*, calculated every optimal work phase by the second. The new concept of time by the clock divided time into minute units. The former task-oriented concept of time emphasised the meaning of the change in seasons, biological rhythms and weather. It was easier adjustable because there was no strict separation between work time and free time, and effectiveness was not an ideal (Doane 2002: 8–9). According to Doane the time became atomized with the clock, it became more "reified, standardized, stabilized, and rationalized". Efficiency was a new ideal. The timecard was put to use in 1890. Film with 24 frames per second materializes the new time concept. (Ibid.5.)[4]

The contemporary digital culture and concept of time have honed the over-a-hundred-year-old principle of efficiency to a new level. Demand for efficiency is now global and no longer culturally bound. As the world has become a single economic area in which money-flows move at the speed of light, working hours and efficiency are calculated according to the same digital clock.

In our video diary and especially in the laconic diary of everyday life no area or moment of life was outside art. We were "always, immediately and everywhere" material for our art. We believed that as daily life "became art" our life would be easier, because every material and spiritual problem transformed into art. On the other hand everything that was fun and re-

laxing also became potential material for art. Our ambition was to make everyday life better by making it art. The registration and documentation of our everyday life us gave a vantage point for taking a close-up of and a distance to our everyday life at the same time. Our way of creating art was disturbing in the art field of the time because our art did not have clear boundaries. Foucault describes the aspiration of the modern man to better their life by chaining themselves to different techniques of the self that aim to cultivate the individual (cf. Foucault's *History of Sexuality* 1998 [1984]:134–135). We carried out a laboratory test with our art that exposed us to the time and self-management norms of the IT age. Paradoxically we attempted to live a contemporary organic life in the country under the umbrella of the information society.

The distraction of the video diary was similar to the distraction of early cinema: the viewer cannot be certain of what will happen next or whether anyone controls what is being shown. We were asked several times whether the camera was continuously on. The comments surprised us because in the 1990s we filmed 2–20 minutes daily. What the audience saw in the installation were four videotapes that lasted just under 30 minutes each.

Every Moment anticipated the viewing experience that became banal and normalized with reality television, especially with *Big Brother*. In between several monitors the viewer experienced that they were overseeing our family all the time in every room. The viewer was in the seat of *Big Brother*, assessing our performance as parents, spouses, children.

According to Doane the turn of the century thinking was marked by an apparent contradiction. Modernity praised abstraction and rationalisation in the name of progress, but at the same time man was stirred by thoughts about chance, contingency and transience. On the surface it seems that the contradictory patterns of thought complemented each other in the service of capitalist ideology. Rationalist thought built an efficient workspace, while an attitude toward life that emphasized chance brought relief to life in the rationalist straitjacket. Personal experience was still possible while the world became more and more standardized.

Statistics developed into one of the epistemological basis that replaced the determinist thought of the earlier centuries. Cause and effect became probabilities. Statistics is a method that, according to Doane, "joins together the particular and the general, the contingent and the lawful," (Doane 2002:28). It tames chance and anomalies. It allows for personal anomalies, even bringing them to the fore, while it homogenizes social conventions. Statistics creates the everyman that does not exist in reality.

The new inventions of photography and cinema were able to produce a representation of the contingent world and feeling of liberty. The ability of the new machines to record the coincidental – any moment or event – completely diverged from earlier art forms that were based on coded and intentional depictions of the world. The representation of the contingent is a recording of anything, without adding or subtracting anything. The rationalization of time and the structuring of the contingent and temporal with the new modes of recording were part of the expansion of capitalism, according to Doane. The contingent opposes rationalization and lures a person into the world of freedom, straightforwardness and immediacy. That seed of rebellion had to be kept both outside the rational order and under its control. According to the strategy of industrializing capitalism, cinema was the medium that placed the contingent in the world of past-time. (Ibid.11.)

When a coincidental event is filmed its contingent disposition weakens. Film is an unchanging recording of an event that could not be anticipated. The appeal of early cinema was mainly in its straightforward indexicality. It is a trace of something that has happened and will never happen again, it is a representation of a unique event that will always repeat exactly the same and never change. The cameraman knows the starting point but the event itself is contingent and may turn into something completely different to what was anticipated. According to Doane the contingent nature of reality was seen both as a threat and a temptation. In depicting a single contingent and coincidental event in an unedited or single-shot picture, cinema created anxiety in the audience, because they were never sure whether someone was in control of what was being shown. Parallel times, the time of the event and the film time, were too close to each other – even though not quite the same – for the viewer to be able to differentiate between the two. To protect the viewer from the approximation in the representation of time a cinematic temporality had to be invented.

A representation that is too perfect is not only a result of temporal similarity but also results from the events shown in the picture. A camera records everything in front of it despite the skill and intention of the cameraman. The viewer of an unedited film does not receive guidance to what is important in the picture and what is not. Everything is equally important or equally indifferent. The philosopher Henri Bergson (1859–1941) criticized early film already at the beginning of the 20th century for producing similar and banal results. According to him cinema gave singular events a meaning whether they were significant or not. Cinema could not be read, because it had no language. There was only unselected recording. Only

filming itself was meaningful (Ibid.67). Narrative cinema was born into this meaningless void, and received a language. Its syntax was based on montage, and on literary narrative structures.

Had cinema retained the recording of reality as its primary function instead of becoming narrative, would cinema be a message without a code, as Roland Barthes has described photograph in his text *Rhetoric of the Image*? (1977) By lacking a code Barthes means that the relationship between a photograph and its object is analogy.[5] The photograph merely shows the object without adding anything or taking anything away. It shows what once was. By photograph Barthes means a non-manipulated documentary photograph. In his view cinema cannot be thought of as an animated photograph – as in the photograph albums and newspapers in Harry Potter – because the difference between photography and cinema is not graded but a radical opposition. In Barthes' terms photography concerns a "purely spectatorial consciousness" whereas cinema concerns a "more 'magical' fictional consciousness". (Barthes 1977:45.)

I believe, in contrast to Barthes, that complete static shots – when there is only one shot per event – make them analogue with reality similarly to photographs. In our video diary we offer a window to our everyday life without the language of cinema directing the viewer's attention. Framing and camera movement construct the language of cinema, but without montage a cinema syntax is not born. A shot remains a photograph-like analogue of reality. The only difference to photography is duration in its representation of reality.

Doane is concerned by the same text for a slightly different reason. According to Barthes the relation of photography with time is saturated by the past, "having-been-there", whereas the relation of cinema with time is saturated by the present, "being-there". Cinema brings the past to the present and photography instantly makes its objects part of the past. According to Doane, Barthes is wrong in differentiating between the two, and also because he does not take into account the relation of cinema to the contingent, or the parallel times inherent in film: the time of the cinema and the time of the viewing. Cinema lures the viewers into its own temporality and makes them forget theirs. Together with its diegetic temporality cinema has its own material temporality: the type of film, the equipment used, the settings and props that were used in the making of a film. According to Doane cinema is, like photography, tied to the contingent, the coincidental, reality. The tie is most clearly present in the early single-shot, unedited films. The cameraman was never able to anticipate the events and was unable to edit them out of the film. (Doane 2002:143.)

In the next section I will look at how different audiences have reacted to our video presentations of mainly unedited, single-shot recordings of the everyday. How do the parallel times of the viewing and the cinema, analysed by Doane concerning early cinema, affect the viewing experience? What does the viewer see in the recording?

Asking for Advice

In the summer of 2005 we started working on the video diary material after an eight-year break. We had kept filming throughout but only seldom had we viewed the shots. A return to the home video was both inspiring and agonizing. To start with it was easy to dive into the material but after an hour it was difficult to judge its significance and all the shots seemed indifferent. Bergson's comment on the similarity and banality of early cinema was an accurate critique of viewing the diary. I could not read the shots because I could not discern the language with which to interpret them.

I realised very quickly that it was impossible for me to achieve a comprehensive hold on all of the material and to categorize it. I shared my frustration with Lea, who suggested that we should show the material to people who were not familiar with it. In early 2002 we had taken part in a seminar on public art in Singapore where artist-organizer Jay Koh spoke about the concept of *dialogical aesthetics* constructed by Grant Kester (Kester 2004: 82–123). One of the central ideas was that a socially engaged artist can negotiate with the audience about the work before it is completed. To achieve the best result it may be fruitful to receive critique on the piece during the process of making it rather than waiting for it to be finished. According to Koh an artist could even ask for advice from the audience. This feeling of powerlessness created the video performance *Asking for Advice*. We started to literally employ Koh's advice in asking the audience.

The first *Asking for Advice* video performance took place in Gdansk in the Centre for Contemporary Art Laznia in August 2005[6]. The next performances took place in Southeast Asia in December 2005 and January 2006. The performances were held in small alternative galleries and art centres: the P-10 gallery in Singapore, the Lost Generation Space art centre in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia and the NICA residence in Yangon, Myanmar.

The structure of the performance was similar every time. First we explained the premise to the audience: "We are working with more than a thousand hours of video diary material and we have reached a dead end. We are asking for your help in finding out what to do with the material. We

Asking for Advice performance at the NICA residence, Yangon, Myanmar 2006.

have gathered shots in thematic categories from which you may pick one. Afterwards we will discuss, without precursors, what the shots brought to your mind. We shall film the discussions and ask for your permission to use the material in our future work and research. During the viewing and discussions you may have your mobile phones on and you may leave and return as you please."

After the initial instructions Lea wrote the themes, e.g. In Danger, Transfer of Knowledge, Repetition of Everyday Rituals or Art Talk, on the blackboard, and briefly explained what they contained[7]. The audience chose a theme and we showed them the shots included within the theme. Instead of having included subtitles Lea simultaneously interpreted the speech contained within the material. In Poland and in Myanmar a local interpreter translated Lea's broken English speech into their own language. During the viewing of the Art Talk theme, for example, I had to intermittently pause the video for the interpretation to keep up to the pace with the speech.

The lack of subtitles was intentional. We wanted to allow the audience to concentrate on watching the picture and listening to the sound without being distracted by reading. A human interpreter, or even two of them, made the event live and instantaneous. The struggle of the interpreters to keep up with the speech created tension during the viewing. On the other hand, Lea interpreting the events and everyday speech in our own home brought homeliness to the situation and opened the material to interpretation.

The ethnographic filmmaker David MacDougall has analysed the importance of subtitles in ethnographic films. Before the advent of synchronized sound in ethnographic films before the 1960s the voice-over held an all-knowing status. The voices of the people shown in the film could hardly be heard as the voice-over spoke for them. The development of synchronized portable equipment allowed for people to talk for themselves and their everyday discussions to be recorded. The voice-over became distractive and subtitles became more a norm.

According to MacDougall subtitles are not simply a positive development and definitely not a neutral one. Subtitles transform speech into written words. Text is more unequivocal and dense. What in speech seems an aside and half-thought through becomes an explicit proposition. Alternative interpretations, those declined by the translator, are abandoned. Subtitling everyday speech, especially, does not grasp the abruptness and the overlapping nature of conversation. Subtitles usually do not visually correspond to the flow and rhythm of discussion. Subtitles appear as separate entities. (MacDougall 1998:173–174.)

Lea's interpretation was not merely mechanic and simultaneous as sometimes she made comments to clarify the context of a conversation. She could even partly act out the roles of video characters. The presence of another interpreter and an extra language highlighted the equivocality of interpretation while the interpreters could clarify the context during the viewing.

During the *Asking for Advice* performance the audience was allowed to choose as many thematic collections as they wanted. In Poland the occasion took an hour and a half, in Myanmar three and a half hours. The largest audience, nearly a hundred people, was in Poland, while in Singapore there were only six people. In Southeast Asia the whole family was present and in Poland Tyyni was the only child present.

In preparing for the presentation we had three models in mind: the viewing of home videos with friends and family at parties, the *shared anthropology* of Jean Rouch and the screenings of early cinema. The first model is obvious, while the other two are important for the sake of this study.

Already during the early years of the video diary our children's birthday parties included two family-specific rituals: the Mexican custom of breaking a piñata filled with sweets and the viewing of home videos. The shots were of the life and earlier parties of the child whose birthday it was. Both Lea´s and my 50th birthday parties included video shots of us. The case study *Scolding* started on Ukko's 18th birthday party. In the chapter dealing with the case study I shall look more thoroughly at the tradition of watching home videos and Super8 films.

Shared Anthropology

Jean Rouch invited the people present in his films to take part in decision-making, a method he called *shared anthropology*. In its simplest form it meant that Rouch would show the raw edit to the filmed and take into account their comments in the final edit. An eye-opener for him was showing a film about hippopotamus hunting *Hippopotamus Hunting with Harpoons* to the hunters living by the border of Niger and Mali in 1953.[8] In an interview by the Italian novelist Enrico Fulchignoni, Rouch explains how the fishermen first looked at the projector, but in 20 seconds recognized their village, themselves and their neighbours on the screen. As they saw recently deceased villagers on the screen they burst into tears. Only during the third screening did the villagers listen to the film. The audio track was heavily criticized by the fishermen. At the height of the hunt there is

music, which is impossible because the hippopotamus has sharp hearing even underwater and it would flee from any music.

> At the hunt there must be silence; without it there is no hunt. For me, this was a great lesson. I discovered that I had been the victim of Italian-style theatre, with an orchestra in the pit. These people were right. They reasoned in their own thought system, and I, who was making a film about them, had no reason for imposing our system on them. Since then I have almost totally suppressed musical accompaniment, except when it is a part of the action. (Rouch 2003:157.)

The Danish anthropologist Anne Mette Jørgensen analyses Rouch's *shared anthropology* with the help of the concept of dialogue. She separates dialogue into three points of view: methodology, epistemology and disseminating knowledge. Ethnography based on dialogue uses it as an object of its research while using it as a method, includes dialogue in the research, and aims at interaction with the researched community. (Jørgensen 2007:60.)

In the beginning of the 21st century Jørgensen visited Rouch's most important living African collaborators, interviewed them and made the film *Friends, Fools, Family. Jean Rouch's Collaborators in Niger* (2005) together with Berit Madsen.

Rouch speaks of ethno-dialogue, which he involved himself in with his African informants and collaborators.

> In the field, the observer modifies himself; in doing his work, he is no longer simply someone who greets the elders at the edge of the village, but – to go back to Vertovian terminology – he ethno-looks, ethno-observes, ethno-thinks. And those with whom he deals are similarly modified; in giving their confidence to this habitual foreign visitor, they ethno-show, ethno-speak, ethno-think.

> It is this permanent ethno-dialogue that appears to be one of the most interesting angles in the current progress of ethnography. Knowledge is no longer a stolen secret, devoured in the Western temples of knowledge; it is the result of an endless quest where ethnographers and those whom they study meet on a path that some of us call "shared anthropology". (Rouch 2003 [1973]:100–101.)

Rouch's pompous description of his own work method would be painful reading if his films did not prove it to be accurate. Rouch rarely explained or theorized his concepts, but he defined himself as the heir of Robert J. Flaherty and Dziga Vertov (Ibid.31–32.)[9]. From the avantgardist of early Soviet cinema, Vertov, Rouch adopted the habit of creating new words and in

the tradition of avantgarde let his own work speak for itself. "The film is a means of total expression for me, and I do not see the necessity for me to write before, during, or after filming." (Ibid.273.) [10]

Rouch's collaborators, interviewed by Jørgensen, confirmed the functionality of ethno-dialogue. Often Rouch listened to his collaborators come up with new ideas and watched them improvise events that would later be filmed. In *ethno-fiction* – Rouch's definition for his films, in which the main characters improvise partly fictional events in a genuine environment – there is no strict boundary between documentary and fictional filming. Instead Rouch developed, together with those filmed, events that were born out of the need for cinematic narrative. Dialogism was, according to Jørgensen, even deeper in *ethno-fiction* than in the raw edits that were shown to those filmed. Shared improvisation, development of stories and the planning of the shoot taught Rouch African narrative tradition, while his instructions on organising shoots taught film-making to the locals. Many of them studied to become film-makers under Rouch's protection. Jørgensen encapsulates Rouch's collaborators' description of the workshare: "To summarize, the methodology employed by Rouch and the rest of the group is of a very dialogic nature. Rouch facilitated a space in which they 'acted' themselves, and they thus collectively improvised an ethnographic narrative that could be and often was an enacting of their actual lives. As regards the practical aspects, a division of labor existed in which Rouch took care of the camera work and Moussa the sound recording, while the logistical matters were taken care of by the rest of them." (Jørgensen 2007:63–64.)

Jørgensen borrows the characterisation of the French anthropologist Marc Pialt of *permanent dialogue*, which described Rouch's decades-long work in West African communities. Rouch's film-making method was to patiently discuss common solutions with his co-workers, which manifests as methodological dialogism in Jørgensen's terms. Epistemologic dialogism manifests in the narrative being structured mainly by those who are being filmed. Despite not being able to record the dialogue during filming Rouch later recorded the improvised lines of the main characters. Rouch ensured that his co-workers would be able to remain independent film-makers in their own countries, thereby manifesting the dissemination of knowledge in an educational sense. (Ibid.59–60.)

Chronicle of a Summer (1960), a film by Rouch and sociologist Edgar Morin, could be analysed as an example of *shared anthropology*. In making it, however, they used the concept of *cinema verité*[11], which was inspired by Vertov's *Kino-Pravda*. The film was made within Rouch's "own tribe", his Parisian friends and acquaintances. Rouch wrote very little about the film

but his partner Morin wrote a lengthy article, *Chronicle of a Film*, straight after the release of the film. A discussion in a studio theatre at the end of *Chronicle of a Summer* is the most interesting one in relation to the *Asking for Advice* performance. Rouch and Morin have gathered the people who are seen in the film to discuss the raw edit. Rouch films the event and includes it in the film. This scene corresponds exactly to the second generation of *generational filming*. Morin's interpretation of the previewing emphasizes psychological aspects: as the people in the film start to comment on their own performance and that of the others', the viewers of the finalized film start to, according to Morin, assess their own lives. A reflexivity similar to that present in the *generational filming* can be seen in *Chronicle of a Summer*.

> We will show them what has been filmed so far (at a stage in the editing that has not yet been determined) and in doing so attempt the ultimate psychodrama, the ultimate explication. Did each of them learn something about himself or herself? Something about the others? Will we be closer to each other, or will there just be embarrassment, irony, skepticism? Were we able to talk about ourselves? Did our faces remain masks? However, whether we reach success or failure in communications during this final confrontation, the success is enough, and the failure is itself a provisional response, as it shows how difficult it is to communicate and in a way enlightens us about the truth we are seeking. In either case, the ambition of this film is that the question that came from the two author-researchers and was incarnated by means of the real individuals throughout the film will project itself on the theater screen, and that each viewer will ask himself the questions "How do you live?" and "What do you do in your life?" There will be no "THE END" but an open "to be continued" for each one. (Morin 2003 [1960]:233–234.)

A psychological dimension is emphasized in Morin´s interpretation of the final discussion in *Chronicle of a Summer*. The removing of masks, getting revealed, is a question he poses at the fictive reader and at the real spectators in the film. In the screenings of *generational filming* we refrain from evaluating the sincerity of the viewers. Our questions are limited to assessing what the viewers see in the video shots.

Early Cinema Screenings as Paragon

In film research the golden era of Hollywood, which lasted from the advent of talking pictures until the collapse of the great studios in the beginning of the 1960s, has been named as the era of classic cinema. It was

preceded by a few decades of silent cinema that is known as the pre-classic era[12]. Following the classic era in film production, the post-classic era was first dominated by charismatic auteur directors rather than the studios. This established, chronological division of cinema history makes Hollywood cinema the norm and others the exception. In research – whether it concerns the structure, plot, characters, production or the viewer – the cinema that defines the concepts is the fictional Hollywood format. The presumed viewer watches Hollywood films if not otherwise stated.

According to film researcher Miriam Hansen the viewing experience of a Hollywood film is an exception in the history of cinematic viewing (Hansen 1994:149). Hollywood was not the only path that early cinema could take during its development. Hansen claims that early cinema was not an international and universal commodity whose contents and meaning were defined by film itself. Many of the early films are difficult to understand without background knowledge or a coinciding description of the screening. The early films were part of the screening event rather than independent pieces. The context of the presentation also defined the contents of the film. Even though most of the characters in a film were white the meaning of the film changed according to whether blues or Brahms was played in the cinema and whether the audience was middle-class and white or a group of immigrants. (Ibid.147–148.)

Films were shown in various places and under various circumstances. Amusement parks, travelling shows and some theatres would eagerly have cinema as part of their programme. In the United States vaudeville theatres became the most popular venues for cinema. Vaudeville was a place for entertainment for the middle-class or those who aspired to be part of it. In comparison to music hall and burlesque it was tidy, encouraged composed behaviour and featured conventional acts. The entrance fee was usually set too high for workers. (Hansen 1991:59.)

At the turn of the century a vaudeville show consisted of several acts. A song could be followed by a comical sketch, a scene out of a play or a travel story illustrated with pictures. Acrobats, animals and magicians took turns. Even cinema could be a number in vaudeville. They were supposed to impress and directly speak to the viewer. They were preceded and accompanied by live music, sound effects and speech. Cinema was part of a live event, not something that was watched quietly in the dark. The film on the screen was part of an ensemble that included the social interaction in the cinema and other distractions. The experience of charm and passivity, shared by everyone in the audience, yet alone in a cinema, watching a classic Hollywood film is not what was sought after in the early events. (Hansen 1994:138–139.)

After 1905 the first spaces dedicated to the viewing of cinema started to appear in the United States, as the nickelodeon was born (Hansen 1991:29). It was usually located on the ground floor of a department store or a shopping mall. The viewer could pop into the cinema at any time, pay five cents and watch short films for as long as they wished. Short presentations and other acts were sometimes performed during the intervals[13]. It was not necessary to stay for long, and often the audience only visited the nickelodeon briefly. In residential areas the nickelodeons would film everyday life in the surrounding area and show the reels the following day. This allowed the viewers to be surprised by possibly seeing themselves or their neighbours on screen. Thus was realized the claim Walter Benjamin made in his essay *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*: everyone has the right to be filmed. (Benjamin 1968 [1955]:231.)[14]

The nickelodeon brought down class, ethnic and gender barriers. Workers and immigrants could afford a five-cent show. Both women and children populated the screenings without being chaperoned by men. Unlike in the theatre, all tickets and seats were priced the same in the nickelodeon, and entry was possible throughout the show.

According to contemporary reports the nickelodeon became a "neighbourhood institution" where people from different social classes met each other, gossiped, and in the dark even drank and made love. The middle classes even came to the shows to see workers and exotic immigrants. In between screenings there were also amateur nights, live performances and singing backed-up by projected pictures. Interaction is a more appropriate description of the nickelodeon than passive watching. (Hansen 1991:61, 65.)

Both Siegfried Kracauer and Walter Benjamin saw the early cinema screenings as a critique of bourgeois culture and expression of a modern form of subjectivity. Earlier bourgeois art demanded from the viewer a contemplative attitude focusing on a single subject, but the new shock and awe based art form – if you dare call it art – bombed the viewer with such mind-blowing sensations that it was described as distracting and diverting. (Ibid.29.)

Tom Gunning defines both documentary and early fictive film as cinema of attraction[15]. For mostly it sought attention. All measures were available: the documentation of the peculiar, a pornographic scene, the filming of people known to the viewers, a fictive story based on action, romance or magic tricks. In contrast to later Hollywood cinema, ruled by criteria of quality and realistic aesthetics, early cinema was, according to Gunning, based on a desire for experimentation. (Gunning 1991 cit. Hansen 1994:139.)

A typical early film scene was reminiscent of the imaginary fourth wall of the theatre[16], on which the whole event was depicted in full to the theatre audience. The events of the film were shown in one shot. The change to another scene was often confusing and vague. The shot itself aimed at showing everything. The viewer was bombed with many visual details, out of which they had to select those essential to the narrative. The frontal and uniform viewpoint emphasized the presentational nature, as opposed to the later representational nature of cinema. The viewer remained outside, a voyeur, and was not invited to empathize with the events and space of the film as is the norm in classic Hollywood film. (Hansen 1991:34.) According to Hansen early film was faithful to the tradition of the stage: ”With their emphasis on display, early films are self-consciously exhibitionist, whereas classical cinema disavows its exhibitionist quality in order to maintain the spell of the invisible gaze.” (Ibid.36.)

In the early screenings the spatial separation of the viewer and the film – the diegetic space of cinema – had yet to develop into an aesthetic principle. Together with the theatre-like filming method there were the several matters connecting the auditorium and the screen. Musicians accompanied the film, the commentator guided the audience through the narrative turns and the sound effect personnel worked their equipment.

Early cinema inherited from the vaudeville show the impertinent method of looking at the audience directly in the eye, of course through the lens of the camera. The look connected the screen and the auditorium to each other. It was typical of the vaudeville show for a fictive character to appeal to the audience by direct eye contact. In the classic Hollywood film direct eye contact became a taboo because it destroyed the diegetic space and revealed the viewer hidden in the darkness of the auditorium.[17]

The relationship of early cinema with theatrical expression was not unambiguous. Framing represented the often-realistic theatrical stage view that corresponded to the fourth wall view. The conventions of realistic theatre were broken, however, by making direct contact with the camera, i.e. the imagined audience. In the manner of realistic theatre classic Hollywood film avoided direct eye contact with the audience, but started to reject the peep-hole theatre's static viewpoint. Continuity cuts, together with the picture and its reverse angle, created new norms for camera angles. The aim of the classic Hollywood film was to protect by all means the diegetic world and keep the viewer under its spell in the dark auditorium. The effect was to be universal, regardless of the gender, ethnicity and class of the viewer.[18]

In the *Asking for Advice* video performance we did not offer the safety and charm of the cinema diegesis in a dark auditorium. The viewer

stepped into the gallery space or auditorium in which the performance was about to begin. The blue beam of the video projector lit the space, where we waited for the audience to ask for a theme. We could be finishing off our lunch and tidying up. The viewer was not merely facing the performance but had to partly create it. The viewer chose the theme that would be discussed with the aid of the video clips. While viewing they knew that a discussion was to follow. The performance would not materialize as intended if they did not actively take part in its birth. Only in the first screening in Gdansk the viewing space was dark but also there the cinema charm was destroyed because the performance took place in the art centre bar. As in the tradition of early cinema the viewing environments were many and varied: galleries, schoolrooms, studios and homes. Eating, talking on the phone and other distracting actions were allowed to the audience. The separation of film and audience space was not sought after, on the contrary: the projector and the DVDs shown were within reach of the viewer. During the screening abroad we aimed at creating a nickelodeon-like "neighbourhood institution" ambience by showing shots filmed in the respective country, taken either during an earlier visit or just days before the performance. Some of those present may have appeared in the videos. The viewer's "right" to be filmed manifested in the performance with their permission and they could assume that they would be seen in future viewings.

The chosen clips were deliberately culture-relative. Instead of showing anything universal about our life we chose clips that would have diverse cultural readings and preoccupied us as well. We did not seek for a diegetic world of the home video; the clips were supposed to create interaction and connect members of different cultures through discourse.

We called the viewings performances but did not otherwise emphasize the connection of the events to art. We were interested in finding out whether the audience would consider the viewing as art, and if so, what makes it art? Early cinema was not considered art. Both in Poland and Myanmar the question about art became important. In Laznia Centre for Contemporary Art in Gdansk the video shots were not considered art but the viewing fulfilled the criteria of an art event. Art was born out of a combination that included the screened videos, the viewing and the discussion that followed. The interpreter delivered the comment of the Polish anthropologist Marek Wolodzko in English:

> Trying to answer the question that Marek posed about where is the art, that this film together with our today meeting and asking you about the film and whether this is

art. Not only the films but today´s screening and discussions over the screening. These three elements together, this is art. For him this is more like ethnographical film, illustration, and we are another tribe watching somebody´s life. This confrontation which we have now, commenting and discussing is much more interesting than the films themselves. (Laznia Centre for Contemporary Art in Gdansk, August 12, 2005)

Wolodzko contrasted the conventions and traditions of art and anthropology. In the hierarchy of anthropology ethnographic film is widely considered inferior to research based on written material, and in the strictest sense only illustration or observational material for the research proper[19]. For Wolodzko our videos were observational material like ethnographic film while the discussion during the performance was artistic material in the same sense as writing is research in the tradition of anthropological study. The combination of the video and the discussion creates art.

In Myanmar the fact that the screening of the unedited shots was in an arbitrary order chosen by the audience, together with the following open discussion, meant that the performance did not meet the criteria of art. The open method, to some in the audience, only created material for making art. An artistic performance would have required a systematic show from the makers. Had the screening been planned beforehand it would have been within a reasonable framework. The piece lacked form because it did not have a closure. Hence it was not art. The interpreter referred to a statement by a young Burmese man:

He did not get anything out of the presentation. He wants to see all these themes serially. If you do so, he might get something out of it. Everybody chooses random topics and the subject goes here and there. He cannot pick anything up. Now we are talking about family, it is another subject. If we talk specifically, he has many things to discuss. He wants to ask the public what do you get from the presentation.

The same young man continued later:

This is a very creative performance, but creation must have a conclusion. Otherwise it is just creation after creation. When does this program stop? How long have you been doing this? If you don´t know how to stop, this kind of program should not be called art. Myself, I am collecting sounds, making daily sound recordings. It should not be called art, if it is only for my own amusement. Amusement doesn´t need a conclusion, but art should always have an ending or conclusion." (*Asking for Advice* in the NICA residency centre, Yangon, Myanmar, January 8, 2006)

The first generation of *Hot Soup*.

During the event the founder of the NICA residency centre Jay Koh defended the art in our performance. He was also of the opinion that art is not born out of collecting and showing coincidental material. Without form and interpretation there is no art:

> Collecting is not art, but once you start to use what you collected in any way, and you interpret it, it becomes art. He has used what he collected in his way, in his way he argue with you. What is the relationship, this tension, irritation is art. This in the air. Some people think they wasted their time. What do they get from these two hours. I think this is art. If you want everything very clear you go to see Hollywood film." (NICA, Yangon, Myanmar, January 8, 2006)

The First Generation of Hot Soup

In the following I shall concentrate on the analysis of the viewing events of a single video in the *Asking for Advice* series, *Hot Soup*. First I shall explain what takes place in *Hot Soup*. After that I will analyse the viewer comments, firstly how the audience related to thematic contents and secondly how they related to the filming and watching it.

Hot Soup is one of the videos under the theme *In Danger*. The theme was clearly the most popular one and the audience wanted to see it in all four viewings. *Hot Soup* is the longest and most eventful one of the clips, and it is also the most contradictory when interpreted. The nine-minute clip was shot using a handheld video camera in our kitchen on March 20, 2000. It is one of the first handheld shots in our video diary, as I only started shooting without a tripod in early 2000.

The shot starts with our dining table on top of which our one-year-old Tyyni daughter is on all fours trying to reach an oven shelf that has batter formed into buns. She is alone in the picture for 45 seconds before Lea comes over to put her back into the highchair: "Tyyni, stay off the table." Our ten-year-old son, Ukko enters to have a look at a gigantic anthropomorphic baked bun. Meanwhile, Tyyni climbs up again to reach the bun batter. Despite the baby's resistance Lea lifts her back into the highchair and spoons soup into a small bowl placing it in front of Tyyni. The camera moves closer to the table, behind the oven shelf with the batter on it.

Tyyni persistently tries to reach for the batter but her attention is moved towards Lea ladleing out of a large pot. Lea says "nam, nam" trying to entice Tyyni to eat. Tyyni lowers her hand into the bowl containing the hot soup and starts to cry out. The hot soup bowl has been in front of Tyyni for

50 seconds, the cry takes one minute and 50 seconds. During the crying the camera first shoots the accident at close distance and then, reflected off the large pot, the soup on the table and Lea holding Tyyni's hand in cold water. While Tyyni is still crying Ukko is seen in the background cutting hard bread in a manner that looks as if he is cutting his wrist open. The cutting of the bread takes one minute and 40 seconds. Reflected on the large pot Lea is seen to carry Tyyni to the highchair again and, using a finger, spoons the soup off the table back into the bowl and hands it over to Tyyni to eat: "It's cooling down, it wasn't too hot." The camera moves slowly towards the pot creating a zooming effect.

Our 13-year-old son Pyry-Pekka and the neighbours' ten-year-old Miro come in to eat. I ask them to look at the buns baking in the oven and Lea asks them to have some soup. Tyyni starts off again to reach for the unbaked batter. Lea returns her to the highchair once again and starts to spoon the soup into Tyyni's mouth. The camera moves to the oven; the boys serving the soup are reflected on the oven door. I open the door and prompt Ukko to take his bun-man out of the oven. I instruct him to find oven gloves and potholders. After a minute Ukko loses his temper and throws the potholder he has found on the floor: "I'm not doing a single thing!" I look for another potholder from behind plastic bags stuffed in the cupboard and hand it to Ukko. Ukko lifts the hot oven shelf out and places it next to Tyyni on the table.

After ten years I gave up shooting solely from a stationary tripod. Since the beginning of 2000 the filming method has been free. *Hot Soup* is a result of early enthusiasm and experimentation. The mistakes in the shot – the exposure and focus range from one end to the other – emphasize those qualities. The contingent nature of documentary film is strongly present in the shot. The cameraman – let alone the viewer – does not know what is going to happen next and how they should react and relate to it.

Comments of the Audiences on Danger and Responsibility

During the discussions with the viewers the two predominant topics on the contents of the video related to responsibilities shared within the family and the concept of danger. The responses to the former can be mainly interpreted as gender-related and the latter as gender and culture-related. In all of the places the videos were shown – the Southeast Asia, Poland and Finland – the women saw the cameraman as mainly responsible for a small

child burning her hand. Men regarded the cameraman's responsibility as more or less arbitrary and emphasised the cameraman's right to practise his profession.

A Polish interpreter crystallized the most common comment: "Standing behind the camera you resign from being a parent" (Laznia Centre for Contemporary Art in Gdansk, August 12, 2005). Juliana, a Singaporean entrepreneur living in Yangon, criticized the cameraman's moral choice: "The cameraman is still holding the camera, because it seems to be his most important function. [...] To make sure your daughter is well, that is more important than the camera and being an artist" (NICA, Yangon, Myanmar, January 8, 2006).

Common to all of the comments – both supporting and condemning the male cameraman – was the assumption that in the dangerous situation at hand a parent's responsibility and the intention of a documentarist/artist were in discordance. Not intervening in the events was seen as self-evident in artistic documentation of everyday life.

The concept of danger turned out to be gender and culture-related. The replies of a Burmese male actor and Finnish female artists completing supplementary studies at the Saimaa University of Applied Sciences represented the two extremes. The Finnish women found eight different situations of danger in the nine-minute video. The Burmese man said there was no real danger present at all. "Our children encounter more dangerous situations than that. It is not safe for our families in our homes. [...] I think you should go upstairs now. The family in upstairs, stay there now. Take the camera and film some danger in our real life. Our families and our children everyday are faced with electricity. Now the electricity is off. Now the electricity is on". (NICA, Yangon, Myanmar, January 8, 2006)

At the Saimaa University of Applied Sciences in Imatra the audience consisted of eight women and one man. The reactions were divided according to gender. Only one woman showed sympathy towards the male cameraman. The only male viewer overlooked the responsibility of the cameraman. The women saw danger in situations that we had not noticed after several times of viewing the shot. Chronologically the first dangerous situation was leaving the baby on the table. The second one was the unbaked batter that could have choked her to death. The third one was the tooth picks sticking out of the boys' anthropomorphic bun that could have punctured their palates. The fourth one was the hot soup itself that burnt badly. The fifth one was when the hand was under cold water for an insufficient time, as the burn could have lingered in the pores of the baby's hand. The sixth one was when Ukko was cutting bread in a manner

that looked like he was cutting his wrist. The seventh was the hygiene risk when Lea spooned the soup off the table and fed it to Tyyni. The last one was the hot oven shelf that Ukko picked up and placed next to Tyyni.[20]

Both in Kuala Lumpur and in the Theatre Academy Helsinki attention was drawn to the fact that the cameraman responded differently to the different dangerous situations. The cameraman was not very interested in the little baby's safety, whereas he was interested in the needs of the older boy. Comments were made about the cameraman's gender favouring.

> **MALE THEATRE STUDENT 1:** This bread from the oven is a more dangerous endeavour and the older boy gets attention. The younger one was more in focus as an object for a documentarist rather than for paternal attention. (Theatre Academy Helsinki, November 22, 2008)
>
> **GAY ACTIVIST PANG KEE THEIK:** It appears as a kind of favouritism to me. You choose not to help her but you help him instead. That was interesting. (Lost Generation Space, Kuala Lumpur, December 16, 2005)

The Everyday as Stage – Truth or Fiction

The viewers doubted, in most of the viewing situations, whether the event was genuine. It was considered an intricate staging, an art history or film history comment, or even purposeful child abuse. Even though the judgments by various viewers were difficult to endure as parents, we declined to deny the intentionality of the events. Our straightforward interpretation of the events in the film would most likely have led to far fewer interpretations of the video clip. We decided that we would not make public the interpretation of the artists before the case study *Hot Soup* was saturated with interpretations. Nothing qualitatively new would arise from the various viewings, only variations of the earlier ones. So far this has not happened. In Kuala Lumpur in 2013 the name of the shot gave rise to certain expectations and caused the audience to assume it was staged and a horror movie.

> **ACTRESS JO KUKATHAS:** It´s a bit frightening, because the title is *Hot Soup* so you know something is going to happen. It feels disturbing because you see an experiment with a baby. [...]
>
> **MALE DIRECTOR JOE YAN:** What I found very disturbing is what happened to the baby and the camera just continued rolling, and just sharp reflections, which I found very weird.

The first generation of *Hot Soup*.

JO KUKATHAS: You didn´t know what was going to happen, did you? As the father of the baby?

PEKKA: No, but some people think that I did know.

MALE ACTOR: It seemed staged.

JO KUKATHAS: It seemed staged. [...] I knew it´s going to be a horror film, you are watching the action, but the people inside (the film) act normally, but you know something horrible will happen. (7th Kuala Lumpur Triennial, Galleria MAP/White Box, March 1, 2013)

Arranged filmed events are a central part of the history of documentary and ethnographic film. Before the development of field equipment with synchronized sound and picture in the 1960s, recording without forward planning was nearly impossible. Early ethnographic cinema aimed at recording folk traditions that had already disappeared or were about to disappear. The most famous example of ethnographic film is the seminal *Nanook of the North* (1922) by Robert J. Flaherty.

In his comment the anthropologist Tuomas Tammisto contrasts our kitchen with Flaherty's half an igloo. When Flaherty filmed *Nanook* he built half of an igloo with his crew because a normal igloo would have been too dark and small for the equipment of the time. The ethnographic events of *Nanook* were agreed on before hand and were loosely scripted.[21] Tammisto suspected that there was a similar scripting of an "authentic" event taking place in our kitchen: "Yeah, it probably depicts Finnish family life but like Flaherty's fake igloo, so that you can shoot inside an igloo. I got the same feeling that a real event had been staged." (Välivuosi Gallery, Helsinki, August 18, 2008)

Artist curator Ray Langenbach placed the video clip within the continuum of art history and contrasted the large pot reflection with Holbein's painting *The Ambassadors*. There is a hidden anamorphic picture in Holbein's portrait that, seen from a certain angle, turns out to be a skull. Langenbach saw a picture reflected on the pot that revealed a view behind the camera:

"There is another interesting thing happening here... this cylinder ...that reflects the outside. It was invented by Leonardo and is the opposite of *panoptikon*; it is the reflective center rather than the view from the center. The skull in the Holbein painting (*The Ambassadors*) where the anamorphosis [...] is the distortion of the form which is only perceivable from a certain position. Anamorphic devices were these cylinders around which you have a wrapped (reflection) of the entire 360 degree space around it. And that´s where you went at the moment of crisis. You went to look at the dis-

torted image of the real crisis in the pot's reflection of it." (Lost Generation Space, Kuala Lumpur December 16, 2005)

The Presence of the Camera

In the Finnish Academy of Fine Arts seminar the performance artist Leena Kela drew attention to the presence of the camera and asked: "What was the purpose of the filming through the surface? Was it to make the camera more aware of itself? Because the cameraman is shown on the surface. The cameraman is personified." (Finnish Academy of Fine Arts, March 25, 2008)

Both the camera and the cameraman are revealed in the pot reflection. The presence of the camera in the filmed material breaks the diegetic world of cinema. In *Hot Soup* the camera, which in conventional cinema is an invisible witness, plays – unlike in *Nanook* – a very active role. In fact, the camera tries to find a way into, and to be a part of, the diegetic world of the film.

> **MALE THEATRE STUDENT 2:** I was surprised how little acting there was, how much of an everyday sight it is to have the father with the camera. No one spoke to the camera, they spoke to you. There's the fight for the potholder. The viewer's waiting for: "go to hell with your camera." The camera just stood there. The conflict was between the two of you and the camera played no role. The baby was the only one who made contact with the camera. (Theatre Academy Helsinki, November, 22, 2008)

Direct contact with the camera has been a taboo in classical Hollywood cinema and in documentary film. On the other hand, the lack of direct contact with the camera raises doubts as to whether the documentary is genuine.

> **RAY LANGENBACH:** When the camera is on, it´s impossible someway not to consider the camera. Whether you look at the lens, or not. My students notice immediately that people are acting when they don´t look at the camera. When they do look at it, they are not acting. I noticed that I was not looking at the camera, they (my students) would have picked that as acting. They are acting students. The first thing to learn is not to look at the camera. (Conversation with Ray Langenbach at our home, July 31, 2006)

Hot Soup reveals the constructed nature of looking at the camera. Both looking at the camera and not looking at the camera are agreements, not

evidence of some laws of nature outside the film. In Hollywood, and in documentary films that want to make the viewer believe that the camera is like "a fly on the wall", a factor outside the action, looking at the camera is forbidden. In a film that constantly shows the representative nature of cinema, whether fictive or documentary, looking at the camera is a reminder of the self-consciousness of the film. The fact that the members of the family look at the cameraman instead of the camera in *Hot Soup* is a sign that the camera is not "a fly on the wall" but "a member of the family" instead. The camera is different from the person shooting with it. Both the camera and the cameraman become active, yet distinctively different from each other. The viewer starts to assign roles to both and awaits reactions from both as if they were like any other character in the film. The camera acts upon the cameraman's manual instructions and the cameraman's attention is on the behaviour of the camera, but not completely. Both the camera and its holder can break the conventions of filming.[22]

In Kuala Lumpur the reflected picture on the pot made the cameraman part of the event. He became a character with an external personality.

MALE ACTOR: The first thing I saw when the camera started to pan in the pot was the yellow t-shirt, that stood out the most. My reaction was: that´s the guy, not necessarily that I was blaming him, but I saw how he looks like, he is wearing a yellow t-shirt. (7ᵗʰ Kuala Lumpur Triennial, Galleria MAP/White Box, March 1, 2013)

The camera and the cameraman nearly become one. The camera is an extension of its holder. Yet their relationship is ambivalent. The camera is a factor that isolates the cameraman in the viewer's mind. The cameraman shoots through the camera and is not present in the event. When the camera becomes present in the event it is shooting, the dichotomy becomes less rigid. The cameraman also becomes part of "real life" through his presence. The cameraman is in an in-between state, which he tries to break out of to join the camera in life. As he turns the camera on himself and sets his own image on the background of the event he is following, he gets to be as close as possible to the event and still maintains his position as the cameraman. Turning the camera on its holder changes the picture's power structure and composition completely. The cameraman controls the framing but also opens his self-centredness to critique. Even then the cameraman does not get a part in the event as he becomes the centre of pictorial power control. The event that he is shooting becomes the background of his portrait. As the camera is left on a tripod or a table

filming on its own the cameraman becomes physically part of the event but his mind is captive of the camera. The spider-webs of the camera reach out and easily make the cameraman's actions and thoughts less relaxed in front of the camera.

Self-reflective Audience

The *Asking for Advice* performance was born out of the need to get feedback on our video diary shots. The feedback was not restricted to the shots, as we received feedback on the events as well. In the Southeast Asia the most idiosyncratic feature was that the whole family was present in the screenings. This was far more meaningful than we had expected. In Kuala Lumpur this became most evident.

> **PANG KEE THEIK:** What was fascinating to me, was hearing them [our children] laughing and then she [Tyyni] stopped laughing, when the documented subject becomes audience, change happens, knowledge as well happens. You see yourself and you assess, and you reassess with the person documenting as well. (Lost Generation Space, Kuala Lumpur December 16, 2005)

Pang drew attention to the fact that the viewing situation changed when the whole family was present. What is the change in epistemology and representation that took place by accident? Rouch must have experienced something similar when he showed his unfinished films to the hippopotamus hunters. In my knowledge there are no documented accounts of his feelings.

> **PANG KEE THEIK:** It was also very interesting to watch this because they [our children] all were laughing at the same time. She became very quiet when she started crying. Because she was laughing at first.
> **PYRY-PEKKA** (Finnish): The man is asking why did you stop laughing when you got hurt on the video?
> **TYYNI:** [whispers the answer in Finnish in Pyry-Pekka's ear]
> **PYRY-PEKKA:** [She says:] I don´t remember.
> **PYRY-PEKKA** (Finnish): Why did you stop laughing now when we were watching the video?
> **TYYNI:** Se ei ollu enää hauskaa.
> **PYRY-PEKKA:** It wasn´t funny any more. (Lost Generation Space, Kuala Lumpur December 16, 2005)

The six-year-old Tyyni is watching herself as a one-year-old on video. The audience is watching Tyyni watch herself. The presence of a person appearing in the video categorically changes the viewing context; an essential characteristic is that the diegetic world of cinema is broken. The video shown does not remain a documentation of something that took place earlier, it becomes material that affects the present and is revealed in the reactions and facial features of us viewing ourselves in the video clip. The viewer loses her role as an observer of a past event and becomes part of a process that takes place again. We, who appear in the original film, empathize with the film, while the viewer next to us senses our emotions and gets confused. The film or video as a stand-alone mode of expression never comes into existence, because we the participants of the film event linger on refusing to let it go. The viewer remains in an in-between state where they can view not only the video but also our family's reactions. Therefore the viewer cannot focus on what to view, while the makers refuse to give any instructions for viewing.

Tyyni, who is fourteen as I am writing this, does not remember the event but remembers many occasions during which it has been screened. The source of her memory is the video. The change from Freud's time is radical as memories are today mainly based on photographs and video recordings. In this sense we do not differ from other contemporary families although we are at an extreme because we have recorded so much of our everyday life.

> **TYYNI:** I can´t see this happening through my own eyes, but through the camera eye.
> **YOUNG WOMAN:** Do you remember it, or do you remember through the camera, do you wish that you would have forgotten it?
> **TYYNI:** The original event I don´t remember at all. I remember many places where I have seen this video and I remember those situations. (The 7th Kuala Lumpur Triennial, Gallery MAP/White Box, March 1, 2013)

In 2013 in Kuala Lumpur the event raised a worry, almost a panic in the audience, perhaps for a reason, because those present in the video remained completely calm in a time of crisis. The panic reaction links *Hot Soup* with the early cinema viewings. The audience is not afraid that the soup will fall on their laps – as the legendary train launching into the audience in the Lumiére films – instead the video shot is a synecdoche[23]. It is like the tip of an iceberg, a detail that expresses something essential about the whole picture of our family life. It supposedly reveals the chaos and danger of our everyday life to the audience. The question whether such dangerous situa-

tions are so banal/common in our family that we do not react to them any more arose in Kuala Lumpur. The calm in the video raised a concern that normally – while the camera is off – much worse events take place.

> **JO KUKATHAS:** Your wife was very calm, nobody was panicking. Son wasn´t panicking, mother wasn´t panicking. I felt kind of a distancing feeling from it. We were feeling the panic, but nobody in room, just us. […]
> **PEKKA:** How do you interpret this effect? Why it is stronger here even though you don´t see the real?
> **JOE YAN:** I feel that it is cultural. I grew up in a really dramatic family, and a scratch would be: You are bleeding, let´s go to the doctor. So I found these reactions cultural.
> **JO KUKATHAS:** Very calm family.
> **JOE YAN:** It seemed like that it had happen before. That the baby had touched a hot tissue, and the boy had cut his hand with a sharp knife. This time it was not as severe as it has before. The potential danger was not as severe as it had been before. (The 7th Kuala Lumpur Triennial, Galleria MAP/White Box March 1, 2013)

The reaction in Kuala Lumpur reminds of Rouch's screening of the hippopotamus hunters. Rouch's audience could relate critically to what they saw only after the third viewing, as they heard the soundtrack. The second viewing in Kuala Lumpur, which consisted of discussions about the *Hot Soup* event with short mute inserts of the original scene, made one of the viewers see what the panic caused by the baby's cry had obfuscated during the first viewing. Only now she saw what happened in the pot reflection.

> **JO KUKATHAS:** Watching the section where Lea is washing Tyyni´s hands in the sink. When I watched it for the first time I did not notice the detail, because I was too shocked like the crying, I was not actually looking, I realized when I saw it this time I suddenly realized that there is the baby at the sink, her legs are jiggling. So actually when I watched it for the second time without the trauma hearing the baby crying. I was kind of blinded by emotion for the first time when I watched it. Watching it for the second time hearing people´s conversations I began to see things that I did not see before. Things inside the pot I did not see for the first time when I was watching. (The 7th Kuala Lumpur Triennial, Galleria MAP/White Box March 1, 2013)

The experience of Jo Kukathas depicts well what a viewer consciously or unconsciously chooses to absorb from a video clip. Recordings of the everyday often include so many wide-ranging elements that a comprehensive understanding is difficult. Each viewer selects, is enchanted by or be-

comes anxious due to different elements, and interprets the clip in various ways. The comment by Kukathas shows that viewers can easily change their position on a situation.

The Proletarian Public Sphere and Participation in the Postclassical Cinema Culture of the Asking for Advice Performance

When we started the *Asking for Advice* performances we did not assume that we would get self-explanatory answers to the questions we had about the video diary shots. We wanted a wide range of cultural and personal comments that would open up our own views on our life and the video recordings. Our initial views were more confused and open to question rather than precise, hence the name *Asking for Advice*.

In her article "Early Cinema, Late Cinema: Transformations of the Public Sphere" (1994) Hansen suggests that the pre-classic and post-classic cinemas are not similar just in representation and reception but also linked by a process of change in the public sphere. Both eras in the history of cinema contradict the classical forms of Hollywood cinema. Our *generational filming* method and the preceding series of *Asking for Advice* performances are part of this questioning of the classical Hollywood cinema format and the viewing experience.

Hansen's article was published in 1994, a year before the World Wide Web revolution. She bases her view on how the popularity of video has affected the viewing of films. The monopoly of cinemas crumbled since the advent of television in the 1950s but a qualitative change took place with the video vcr and cable and satellite transmission. The film theoreticians' aesthetics of the gaze has slowly changed into aesthetics of the glance (Ibid.135). The viewer does not concentrate on watching films in the dark anymore – they do it at home while socializing, popping over to the fridge and pausing the video. The diegetic world of the cinema has been broken since there is very little chance for its illusion at home. Not even the sanctuary of classic cinema, the movie theatre, has been saved from the "corruption" of post-modern times. Hansen writes that since the heyday of the nickelodeon, the film press has not complained about the behaviour – which does not differentiate between the home and the cinema – of the audience[24] (Ibid.135–136).

After the turn to digital time, which happened in the beginning of 21st century, the classical watching culture has returned thanks to the 3d-

technology and the digital special effects. The dark cinema hall is the only sanctuary for watching 3d-films – before 3d-technology will become more common in home theatres.

The film – even at home – is, according to Hansen, part of the public sphere[25]. Hansen defines public by referring mainly to Jürgen Habermas, Oscar Negt and Alexander Kluge: "I am using the term *public* here in the most general sense, denoting a discursive matrix or process through which social experience is articulated, interpreted, negotiated, and contested in an intersubjective, potentially collective, and oppositional form." (Ibid.140.)

In Negt and Kluge's writing the basis for defining public is in a shared experience of life[26]. Public is not, then, defined by the structure of the society, economy, media or power relations; it is a term that includes utopian possibilities based on the social horizon of experience, what the members of the community together deem relevant. Negt and Kluge criticize the normative use of the word "public", which links it with permanent power relations rather than with shared experience. Their suggestion, a conflicting and utopian term that contradicts to the common term for public space, is *proletarian public sphere*. Anachronistic and indebted to Marx, their term, is not an empirical category; it contradicts the current state of affairs. It implies, in accordance with Marxist dialectics, everything that the hegemonic definition of the public is not. (Ibid.142–143.)[27]

As a filmmaker Kluge, in the 1980s, aimed at creating a *proletarian public sphere* by making, for example, an interactive weekly programme for a German commercial television station. His programme was made of five-minute clips in various styles, including a rolling wall of text that was filled with comments on the programme itself, both its fictive and documentary sides. Hansen has named Kluge's TV programmes as a contemporary cinema of attractions, which shows the change in public space in a postmodern era (Ibid.145). Later, rolling ticker tape text became mainstream for example in news broadcasts, talk shows and in dating and chat programmes.

Hansen ends her article with the claim that the early cinema and contemporary postmodern cinema are linked by a breach in the relation of cultural presentation and reception. In cinema this means the variety of viewing cultures and instability compared to the intermittent decades of classical Hollywood stasis. The diegetic world of classical Hollywood cinema nailed the viewers to their seat, made them forget time and space and merge with the world and time of the film it had created in its own language. Following the paradigm shifts in cinema culture the viewer has nowadays much more freedom to watch a film, link it to a cultural context and the viewing event, and to be distracted. (Ibid.149.)

The proletarian public sphere defined by Negt and Kluge, describes well the situation that is created during an *Asking for Advice* video performance. Negt and Kluge emphasize the social experience horizon that tunes the viewing event. It consists of personal memories as well as expectations created by social status and history. The quality of the viewing event as a public sphere is defined by how it awakens personal and collective memories in the audience. (Ibid.146.)

The proletarian public sphere does not create a uniform interpretation and does not even aspire to do that; in the context of viewing a film it manifests in inner conflict, interpretation, unpredictability and improvisation. In Hansen's view the early 20th century nickelodeon shows fulfil *par excellence* the qualitative criteria set by Negt and Kluge. They combine both a live performance and a widely distributed commodity mediated by technology. Most importantly the interaction and social communication enabled by the nickelodeon show opened up a film – produced industrially and mediated by technology – to many interpretations. According to Hansen there is no need for empirical proof on how often this has happened; the analysis of the viewing context reveals that the nickelodeon created possibilities for alternative viewing events. (Ibid.148.)

The setting for an *Asking for Advice* performance is open and public. The audience chooses the themes they want to view, and the floor is open afterwards. We do not present questions or restrict the discussion; every viewer is free to present their comments and questions in a language of their choice. Someone interprets what is being said to those who do not understand the language being used. Our only wish is that the audience would help us get further with our video material. An open and equal setting allows for contradictions in conversation. The audience senses that we are not waiting for "the right kind of, and appropriate" comments; all comments are interesting. We do not disapprove of any comment, however, we can argue against one or another, as can any other participant. A utopian space is created between the video clips and, as in *a proletarian public sphere* there is contradiction, interpretation, unpredictability and improvisation.

JULIANA: How do the children feel? Maybe because they always grew with it. I would hate to be in their situation. It´s a choice put by their parents. I don´t want not to be in it. What have you done to tell your parents: I don´t want to be in your film? Have you?

PYRY-PEKKA: No, we never had the chance, when we were one and three. And since the camera has been the first ten years on a tripod, it did not influence our lives, when we were kids.

When do you think the parents will stop filming? When your girlfriend comes in, will she like to be filmed?

Juliana thinks that the presence of the camera in the family's everyday life is distracting by definition. A Burmese male artist saw no problem in the fact that an artist works wherever, even at home. He defended the male artist's right over his family, while Juliana defended the privacy of the family. Both comments, however contradictory, can be interpreted to mean that normal family life is in conflict with making art. Juliana sets the family over art, whereas the Burmese artist sets art over family: "As an artist, he might be in close relation to the children, but he has his right to make an artist´s work beyond the family life. This is the way of the real artist, so I support him." (NICA, Yangon, Myanmar January 8, 2006)

The viewing in Myanmar is exemplary of how *Asking for Advice* can create *a proletarian public sphere*. It is ironic that the viewing was private and only by invitation. There was, however, no other choice in organizing the event, as all art in Myanmar during the military dictatorship was under censorship and spontaneous performances or discussions could not be organized without approval by the authorities.

A Singaporean female restaurateur, a Burmese male artist and a Finnish sixth-form student took part equally in the discussion. The Burmese artist gave his opinions in Burmese and an interpreter translated them into English. The speakers freely contradicted each other: Juliana questioned the principles of our art project, whereas the Burmese artist defended, without question, the cameraman and the project. Our son, Pyry-Pekka answered ambivalently by revealing our family's power relations, but despite this insisted that his childhood was not troubled. More than half of those present – as per usual during the *Asking for Advice* performances – took turns in the conversation. No one chaired the discussion and there were no restrictions in the length of the comments.

JULIANA: I´m confused. I must say I found this time very interesting. I totally disagree with the way you brought it out. But I found it interesting.

Juliana's final comment crystallizes the contradictory and argumentative nature of the performance. It creates a space where opinions can be strong and values clash. The video clips are objects that are situated between the audience and our life. The audience can criticize the filmed events directly as the critique is directed at the recordings and not at us personally.

Hot Soup was the clip that raised the most contradictory feelings in the makers and Lea even felt guilty. Only during the last viewing of the clip did she give her own opinion on the events. We had purposefully declined to express our "truth" at an earlier stage as we assumed that it would have restricted others' comments and views. Lea's confessions prompted a counter-reaction from the Malaysian cultural activist Sharaad Kuttan.

LEA: This is a different case study than the others, in the sense that we could never imagine leaving this in a show like playing itself, because I feel it is too ambiguous, too shocking, traumatizing, so we decided that we will be always present when we show this piece. Some other pieces we have left in a show.[...] I feel horrible every time I see it, it still has this effect.

SHARAAD KUTTAN: You have prompted the audience to think of it as trauma, somehow projected at them, wanting them to take the idea that it is a trauma, feel it such and let them to a particular route of discussion and response, perhaps, the trauma is yours, perhaps, this could be played without anybody feeling shocked. (The 7th Kuala Lumpur Triennial, Gallery MAP/White Box March 1, 2013)

The most varied comments received abroad were the ones given following *Hot Soup*. On our return from the Southeast Asia in 2006 we explicitly wanted to show the reactions it received. At this stage our method of *generational filming* was not yet existing. It was created by another shot, *Scolding* (cf. Chapter 5).

The first generation of our case study *Hot Soup* was filmed in our kitchen on March 20, 2000. The second generation of the case study consists of four viewings in which we show the clip and film the comments from the audience. They were shot in Laznia Centre for Contemporary Art in Gdansk on August 12, 2005, at the Lost Generation Space art centre in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia on December 16, 2005, at the P-10 Gallery in Singapore on December 20, 2005 and at the NICA residency in Yangon, Myanmar on January 8, 2006.

The third generation, in which the previous two generations were shown, took place during a course titled *Fieldwork and Documentation*, which I gave to students of the Masters programme in The Finnish Academy of Fine Arts on March 25, 2008; a video screening for The Finnish Academy of Fine Arts' Välivuosi Gallery on August 18, 2008; the supplementary education course for artists at the Saimaa University of Applied Sciences on October 15, 2008; and during a discussion with my instructor Ray Langenbach at our home on July 31, 2006.

The fourth generation comprised two viewings, the first one given by me for students of the Theatre Academy Helsinki on November 22, 2008,

and the second given by our first-born son Pyry-Pekka at the Singaporean Postmuseum Gallery on March 14, 2009. The fifth generation was presented together with the 7th Kuala Lumpur Triennial at the White Box Gallery on March 1, 2013. As I am writing this we are still undecided as to how long we should continue the case study *Hot Soup*.

The proletarian public sphere defined by Negt and Kluge closely relates to the discursive atmosphere during an *Asking for Advice* performance. The term can also be applied to the viewing situations of *generational filming* in which the filmed discussions add to the variety of comments. Negt and Kluge created their concept in the context of proletarian class struggle, but I apply it in the home video context. I´m arguing that the similarities are methodolocigal though discrepancies of scale and context are obvious. The presence and comments of those on film during the performances links the viewing events to Rouch's tradition of *shared anthropology*. Our concept of *generational filming* defines a method for working with the material, but it does not depict the viewing situations that produce the generations of video material. Conceptualizing Negt, Kluge and Rouch we have created a concept of a *shared space of watching* that defines a situation during which the generations of film are born.

Indian theatre director and performance scholar Rustom Bharucha saw a version of *Hot Soup* in which we – deviating from the chronological order – showed mainly Asian comments and people seeing the first generation event. According to Bharucha´s interpretation our method is a way to document remembering. According to him a performance exists mainly in the memory of the audience members.

> Our scholarship has yet been dominated by the Holy Trinity, the playwright, the director and the actor. And the spectator has to enter in a big way now, in anything to happen in scholarship or in methodology or in documentation. […] But at the moment what you have, very textured, very concrete, and it makes you think as a scholar, I never thought that piece in such a multiple ways, I never thought and giving the fact that performance exists mainly in the memory. Memory is what we ultimately fall back on. What is the evidence of memory? What is the documentation of memory? That´s what we really don´t have, so in a very simple way, very personal way, and very grounded way you are giving us a kind of … you opened a methodology for us. I think it is really very striking. (Shifting Dialogue -conference, Finnish Theatre Academy Helsinki, December 4, 2014)

In the next chapter I shall explain the method of *generational filming* in detail.

Endnotes

1   In every screening xxx was replaced by the number of days we had filmed.

2   Early cinema and the technologies and inventions that competed with it have been, for decades, the favourite subjects of film researchers and the media archaeology has developed into an independent research field. (See e.g. Doane 2002; Gunning 1994; Huhtamo 2013; Parikka 2012)

3   The Finnish sociologist Anu-Hanna Anttila who studies time management in Finland was surprised that Work was missing from our motives because it is usually one of the central motives when use of time is studied. In our discussion we resolved that Lea and I are part of an ever-growing group of people whose work and free-time are elusive in a labyrinth of untypical periodic employment. (Personal communication April 25,, 2013). In the beginning of the 1990s Lea's work was divided between being a mother at home, occasional interpretations and writing critiques and making art. My own work was a combination of mainly radio shows, the occasional article, various administrative and managerial jobs in the field of art, building a house, occasional house work and art.

4   In his *Time Clock Piece* Taiwanese artist Tehching Hsieh gives the most precise and intense image of rationalized time and filmic time. In 1980–1981 Hsieh spent a year by punching a time clock every hour, and took a picture of himself every time. The documentation is presented as a film, 24 frames per second, ie. 24 hours in a second. The spectator sees in six minutes Hsieh in hectic movement staring at the camera, hair growing fast, and the fatigue taking over.

5   The code and the missing of it for Barthes is something else than what we understand with 'code' in our digital times.

6   The accompanying text for the *Asking for Advice* video performance in Gdansk:
Asking for Advice
Lea and Pekka Kantonen, Finland
about 1 hour

Equipment: dvd-player, video monitor or video proyector. Sound for the video. If necessary a microphone for the interpreter (if public cannot hear normal talk).

The space should be comfortable where people can sit in a familiar way to watch tv and converse.

Since March 1990 we have every day documented our daily life on video. Ten years ago we presented the material as a performance and an installation named *Every Moment* (Presented in Wyspa gallery, Gdansk in 1996). It was time before reality-tv, and we wanted to bring the ordinary family life into the gallery space, and at the same time question the authenticity of this documentation.

Since then we have not shown the material in public. In this performance we take the material back to its ordinary context: to share the video clips with people who visit us. In Gdansk we will start a process where we want to watch, discuss and edit videos with people who watch them with us: friends, strangers, people who appear in our videos.

French ethnographic filmmaker Jean Rouch has developed *shared anthropology* where people whom he has filmed are with him in the process of decision making. Final versions of his films he makes according to the advice he has been given. With the same attitude we like to share our documentation of our family life with people who are viewing them with us.

7 The themes
In Danger
Art Talk
Repetitions of Everyday Rituals
Transfer of Knowledge
From Father to the Child
Something Typical
To Look Around
Encounters in Poland
Encounters in Singapore
Encounters in Mexico

8 This information is based on the interview by Enrico Fulchignoni in which Rouch apparently remembers wrong the year of the screening, because the film *Battle on the Great River* was finished already in 1952 and it was filmed in1951 and 1952.

9 More on Flaherty's and Vertov's effect on Rouch's work in the chapter *The Haircut, the Hauka Ritual* and *Mimetic Excess*.

10 The impetus for Rouch to leave a career in engineering and embark on making ethnographic films came from the surrealists and avant-gardists of the 1930s Paris. See e.g. Henley 2009; Stoller 1992.

11 The relationship between *generational filming* and cine*ma verité* will be covered in chapter seven.

12 The golden era of Hollywood cinema started with the first audio film, *Jazz Singer*, in 1927. The basis for Hollywood cinema was laid down a couple of decades earlier during the era of the silent film, when continuity editing and realistic portrayal became the norm. W.D. Griffith is seen as the father of the classical Hollywood film.

13 Kitkat on Erottaja, in Helsinki, was a nonstop cinema in the 1960s that showed newsreels, anima-

tion shorts and documentary films. One could go in and out at will. The father of a childhood friend used to take us boys to watch cartoons on Sundays. He was interested in the factual films. During the cartoons he could go out for a cigarette.

14 Andy Warhol's demand for 15 seconds of fame is probably originated in Benjamin's thinking.

15 The traditional way of categorizing the history of cinema is to divide it into the documentary and the fictive traditions. The Lumiére brothers are the forefathers of the documentary and Georges Méliès is the forefather of the fictive. Gunning positions both pioneering forms of cinema within the sphere of attraction films. Eisenstein's silent films based on montage form a category of attraction films of their own. The post-1907 Hollywood cinema represents a separate film tradition for Gunning.

16 The fourth wall is a convention of realistic theatre. The viewer follows the events as if secretly and the actors act as if the audience did not exist. Breaking the convention of the fourth wall by a direct eye contact with the audience is among the effects both in realist theatre as well as in early cinema.

17 Woody Allen's *Purple Rose of Cairo* is one of the greatest depictions of the role of the viewer and the rebellion of cinematic characters against the diegetic world of Hollywood cinema. (See e.g. Doane 1987.)

18 Since the 1970s feminist film studies have questioned the universality and neutrality of the classic Hollywood film. Laura Mulvey's article *Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema* crystallizes feminist critique. According to Mulvey Hollywood cinema does not question the patriarchal order as it lures the viewer to identify with the characters and finds voyeuristic pleasure. "In a world ordered by sexual imbalance, pleasure in looking has been split between active/male and passive/female. The determining male gaze projects its fantasy onto the female figure, which is styled accordingly. In their traditional exhibitionist role women are simultaneously looked at and displayed, with their appearance coded for strong visual and erotic impact so that they can be said to connote *to-be-looked-at-ness*." (Mulvey 1984:366, italics Mulvey.)

19 Visual anthropologists have criticized harshly this hierarchic view and have argued for a specific epistemology for ethnographic film. See chapter six, and further MacDougall 1998 and 2006.

20 **Woman1:** The hot spills over and then another hot is brought next to her and then wiggles by the table. You're close but not close enough.
Woman2: The question arose, what about the boys who eat the bun with the toothpicks in it.
Woman3: I thought that the hot soup was left there on purpose, everyone knows that a child grabs it at some point. I thought that she would grab it and burn her hand. I knew it. I was a hundred per cent certain. Then I was a little shocked when she put the food back on the plate and fed the same food again.
Woman4: I thought so too, they had just made the batter there. I know it's thought of as unhygienic

and I somehow thought for fuck's sake...

Woman5: To start with it looked a little alarming, but then I thought, it's just been used for making the batter, clean table, clean hands, why not?

Woman1: When babies eat food goes everywhere anyway, you bathe in food.

Man: Emphasising hygiene is a bit too much. In Southern Europe it's different. I had a colleague who was very hygienic, who had a child, and he cooked all the food for it, but when the child started eating out of the dog's dish they stopped cooking the food.

Woman6: I was wondering whether the shot was edited or not because you have to run cold water on a burnt hand for much longer. I wondered why the child calmed down so quickly. In principle you need 20 minutes. A scald continues the burning effect. Maybe it's edited...

Man: There was a strong feeling of life that you seldom see. It was exhilarating. That's what it's like, there are risks. If you protect too much, take off from the edge of the table, it can, certain things develop. They are instructive.

Woman1: That's true too, but if there had been another one, or another hot thing was put next to one. Do you have to learn everything through accident?

Woman3: Also the unbaked batter that she was trying to eat. I kept thinking she's going to reach and could suffocate.

Pekka: But didn't you notice the boy cutting the bread?

Women: Yes!

Woman1: Another dangerous situation.

Woman3: Another, how many? (Saimaa University of Applied Sciences, Imatra, October 15, 2008)

21 Susanna Helke discusses in her doctoral dissertation *Nanookin jälki.Tyyli ja metodi dokumentaarisen ja fiktiivisen elokuvan rajalla* (2006) the fictionality of Flaherty´s *Nanook*.

22 This happens in case study *Spying and Counter-Spying*, see ch. Three.

23 Synecdoche is a trope in which a word meaning a part of something refers to a larger whole, or vice versa.

24 A research subject on its own would be study how cinema narration has reacted to the viewing situation changing into reflexive and self-ironic. Especially cartoons flirt with the audience in the manner of the vaudeville actor.

25 The English word *public* has a wider meaning than Finnish word *julkinen* (public).

26 Negt and Kluge define the *proletarian public sphere* in their work *Öffenlichkeit und Erfahrung*, 1972. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp. The source for this article are the English translations in *October* magazine. Cf. Negt, Oscar and Kluge, Alexander, 1988. *The Public Sphere and Experience*. Boston: October Press, no 46, pp. 60–82.

27 Negt and Kluge's definition of public sphere from the viewpoint of the experienced world is reminiscent of Michel de Certeau's analysis of human social practices. Negt and Kluge's *proletarian public sphere* has many confluences with the tactical actions depicted by Certeau. Cf. chapter 3: *Spying and Counter-Spying* and Certeau's *The Practice of Everyday Life*.

CASE STUDY:

Scolding

The Birth of the Generational Filming

In this chapter I shall describe in detail the birth of the *generational film-ing* method and how the method has developed following various viewing experiments. During this case I set up viewing experiments in which the audience saw the generations of video in reverse order. Before seeing the discussed events the audience saw the comments on it. The experiment substantially changed the way the audience embraced what they had seen and how they commented on it.

There were two co-occurring chains of events leading to the birth of the method of *generational filming*: firstly the *Asking for Advice* performance described in the previous chapter, and secondly editing the video diary as part of a course in anthropology. The video shot that was part of the diary material depicted the scolding of small children. In this chapter I shall concentrate on that shot, the feedback on it and on the history of the development of the method. I shall analyse one by one the phases of how a small scale project combining art and anthropology grew into a method that is the subject of this dissertation. The impetus for this case study is a video shot in which small children are scolded in our kitchen. It was shot without any special arrangements using only a tripod and a home video camera. The contents, however, differ completely from a typical home video. Home mode videos depict the home as the centre of happiness and harmony where special days of the family members are celebrated. Instead of the idyllic this shot shows the other side of home life: the scolding of children who have been 'naughty' on a completely normal weekday. The main interest of this chapter lies in the types of cultural interpretations created by filmed scolding and apologizing. I shall also look into how the

different generations and layers create and change the meanings of the earlier generations and also how the viewer sees her place as a potential part of the final version or work of art, if one is about to emerge. Firstly I will go through the birth of the method and the phases in the development of the terminology. Secondly I will describe the six generations in the case study *Scolding*.

Home Videos within the Tradition of Home Mode

Scolding is the first and largest of the *generational filming* case studies. It started during a video screening at a birthday party. Home videos and films are an essential part of middle class family festivities in Western and already also more widely in industrial and post-industrial countries. Mainly the parties are filmed but earlier films are also watched. The viewing event is intimate and usually only family members and best friends take part, mainly because the videos are extremely boring to others.

The anthropologist Richard Chalfen (1987:8–9) describes all audiovisual recordings that depict an idealised image of the family using amateur equipment with his concept of home mode[1]. Chalfen studies snapshots and home films that have been shot by the family itself. Media researcher James M. Moran applies Chalfen's concept on home videos in his study *There´s No Place Like Home Video* (2002). His approach is historical. He shows how home mode has both been preserved as well as changed with the advent of a new medium, video, and the changing concept of family. In Chalfen's analysis a family refers to a typical American middle-class core family. In the interview-based research that Moran refers to, at the beginning of the 21st century, the concept of family does not usually correlate with the "American dream"; instead it is described as "a group of people that live together and love each other" according to a survey (Moran 2002:48).

The shift from home films to home videos took place quickly in the 1980s as portable video camcorders inundated the markets. The battle over the souls of the home mode video makers was waged by two formats, Betamatic and VHS, i.e. two Japanese consumer electronics giants, Sony and Panasonic. Sony lost – even though the price-quality relationship was better for Betamatic – because they chose the wrong strategy: Sony kept all the licences to itself while Panasonic was happy to give them out to all producers for a reasonable price.[2]

As the video became more and more common the amateur filmmakers were pining for "the good old days" and shooting home videos was com-

pared to eating fast food (Ibid.33). Quality was substituted for speed and effort for easiness. Shooting with Super 8 was a ritual that needed careful planning as the three-minute reel could not be wasted on anything banal. The film had to be developed in a laboratory, nervously waiting for the results of the exposure and colour balance, and only after days of painstaking waiting the cameraman of the family, usually the father, could set his film-projector and screen in their place in a darkened room and gather the family together to watch the film screening. All of this ritualistic labour and devotion disappeared with the onset of the home video. It did not matter whether the camera was left recording, because it was possible to record over the unwanted material. There was an endless and inexpensive supply of videotape. It was possible to see what the result would be through the viewfinder. There was a lot to see as long as one remembered to press record – no need go to the laboratory, only the cables needed to be plugged into the television set, turn it on the AV channel, and the whole family could enjoy their own results like any other TV show. Not even the curtains had to be drawn anymore.

Moran criticizes Chalfen for not taking into consideration the change in the content enabled by the technological ease of the video. According to Chalfen the home mode cameramen who changed from snapshots to home films did not really start shooting new subjects or in an innovative manner. The subjects of photographs now became subjects of short films. At the advent of the video the favoured subjects, festivities and holidays, remained the same. Cinema introduced movement to photograph and video introduced sound to film but the actual filming moment never changed according to Chalfen. (Ibid.40.)

Home mode shootings concentrate on happy, distinguished, memorable moments. Ceremonies from birth to old age are recorded: the first tooth, first upright position, own house, new car, confirmation, weddings[3] and, of course, holidays. Audio and the possibility for longer clips has, according to Moran, widened the choice of topics for home mode films. On a meticulously-planned three-minute film clip there was little room for chance apart from a mishap during a family ritual. Alongside the traditional topics, such as festivities, the video era brings in the preparations for the party – the baking, tidying up, decoration – on tape. The video camera becomes omnipresent, at work, during past-time activities and in every-day life. The home mode is still averse to anything unpleasant, events that the family members wish to forget. There are never arguments, moping about or rude behaviour in home mode films and videos. The most intimate moments are also left out. (Ibid.43-44.)

Film researcher Patricia Zimmermann, whom Moran quotes, defines togetherness and familialism as the ideologies of home mode films and videos. Shooting with super 8 became a hobby, especially of the middle class nuclear family, in the 1950s. The equipment was marketed to this group by emphasising the idea of a happy family recording their fun pastime as beautiful memories. "Reel families" were the "real families."[4] Like Chalfen, although on different grounds, Zimmermann sees a direct continuum between home film and home video. The video camera is even more subtle in recording memories than super 8 film. "The home-video camera emerges as a silent relative at family gatherings, never interrupting, never gossiping, never interpreting as it records hugs, kisses, hamming, and idealized memories of a contrived family harmony." (Zimmermann 1995:150.) Zimmermann ironically sees how the "reel families" follow the manuals of their gadgets and act like the images of the commercials. According to Moran Zimmermann overtly politically interprets the home mode as a necessity brought about by consumer capitalism rather than as a part of a historical continuum from earlier ways of recording important moments through photography and other visual means. Moran sees Zimmermann as overtly political and Chalfen as apolitical. The inability to see change and the possibility for change in home mode is their common factor. Moran can be classified as Michel de Certeau's kindred soul who believes in the ability of common people to invent ways of using the pastime gadgets in ways that defy tradition and advertising. Moran bases his claim mainly on his analysis of the possibilities of the home video camera and the TV-programme *America's Funniest Home Videos*.

In Moran's eyes *America's Funniest Home Videos* is the fulfilment of a four-decade wait of the home mode filmmaker. They can see the videos of their families and neighbours on nation-wide television. Since the 1950s *Candid Camera* has approved of the common man to be worthy of being shot albeit for making fun of them. *America's Funniest Home Videos* takes a step further in democracy as the common man is not simply worthy as an object but also as a maker. Like *Candid Camera America's Funniest Home Videos* continues the tradition of the early nickelodeon theatre's showing of clips of the surrounding neighbourhood (See ch. 4: *Hot Soup*). In *America's Funniest Home Videos* a person familiar to the viewer may receive national publicity.

According to Moran modern man, at least one residing in the United States, wants TV publicity. He quotes the producer of the programme *America's Funniest Home Videos*, Barbara Bernstein, who says that the main motive for people sending over their home videos is not the money or a free trip to Hollywood but the possibility of seeing their own video on

their favourite programme. Since almost everyone wants to be on television the most democratic show is one that allows a chance for this even if the chance is less than one per cent. For Moran *America's Funniest Home Videos* is an example of a show that realises the Bakhtinian idea of heteroglossia and dialogism. Heteroglossia combines distinct varieties within an equivocal whole, whereas dialogism describes polyphony in a piece of art. Bakhtin used Dostoyevsky's novels as his examples. *America's Funniest Home Videos* includes music videos, slapstick, self-presentations, special effects and family events. All of the home-made clips can usually be included within a TV show genre. The clips only repeat, and parody at best, existing TV programmes and therefore enforce the ubiquity of television.

Moran's uncritical approach is emphasized in his way of quoting without comment the people who make *America's Funniest Home Videos*. The executive producer Vin Di Bona displays his modesty: "I can´t produce it. I can´t make it funny. I can´t make it interesting. I organize what people send in to us, and that´s what my main responsibility is, just to *shape the show* that they create." (italics mine) (Moran 2002:156.) In his study Moran defends the show against varying accusations. The accusation made by critics imagined by Moran is that the show distorts the videos by making them fit the format. Moran answers himself by saying that the show does not present home videos as documents, instead the show combines professional television production and home-made clips in an entertaining manner. The weakest link in Moran's defence is his examples. Whether Moran points to the estrangement of everyday life, the ironic representation of family life or Bakhtinian dialogism, the clips he mentions are mainly gags and angle changes common to silent films. His example of self irony is included in the pedagogical part of the show, *AFHV's Guide to Parenting,* that show a baby drinking out of a dog bowl or a boy chewing on a chewing gum stuck on the sole of a shoe. (Ibid.157–161.)

America's Funniest Home Videos is one of the longest-running and widely-spread shows on television. My own experience of the format is its Finnish version. Approximately 80 per cent of the clips I have seen are originally out of the American version. Very rarely have I seen what Moran describes as viewer-oriented and original. Embarrassing mishaps, slight injuries and planned parodies are the main ingredients of the show year after year.

The viewer comments we have received mainly compare our video diary project with two television formats: *Big Brother* and *America's Funniest Home Videos*, as well as a twelve episode television documentary from the 1970s, *An American Family*[5]. Sometime in the mid-1990s our boys in primary school asked me why I would not send the funniest clips to *Funniest Home*

Videos. We would make money and they would enjoy being on television. Even though some of our clips included mishaps I did not want them to be compared with *Funniest Home Videos*. Why? Artist's pride is the formulated answer. During that time it would have been ill-fated to "denigrate" one's artistic work to the level of home-made television entertainment.

The filming method of *Funniest Home Videos* is the same as in the home mode format, but the clips shown on television do not comply with home mode ideology, the familial togetherness. They make fun of it instead. The filming method of our video diary is also similar to home mode. The contents and technique are part of the home mode tradition. Until 2010 our equipment has been the same quality as home videos. We do not use lighting or plan during the shoots. At first the viewers wonder whether it is art at all. As we started our diary shoots in 1990 – the same year as the first series of *America's Funniest Home Videos* were produced in the United States – we did not want to parody how the family was depicted on television. We wanted to show the things that family series did not depict by questioning them. Instead of wishing to show everything possible about family life we ruled out some sides of life on ethical grounds. Nothing was ruled out on the basis of banality. Home mode leaves out the unpleasant sides and events that evoke unpleasant memories of family life. Scolding is the paragon of an event that home mode films and videos never show.

Party Video

On Saturday, April 14, 2007 we organised a joint birthday party for our two youngest children. The date was in between the exact dates, Tyyni turned eight on March 30 and Ukko eighteen on April 24. We have never been in the habit of giving material presents to our children due to a chronic lack of money but we have always thrown a big party. Usually I organised a video compilation of all the earlier parties as part of the programme. Blowing out the candles and smashing up piñatas has been part of almost every birthday party in our family. Shooting the party rituals and watching home videos is a typical home mode activity. Annual parties, birthdays and initiation rites, such as reaching adulthood are the core material of home mode videos.

While looking for the festive clips for the joint birthday party I usually found the correct dates in old calendars but for some years I had to go through the video material for several weeks to find the party coverage. I also looked for everyday material that would somehow be connected to

the festivities because it seemed numbing to watch only the party shots. Thus celebration and the everyday would be connected. The videos from several years, mainly the second half of the 1990s, were unfamiliar to me. I kept viewing the everyday shots for far longer than need be. My absolute favourite was a clip out of Lea's video diary, in which we scold our youngest son Ukko and his best friend Miro for having smeared Miro's twin sister, Tuuli's shell suit with Lea's paints. I showed the clip to Lea and we realised with amusement that it really depicted the time in our life. During that spring the boys from the neighbourhood had caused a lot of damage and dangerous situations. Our shed and Miro's home, also a small conference centre, had nearly burned down as they had played with matchsticks. The children had knocked over my video camera that was on a tripod. We decided to show the revellers the clip from March 23, 1995 as a reminder of the events of the time.

The viewing was held in our 60 square metre studio that we call the dance hall. After the viewing the adults had a sauna while the young kept chatting in the dance hall. During the evening discussions arose around the scolding and whether it had been too severe, too nice or necessary at all. All of the opinions received support.

Two encounters changed my attitude towards the nature of the scolding video. First and decisive was Ukko's short comment: "That's how you took my dignity." I was shocked by the words, immediately apologised and wanted to discuss it later. The second conversation I had with my artist friends, Ray Langenbach and Ilkka Sariola. Both of them found my reaction in the scolding episode unreasonable.

The Birth Of The Method

On our Sunday walk the next morning I suggested to Ray and Ilkka that we would go back to the discussion about the scolding. I asked for permission to videotape the discussion in order to use it as research material. I was working on a fieldwork assignment for my anthropology course. The title was *Transfer of Knowledge inside My Family*.

> PEKKA: You were commenting that, when my voice came out of the picture, that I had two voices, is it like that I have this high voice that is demanding voice and this low voice, or how did you make the difference?
> RAY: I thought there were two people.
> PEKKA: That´s what I mean.

RAY: The lower was the angry one, that´s how I remember, I can be wrong about it. Because actually I had an image of two people in the back of the room.

ILKKA: I felt there were two kinds of anger, one was putting inside anger, and another was expressed anger. The other was adult controlling, but still that is even more scary, when adult is angry but is not showing it. [...]

PEKKA: Ukko was very upset about the scene, when he was commenting, he was almost in tears, when he said: This is what you did to me, that it was not the only time, the way that I don´t have any value. He even said to me.

RAY: He said that?

PEKKA: My words made me (him) feel that I don´t (he doesn´t) have any value.

ILKKA: That is dad´s voice. It has so much to do. If you write it down, it´s nothing, but when you hear the voice. It´s like if you take the psychological aspect of a god. It´s like God´s voice like in the Old testament: God said, God said.

RAY: The patriarch. (The forest of Hermanonkimaa, April 15, 2007)

As we returned from our walk in the woods the young were leaving and there was no time to discuss the matter with Ukko.

The following night I was bothered with guilt. I decided to telephone Ukko, apologise and shoot the call. The main reason for the decision to shoot the phone call was because I wanted to show the scolding as an example of how parents transfer knowledge to their children. The events and the discussion involved with the scolding continued and changed the transfer of knowledge.

The following days I shot conversations around the topic between Lea and me, my own monologues to the camera and myself editing the material. I showed clips of the first version on an *Ethnographic Field Methods* course by Thomas Strong at the University of Helsinki on May 10. The whole piece was first shown at the Finnish Academy of Fine Arts research doctoral department on May 14, as the American artist Dan Graham was visiting us. The title of the piece was *Transfer of Knowledge: Scolding.* I had edited it into a chronological order, starting with the scolding. The date of the following clip was inserted between the takes. The full length of the piece was 17 minutes 47 seconds.

I asked my course fellows to record the discussions with my video camera. I had thought of showing the piece to different audiences, videotape the feedback and then add it to the piece for the following viewing. The next time I showed the piece, and recorded the feedback, was at a University of Leeds art symposium, *Chances and Challenges Practice-Led Research Symposium* on May 25. The third viewing was a private consultation with anthropologist Thomas Strong at the University of Helsinki on July 4, 2007,

and the fourth one took place at a *Writing Performance* seminar led by Ray Langenbach at the Theatre Academy Helsinki on October 10, 2007. Defining *generational filming* as a method did not happen until January 2008. In the Autumn of 2007 Ray Langenbach had been appointed, after my request, as my second supervisor alongside Grant Kester.

On January 13, 2008, Ray was visiting us and our intention was to discuss a scheme Ray had outlined in order to visualise my doctoral work (cf. appendix). The scheme was a four part matrix, in which Ray listed all of his associated levels that were involved in my work. Ray warned me: "You cannot discuss all of these topics, you must choose."

We looked at the part in the scheme that said "art production one" – "hermeneutics" – "refilming"

RAY: Then we go to the reception – feedback – and then this huge thing that you do with the feedback on feedback on which is yet another moment and then the criticism of parenting, which is linked with the taxonomic, but I did not draw the line. Then re-filming and I don´t know what to call this. What do you call it?

PEKKA: Which one?

RAY: It seems to me, you should find a name for it. It´s so important for what you are up to. The notion of re-filming, you should find a cool name for that, that´s yours, because it really isn´t anybody else´s, which is quite unique, and therefore you need to announce it´s name.

PEKKA: Let me think, in some documentaries it´s a theme that [like] Jean Rouch must have that, when he has returned to the African village and they [village people] are watching it [the film]. And there are, let´s say there is a classical film of that place. And the filmmaker returns with that classical film. And shows it. They are watching it.

RAY: But you are doing it for five or six times.

PEKKA: Then there come these circles.

RAY: Hermeneutic circles.

PEKKA: In my case it is *per se* the re-filming, but in those cases [like Rouch´s] the motive is different. There it is about the content.

RAY: Somehow you need to christen it as a child. It is a produced technique. To have a distinct name, otherwise it´s going to get smudged with other people´s techniques, which is not quite the same.

PEKKA: Define?

RAY: I wrote re-film, but that´s not it. What is the term you use? Maybe there is a Finnish term for it.

PEKKA: I´ve been saying something like that: I film what is filmed and has been watched.

RAY: So you are filming reception, but you are filming [not only] reception, you are filming analysis, you are filming critique of it.

PEKKA: All those should have a common concept?

RAY: There is an overall thing that you are doing with it. There are these sub-sets, which are different types of reception responses. It is different, when you are filming…

PEKKA: You said that I´m filming reception, analysis and the critique.

RAY: Critique of you as author/father. You know, like what happened in Malaysia, when people said, that you are not being a good parent. Sometimes it is critique of methodology, or of you, sometimes it´s critique of Lea, or even the kids. Like what happened on the walk, the issue of … that came up with Ukko´s…

PEKKA: You mean the birthday?

RAY: The sensitivity issue, and things like that.

PEKKA: If this was the scolding, [then what is] what you saw in the Theatre Academy?

RAY: The reception.

PEKKA: Last time it was in KUVA (Finnish Academy of Fine Arts). I showed these. What would be these?

RAY: It´s almost like generational, it is almost like the primary resource, secondary resource, tertiary resource.

PEKKA: Can it be called that my method is *generational filming*?

RAY: In a sense it is *generational filming*.

PEKKA: That could be …

RAY: Which is interesting, because it has relationship to the family taxonomy.

PEKKA: Now we are making a taxonomy of … if I call it: *Generational Filming Method*.

There is an exact moment for the naming of the method: the afternoon of January 13, 2008. The countdown to the method's invention can be set at the moment of the viewing of *Scolding* at Ukko's birthday party on April 14, 2007, nine months before the naming.

Case Study Scolding Generation by Generation

FIRST GENERATION

The first generation of the case study *Scolding* was shot off a tripod by the fridge in our home on March 23, 1995. The clip is six minutes and 15 seconds long and it is part of Lea's video diary. The nearly six-year old Ukko and his friend of the same age, Miro, have squirted Lea's oil paints from up on the attic onto Miro's twin sister Tuuli. Lea is sitting on the floor cleaning Tuuli's shell suit with turpentine. Miro is standing by the refrigerator and waves his wooden sword. Ukko is in the doorway between the kitchen and the hall. Tuuli is sitting on a wooden box out of sight, sometimes you

The first generation of
the case study *Scolding*,
March 23, 1995.

can see her trousers in the picture. I am standing behind the camera and do not enter the picture.

The shot starts with Lea's question: "Why is Tuuli's suit dirty?" Lea asks Ukko to get closer so he can see Tuuli. I ask Lea to step forward. Both requests aim at framing the picture. Neither of the boys wants to say what has happened. At first Miro tries to put the blame on Tuuli as she did not heed the warning to move out of the way. Tuuli replies fervently that she was in the shed first. The boys' alliance crumbles immediately as both try to assure us of their own innocence and put the blame on the other one. "I definitely did not want to drop it," says Ukko. Miro has a different rendition of the events: "I didn't drop much. I maybe dropped some once, and Ukko dropped…" Tuuli interrupts her brother: "Once! You took many cans."

Lea's strategy is to educate the boys on how oil paints are expensive and tools that adults use for working. Unlike watercolours, oil paint does not come off clothes even in the wash. Ukko's tactic is to plea for ignorance:[6] "Oh, really?" It works the first time. Lea's second strategy is to make them feel guilty: "This is ruined, Tuuli's suit. […] was it ruined in the shed? […] A lot of work Pekka and I will have. We have, all the time, Pekka has been cleaning the floor, and I have been cleaning Tuuli's suit. Don't you understand you shouldn't have done this?" Ukko tries to plea for ignorance again, but it proves to be a fatal mistake: "How could we have known?" Ukko's line makes me furious and I yell: "Yes, you should have known, Ukko! You know you're not allowed up there and start squirting out them! Ukko, come here! You know you shouldn't do that! You knew you can't go up there and do that! You knew that!"

My role was not to interfere in the shot, but only be the cameraman. I calm down slowly as Ukko returns, eyes wet, from the hall to the kitchen and nods his head. He blinks his eyes rapidly to dry the tears, almost like windshield wipers clearing away the rain. This is the *punctum*[7] of the shot and it divides the audience's reactions to the event.

Lea and I start to bombard the boys with accusations. "You're not allowed there anymore." "We have to set punishment for you." "You're not allowed in the shed anymore." "You're not allowed to play there anymore because you have been so stupid." "Neither are you allowed in the guestroom because there's a camera in there. Yesterday the camera was knocked over and broken."

After the bans follows another lesson. Children are not allowed to take adults' things because they might get broken. It is fine to play with the children's own "weapons" and toys. Children are not allowed to touch

Styrofoam and break it. Miro reassures himself by whacking the wooden sword on his thigh. Ukko has picked himself up during the lessons and has started to lean on the doorframe in a more relaxed manner, and now he is ready to join the adults as their henchman and disapprove of the malpractices. "Once I've seen someone burn it [the Styrofoam]." Ukko turns out to be a telltale as his friend Miro has burned Styrofoam with Ukko's elder brother, Pyry-Pekka. They nearly burned down the shed.

The lesson does not end with the judgement, the adults want to make sure the scolding has been effective.

> **PEKKA:** What did you learn? What you're not allowed to do?
> **UKKO:** Yeah.
> **MIRO:** You're not allowed to destroy the cans. You're not allowed to break anything expensive or touch them without permission.
> **LEA:** You're allowed to touch what?
> **MIRO:** All of the children's things.

The body language, movements and immobility reveal the power structure in the video clip. No one but Ukko moves. At first he is nearly out of sight but at request he moves closer to the camera. Throughout the shot Ukko needs to hold on to the doorframe, except for when the situation becomes unbearable and he marches into the hall. My shout, however, brings him back to the centre of the picture, back to the courtroom. At first his legs tremble but when the worst is over he starts to lean on the doorframe, looking for a more relaxed position. His partner in crime, Miro, is standing up firmly. His stress is shown only in the rhythmic tapping of his wooden sword against his safety-padded thigh. Lea is sitting beneath everyone else but she is holding the evidence, the smeared shell suit. She is sitting up, showing off her might. Tuuli and I are out of sight. Tuuli's throne is the wooden box on which she sits. kicking her legs, I never enter the picture and my authority is based on my voice and invisibility. My yelling out of nowhere makes me omnipotent. In cinema invisibility is the strongest weapon. The omniscient voice-over of the narrator in documentary film never enters the picture. "God's voice," as Ilkka Sariola said in the second-generation discussion in the forest.

SECOND GENERATION

The second generation consists of everyday discussions that were filmed for shedding light on how knowledge is passed on in our family. The most

controversial event concerning the cultural analysis of the central theme, scolding and forgiveness, is the phone call during which I apologise to Ukko for what I had done twelve years earlier by the refrigerator.

> **PEKKA:** Hi, are you on a break? Okey, have you got time for a short talk? Listen, I'm pretty shocked by the video having been such a shock to you, and I wanted to apologise again that that sort of thing happened. I just wanted to say that it was typical for the time and you were ordered around and you have clearly reacted to it much more strongly than the others who were scolded. [...] I am a little shocked about how strict I was. I just want to say this now, 12 years later. [...] (to the camera) Ukko said that I am forgiven. (Our home in Hermanonkimaa, April 16, 2007)

In the next clip, shot during a walk in the forest with Lea, I analyse the credibility of the apology as I had videoed it. If an event is set up for the camera does it become non-real? I describe the shot as over-authentic because it should not have been caught on camera if the apology is authentic.

> **PEKKA:** If the camera seems to take priority you think whether the authentic is real. [...] It made it [the apology] easier, as I thought about it being filmed.
> **LEA:** But this is the point of your research: how to be present authentically in a situation and at the same time creating a representation of it. [...] You're trying to combine two things that should not go together in the first place.
> **PEKKA:** And that is why they do not fit together somehow. They don't create a harmonious whole.
> **LEA:** Yes, there is constantly the controversy, a sort of a *differend*[8].
> (The Hermanonkimaa forest, April 22, 2007)

I showed the *Transfer of Knowledge inside My Family: Scolding* video for the first time during Thomas Strong's course on ethnographic field methods on May 10, 2007. I do not have a video recording of the event as there was no time for discussion. The fact that I had to transfer our video diary project into the form of an anthropological exercise was the essential push that changed the long search – I had already been on the doctoral program for four (sic) years – into a determined attempt towards research.

THIRD GENERATION

The first organised discussions on *Scolding* took place in our doctoral seminar on May 15, while the American artist Dan Graham was our guest. About ten doctoral students of Finnish Academy of Fine Arts took part in

The second generation of the case study
Scolding, the Hermanonkimaa forest, April 22, 2007.

the event. The two-generation video compilation was 17 minutes and 47 seconds. The same compilation was later shown on three different occasions: to anthropologist Thomas Strong in his office, during a University of Leeds artistic research seminar, and at the *Writing Performance* doctoral student seminar run by Ray Langenbach at the Finnish Theatre Academy. The feedback I received mainly consisted of comments by professionals in the fields of fine arts, theatre and anthropology. Already during this phase the cultural analysis of *Scolding* started to take shape. By cultural analysis I do not simply mean the effect of ethnic or societal background but also the effect of, e.g., professional background on the observations and interpretations of the viewer.

I did not call the video compilation a 'work' and emphasised that if something in the project was art it was the communal viewing and conversation. The case study was still at an initial level: it was taking place in the context of art but it was not yet a work of art. Perceiving that liminal form caused confusion. The semi-public viewings and the videoed private conversations were ways of gathering research material, as *generational filming* had not yet become a method. We had started filming the conversations in the spring of 2006.[9] I tried to observe how knowledge was passed on within our family. I was asking how the shooting of everyday events influenced how we brought up our children, how we passed on knowledge, skills and values. I was also hoping for comments from the professional audiences on how a video clip passes on knowledge and creates a meaning of its own.

The aspect of parenting is emphasised in the *Scolding* case study. The event itself is pedagogical, while the videoing is mainly artistic action but also pedagogical. Hence, it is reasonable that the first reactions to the videos are mainly pedagogical and about our relationship with our children.

The third generation, as well as the second generation commentators had to form an opinion on three pedagogical levels: how we acted during the scolding, the fact that we shooted it and that we are showing it to groups of people. The third generation commentators also had to form an opinion on how the parents and close friends reacted to the scolding and its recording and on comments that had been recorded. The third generation emphasises ethical questions on parenting and shooting the everyday. These questions remained relevant throughout the following generations.

In the doctoral seminar that Dan Graham took part in the viewpoint of the participants varied greatly. Apart from a couple of doctoral students everyone took a moral standing on the shots. The only person who did not see anything morally questionable in *Scolding* was Dan Graham, who saw a strong feminist and humorous side in the material. He compared *Scolding* and the discussions about it to the American television documentary series *An American Family* that depicts the life of a Californian family through observational ethos. Graham assumed that the first clip, the scolding event itself, was not to be shown publically. He saw the clip as a home mode video, which had been shot to be shown to friends and family only. Moral and aesthetic questions were emphasised in other comments. Some of the comments suggested that the project of filming our life was ethically wrong because our little children did not understand what was happening and what future consequences there could be for them. "But you are sacrificing your son for it!" was the most direct comment. Even though

our preconceptions were wrong the result included artistic elements that neutralised these effects:

> Principally you have done something wrong. But on the other hand if you think of his (Ukko´s) rights, what he might feel innerly, for his own sake, you might be wrong. But on the other hand, there is a strong Brechtian dimension in the work, when it goes to a dialectical change, this comes after that, and then comes the next and it is put in the art scene, we know all the time that it is a model, for me it is that at the same time you embarrass people in an intimate level, when you chain them (scenes), they (persons in the video) become models for what is existing elsewhere. So we are very aware of that you are making an art piece, this is Brechtian effect. In that sense, I don´t think the audience thinks too much about your son´s character or his intimate feelings, they think more about the script, what is going on. It is not so much concentrating on him psychologically.

My apology, and Lea's comment about Ukko's over-sensitivity, were more controversial to the participants than the scolding and the recording of it were. My own apology was the most important thing to me during the shooting of the second and the third generation. I thought that the apology was the core element that would open up everything else or leave it a mystery forever. I kept insisting this also in the doctoral seminar when one of the participants said that the event was not necessary in the video compilation, because it was referred to in other shots.[10]

From the point of view of documentary cinema the most morally questionable point was that I did not tell Ukko I was videoing the telephone conversation. "The only thing that disturbed me, or bothered me in the piece, when you phoned your son, you did not tell him, that you are recording the discussion. It is really disturbing somehow, it is really unfair."

In the Leeds seminar the participants included people from the Finnish Academy of Fine Arts, the local university and doctoral students and members of staff from the University of Gothenburg's art department. After the viewing I asked the participants to form a circle. My wish that resembled a therapy session was seen as both hilarious and confrontational. Time passed but I waited stubbornly until the majority forced everyone to move their seats. I wanted to avoid backbencher comments in order to allow for a successful recording and a democratic conversation. It was understandable that my move made the atmosphere tense. The first comment, from a woman studying at Leeds, expressed the atmosphere I sensed:

"To me the whole situation including now this moment is so much like *Big Brother.* Now it is everywhere the reality TV programme, will you show

this commenting to other audiences?" One student in my doctoral programme replied for me: "I think the *Big Brother* comment is our contemporary knowledge, but that video was taken many years before. It (the previous comment) is not so valid, because it is so different."

The comments from the Swedish and English participants were very different. The Finnish comments did not form a culturally different view, most likely because more than anything else, our personal relations affected comments on me or my work. The English comments were witty art historical comments that assimilated the video to the history of moving image. The Swedish comments exclaimed an ethical worry about the position and right of the children in our home video laboratory. The Brits pointed to the materiality – how the video format tells its own history and our relationship to the video camera – and the familiarity of the layering to Andy Warhol's films in which cinema is continually a reference to itself.[11]

Guilt was the keyword for the Swedes. The apology, the recording of it and the comments were seen from this viewpoint. Lea's comment on Ukko's over-sensitivity was seen as an accusation: Ukko should be stronger rather than weak in his parents' eyes. One Finn also saw over-sensitivity as a stigma that Ukko's mother had inflicted on him. The first Swedish comment, which turned the attention from the British media-centeredness into an ethical question, acknowledged the project as a whole: it was important, and interesting, how I tried to analyse the contradictory roles of a father and an artist.[12]

An interesting cultural detail in the Leeds discussion was the attitude towards the boys' overalls. An English photographer admired the overalls and how they offered protection against the winter in comparison to the lighter winter wear of English children, whereas a Finnish art researcher thought that the boys were sweating in both the heat of the suits and the accusations. Later Lea found the admiring comment amusing as the hand-me-down and mended girl's overall would have been refused by charity shops, even during the early 1990s recession.

The third generation group conversation took place in artist researcher Ray Langenbach's writing course *Writing Performance* at the doctoral school of the Finnish Theatre Academy. I introduced my article *About Method*[13] written for the Stockholm-based art magazine 'Geist.' I also screened the above-described two generations of *Scolding*. The introduction of the article made the conversation focus on methodology. The relationship between video and writing became a dominant topic. One of the participants held a metaphorical view that my research consisted of "soft walls" that
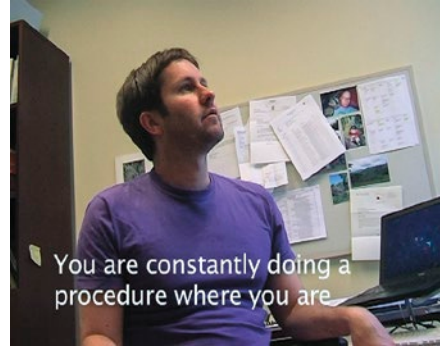
VIDEO STILLS: PEKKA KANTONEN

The third generation of the case study
Scolding, consultation with anthro-
pologist Thomas Strong, University of
Helsinki on July 4, 2007.

slid within each others, while, as a researcher, I somehow tried to keep them apart. Writing and video, my personal and professional lives were dissolving into each other – keeping them apart was my impossible mission. Ray compared the relationship between writing and video to a virus or parasite. The writing is supposed to copy or describe the video in text form but according to him the writing caused a replication of the video. More textual levels were added to the video, the writing inflicted textuality to the video. The idea of generations was first mentioned during this conversation. The layers of video were born out of each other: whether it was a virus, a parasite or a relative, still remained open.[14]

The longest and the most influential screening of the method was in consultation with the American anthropologist Thomas (Tom) Strong, for whose ethnographic fieldwork course I had made the first version of *Scolding*.

I shall proceed in a chronological order to describe the conversation because during it the direction of my research was formed, but not the method itself. The method was clarified more clearly during a private conversation with Ray Langenbach, which I have described earlier in this chapter.

I explained to Tom my general hypothesis for which I was looking for a research approach: "When something is filmed, it is a false preconception that, what has been filmed, is real. It is no more objective than writing it down. My hypothesis is that it is very doubtful that after twelve years, what we see in the video, is the reality."

The fact that we are continuously filming our life has become commonplace in the 21st century. Our sons, born in the 1980s, are part of a generation that photographs themselves and puts the pictures on the web to be commented on. Our video diary project anticipated this cultural change. On the basis of my description Tom assimilates the project in the self-reflexive or literary turn that took place in anthropology during the 1970s and 1980s.[15]

"I can see where the anthropological question comes in, kind of ethnographic practice, in which one is constantly participating in life and reflecting and recording that reflection and making that a kind of product, a text, a representation of it. It seems to me that comes up, that question of authenticity you have; so can one be authentically on camera, if not, why not, what does it mean to make that distinction. You are constantly doing a procedure, where you are analyzing behaviour, and then you are analyzing the fact that your are analyzing behaviour. […] I assimilate the kind of question you have with this paradox of reflexivity. This question of authenticity of experience reminds you of Sartre: Does one live one's life forthrightly or are you in

bad faith?[16] So is there some sort of bad faith in the idea of videotaping one´s life as an art project? So that is something I see you potentially dealing with."

Tom's first ethical question is whether it is ethical to record one's private life and show it in public? The second ethical question is on the contents, the scolding. Tom sees it as a class question: which parenting code are we applying as we scold the boys? Tom refers to Mary Douglas's model[17], according to which, the development of a child's thinking and socialisation, i.e. bringing up, can be divided into two opposing, class-related codes: a restricted code and an elaborated code. According to Douglas working class children are often brought up into the restricted code, under which children have to succumb to the will of their parents without explanation. Bringing up entails the strengthening of parents' authority on the children. The basis of restrictions and orders is merely from a parent to the children how things are, what to do and what not to do.

Tom argues that we are applying the elaborated code on the children: "In fact, what you do in this video, and this is, why I think it is funny that you feel you need to apologize for this, is, you and your wife explain, why it was wrong in a number of ways." Tom sees no reason to apologise and he also wonders what I am apologising for and why I am recording it on video. I only give half an answer to Tom's torrent of questions.[18] Why, what and how I am apologising for, slowly becomes more apparent to me after several generations of video.

During the conversation with Tom my focus is on the fact that I have recorded the apology. I wonder if the recording makes the apology unbelievable as a performative action. Does the Sartrean bad faith, mentioned by Tom, slither into the event through the recording, because my intention for the apology is not simply to make amends with my son, but also to make representation of the event for the sake of art. Does the planning and making of the recording annul the ethical basis of the apology? My understanding during the conversation is that having asked for permission to record would have made the apology impossible, but recording without permission would not. By not asking for permission I have broken the ethical code of ethnographic and human studies, because in fieldwork and scientific gathering of information, a permission is needed beforehand. I am breaking the rules intentionally to keep my position as an apologising father. Had I first asked for permission to record and then apologised I think I would not have been able to apologise in a manner that would have been believable to myself. This train of thought reveals my apology was not spontaneous or without second thought. Does the apology, how-

ever, maintain its sincerity? During the telephone call Ukko accepted my apology, and to both of our knowledge, neither the apology or the forgiving, lost their sincerity even when I told him about the recording. My research question is epitomised in the recording of the apology: may I, in Lea's words "[…] be authentically present in the event as well making a representation of it?" (See the description of the second generation in this chapter).

The recording of the apology and showing it in public is akin to a laboratory test on what a recording device, in this case a video camera, does in everyday life. Any recording of the every day reveals the question, but recording an apology, in comparison to a more ordinary event, is like comparing seeing something with the naked eye to a view through a microscope. During an apology the requirement for authenticity and the presence of a camera is more pronounced. In later generations I have received feedback that the event should not have been recorded if I really sought for reconciliation with my son. I insist to differ. Ukko´s and my agreement is between the two of us. We decide what the recording means to the apology. The fact that the apology was recorded, shown in public and put to criticism, is a gesture to show that it was done in good faith and for its generalized meaning. Generally public apologies are seen concerning only well-known people in power and their actions. Its corrupted form is a celebrity apologising in public for something concerning their private life. There is no question of either in our example. I was mainly concerned whether an apology, between a father and son is too difficult and universal to be shown through a documentary. In the doctoral seminar with Dan Graham, one of the participants, who criticised the preconceptions of the recording, saw, however, that the method, which assimilates the documentary events, relating to the scolding and the comments on it, to each other, makes the private generalised: "For me it is that at the same time you embarrass people in an intimate level, when you chain them (scenes), they (persons in the video) become models for what is existing elsewhere."

Tom underlines his view on what happens in the *Scolding* case study. The video camera is suited to study the social relations of the family. We use the comments by other people for the study. We are under criticism but we also gain important information. For Tom the flaw of the method is that one of the actors, the father-cameraman or I, does not have visual expression, and suggests that I could shake my foundations as the cameraman by including another camera on the set to shoot me filming.[21] Tom's demand receives support in the following generation.

The fourth generation of *Scolding* consists of two public showings and private events and discussions that complement or comment on the discussions and their themes. I showed the first three generations in reverse order, the third generation or the comments on the comments first, then the comments and only last the scolding event itself. The video was 41 minutes and 40 seconds. I showed it the first time as part of a lecture entitled "Concerning Truth, Meaning, and Interpretation – a participatory theory-making lecture" at the Finnish Academy of Fine Arts. Although the video lecture had the form – even if in reverse order – of *generational filming*, the method did not explicitly exist at the time. As I decided to show the video layers in reverse order I was interested in how the order would change the viewers' experience of the scolding event, interpretations on it and their own role as viewers. At the time of the lecture my thesis title was still "What happens when something is filmed – experimental and participatory research on video diary." I introduced my research method in the following way: "My method is conversation. By this I mean that I try to predispose all the phases of my working process to interaction: the filming, the processing of the material and the reception." (Finnish Academy of Fine Arts internal electronic mail on November 18, 2007)

Before showing the video I explained my research:

> This kind of pompous title means for me that I´m looking for a shared or participatory way of dealing with the theory and building the theory. I have not decided in my research that I will make the theory. Actually it will come in discussions, and I hope that this discussion is part of it, and also the videos that you will see, are part of the theory making.

After the first part, the comments on the comments of the video, an American female Fulbright student, expressed frustration. She was annoyed by the fact that she was given "expert" interpretations on how to relate to the event rather than being able to form her own opinion of the scolding. The next person, a Finnish female student at the Finnish Academy of Fine Arts, gave a differing opinion: she was interested in seeing how viewing the scolding affected the audience and she did not need to form her own interpretation. She could concentrate on how people spoke and reacted to the videoed events.

Ray Langenbach recorded the event at my request. He had just been chosen as my second supervisor. Now he was also my cameraman and I

would be using his comments in my research, which he would have to relate to critically and finally would have to accept as a thesis. While commenting the event and his own role in it Ray turned the camera on himself as I was used to doing when replying to a question from the audience. Ray saw himself as an accomplice but did not reveal all the details of his role to the audience. He wanted to see himself from a theoretical, Derrida's deferment point of view.[20]

> I am interested in the fact that I am now holding this camera. And I was in the video, so now I have been made an agent... or complicit in the production, not just as an object in the video speaking about it, but now holding the camera and pointing it at myself. [...] And, of course, we want the "authentic" moment, which is ironic, because it is video (that we are talking about). I was sitting there quite irritated, because I was not being shown the "real", behind the opinions about it – that moment of the shaming of Ukko – but realising of course that it is video, so I will never get to the real. You have constructed this Derridean moment of constant deferment with no real, except of course in your and Ukko's experience. But of course you have a representational cognitive system as well, which is at a delay... so is that real? And it is built on memory as well... and part of your memory is (based on) the memory of the camera. You are remembering the scenes from the camera, and not from your own memory. So that deferment also is happening. But I am interested in how... we are all being made complicit in your design and in this maze... this temporal maze, and the power issue is heightened by this methodology. There is hardly any dissemination that is going on now, because it keeps returning to you as the psychiatrist or you the patient, with the couch being the camera.

Ray was vexed, but it was unclear whether he was genuinely vexed or whether he was reacting to the fact that his critique would make the research – research that he was supervising – better? One of Ray's comments revealed to me that he saw himself as a provocateur infiltrated within the audience. Ray said he was vexed because he was not shown the initial event – while he had seen it at the birthday party and had experienced it first hand! Ray named the viewing event a "Derridean trap," into which I had lured my audience. I had created a feeling of unfulfilled expectation for the audience by letting them know I would show the primary event at the next viewing. Also, seeing the scolding on video would not offer an experience of the event in real life. Seeing the contradictory comments first would also emphasise the lack of genuine experience. While viewing the discussion the audience would understand that they would be similarly viewed in the next generation of the video com-

pilation. The layers of viewing would build up on one another and no audience would reach a position where they could give final judgement on the scolding or even its video recording. There was no access to the "real" event but new audiences would have more "knowledge" on knowing there was no access.

The other way for *generational filming* was also blocked. The camera that would be shooting me shoot the discussions, suggested by Tom, could not reach objectivity. A male student at the Finnish Academy of Fine Arts named this the bubble of the "Derridean trap", inside which all of us, including the camera, were. Being inside the "bubble" both vexed and enchanted the viewers. The American Fulbright student would have been "ten times happier" watching home videos than classroom discussions, in which she also had to take part. The male student was enchanted by the bubble he was in and in which he might see himself in the future.

> **MALE STUDENT AT THE FINNISH ACADEMY OF FINE ARTS:** I disagree. You have created some kind of wonderful bubble in which we are operating. The possibility that later I may see myself explaining this, and I´m rolling this bubble, is somewhat incomprehensible, like an obscure session.
> **ANOTHER MALE STUDENT AT THE FINNISH ACADEMY OF FINE ARTS:** I think you can't really see it from the outside anymore. The guy you were talking to in the first video – the anthropologist. And he said he wants to see the second camera there filming you filming him. But I don't think that is possible. I can't explain, but once you are in this bubble you can't get out of ít.
> **PEKKA:** The other camera doesn´t go out of the bubble.

The master students at the Finnish Academy of Fine Arts and the Theatre Academy took part in the fourth generation viewing event. The first comments by the students were about the presence of the camera and my movements in the classroom while they were watching the third generation video. The students found the video camera more disturbing while they were watching the video than when they were discussing it. The presence of the camera during the viewing made them conscious of their movements and gestures, and they felt they were acting more while viewing the video than talking. One of the students wanted to change the power structure of the situation and shoot in my stead. I happily agreed.

The students mainly commented on how the discussions conveyed to them what was being said. The English subtitles made an English-speaking student remark how differently from spoken language written expression delivered information:

VIDEO STILL: JOHANNA ROSSI

When I was filming, I noticed that I was disturbing you,

VIDEO STILL: RAY LANGENBACH

an agent...or complicit in the production, not just as an object
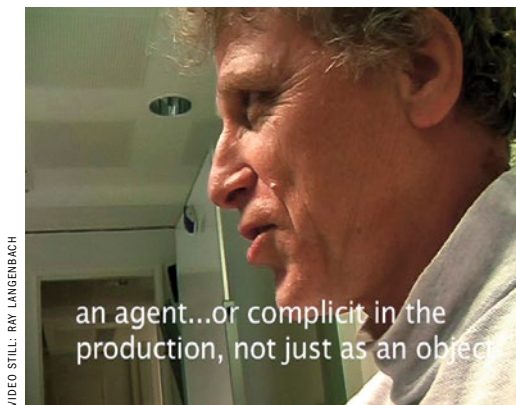
The fourth generation of the case study *Scolding*,
Finnish Academy of Fine Arts 2008 and 2007.

Most of the discussions were in English, so it was English subtitles on English speaking. I was struck in the middle how different they really were. The subtitles suppose to be fairly accurate record of what people said, but in fact they said all kinds of things. People going on one sort of line of thoughts, interrupting themselves, and going on to another, but you would find a through line and clean it up a little bit. So what we had on a text was much much cleaner representation of the language than was actually in real life.

Only after viewing the second and the third generation – after viewing the event itself – the students voiced their opinions on the contents of the case study. They were mainly amused by the concern in the earlier generation comments on Ukko being over-sensitive. One of the students asked

which part of the scolding event showed any signs of him being over-sensitive, because she had not noticed anything. Another student, a young father, thought that Ukko's reaction was familiar to him and deduced that possibly his son was over-sensitive too.

The reactions of two different fourth generation audiences to being shown the generations in reverse order were interesting because of the research questions set for the experiment. I wanted to do the experiment twice so that my conclusions would be, at least to some extent, comparable. My assumption was that the reverse order would somehow change the audience's experience of the scolding, the interpretations on it or their own position as viewers.

I believe the reverse order disempowered the audience. They were frustrated because the discussion in the earlier generations were leading them and they became bored of the subject and the ethical analysis of the scolding, and in the end they could not observe afresh the scolding event when shown it. The earlier reactions on the scolding seemed exaggerated to them and no one criticized the parents for being too harsh. They reacted more strongly and critically on the method of *generational filming* and their own position as a target audience. The reverse order emphasized the impression that the method concentrated power to the makers of the video because it seemed like someone else, the editor and the earlier comments decided what and how they should watch the video. Some were attracted by the idea of being a part of a "greater story" that would be born when all of the generations of the case study would be finished as a piece of art. For the reflexive viewer, observing earlier viewers and themselves in relation to the viewers on video was rewarding, but those who wanted an authentic experience found it vexing and frustrating at the least. The earlier audiences had finally fallen into the "Derridean trap" but this audience was trapped from the beginning, and the viewing of the scolding event did not bring release, only an inkling of what the earlier audiences had experienced while viewing the video without an introduction.

The reverse viewing order is closer to our experience of the reality conveyed by the media than a direct chronological order. We never see an unedited clip of a news event that is similar to the first generation of *Scolding*. Even a live transmission is always planned, directed and accompanied by a voice-over. News are always edited and commented. The events that we do not see through our own eyes are mediated to us through filters and layers of interpretation. We are not shown pictures of riots, industrial negotiations or even of a brushing of a dog without an expert interpreting of what really is happening and what we should think about it.

The analogy between a home video, scolding that is, and a television news programme should not be interpreted literally. I want to emphasise that the viewers' expectations and habits affect how we absorb knowledge and how we want to absorb it. We do not want unedited video footage of a riot in a distant land in our living room without an interpretation or without knowledge of when the broadcast is over.[21] Knowledge about unknown things is not mediated without interpretation. Also, the analogy should not be ignored because the two are incomparable. The fourth generation viewing event was a laboratory test on how the mediation process, its conditions and structures affect the interpretation and the absorption of knowledge. Since the audience knew that the video footage could have been shown in a different order they became aware that the mediation process was manipulative.

FIFTH GENERATION

The fifth generation consists of three viewings, one of which was conducted by our first-born son Pyry-Pekka at the Sunway University College in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, with the help of my supervisor, Ray Langenbach, for a group of young theatre students in March, 2009. The second viewing, with Ukko, Ray and myself, took place at a film night of the Finnish Anthropological Society and the students of anthropology at the University of Helsinki, MANA, in September, 2009. The third viewing was held at Kristiina Kajesalo's, a psychiatrist friend of mine, together with three other therapists in October, 2009.

When Pyry-Pekka was planning a six-month trip to Asia he suggested that he could show our home videos as we had done on a joint South East Asian trip at the turn of 2005-2006. Lea and I wanted different audiences in Malaysia and Singapore to see how Finns had reacted to the *Asking for Advice* performances we had shot in South East Asia. *Hot Soup* and *Haircut* were already part of the case studies that we were showing at the time. Pyry-Pekka also wanted to show *Scolding*. It was the best example for the presentation of the method since four generations had already been finished at the beginning of 2009. It was interesting for the sake of the method because the first generation of our family, Lea and I, were not present. A representative of the second generation of the family was responsible for the conversation.

Pyry-Pekka introduced the video diary project to Ray's class. Ray noticed that Pyry-Pekka spoke about his parents' project as well as the whole family's project. Pyry-Pekka justified his view by saying that in the viewings

abroad the whole family was usually present and the video shoots involved everyone in the family. The generations were viewed in a chronological order while one of Ray's students recorded the conversation.

The first reactions of the theatre students were heart-warmingly positive. One of the female students wanted to be a child in our family. In her opinion the scolding was so mild that she saw only a family that spent time together. Another woman added that her mother would have killed her if she had destroyed something valuable. Ray asked if the video reminded them of reality television. They rejected the idea as far as the scolding was considered because reality television is always organised whereas this was genuine. My apology, however, reminded them of reality television as it was seen as an organised event. Ray wanted them to elaborate: was my apology insincere? The female students did not want to judge my actions: they did not think it was insincere but staged, as on reality television. The only male student in the class showed the camera what the apology was like. He looked up at the cameraman, lifted up his fists, joined them together and removed them from each other as if he had removed a thumb from one hand and said: magic thumb. He thought my apology was a gimmick.

The answers of the Malaysian youth strengthened my view about the paradoxical value of my apology. In the second generation conversation in the woods I had wondered whether a clip would be transmitted onto video if the apology is sincere. It could be seen as the Malaysian young man had seen it: a magic thumb. The paradoxical nature of the clip was also present in the view of the female students, the apology was similar to reality television but the scolding was not, because the apology was staged. But the scolding was also staged. We had asked the boys to come to the refrigerator for Lea's video diary shot so that she could scold them in front of the camera. There was no difference in the level of organisation between the two shots, only the subject was different. According to the Malaysian students the recording of the scolding was credible and natural but filming one's own apology is not. Without any background knowledge about the filming arrangements the shots seemed different on grounds of credibility and authenticity.

From the point of view of what is fit to be screened and what is not, it was the opposite to what I had thought from the shooting point of view. Some of the students felt they were inappropriate spectators to Ukko's scolding. They felt they were secretly looking in through the neighbour's window. They also felt it was inappropriate for them to hear all of the comments because they dealt with Ukko's feelings. As an audience they strongly related

to Ukko's feelings – or the feelings they believed Ukko to have had – especially while the scolding video was shown at the birthday party and at later screenings. They would have become irate like Ukko if, on a big day, ones 18th birthday, an embarrassing video of them as a child had been shown. Ukko was not, however, irritated by the screening, he was happy about the event to have come up and there was nothing embarrassing for him in the video. Ukko proposed this point of view often in private and once during a public screening. Ukko's negative comment at the birthday party was a demonstration of the feelings and memories the event in the video evoked in him.

The Malaysian youth projected their own feelings on Ukko's feelings possibly because they felt that at home they could not protest against their parents. Relating to Ukko's feelings gave rise to cultural differences. Malaysia is a multiethnic country where the Malay are in leading positions and the Chinese, Indian, Indigenous and other populations together form about 50 per cent of the population. (See http://www.indexmundi.com/malaysia/demographics_profile.html) The youth in the class represented all three main ethnic groups. The students think there is an Asian relationship to upbringing that is fundamentally different to the Western one. According to them children in the West may converse freely with their parents whereas in Asian homes children may talk to their parents but there is no real conversation. Only one of the female students saw very little difference in the cultures, the difference between the age groups was important to her. She could see herself in Ukko's place, in which she would have acted in the same way because she too is over-sensitive.

WOMAN1: There is a huge cultural difference. If this would happen to me, yeah, I would feel angry, but I couldn´t do anything about it, because my parents are the highest order. I can´t shout at them. Certainly I would not expect my parents to apologize to me. That is surreal, it never happens.

WOMAN2: If it was my family, it would end up like this. I get really angry too. I´m over-sensitive. They scold me, and I scold them back.

MAN: This classroom context is more relaxed, but I´m wondering, what if my parents would watch this. I have seen scary – more fierce (scolding). If this (viewing) would have been done with different people, maybe with more old-fashioned people…say, if Chinese people had come here and watched this, their reactions would be much different than ours. I´m using traditional Chinese as an example.

WOMAN1: Basically this is true with Asian culture in comparison with Western culture, because Western culture allows more interaction between parent-child. I´m not talking about Chinese or Indian, or a certain ethnicity. I´m talking about Asian
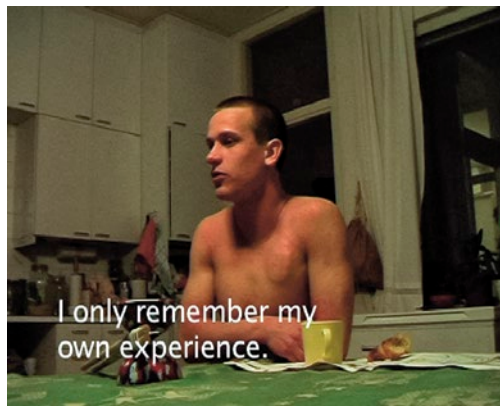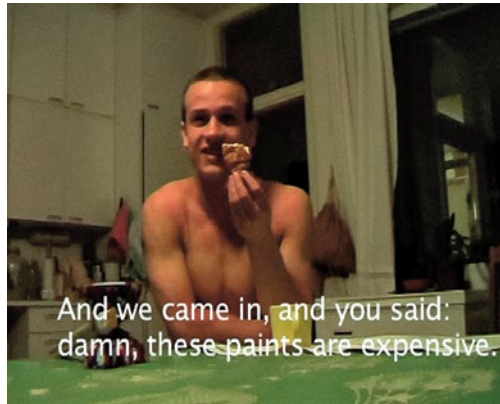
The fifth generation of the case study *Scolding*, our home in Hermanonkimaa April 27, 2008.

culture in general. It doesn´t really allow you to interact with your parents. You do speak to your parents, but there is always a certain authority they have, it´s ...

WOMAN2: Respect.

WOMAN1: I´m not saying that Ukko doesn´t respect Pekka.

WOMAN2: No, I mean they say: Respect me!

WOMAN1: It is very much: I give you life. So technically I own you. Not for everyone, but for a lot.

In Kuala Lumpur Mary Douglas's division of pedagogical conventions into restricted and elaborated codes was not a class division but geographical and cultural. Most of them felt that the prevailing Asian convention follows the restricted code.

The screening of *Scolding*, held at a film night of the Finnish Anthropological Society and the Students of Anthropology at the University of Helsinki (MANA), took place in the student common room in the Faculty of Social Sciences. I invited Ukko to take part. At the start I forgot to introduce Ukko to the audience. The viewers had given their initial comments before I remembered to introduce Ukko: "he is the one who is being scolded." A female student was confused as the character from the video appeared in his current form in the same space and the distance between the video character and the real person disappeared. The confusion made her think whether she would have formed her sentences more carefully had she known that Ukko was present. She was the only person who thought the parents were mean. The others either did not consider the justification of the scolding or found it rightful.

The comments and questions were initially directed to Ukko because he was present. A female student wanted to know whether Ukko was oversensitive. He confirmed it but also said that he had become stronger and stronger every day. A question that was central to the scolding received an answer when asked directly: "Did you know you were doing something bad? Ukko replied: "I do remember the situation. I think I didn´t know. I wouldn´t have done anything bad, I was just curious how to play with the tubes, then I was really sorry about it when I got [understood] what they were saying."

The same question also arose in Kuala Lumpur as Pyry-Pekka showed the case study to the theatre students. In April 2008 Ukko had commented playing around with the oil paints:

> **UKKO:** And we came in, and you said: damn, these paints are expensive. You are destroying property. I said: Sorry, I did not know.
> **PEKKA:** Didn´t you really know?
> **UKKO:** I don´t recognize that feeling that I would do something just because it is forbidden. (Our home in Hermanonkimaa April 27, 2008)

Pyry-Pekka had wondered in Kuala Lumpur how Ukko could not know as a child that he was doing something that was not allowed considering all the transgressions of the time. Ray suggested that Ukko's explanation was a construction. Pyry-Pekka accepted Ray's interpretation but the students thought that an explanation given later would be equalled to lying. Pyry-Pekka shook his head: Ukko was telling the truth but he probably misremembered how he had felt during the scolding. Ukko's explanation received the same treatment as my apology. I had made arrangements be-

forehand while Ukko had made them retrospectively. Both were considered slips from the truth. It may be that the conversation about Ukko and my actions and statements about truthfulness were strongly age and culture-defined and were linked to the fact that the Asian youth had become accustomed to following a restricted code view of truth.

The question about how many generations one case study could take was raised for the first time during the fifth generation discussions. Lea and I had previously defined the limit as a saturation point at which the new viewing events would bring forth only a multitude of old knowledge rather than any new kind of information. We anticipated to reach this point during the fifth generation. The case study had emerged from our desire to see how knowledge was transferred from a generation to another, from parents to children, through the act of scolding. The first generations concentrated on the pedagogical side. The fourth generation, possibly due to the reverse viewing order, emphasised the mediating nature of video, and now, in the fifth generation, the interest in the analysis of scolding had started to fade. The young Malaysian theatre students experienced, after the fourth generation, that the videoed conversations were, quoting Shakespeare, "much ado about nothing." The choice of the clip following a conversation felt without meaning because the conversation took the audience nowhere. A considerable amount of energy was used without any results. The videotaping of the conversations could have been, according to the Malaysian theatre students, founded if Ukko had seen the tapes and would have received valuable knowledge to understand himself. If not, the students felt, it was nearly violence, that Ukko's banal childhood experience had been scrutinised so closely. The results of the anthropological film night were completely different. The case study was not, according to the audience, about scolding or upbringing, but about filming. It was a treatise on the boundaries and possibilities of reflexive filming by the use of reflexivity in the making of the video.

ANTHROPOLOGIST JANNE AHONEN: The whole piece we saw, over an hour long, is about filming. [...] It is a nice way of showing what is reflexivity. Not just talking about it, analyzing it, which was of course part of it, but showing it. [...]

RAY: There is an exhaustion built into it now, layer on layer. And it´s getting longer and longer. [...] Layer is here perfect because there is a layer of theory which is clothed around the decisive moment. I´m thinking of Cartier-Bresson´s photographs, the decisive moment, the camera happens to be there. It caught this event, whereas each of the constructed situations after that is not decisive in the same way. They are clearly constructed as reflexes of the decisive moment. You have the sense of digging into the

moment by adding layers. So it is adding layers in real time, but the sensation of the meaning... it is actually that we are peeling the onion.

The third viewing in the fifth generation was held at my psychiatrist friend Kristiina Kajesalo's home. She suggested showing my video at the meeting of a therapist group she was a member of. My main motive for the screening was to show video diary material to other audiences than to the art or anthropology audiences. There were three other therapists present. The question about guilt became deeper and more uncertain. During every conversation the main problem seemed to be about what I was actually apologising to Ukko – I only realised this after seeing the conversation on tape. The realisation had a meaning about understanding myself. The *generational filming* was not only a cinematographical research question as it started including characteristics that could also be included in therapy.

Culpability appeared in the third generation viewing in Leeds as a matter of fact that was never questioned. The Swedish participants of the seminar exclaimed how Ukko felt culpability as a little boy and how I felt it twelve years later while apologising for it. The therapists did not see any reason why either of us would feel culpability at all. Ukko assured in both private and public conversations that he did not think as a child that he had done anything wrong. The therapists doubted whether he remembered how he had felt at the age of six, especially because no one remembered anything about the scolding without having seen the videotape. It was equally possible, however, that Ukko had known he was wrong in playing with the paints. Pyry-Pekka's claim in Kuala Lumpur, about Ukko having known was never justified. It was based on a claim that Ukko had drawn the same ethical conclusions as a child than Pyry-Pekka could do later.

My sense of guilt was shadowed by the fact that it was never clear to me what I was apologising for and on what grounds. I repeated my story to the therapists. I had apologised for not having realised how strongly Ukko had experienced the scolding. Had Ukko been shocked by the scolding at the age of six, or not? This question arose when the video was viewed twelve years later. Ukko felt at the age of eighteen that during the scolding I had "taken away his pride as I had at other times." Whether this happened when he was scolded at the age of six can only be seen on video. The video does not offer a clear answer. The dozens of viewer comments give no correlation at all. We parents were either branded as evil, patient, acting correctly, splitting me in two, one half of a torturing team, ideal parent, too soft – no correlative viewpoint was found, whether signified by age or culture. What

remains as a living memory, but without video documentation, is Ukko hurting his feelings at the birthday party after seeing the earlier video. The therapists asked me whether I was sorry for Ukko having hurt his feelings again and losing his pride. During the conversation I could not separate the two: my blaming voice shouting at my six-year-old son and the video recording of that voice shouting at my 18-year-old son from the tape.

The last part of the conversation with the therapists is reminiscent of Ukko being scolded as a child. Two of the therapists formed a team, not unlike Lea and I, who tried to make me understand that I had not sufficiently apologised for what Ukko had experienced in the present during his birthday party. I tried to squirm my way out verbally like six-year-old Ukko tried to get out literally.

KRISTIINA: You are not apologising for your current inability to understand.

PEKKA: Now? What about the phone call?

KRISTIINA: You're not doing it at all.

PEKKA: You're doubting it? […]

KRISTIINA: Were you apologising for the old matter or the new one?

PEKKA: The old one.

KRISTIINA: That's it.

PEKKA: You've devised a thing that does not exist. I have to defend myself.

KRISTIINA: What did Ukko get mad about?

PEKKA: I can only offer an interpretation. I presume he felt bad viewing this video on his birthday party and he felt that the same thing that happened on the video that happened in other occasions as well: "I felt then and I feel again that my value is negated". But the video screening was a good thing and audience was just right. Does this explain it?

KRISTIINA´S COLLEAGUE: No, still not. I still strongly feel that he had a bad feeling.

KRISTIINA: Was it justified?

PEKKA: I don´t think anybody doubts its justification. Was the feeling concurrent with Ukko´s last explanation?

KRISTIINA: Do you really get the experience he is trying to describe? What was he feeling then and what is he feeling now? If you did not get it then, do you get it now?

PEKKA: Yes.

KRISTIINA: He is still feeling the same way. Are you only feeling sorry for the past happening or can you feel sorry that he is still feeling the same way?

Ukko and Miro were asked at the end of the scolding video what they had learned. Ukko replied: "yes" meaning he agreed to everything that had been said without understanding the meaning. I also replied "yes" to Kris-

tiina when she asked me if I understood how Ukko had felt in the present about how he had been upset during the birthday party. I heard the same tone in Ukko's "yes" as I heard in my own. The tone did not mean a common understanding in the conversation, it was a tone of giving up. Without the video recording the "yes" would have been my last word on considering the scolding. As the "yes" was recorded on tape I heard myself and understood what my "yes" was trying to cover up in the conversation. My "yes" was expressing my confusion of what was discussed. I just wanted to quit the discussion, and hide my bafflement.

In the fifth generation I gained some knowledge about myself that I did not expect to get. I understood how hard it is for me to apologize, and to realise what it is about. In this context I don´t go further into the therapeutic faculties of the method or into the psychological sides of my own personal history. It was surprising how the method started to affect me so strongly on a psychological level and how it gave me ways to work on the feelings and thoughts I had.

SIXTH GENERATION

In the *Ripples of Home* exhibition at the Helsinki Kunsthalle *Scolding* was presented as a two-channel installation. One of the monitors kept repeating the first generation, the scolding itself. The other monitor showed an 82 minute compilation of six generations. The sixth generation consisted of only Ukko and my conversation on December 28, 2009. It felt natural that the film version would end with Ukko's comment, as one of the most frequently asked question throughout the generations was what Ukko thought of all of this. Based on our conversations it was important for Ukko that the scolding was processed through the artistic method because it enabled and motivated the parents to discuss his issues with him.

PEKKA: I am interested about your visit to the anthropological cinema night. I was really happy that you wanted to see the material and I think it was a good choice to go there. What was your experience?

UKKO: I felt it was interesting to see the different reactions. Some people got embarrassed that they had not understood that I was the same guy [in the video] and that I was present. I felt very attentive. It was a rich experience. In this situation right now your filming and the presence of the camera – as you admitted – might weaken your personal involvement in our encounter, because it is your work, but on the other hand the fact that it is your work permits you to give more time to this encounter. In a way our encounter is better than it could be if you would do some other work that

had nothing to do with us, and we could only spend a short time with each other.
(Our home in Hermanonkimaa, December 28, 2009)

Ukko's comment crystallises the view that touches on all art and documentation projects, in which family members from different generations take part. It is clear that the status of children and parents is not the same, yet it is not antagonistic in the manner that everyone has to defend their stance against each other. Our video diary project and our community art projects, in which we have taken part as a family, share as a common theme negotiations that involve the rights and wishes of all sides.[22]

At the start of 2012 I prepared a 22-minute five-generation compilation of *Scolding* and showed it as a working group presentation in the Ethnography Days at the University of Jyväskylä in March 2012, and later in Mexico, Malaysia and Finland. This version is subtitled into English. In Mexico Lea interpreted the video into Spanish, because most of the viewers did not understand English well enough. The live speech changed the viewing into a more performance-like event, which reminded us about our first *Asking for Advice* performances without subtitles.

Thoughts on the Method

The method *generational filming* was generated through two different routes. The first route took us to Poland and South East Asia where we showed our video diary clips in a thematic order. The viewers were allowed to choose a theme and we showed them the clips. Two questions were asked: What did you see? What should we do with our video diary clips? *The Asking for Advice* performance was an open question. It was a method of exchanging knowledge and opinions. It deepened the narratives within the clips rather than building its own narrative. The different interpretations opened us to see various values, stories and problems in the clips. The viewing experience was fragmentary. The viewer saw clips that were thematically linked to each other but did not complete a coherent story. A new theme started new stories but a complete story was never born during an *Asking for Advice* performance. Like an advent calendar it offered a new view on the wait for Christmas behind every door. We makers were waiting for the final door to reveal a present that would give us the knowledge about what to do with the video diary material.

The second route to the method has been described in this chapter. There is only one door en route that is being opened time and time again

and the picture is being viewed with different people. Finally we look through the door to see how we look through the door with different people. *Generational filming* is not interested in the content of the video clips, as was the case with *Asking for Advice*. It is interested in what it is and what it produces as a method. Anthropologist Janne Ahonen crystallises the viewing experience of the fourth generation: " It´s not about scolding. It´s not about comprehending from different viewpoints what happened there, and whether the video of it was a real thing or not. The whole piece we saw, over an hour long, is about filming."

Generational filming builds a temporal structure, into which the viewer falls deeper and deeper. Unlike in a Hollywood film, during which the viewer emphatises with the diegetic world of our first generation everyday life, the viewer falls deeper into the diegesis of the viewing that is repeated in the generations. The viewers start to see themselves watching and start to believe that they are part of the diegesis of the viewers viewing the video on the video.[23] At this point *generational filming* is accomplished within the viewer. The viewer is in the "bubble" or the "Derridean trap" that the fourth generation viewers defined as the space created by the method.

The diegesis of *generational filming* is a paradoxical Brechtian diegesis. Brechtian theatre tries to prevent the viewer from emphatisizing with the play or any fictional world, diegesis, and encourage the viewer to retain their critical attitude towards what they are seeing. The diegesis of *generational filming* is the state of the critical viewer turned into representation. By emphatisizing with that state, by seeing oneself as part of the diegesis, the viewer both loses their Brechtian critical position whilst becoming part of it. The viewing experience is both immersive and critical.

Generational filming produces reflexivity. If reflexivity loses its relation to its referent, i.e. what it – in this case the recorded scolding – reflects, it becomes tautological spheres of reflexivity. The adaptation of the method ad infinitum leads into nihilism. Another meaningless generation may always be added. My hypothesis is that once the cycle of generations is repeated long enough – for too long – it becomes irrelevant what the first clip has been. The discussion in the last generation would always be similar. The generational method can never describe or explain the universe. Its worth is in the description of a cultural – temporarily and spatially limited – experience. In its saturation point it becomes tautological if it tries to say something more. It especially produces knowledge on social relations due to its dialogical nature. Although its knowledge is always bound by the subject it describes. In our case study the therapeutic possibilities of the method were brought forward without our intention.

As a cinematic practice *generational filming* is different from other modes of cinematic representations I know of. In the previous chapter I mentioned Jean Rouch's *shared anthropology* as a paragon, but Rouch does not let reflexivity go one step further. In the next chapter I shall explain the *archaeological performance* of the international film collective Vision Machine who creates new layers in the manner of *generational filming* but in a very different way from our project.

What type of recording event does *generational filming* generate? The difference to other types of documentary cinema – it is best to rule out fictional cinema due to differences in preconceptions – is not categorical, but the viewings suggest that the method triggers audience reactions that are different from ones that are triggered by the viewing of an interview or other observational screening. It is paradoxical that the reflexive consciousness of the viewer – the knowledge of being filmed and its possible future use – does not make the viewer more careful in their comments, but bolder. The viewer is agitated by other comments and by what they view. The viewer wants to correct skewed interpretations of what has happened. The most concerned of the audiences were the professionals, the makers of documentary films, who are the most concerned and offended. Video artists and artists who use different media were mixed, but shame, worry and disapproval are markedly common attitudes. Anthropologists were the least moralist viewers. The length of the event and the size of the audience had an impact on the conversations. The worst experience was a short discussion with a group of professionals following a seminar presentation. The most offended viewer usually gave the strongest opinion first and none of their colleagues dared defy their view. The opposite also happened at times: if the first commentator was excited about the clip others failed to criticise their view. At its worst the whole conversation agrees with the first comment. In the short version the dynamics of *generational filming* loses its effect as the generations are shown back to back in a chronological order as in a complete video work.

The most vivid audience comprises around a dozen people from various professions and cultural backgrounds who have the time to discuss until the conversation naturally dies down. Different opinions and views are allowed space and a common interpretation is never agreed upon. As the generations appear one at a time the viewer slowly realises that a correct view cannot be found, only the proliferation of the debate. Some are frustrated and others enchanted by this. The further the generations go the further the conversation distances from the clip that was shown first. The conversation about the conversation becomes overpowering.

In the next chapter I shall write together with Lea Kantonen about the case study that has as a starting point one song sung by Seto songmothers living in southeast Estonia. The context is more typical of ethnographic fieldwork. It is the first time we applied the *generational filming* method outside our own home environment.

Endnotes

1   Film researcher Bill Nichols has categorised documentary films into different modes. (Nichols's categories are explained in the end note in chapter 2.) Chalfen's home mode is different to Nichols's. Chalfen's home mode is a way of recording home and family, idealising them through different media. The French media researcher Roger Odin divides cinema, fictional and documentary into nine modes in his semio-pragmatic model (2008: 255-271). Different researchers understand the meaning of mode in different manners.

2   It is interesting to compare the competition between Betamatic and VHS to that of Macintosh and PC. Apple, like Sony, has kept the production and development of their equipment and programs and has grown to become the most valuable company in the world. Did Sony give up the format fight too early? Sony concentrated on developing professional equipment and has kept their leading position in that area.

3   According to Moran death is a taboo subject (Moran 2002: 44) and funerals are not a part of home mode as they are in, e.g., Finland.

4   Zimmermann's research on amateur filmmaker's is entitled *Reel Families.* The pun implies that in post-war US advertisement created an image that a real American family must have a reel camera.

5   *An American Family* is a documentary of the life of an upper middle class Californian family, the Louds, from May 1971 until New Year's Eve of the same year. A small camera crew spent seven months with the family and shot 300 hours on 16mm film. The producer Craig Gilbert composed the material into a 12 hour documentary that is considered to be the most important documentary of the decade. There is no voice over in the "fly on the wall" method, slow-tempo documentary series and it broke all the viewing records in the beginning of 1973 on PBS, and the Louds became the talk of the town in all of US and more famous than the guinea pigs of *Big Brother* today. Moran carefully analyses how *An American Family* questioned the truth and moral values of American family shows by showing a real family living in the same conditions as fictional families, including a divorce and the adult son publically confessing his homosexuality. Moran compares the Louds with the Nelsons, the main characters in the 1950s *Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet,* who play themselves in a fictional series. The Nelsons were initially in a radio show but in 1949 Ozzie made a ten-year deal – the first of its kind – with ABC for a show that he himself wrote, directed and acted with his wife and two sons. A copy of the Nelsons' house was built in a Hollywood studio while the scripted life was publicised to be real. The Louds lived in a materially similar household to the Nelsons' but the 1970s family life was contradictory to the 1950s studio home life. Film researcher Jeff Ruoff's *An American Family. A Televised Life* (2002) is a critical view of the seminal television documentary.

6 The positions of power in the *Scolding* case study are analogical to the *Spying and Counter-Spying* case, see ch. 3. In that I analyse the difference between strategy and tactics more closely according to Certeau's model.

7 *Punctum* is, in the French philosopher and cultural critic Roland Barthes' view, something that literally sticks out in a photograph and completely changes the *Studium*, the implied meaning. *Punctum* has come to mean a concept of distraction that gathers all attention despite the intention of the author. (Barthes 1980)

8 Lyotard's concept of *differend* – usually translated as dispute – refers to the feeling of injustice that has no expression in the hegemonic language and therefore has no possibility of being heard or understood. Lyotard defines the concept in relation to litigation. In litigation both parties function according to common rules and through discourse. There are no rules and no common language, however, in *differend*. There is only a feeling of injustice and contradiction. Applying the rules of one party would be unjust to others. Lyotard's claim is that there is no universal justice that would apply to all. There is not even a common principle. (Lyotard 1988, xi.)

9 See chapter 2.

10 **Pekka:** It is the most important scene when you are discussing is this real or not. There everything comes upside down. Even the act, it is so disturbing the act of filming that type of scene even when the other person is not knowing it beforehand. I think it is the essential scene.

11 "I see Warhol in your film-making as in a play within the play, time-based trompe-l´oeil, in terms of self-refentiality about the cinema itself , the layer against the cinematic space."

"This works seems to be going for seventeen years, in that time the video camera, and its place within contemporary western culture changed enormously. That is a key factor for me in seeing your work. Your attitude towards it has changed enormously as well in the different clips we´ve seen. Maybe it is also different for us to see something that was shot 1995 or whenever and something that was last month. Our response, our relationship to it is different again. There is also another fact here, that was most engaged by, was the earliest, I was engaged in it by the fact that I was thinking of these two children, the boy in red who kind of leans against the door. You know, takes it all, and then walks away, comes back, leans again: I might squeeze a little bit of paint. But also we are talking about wasting paint, artist´s paint and using video. And this seems to me really significant layer within the work. Okay, no more paint, because this kid played with it, so we might make video."

12 **Swedish male student:** There is a different theme that has gone unaddressed so far, which has to do with the content when we intend to be talking in formal terms. I don´t deny that there was a rich conversation that we heard about formulating the scenes in terms of Warhol, or this question of

the materiality of the form, but for me the point of entry into the work is actually very much about the content because I respond very much to your own genuine dilemma of the ethical or personal question of how you are raising your children. And it seems that for me is the epicenter of the work. The theme I´ve most wanted in the work is the authenticity: your questioning your own behaviour. I see the whole... I´m not denying the ubiquity of the recording device that confuses the entire conversation that we have, but I do think that there is also a level, this is a way that you can get to the level of showing your own questioning as a human being in relation to your children, That´s for me a quite fundamental, serious and interesting place to arrive to in an artwork.

Swedish male university teacher: In the film they never use the word guilt, but what we all think is guilt, guilt.. But you never use it when you talk about the event. It surprises me, because it is obvious that the kids felt guilty, why they felt so bad. Then you later feel guilty. You never mention, it is strange.

Swedish female student: I think there is something strange happening when you are apologizing, but then in the end your wife or somebody said that you must tell them that it was because he was over-sensitive. Is it actually a crime to be sensitive when someone is shouting at you. Its almost like you are cleaning yourself of the responsibility. Or she is. Its like saying that it is only because he is over-sensitive that he took it so badly. Well, that is just a human thing; we are acting when we are shouted like that, is it a crime? You know, to be over-sensitive? I don´t think that is an excuse, coming out of this content.

Finnish female student: It is the most horrible moment in the work, when the mother said that... defines her own son as over-sensitive, that is where really the power comes up.

13 Kantonen, Pekka (2007). 'About Method'. In Geist 11-14. Stockholm: GOU, 173-181.

14 **Ray:** The problem is that the writing has become a kind of virus or parasite. Which has attached to the video and is now forcing the video to replicate it, and to replicate itself. It is almost like a retro-virus, using the RNA of the video, but it causes the video to replicate itself instead of replicating it. Because you said there are 12 years in which you did not look at the video. And then you started writing about it, you saw it as a research project, which caused the next -in the sense that I´m reading it- layer of the video, which then caused the next one. Because the "research", what you are calling research, has entered into the video which is practice, it is now causing a proliferation of generations of practice. Which are all feeding on the previous generations.
Pekka: Generations meaning.
Ray: What you call layers, it is a temporal layer which is then responding to the previous layers. It seems to me, that the moment when that proliferation really begins (yes it begins with the public showing and that´s the beginning of discourse), that has led now to the writing which has sped up the process. And the two sides, what you are calling research and what you are calling practice, have combined in such a way to form a new kind of parasitic combo-practice/research.

15 The literary turn or postmodern turn affected all humanities and arts – but not at the same time or in the same way. In his seminal essay "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture" (1973), Clifford Geertz argued that the ethnographic research text is fiction. It is always constructed and exists in the book, film, lecture or museum display. The most referred and influental book of this paradigmatic change is a collection of writings based on a seminar held in Santa Fe, New Mexico in April 1984. Eight anthropologists, one historian, one linguist discussed for ten days on the basis of each one´s unpublished text focusing on "the making of ethnographic text". After the discussions every participant re-wrote his or her text for the book to be published two years later. After the book, *Writing Culture. The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, edited by James Clifford and George E. Marcus, ethnographic research was understood as literature more than anything else. Writing Culture is a periphrase for ethno= culture, graphy=writing.

After the literary turn the objective style was criticized of being false, hiding the researcher´s involvement in the events and results of the fieldwork, and the power position he had. After the literary turn the double positioning of the researcher could become present in the entire text. Fieldwork was described as dialogue between the researcher and the community studied in a joint project.

16 Bad faith is a concept in existentialist philosophy that means self-deception. A person who lives in bad faith believes that they are living right, authentically and freely even though their actions are guided by expectations and pressures set by society. A person living in bad faith imagines that they are expressing themself even though they are expressing societal hopes. Jean-Paul Sartre's essay *Being and Nothingness: An Essay on Phenomenological Ontology* (French: *L'Être et le néant : Essai d'ontologie phénoménologique*) (1943), covers the concept of bad faith thoroughly . Tom is applying Sartre's thoughts in an opposite manner because videotaping one's own life defy society's expectations rather than follows them.

17 See Douglas, Mary 2002 [1966] or Fardon, Richard 1999: 105–110.

18 **Tom:** I clarify some of the stuff, why did you feel compelled to apologize? Are you apologizing your behaviour on the scene, or are you apologizing for having shown the scene at the birthday party?
Pekka: I also asked him (Ukko) was it ok, that I showed it. He said it was very good. I was, let´s say, apologizing rather that twelve years ago, that we didn´t see how he was reacting, he was sensitive and we were insensitive, but not apologizing that we should punish you, it was rather, I think it was also an over-reaction for me to do it (the apology). This filming process is also making you over-react. […] First of all, it (the scolding) never would have come out, if there would not be the video document of the original event. When it is shown, the initiative force is the video of the whole process. That´s my curiosity, still I´m really apologizing, but I wouldn´t probably apologize without the video. Am I, then is the question of authenticity, if there is this machine, are you loosing authenticity because of that, because it is made for the video.
Tom: You said that you wouldn´t have apologize if you were not filming? Did you just say to me

that makes you to call in question to the authenticity of the apology to your son about the way you filmed , behaved etc. Is that what you said?

Pekka: No, what I´m saying is that, it is another question, this authenticity. My reaction can be triggered by the video and by the filming that I do apologize, but I´m apologizing my son, I´m not making a scene for my video. [...] My question is that, that kind of attitude that we take for granted if something is filmed or made for filming, it is not authentic.

Tom: That´s what you are trying to explore. And you just said, I understand that one fact that when you have a record of your life of course is, that you have to re-live it. When there is a record you can constantly relive it, I suppose one would like to know, what is the video enable in that context than just a memory?

19 **Tom:** So what I think you are trying to figure out is social relationships, and the presence of the camera in the context of social relations. One of the things about videotaping or filming or being involved with ”indigenous” people is that if the relationship exists for the purpose of the video, or the photograph, then there is a question mark around it. But if you have a prior relation with people then the idea of recording them and the relations with them is different, if that makes sense. Another thing that I mentioned, in ethnography the way I see it is that the people you work with are co-authors in a sense. No, that´s not entirely true, it´s kind of a fiction that one operates under in order to help one learn. So the example was then how your son is muted in the 20 minutes you showed me, obviously there is a lot of footage. You said that you are holding the camera, but I was thinking that the thing I would want to see is the video of you holding that camera. Do you do that? So that one would try and triangulate that one would be able to see, because right now the video colonizes the whole perspective. It determines of the whole field of knowledge. It's like you've conceded your entire agency over to this one point of view.

20 Deferment (deferral) is related to the French philosopher Jacques Derrida's concept of *différance*, which is an intended misspelling of the French word différence. Both words are pronounced similarly despite the spelling difference. With this gesture Derrida points out that the meaning of a word is not necessarily heard. Derrida's word, *différance*, refers to both defer and differ. (See *Derrida and Différance* 1988. Eds. David Wood and Robert Bernasconi.)

21 Uncommented, uncut shots as television feed would be the application of early cinema, the cinema of *actualities*, in the age of television (see ch. *Hot Soup*).

22 Lea's dissertation (Kantonen, Lea 2005) evaluates the community art projects involving our children from the viewpoint of us, the makers. Our joint book, Tent, a book of travels, describes the trips we have made with our sons to meet indigenous peoples (Kantonen & Kantonen 1999).

23 In my imagination the viewers empathising with the diegesis of *generational filming* start to seem like the group photograph of the hotel guests in Stanley Kubrick's *Shining*, just as Jack Torrance/ Nicholson appears into the picture.

The German Time Was Acted upon Us

Generational Filming in Documenting
The Seto Singing Tradition

Lea and I carried out the first case studies of *generational filming* with our home video material. We thought that we could experiment with the method more freely without asking permission from others than the members of our own family. Even if the initial motivation for creating the method was to research our home videos, already in the first screenings of the performance *Asking for Advice* some scenes were shown from the material we had filmed with the Rarámuri people in the Mexican Tarahumara mountains.

   In August 2006, we had a private *Asking for Advice* screening in Obinitsa village in southeast Estonia with the Seto song mothers of the Helbi Choir with whom we had worked together since 1991. We invited them to Helsinki for the first time to perform in the artists' association MUU and in the crypt of a cathedral in the autumn of 1991, and for the second time in the autumn of 1995 to perform in the Lönnström Art Museum in Rauma. Both visits were documented on video. In August 2006 we showed clips of the concerts for the purpose of wanting to know how the song mothers wished to be filmed when singing. The members of the Helbi Choir were the first ones that we applied our method on outside our own family. Our motivation was to gain knowledge on how to work with the method in the context of socially engaged art and ethnographic research.

   In the case study *The German Time Was Acted upon Us* (*Sääti meile Säksä aigu*) we move generation by generation from a private to a more and more pub-

lic space, from Kala Manni's house to the Obinitsa village hall, from the Värska recital conference to discussions about visual anthropology and socially engaged art. At the end we return to Kala Manni's house. With the method we aim to record and show changing community-based knowledge. We gather, conceptualise and convey knowledge in co-operation with the members of a community. As we record and view knowledge, discuss it and debate over it our understanding of a community and knowledge itself changes. *Generational filming* is a means to assess the ethnographic film making method through reflexivity.

The fields of visual ethnography, participatory and socially engaged art, and experimental moving image (film and video) have historically been in continuous interaction and shared many innovations and discourses (Schneider & Pasqualino 2014:1). Nevertheless, art historian Hal Foster (1996) has criticised the attempts by visual artists to use the fieldwork methods of ethnography. According to Foster, visual artists often set up, without noticing, the dichotomy between the researcher and the researched as they isolate themselves from the phenomenon they are researching. The anthropologist George E. Marcus, who has written about the relationship between art and anthropology, finds Foster's critique both unnecessary and outdated. Few anthropologists today follow the positivist research paradigm described by Foster, and even the artists interested in anthropology are usually aware of the current developments in the field. During the literary turn in the 1980s, anthropologists and authors began to acknowledge that information is always constructed by nature. Following this shift, researchers in many other fields have embarked on anthropological fieldwork bringing new viewpoints and methods to the table. However, the shift did not contribute much to the field of visual anthropology (Ibid.2). According to Marcus there is no reason for fieldwork to be the sole domain of anthropology. He believes that anthropologists benefit from co-operation with researchers in different fields, including artistic researchers, and that artistic fieldwork methods could be experimented with. Today, the dichotomies described by Foster have largely been avoided in the fields of both visual ethnography and socially engaged film and video. (Marcus 2011.)

Discussions about the methods of acquiring and presenting collaborative knowledge often refer to the concept of dialogism introduced by Mikhail Bakhtin. This concept of dialogism is often referred to in the fields of collaborative and community-based methodology in both ethnography and art. Methods based on discussion and co-operation have, however, been questioned as utopian and criticized for rejecting post-colonial pow-

er relationships (Clifford 1988: 51; Kester, 2004; Marcus 1988:112–114.). On the other hand it has been pointed out that societal and political issues concerning power relationships are essential parts of dialogism in Bakhtin (Saariluoma 1998).

The phenomenologically informed material turn and sensory turn in the 2000s have sparked new collaborations between artists and ethnographers, often as working partners, focusing on the materiality of arts and artefacts. Anthropologist Arnd Schneider and anthropologist-documentarist Caterina Pasqualino in their introduction to the book *Experimental Film and Anthropology*, understand the dialogue between anthropology and experimental film mostly as broad categories, including material and formal experimentations leading to a product or artefact, as well as experiments with audience arrangements and reception (Schneider & Pasqualino 2014). As has been described in the previous chapters, our experimental focus is more concerned with the process of filming and of the arrangements between the film and its audience in a screening event (I shall discuss the arrangements in video installation form in the chapter 10). The question of materiality and embodiment is relevant for us as sensual and sonorous aspects of the screening event: how people experience the screening event, the video sounds mixed with the conversation and translation sounds, together with other sensual and listening bodies. In this case study on Seto choir singing sensual aspects are also present in the video image both as research matter and as a method of producing knowledge by singing, listening, moving and laughing together.

Postcolonial theory in film research and in indigenous research has contributed to the understanding of dialogue between western academic knowledge and indigenous knowledge (cf. Trinh; Tuhivai-Smith). Post-colonial theory and research examines how the experience of conquest and colonisation remain present in the contemporary life of a people (Oikarinen 2008; Kuortti 2007; Morton 2007; Gibson 2003; Mbembe 2001; Ahmed 2000; Rojola 2000; Spivak 1998; Moore-Gilbert 1997; Tobing Rony 1996; Bhabha 1994; Trinh 1989, Fanon 1967). It does not study only the effects of the conquests of European colonial powers but also the economic and cultural power and domination relationships that are often naturalised and therefore remain unnoticed (Kuortti 2007:11–26). We shall come back to post coloniality in the chapters 7 and 8.

In this case study we ask: What can *generational filming* as a method understand about changing community-based knowledge – in this case *leelo* singing – that is not reachable by written research? An analysis of a song tells of the experiences of the Seto under Soviet rule and how that time,

singing about it and the viewing of the singing are seen today. While trying to enquire such knowledge in complex power relationships, what can we learn from postcolonial critique?

There is a clear link, to us, between *generational filming* and the participatory cinema and video methods of our inspirations, the *shared anthropology* (cf. Stoller 1992; Russell 1999; Rouch 2003; Henley 2009) (See ch.4) of the French ethnographic filmmaker Jean Rouch and the *archaeological performance* of the film collective Vision Machine.

Archaeological Performance

The international film collective Vision Machine has carried out projects in the beginning of this millennium that they call *archaeological performances*. These consist of layers of personal stories, presentations and gestures that reveal the forgotten and unspoken genocide that brought General Suharto to power with the help of the United States and its allies in 1965. The first layer shows Pak Sinaga, an executioner of Suharto's government, talking about his work. The second layer shows him miming the killings in historical surroundings, beside a field. His own narration is heard in the background. All of his movements and gestures are precise. They are forms of self-expression looking for justification for what had happened. He moves like a hero out of a kung fu film.

Soon after the re-enactment of the historical events, the video is shown to the executioner and he is asked to explain what is happening in the video. This new narrative is the third layer of the *archaeological performance*. The nature of the film changes from historical chronicle to a reflection on history.

The fourth layer of the method is created when the farmers who survived the genocide see the performance of the executioner who murdered their friends and family. Their viewing experience and comments are filmed and added to the video. An Indonesian folk theatre group then makes a performance out of the four layers, and the survivors and the executioner are invited to see it. The performance and the encounter are filmed.

Two members of the Vision Machine collective, Joshua Oppenheimer and Michael Uwemedimo, understand the method of *archaeological performance* as a transformative process. The community does not simply remember and grieve wrongdoings of the past. Instead, they change their earlier view on the traumatic past through viewing and reflection. The past is also given a performative form. In their article "History and Histrionics:

Vision Machine's Digital Poetics" the group defines the method in the following way:

> The method seeks to reveal what was at once singular, and scripted, and to do so by *going through the motions* (italics Oppenheimer and Uwemedimo) of historical events to develop a densely layered artefact. Here each layer is at once rehearsal and performance, re-enactment and response. This method, which typically moves from interview via narration and re-narration through increasingly elaborate re-stagings, relies in large part on digital media as the relay channel between different participants, or the same participants at different stages of the process. (Uwemedimo and Oppenheimer 2007:181.)

The American filmmakers Joshua Oppenheimer and Christine Cynn, both members of the Vision Machine collective, apply very similar working methods to *archaeological performance* in their documentary *The Act of Killing* (2012), which they made together with a third director, an anonymous Indonesian filmmaker[1]. The protagonist of the film is Anwar Congo, one of the perpetrators of the Indonesian genocide during 1965–1966, when about one million people were killed as alleged communists or other opponents of the military government. Congo is proud of his violent past, because he is respected by political leaders, and feared by his neighbours. He agrees with the filmmakers to make fictional film scenes about the genocide. He demonstrates at the actual crime scenes how he cut throats and strangled his victims with iron wire, how he drowned people in the river. His younger friend Herman Koto, a local gangster, rehearses with local women and children in order for them to play victims of the genocide. He provokes them to scream and cry hysterically. For filming purposes, houses are burned, people dragged and beaten. Congo himself is tortured in a film-noir setting. He and his friend want to be filmed in the style of Hollywood gangster films and westerns. However, when the actors are real gangsters, executioners, and relatives of their victims, reality and fiction are intertwined dangerously. The filmmakers also film while their protagonists are watching and commenting on the shots.

The Act of Killing is the first part of a trilogy by Oppenheimer and his collaborators. The second part was released two years later. While *The Act of Killing* recounts and re-enacts the history of the perpetrator, the second part *The Look of Silence* (2014) is the story of a victim's family member. The filmmakers follow an optometrist named Adi as he returns to his home village. On the pretext of performing eye-tests, he asks elderly people about the genocide years without revealing his identity. Controversial and dan-

gerous scenes are filmed when Adi finds out that his maternal uncle has been collaborating with the murderers of his brother Ramli. Adi tells the shocking news to his mother who repeats: "I did not know." On several occasions Oppenheimer shows filmed material to Adi, and Adi reflects on his search for reconciliation with the perpetrators. Most shocking revelations of the perpetrators is that they drank their victims blood in the belief it will preserve their sanity. In the end of the film, Adi goes to meet the family of one of his brother's murderers. The widow and her children see on video how the deceased husband and father boasts how he killed other villagers and mimes the executions. The grim past of the father is revealed to the children, and the widow shouts in a shock: "Do you want revenge!" Adi explains how he only wants reconciliation and for them to admit that the killings were unjust. Adi and the film crew are chased away.

In an interview with anthropologist Jess Melvin (Melvin 2015) Oppenheimer recounts the story of the making of *The Look of Silence*. Its filming took place when *The Act of Killing* was edited but not yet released. After Vision Machine's *Globalisation Tapes* (2002), Oppenheimer wanted to make a documentary about the victims of the genocide, but the Indonesian police and para-military groups prevented filming. Survivors of the genocide suggested that Oppenheimer would interview the perpetrators, because they felt no shame about talking about the killings. After the interviews Oppenheimer became known for being friends with the people in power. Oppenheimer thought this reputation could protect the film crew and the survivors that they interviewed. The only scene he had opposed while filming *The Look of Silence* was the scene with the family of Adi's brother's murderer. "What Adi is doing is unprecedented, not just in the history of Indonesia but in the history of non–fiction cinema. For a survivor to confront a perpetrator while the perpetrator retains that much power has never been filmed before because it is usually too dangerous." (Melvin 2015) When *The Look of Silence* was released in Indonesia, although the screenings were by invitation only, the family of Adi had to escape to other parts of Indonesia. Oppenheimer himself cannot return to Indonesia for security reasons. Oppenheimer says about the third part of the trilogy that it "will be a work of the people of Indonesia. The third part belongs to the people of Indonesia". (Ibid.)

Oppenheimer's documentaries, Vision Machine's *archaeological performance*, and our *generational filming* share many methodological features. In all three, an essential part of both the process and the final work is viewing and reflecting on the earlier phases of the project. The artwork or project is aware of its own transformation during the process of its formation. The relationship between the documentary and the fictional is both

ambivalent and important. Oppenheimer calls his documentaries "documentaries of the imagination" (Bradshaw 2013). In my understanding this suggests that Oppenheimer's films document both real events as well as people's fantasies and beliefs about them. As a filmmaker, he does not relay his own fantasies or interpretations directly but, in traditional documentary fashion, make them visible in choices and edits. Oppenheimer is essentially an observer, but when a character in his film addresses him he answers from behind the camera. Jean Rouch's *ethno-fictions* (see Chapter 8), in which Rouch's African colleagues improvise scenes as themselves, are exemplary to Oppenheimer's work. Especially Anwar Congo, the main character of *The Act of Killing*, behaves like Rouch's performers. He plays himself by reminiscing past events and imagining himself in the place of the others, his victims. Congo replays realistically the methods of killing that he applied during the genocide to the camera. He even believes that in the torturing scene he enacts he is able to feel as profoundly as the genocide victims of the 1960s.

Congo´s belief is unrelenting, even when Oppenheimer protests from behind the camera. The victims knew they were going to die, while Congo knows he will survive. Congo wonders out loud why the events of the genocide still haunt him in his dreams and cause sleeplessness and nameless worry, even though he believes his actions were justified. In the final scene of the film, Congo returns to the rooftop terrace where he has performed executions with barbed wire. Suddenly he has a fit of nausea, but nothing other than sound comes out. As a viewer I imagine Congo wanting to rid himself of all the bad he has done, but he is unable to get it out. That which he wishes to vomit has dried up and is preserved in his body.

Of the case studies of *generational filming*, the main characters of *The Haircut* (Chapter 8), our children Pyry-Pekka and Tyyni, perform themselves, each other and earlier experiences of getting their hair cut. The *Haircut* is one example of our home filming, which makes use of fiction and play and for which Rouch's *ethno-fictions* are likewise an important exemplary. In Vision Machine's *archaeological performance* the family of the victim sees a performance of the execution by the executioner. According to Oppenheimer and Uwemedimo, the viewing experience opens up a cocooned traumatic memory and allows unifying reflection. The method of *archaeological performance* uses digital technology as a tool that allows a palimpsest process of picture and sound, uncovering new layers that settle on top of each other. Viewing and reflection are an essential part of the visual material. Revealing the truth, political activism and the unifying and empowering of the community are the main goals of Vision Machine's work. The same goals

are present in our case study with Seto song mothers, but it is not our main focus, and not in such an ambitious way. The song *Sääti meile Säksä aigu* recounts the traumatic history of the Seto under foreign rule and their oppression, and this grim history is expressed emotionally in the song, and in the memories of the song mothers. In this case study the attention is, however, mainly drawn to the contents and dynamics of the filmed material, its viewing and reflection. Before analysing the generations of this case study we give a short presentation on the context of Seto singing and its connections to post-colonial issues.[2]

Post-Colonial Discussions in the Seto Community

The Seto are a small people that speaks the Finno-Ugric Seto language. There are some 3000–4000 Seto in the vicinity of Petseri, a town in Setoland, located on the border between Estonia and Russia, and altogether some 10,000–13,000 elsewhere. The polyphonic Seto song tradition *leelo* was given Unesco World Heritage status in 2010. Every *leelo* choir features at least one leading singer who remembers, creates and performs verses in the *leelo* metre (reminiscient of the Finnish *Kalevala* metre). The most able female leading singers are known as song mothers. Another important member of a *leelo* choir is the high accompanist *killõ*. In this article we use the Seto naming convention for the Seto, where the surname precedes the given name. (On Seto folksong, see Rüütel 1988; Sarv 2000.)

The song sung by the Helbi Choir and written by the lead singer Kukka Manni, *Sääti meile Säksä aigu (The German Time Was Acted upon Us)*, and the analysis of post-colonial questions sparked off by the video recording of the song, are the subjects of our case study. The material consists of the recordings of songs sung by the choir and discussions with them, as well as discussions we have had in Finland between the two of us and with other artists, researchers and folk singers following the viewing of the filmed performances.

The Setoland has been under German, Russian and Estonian rule. At the moment the Estonian and Russian border divides the land in two and the Seto have to acquire an expensive visa in order to visit their birth homes, relatives, the graves of their loved ones and song events. It seems inevitable that the memories of occupation and the experiences of injustice are ever-present in the contemporary songs of the Helbi Choir. We have understood that the members of the Helbi Choir wish to tell of their experiences to outsiders through the recordings. The power relations between the song mothers of the previous generations and the Finnish re-

The first generation of the case study *The German Time Was Acted upon Us*, Kala Manni's home in Polovina village, Setoland, Estonia 1993.

searchers who recorded their singing are always somehow present in the meetings between the choir members and us, the artist-researchers. The generational method continually changes our own understanding and the change in us is part of the changing knowledge that our method documents, produces and deals with.

Powerful nations have historically made and still make up stereotypical representations of the conquered peoples in order to justify their othering, in other words, to make them look helpless and in need of protection by a stronger people (Fiske 2003:131–154). If small nations are depicted as uneducated and ridiculed, it is to deprive them of any say in their own future.

The Seto have been looked down on by Estonian society (Virtanen 1981:30) but also, at times, respected and feared (Sarv 2000:66). The name

Seto has been mainly used derogatively. Even if the Seto may themselves joke about their own Seto identity (Kantonen and Kantonen 1999:61) the ridicule of outsider journalists and photographers has been seen as othering and hurtful. Women in Seto dresses have, for example, ended up in a nappy commercial without their approval. Countless conversations with the Seto have caused us to reflect upon how our videos might strengthen, maintain or conversely dismantle othering images of them (cf. Oikarinen 2008; Tobing Rony 1996; Trinh 1989).

The First Generation at Kala Manni's Home

The first generation of the case study was shot on 10th August, 1993 in the Polovina village in Setoland at Maria Kala, or Kala Manni's home. Our purpose was to shoot the singing of the Helbi Choir for use in a possible documentary project. We were eager to record the songs but had not visualised any method. Kukka Manni, Kala Manni, Alovere Olli and Kuhi Anne all performed as leading singers. Kilevi Alli was also part of the choir. Kala Manni was the *killõ*. We recorded thirteen songs and discussions related to the songs. The songs were work songs, lullabies, wedding songs and other songs for specific communal situations.

The Soviet Union had recently collapsed and almost every song included memories of the Soviet time. The choir members wanted us to know what life was like under Soviet rule.

> KALA MANNI: Tell us about when the Russian came here. Our life was poor, because they took our land and we could do nothing but work every day. They paid nothing for the land. Absolutely nothing.
>
> ALLI: Life was shattered, families were taken to Siberia, sometimes they took a wife, sometimes they left one, sometimes they took a child, a husband, everything was torn apart.
>
> KALA MANNI: Horrible!
>
> ALLI: Say no more, the Russian took part of us to Siberia.
>
> KALA MANNI: Horrible things happened here as…
>
> ALLI: …money and possessions and everything were taken from us.
>
> OLLI: They just came into the house and took. […]
>
> KALA MANNI: Horrible things happened. They introduced the kolkhoz (collective farm). They knew nothing about the kolkhoz time in Finland. The kolkhoz was introduced and if you had cows they took them into the collective and left you to survive with your children, they just took them from the barn.

As the recording went on we started actively to ask for memories relating to the songs. Ķala Manni had written a song about the German and Soviet occupations. She could not recite the song right a way, and finding the lyrics from a large pile of papers took some time. Meanwhile, as she was looking for her notes, we discussed other matters. The choir members told us about a famous song mother, Hilana Taarka, and the German occupation.

Pekka shot the discussion from many angles, so that when making the planned documentary we would have many options to choose from. When Ķala Manni found the sheet of paper she was looking for she burst into song without warning, and the choir joined in for the chorus of *Sääti meile Säksä aigu:*

A German time was acted upon us	Säeti-ks meile, sääti meile Säksä aigu
A Russian time ruled upon us	Veeti meile, veeti meile siis Vinne aigu
A great war ravaged our land	Lätsi-ks läbi, lätsi läbi siis suureq syaq
A great evil was done to us	Olle-ks pallo, olle pallo meil pahanduisi
They broke our ovens, tore our roofs	Jäie-ks kodoq, jäie kodoq meil korsnita
Our chimneys were extinguished	Tuhkhavvaq, tuhkhavvaq jäi tulõhilta
A hundred brothers left in Saaremaa	Sata-ks velja, sata velja jäi Saaremaale
Many sons were killed in Russia	Mittu-ks poiga, mittu poiga jäi Vinnemaale
Side by side they all fought	Võitli-ks Vinne, võitli Vinne nääq viie veerest,
Fought for a foreign throne	Tulnudkide trooni veerest
Wives stayed behind to miss them	Jäie-ks kaasaq, jäie kaasaq kahitsema
Mothers were weeping in Estonia	Imäq ikma, imäq ikma jäi Eestimaale
Mourning flags fluttered in the wind	Lehveq meile, lehve meilä leinälipuq
Dark sorrow waved in the air	musta mure, musta mure muutuseq.

Later as we watched and re-watched the recordings the distressing and emotional powerful lyrics affected us greatly every time. The joyfulness, laughing, and good humour of the women only emphasised the shocking contents of the lyrics.

In the first half of the 1990s and at the end of the first decade of the 21st century we filmed the Helbi choir frequently both in the Setoland and in Finland. Even though the documentary was not to be made we continued to film.

Already after the first generation discussions we received valuable observations and advice on filming. The choir members hoped that the songs would be shown unedited. They preferred full shots to close-ups. They did not approve of extreme close-ups showing the faces or details of the bodies of the singers, unless they showed details of jewellery or brooches.

They wanted the videos to portray a truthful picture of the Seto culture and to counter one-sided and stereotypical views portrayed in the media. The women thought the photographers looked for silly stereotypes, for example "the only tooth" of a Seto woman "was shown first from this side and then that side." False knowledge of the Seto culture was seen to be spread under the pretence of humour. Alovere Olli told us about a little Estonian boy who had told her he knew a Seto song and belted out: "Seto hüppäs seto kargas, vöta kinni kindavaras!" ("A Seto person jumped, a Seto person ran, catch the mitten thief!") Rhyming is not characteristic of the Seto *leelo*. The boy could not tell the difference between a foreign taunt and a Seto song.

The women had a heated discussion between them about what was real Seto culture. The convener and leader of the Helbi choir, Sillaots Liidi, refused to include songs originating in Russian as part of the choir's repertoire, according to her *leelo* and Russian songs should be kept apart. Sometimes the women of the Helbi Choir criticised the singers of other choirs. Once, younger singers had suddenly raised the pitch halfway through a song. Kala Manni assured us that the leading singer can only *kergütada*, which means to lower the pitch, never raise it suddenly (cf. Rüütel 1988:101). She did not, however, want to upset the young singers by telling them off. She said she had told the folk poetry researcher Ingrid Rüütel: "Don't spoil the joy for the youth!" The critical discussions were always conducted cheerfully and in positive spirits. Such discussions were, for us, important material in the study of changing knowledge.

In June 2008 we were asked to make a video compilation for the 20th anniversary of the Helbi Choir. Due to digitalisation problems, however, we could not finish it before the deadline. Only in August 2009 could we finish the first proposal, the first generation edit. It was put to the critique and discussions of the Seto community in the following generations.

The Later Generations

The second generation was shot in the Obinitsa village hall on August 18–20, 2009. We had gathered three themes that we especially wanted to discuss: the *leelo* aesthetic, the post-colonial situation in Setoland and the presentation of the discussion outside Setoland. The themes were tangled together in our minds. We wanted to hear the ideas of the *leelo* choir members on aesthetics so that we could, in further recordings, concentrate on matters the singers thought important. For the same reason we wanted to know what type of performance we should prefer and what to avoid. The

recording itself was part of the question of post-colonial power balance in Setoland, something that we were inextricably implicated in. We did not, however, want to use the term *post-colonial* in conversation with the choir members as we had not mastered the theoretical terms in Estonian and we wanted to use basic language. The around twenty people taking part in the discussion were all familiar to us: together with the song mothers of the Helbi Choir there were middle-aged members of the newly-founded Mokornulga Choir and young singers from the Tsibihärbläseq Choir, as well as activists and researchers of the Seto culture, most of which were also choir members.

The discussion branched off into consideration of whether it was appropriate to perform songs by other leading singers before and after their death, the metre of the *leelo*, famous male singers, the practicalities of performing wedding songs, the views of educated Seto on the culture, outside audiences, the effects of the recording on the performances and avoiding the effect of othering the performances.

The third generation, that commented on the material of the first and the second generations, was shot during the *Maailma esimene leelokonverents* conference in the Värska Cultural Centre on October 9–10, 2009[3]. Many people arrived at the screening even though the event was in the evening after the official conference had closed. As in the Obinitsa village hall folk singers, researchers and singer-researchers were present but we only knew a few of them. We screened the first generation filming of the song *Sääti meile Säksä aigu* and the comments on it shot in Obinitsa. Again we tried to direct the conversation by proposing the question of how the occupation of Setoland affected their lives today, but the folk poetry researcher Hagu Paul thought the question was neither meaningful nor tactful. He thought it would be as difficult to define the effect of the occupation on the Seto as to define the effect of the Winter War on Finns. The conversation then digressed to the cropping of the video material, the concept of a song mother, the recording of the knowledge of elderly people and the final meaning of our work.

The fourth generation commences with a discussion that the two of us had on October 11, 2009 while walking in central Tartu to see the exhibition *Lauluemade jälg – Soomlased setosid jäädvustamas*, curated by Setoland-based folklorist Kalkuni Andreas and Finnish historian Aapo Roselius in the Estonian National Museum. The same collection was exhibited in Helsinki in the Ethnographical Museum in 2010 under the name *Pane savipäät laulamaan! Suomalaiset taiteilijat Setumaalla*[4]. In Helsinki we filmed the Õie Setod Choir and discussed the exhibition with the leading singer and Seto folklorist Sarvõ Õie. At home we continued to discuss the exhibition and

the meaningfulness of the Värska video screening. We debated the justification of the criticism we had received.

In the fifth generation discussions we show the earlier generation materials to a Finnish folk singer group Ehivaija at our home on November 6, 2009; the participants of the Finnish Anthropology Days at The House of Science and Letters in Helsinki on May 11, 2010; and to a group of international artists and art researchers at the SIM house in Reykjavík on May 31, 2010.

In the sixth generation we leave the international forum to return home to the Seto: we discuss the outside viewer comments with Kalkuni Andreas, Sarvõ Öie, the singers of the Helbi Choir and other singers from Obinitsa. The sixth generation ends where it all began: at the house of Kala Manni. The last remaining members of Helbi Choir died in 2011. As we are writing this we are editing an epilogue of Kukka Manni's and Kala Manni's wakes and the memorial songs sung by participants of the earlier generations.

Analysis of the Material

Our material consists of discussions with folk singers of all age groups, both formally and informally educated, who are either Seto or interested in the culture and includes researchers and artists who are interested in how the *leelo* is depicted to future generations. Some of the participants have experienced the German and Soviet occupations of the Setoland.

Post-colonial literature discusses the means by which a researcher or a filmmaker can approach people traumatised by colonisation and the associated violence and how to deal with matters that no words can describe. Even if the research methods were inclusive, no research text could completely convey the experience of traumatisation. Attempts at definition by the researcher may alienate the researched from their own experience (Morton 2007; Ahmed 2000; Rojola et al. 2000; Trinh 1989; Spivak 1987).

As became evident in the Värska research conference the question of the effects of colonisation on life today in the Setoland is very broad and difficult to address – even tactless to ask. Despite its delicacy, however, some participants felt that the issue was important to discuss. In particular the folk singers and singer researchers from Obinitsa actively joined in the conversation. Often during the discussion and singing events many experienced researchers gave answers and asked counter-questions that led the conversation in surprising directions, and questions about colonisation arose indirectly as a result of other lines of thought. One can express matters by singing in the Seto culture that cannot be expressed otherwise (Vir-

tanen 1987), and sometimes the singers would reply to a question in song. For example, when I asked about the status of the Seto in Estonia, Kala Lii suggested that we would add Kukka Manni's song *Pankalaul* in our video. Kukka Manni started to recite the lyrics about an elderly Seto woman who is faced with discrimation and lack of respect.[5] Many Seto actively seek to bridge the gap between the Seto community and the researchers. The Värska *leelo* conference is one of the most successful examples (Morton 2007).

According to Kalkuni Andreas it is not very common to look at Seto culture in the context of colonisation. The fact that Russian, Estonian and Finnish researchers have started studying the Seto and become authorities on them is a complex one. How the Seto are spoken of says much about the speakers themselves. The nationality and ethnicity, for example, of the researcher or documentarist has an effect on how they interpret the Seto culture and how they explain who the Seto are and what influences the culture. It is important to understand the localisation of the researcher because there are many political implications in research. The facts that the Estonians have tried to integrate the Seto into their own culture and that Northern Estonian was chosen as the written language instead of the Southern variant are not normally seen as questions concerning occupation. Kalkun is, however, critical of the claim that the Estonians would have colonised the Seto. He thinks "it did not exactly happen but something like it happened." It can also be claimed that the Estonification of the Seto in the beginning of the 20th century was a colonial project. The development of the Estonian culture has eradicated many differences. (Kalkun, personal communication, August 23, 2010)

In the six generations of our material the question about the post-colonial situation in the Setoland is roughly divided into nine subject matters that often arise mixed together in conversations:

1. The Estonian-Russian border dividing the Setoland in two
2. The status of the Seto in Estonia, Russia and in international organisations
3. The experiences and memories of the German and Soviet times
4. How the Estonians regard the Seto language
5. The possibility of translating traumatic experiences into other languages
6. The knowledge inherent in *leelo* in contrast with Western systems of information and knowledge exchange
7. The othering in the presentation of the Seto
8. The effect of Finnish and other outsider researchers and documentarians on the Setoland and culture
9. The possibilities of dialogical video filming in the gathering and mediation of knowledge about the Seto culture

All of the above questions relate, in one way or another, to the songs of the Helbi Choir. The last three have most often been discussed in our case study, hence we limit our research to them. Lastly we shall look at the methodical question of filming.

Othering in the Presentation of the Seto

In all of the generational recordings we discussed the presentation of the Seto. The participants instructed us in how to avoid othering. Seto women have been depicted on TV as poor, illiterate and drunk. The participants criticised the fact that during most of the songs on video there is a bottle of spirits in the foreground and that it could strengthen stereotypical views. On the other hand the videos never show drinking, the women never behave drunk, and in the end this is why they felt the presence of the bottle should not mean the videos should not be used.

Those present in the discussions thought that Kukka Manni's societal songs deconstruct the image of the Seto as an ignorant people. Many agreed with us that the singers of the Helbi Choir were active political actors who wanted to bring to the fore their political views. The song *Peeti eelä leelopito*, for example, tells about a song festival in Meremäe where the folk poetry researcher Hagu Paul asks a question about the future of Setoland. The song gave an answer: the border of the Treaty of Tartu should be brought back to unite the Setoland on both sides of the border. *Pankalaul,* which we included in the video after Kala Lii's suggestion, criticises Estonia for not taking care of elderly Seto song mothers, who have greatly contributed to the national culture. Hõrna Aare remarked, however, that policital *leelo* are a fairly recent phenomenon. Political songs have been sung before, according to Kalkuni Andreas, but the point of view on contemporary experience has been personal. Mothers, for example, have grieved their sons going to war.

The Helbi Choir was well known in Setoland. At its height the choir had four leading singers and their sound was considered archaic and unique (Sillaots 2011). Kala Manni was a respected *killõ*. During the recordings everyone wanted to perform as the leading singer. There was playful argument over the order of importance of the singers. In the first and second-generation videos of our case study Kukka Manni was shown as one of the members and leading singers of the choir. In the third generation her role was more significant as she was the leading singer of the song of this case study. A long shot where she looked for a sheet of lyrics and the others discussed other matters preceded the song.

The shot in which she is looking for the lyrics was discussed in Obinitsa in the second generation and in Värska in the third generation, although some of the thoughts were only brought forward after the camera was turned off. Some of the participants wanted to delete the shot whereas others stressed its importance. Hõrna Rieka remarked that the conversation that took place in the background contained important information. Kala Manni thought that leafing through the papers took attention away from the song itself. Kukka Manni wanted to leave the whole scene on video. The Seto-born television journalist Karro Silvia thought that when the song finally began it was so great that it was well worth waiting for. Another comment given after the Värska discussion is of the opinion that the search for the lyrics repeats the othering depictions of the Seto that make them seem uneducated and ridiculous. The laughter of the audience may be rewarding for the documentarian but not for its targets. According to our interpretation the participants of the conversation in Obinitsa wanted to keep the shot, whereas at the discussion in Värska a consensus was not reached as the number of participants was far too large and time was limited.

In the fourth generation discussion the two of us pondered the importance of laughter. Pekka thought that Kukka Manni was aware of the humour in the shot and the tension created by the search for the lyrics. The film was not laughing at Manni but rather laughing with her. He found it important that Manni herself wanted to keep the shot. The discussions were, however, important and all of the views were justified.

The Effect of Finnish and Other Outside Researchers and Recorders on Setomaa and the Seto Culture

The names of the Finnish ethnomusicologist A. O. Väisänen (1890–1969) and the celebrated song mother Hilana Taarka (1856–1933) were mentioned several times in the conversations we had in Setoland. The relationship between Väisänen and Taarka was present in Obinitsa and Helbi both in peoples' stories and in concrete examples: Taarka's house was built with Finnish money and Väisänen's relatives had planted flowers on the song mother's statue.

In the Obinitsa village hall we discussed the fact that outside researchers, journalists and videographers have defined the identity of the Seto in various ways and influenced the culture. Videographers have, for instance, made it as important for songs to be seen to the audience as it is for them

▰ Alavere Olga (far right) singing in man´s costume
with other Seto women during the Kirmas feast in
Lepa village 1999.

▰ Alavere Olga (left) and Kukka Manni dancing in the
Obinitsa school yard 1999.

to be heard during a performance. Today singers sing more and more often in a row on stage even though it used to be common to sing in a circle around which the listeners used to gather one by one. The change in the performance situation has affected the communication between the singers: in a circle all the singers see the lip movements of the chanter, understand more clearly the lyrics and are able to join in on an improvised chorus verse. While singing in a row the choir tends to memorise in advance the lyrics of the chanter and improvisation is less common.

Discussion over the same matter arose again in the sixth generation conversation in Obinitsa. Kirmas is a song feast held on the evening of a church holiday or on the following day, in which many choirs gather together to sing and dance. They strive to keep the singing informal, free and spontaneous. The song mothers who are able to improvise, who are "wordly," create situation-based songs that they address directly to the audience. The choirs sing in a circle, several choirs may sing simultaneously on the same field, and the singers follow with interest which choir circle attracts the largest audience. Slowly the choirs mix and singers in different choirs learn new songs from each other. The boldest singers join in with the inner circle to sing along while the more shy stay in the outer circle, although they might join in with the chorus verse. Outside guests some times even penetrate the circle to take photographs. Aggravated by those taking photographs in the previous day's Kirmas feast in Lepa, Hõrna Maarja, who sings in the Tsibihäbläseq *leelo* choir, showed us how close the photographers got and how pushy they were. Sarvõ Õie supported Maarja and said it is difficult to concentrate on improvising when being photographed. A debate arose about how filmmakers and photographers should behave during Kirmas feasts and whether outside audiences were welcome at all. Hõrna Aare admitted that photographers often disturbed them but that it was better to have the events recorded for future generations than not to have them recorded at all. Maarja clarified that the problem was not about the documentation, only that researchers should document rather than direct events. Neither should researchers have the exclusive right to define the Seto culture. The singers want a say in defining their song and culture. We as filmmaker-researchers were given contradictory feedback but many participants wanted to underline that Pekka's filming was less disturbing than the work of many other cameramen, as most singers have seen our videos and know why we are shooting. Merlin Lõiv, an Estonian folklorist who also sings in the Tsibihäbläseq choir, asked for direct instructions from the singers for the researchers and song recorders: "Do you need permission for every photograph?" An unambiguous answer was not given.

In Obinitsa and Värska we wanted to ask the Seto about post-colonialism. In the fourth generation discussions the presentation *Lauluimmi tegemisest* by Kalkun and the exhibition *Pane savipäät laulamaan* by Kalkun and Roselius pose the same question to us artists. Kalkun shows how Väisänen and other recital recorders have "made" song mothers with their value judgements, choices and cropping. They have raised some subjects, songs and singers to become better known while some have been ignored. The features of the song mothers made famous by Väisänen have been immortalised in the drawings, paintings and sculptures of Finnish artists Alpo Sailo and Carl Bengts (Väisänen 1970: 31–32). Thus Finnish researchers and artists have influenced which parts of the Seto culture have remained for future generations in the form of documentation (Kalkun 2009a, 2009b).

In the same manner as Väisänen and his artist friends' co-operation in Setomaa is situated at the crossroads between art and research. The tradition of Finnish field workers defines both the Seto recital and us. Also our cropping and questions give more attention to some singers, songs, subjects and discussions. Even if Väisänen's methods were progressive during his time – Väisänen was from the country himself (Pekkilä 1990; Leisiö 1990; Kalkun 2009b) – they are today targets of post-colonial questioning and deconstruction (Kalkun 2009a, 2009b). In our time it is also important to discuss with the singers about which songs and subjects are the most valuable for recording (cf. Virtanen 1987:160–193).

The Potential of Dialogical Videography for Collecting and Mediating Information on the Seto Culture

The relationship between visual and written information has been questioned for as long as there have been mechanical forms of recording. Ethnographic cinema is still held to be supplementary to, foremostly, written ethnography. Cinema depicts what the written text gives meaning to as anthropologist Kirsten Hastrup (1992:13, 22) crystallises the widely held view of the hierarchical relation between written and visual anthropology. According to this view ethnographic film without the help of a text is a recording of an event. In anthropologist Clifford Geertz's terms (1973:3–30) it is 'thin description' that cannot mediate meaning. Recognising this dominant viewpoint is, according to Hastrup, a prerequisite for a fruitful interaction between the visual and the written. The visual cannot express relation, only form. Text, as 'thick description' gives meaning to the pic-

Kala Manni at the Lepaküla village Kirmas feast 1991.

tures. A picture cannot mediate the generality of the event or its relation to other events or any meanings on a meta-level. (Hastrup 1992:18–22.)

Hastrup's exaggerations are interesting, but an exaggeration cannot express the difference between written and visual research as the juxtaposition is limited purely to that between picture and text (Ibid.8). Few films are only visual: films usually also have sound even if there is no text or speech. Hastrup does not explain why language is part of writing but not of cinema. The ethnographic filmmaker and theoretician David Mac-Dougall (1998:7) says that Hastrup limits filming too narrowly as a simple technical feat, which is why the analysis of visual possibilities is absent in her work.

David MacDougall (1998; 2006) has explored the possibilities and position of visual knowledge as part of anthropology. Anthropology has, historically, concentrated on textual knowledge while visual knowledge has remained supplementary. The natural difference between picture and word can be seen as a chance to study culture and society in two different ways. Hence visual anthropology has to define itself in terms different to those of written anthropology. (MacDougall 1998:63.)

MacDougall sees John Marshall's and Jean Rouch's ethnographic films as examples of producing a different type of knowledge. Both filmed communities for decades – Marshall in South Africa and Rouch in West Africa – concentrating on depicting relationships between people and not merely, as had been the case before in ethnographic film, on rituals and material culture. They were not content in solely documenting things and events but rather aimed at actively taking part in events and discussions and in seeing communities as social networks. They were the first filmmakers who in the 1950s gave the members of a community a voice of their own in their films. (Ibid.67.)

According to MacDougall visual knowledge does not so much differ from written knowledge in how it creates meanings but in how it controls meanings. The relationship of a picture to reality is analogue and mainly uncoded. A picture documents all visible information without distinguishing certain things as more important than others. It is prone to misunderstandings and lures the viewer into many interpretations. The relationship between written knowledge and reality, however, is completely coded. A researcher may emphasise in a written document some observations and even completely delete others as irrelevant or disrupting. (Ibid.68–69.)

Anthropologists Rane Willerslev and Christian Suhr have even more optimistic view on the possibilities of film in ethnographic research. They think experimental ethnographical film has a potentiality of revealing

things that are invisible to the bare human eye. Different cinematic effects, such as montage, the long take, acceleration or slow motion, and experimental screening arrangements can direct our attention to cultural points of view that we would not be able to see otherwise and add to our understanding of the other. (Willerslev & Suhr 2014.)

Our case study *Sääti meile Säksä aigu* is our first attempt in applying *generational filming* to the task of producing a visual ethnographic text. In creating the generations we follow in the path opened by Rouch in two different ways. We show again and again clips and related discussions to people who are part of the filming and research process. Furthermore we show clips, with the permission of those filmed, to different target audiences who become involved during the process. The knowledge and preoccupations of the viewers affect their observations and interpretations. The singers of Seto choirs have different types of expertise than folklore professionals, film professionals, folk singers of other nations and other viewers. In terms of the method the observations of experts are not better than those of non-experts. It is clear that singers and other bearers of culture know things about *leelo* that others do not, but everyone has a valid opinion on the recording of an event or discussion.

We try to edit the statements so that different views would be presented whether we agree with them or not. In Bakhtin's terms we seek for a polyphonic video expression. In the original, Bakhtin uses the notions of polyphony and dialogism in connection to literature. He characterises polyphonic as a type of literary expression in which the author does not aim at completely controlling the actions and words of the literary characters he/she has created. The relationship of the author and the characters is dialogic. "In the construction of the novel the author does not speak **about** the hero but **with** the hero." (Bakhtin 1991:100, Bakhtin's emphasis) A polyphonic author writes text that they do not necessarily agree with or do not even completely understand. While editing videos we purposefully leave sequences that are unclear to us so that in the following generation viewing we may get new viewpoints. The meanings of the filmed sequences often open up in the next generation as the former generation's discussions are watched and then commented upon. Even though we do not wish to single out any songs, topics of discussion or participants as more important than others, we do ask questions during the commentary about issues that arise from earlier generations. With our questions we are able to direct the conversations but the participants may also decline to talk about our suggested topics, as has happened several times during our case study.

Filming the Afterwaves

Hastrup (1992) claims that a visual recording cannot convey the cultural context; only the form of the event, the behaviour of the people and other such observable phenomena can be expressed in the picture. MacDougall strives to answer Hastrup and other critics with his films and writings, and show that the knowledge conveyed about the cultural context is something that words cannot express. Reaching non-verbal knowledge requires the cameraman to shoot during and after the event. The shot cannot merely show the event because the signification often opens up only in the moments of non-doing before and after the event.

In the dances and songs of the Värska recital conference evening celebration arose knowledge that was expressed in rhythm and presence rather than in words. There were rhythmic changes in the people before and after the song. The rhythmic anticipation and reverberations are often left unnoticed and off-camera because shooting while nothing happens may seem intrusive. In the evening celebration at Värska it seemed important to also shoot the "empty moments", not just the song and dance. In the same manner Kukka Manni's sudden burst into song after having looked for her papers is a rhythmic knowledge of the singing event. The audience´s laugh is rhythmical and sonorous knowledge of the screening event. The conversation between the members of Helbi choir while Kukka Manni was looking for her papers gives us knowledge of the recital choir's context. The song on its own, without the preceding event, would not explain how the moment of song is born. Without the later generations' critical comments this knowledge would not necessarily open up to the viewer and a picture could strengthen stereotypical misconceptions.

The *leelo* culture was created before literacy spread to Setoland. The enchantment of *leelo* singing remains vigorous, though the introduction of written and visual media and the arrival of non-Seto audiences have partly changed the conditions of the presentations. Kukka-Manni´s shuffling of papers raised questions in Värska: How has literary culture changed *leelo* knowledge? Who is the song mother? The one who knows the songs by heart or the one who writes the songs? Kukka Manni does both as she finds the correct sheet, closes the folder and sings the whole song from memory.

The television journalist Karro Silvia asked us in Värska what we were aiming at with the shooting. It seemed to her that there was a hidden agenda in our work that the participants were not aware of. We answered her that with *generational filming* we aimed at bringing to the fore the cultural context and change. The knowledge gained through the method is

not fixed as it questions and re-assesses its own results. Both the singers and we researchers sometimes agree with each other and sometimes disagree and change our conceptions during the process. The discussions between people and the participants' commentary on their own discussion or those in the previous generations convey the era and the cultural context in a polyphonic manner that writing does not necessarily achieve. In the forming of knowledge contradictory and ambiguous visual recordings are the most fruitful as they open up the conceptions of the participants.

PHOTO: SAKARI VIIKA

Helbi choir with the acordionist Paul Vahelaan in the artists´ association MUU in the State Railways warehouse, Helsinki 1991.

Endnotes

1   In the film credits "Anonymous" is mentioned 49 times because of the fear of death-squad killers.

2   For this research I have wanted to find out what is the relationship between Vision Machine's method of *archaeological performance* and the film *The Act of Killing*. I have contacted all four members of the collective (Christine Cynn, Joshua Oppenheimer, Michael Uwemedimo and Andrea Luka Zimmerman) by e-mail in order to ask about it. Both Zimmerman and Uwemedimo answered and advised me to ask Oppenheimer. In their article Oppenheimer and Uwemedimo describe how Vision Machine applied their method of *archaeological performance* in a documentary they made with independent land workers called *Globalisation Tapes* (dated 2002 in the film's closing texts, 2003 in written sources). The version that is in general distribution does not contain the scenes that are analysed in the article. The 70-minute video shows from the land workers' perspective how the global market affects their ways of living. The only scene mentioned in the article that is in this version is the interview of Pak Sinaga, in which he enacts in his own home ways of killing his victims. After watching clips from the archives of the 1965 genocide, the land workers reminisce about their childhoods and the horrifying events that took place in their home towns. In its narration, the documentary is a typical community video, which has been filmed by the land workers assisted by Vision Machine. The only acted scenes are humorous anti-advertisements in which the land workers praise the health benefits of the pesticide that they are paid to spread.

No information is to be found on this method of *archaeological performance* that is relevant to my research except three texts: the aforementioned article and a short article of news in the online publication of Uwemedimo's home university, the University of Roehampton: "Michael's research contributed to the conceptual framework for the film [*The Act of Killing*]. In particular to the development of a performance-based historiography of political violence that draws extensively on re-enactment, steered and directed by the original participants in the violence as a means of self-reflection. Michael terms this research and production method 'archaeological performance'." (http://www.roehampton.ac.uk/news/2014/february/bafta-win-for-roehampton-lecturer/)

The third is an essay by Oppenheimer and Uwemedimo, "Show of Force: A Cinema-Séance of Power and Violence in Sumatra´s Plantation Belt, published in the book *Killer Images. Documentary Film, Memory and the Performance of Violence*, edited by Joram Ten Brink and Oppenheimer (2012). In less than twenty lines *the archaeological performance* is briefly described in the context of the re-enactment scenes of the killings in the film *Snake River* (2013). A film of that name does not exist but the perpetrators Amir Hasan and Inong described in the text are in the cast of the film *The Look of Silence* (2014). The profound article "History and Histrionics: Vision Machine's Digital Poetics" (2007) about *the archaeological performance* by Oppenheimer and Uwemedimo is not mentioned in the text.

Oppenheimer has given countless of interviews (see Bradshaw 2013, Melvin 2015) in which he reflects in depth on the ethics, social effects and the processes of making *The Act of Killing* and *The Look of Silence*. In none of these interviews does he mention *archaeological performance*.

3   The name of the conference is misleading as conferences on *leelo* had been held previously in Värska. As a reminder the newspaper Setomaa published the programme of the 1992 conference on October 31, 2009.

4   Sculptor Alpo Sailo and painter Carl Bengts travelled together with ethnomusicologist Armas Otto Väisäsen to Setoland in the summer 1922.

5   I am no more considered
A citizen by Estonia
For five years now
I´ve lived older than the norm
Yesterday I heard of it
While visiting Võru
The Hansa Bank
I wanted to get a small loan
They offer nowadays
When they heard I was
Eighty years old
They read their terms
A seventy-five-year old
Can get a bank loan
Without a guarantor
Other than the state
[My citizenship
Has no meaning anymore]
The terms clearly say
The state has no responsibility
Over the elderly
What is wrong with me
Is that for five years too long
Have I sung in my own
Helbi Choir circles

Minno saa-i inämb pittä
Eesti riiki inemisest
Viis aastat ole ilma
üle normi eläny.
Tuud sai tiidä innä eeläst
Ku ma olli Võro liihah
Hantsa panka konttorehe
Tahste võtta väike lainu
Mitä praegu pakkutasse
Ku nääq kuuliq õt ma ole
katsakümneaastaline,
Siis nääq ütli. Kord om sääne:
Säitsmekümneviieni
Saa vel võtta panka laenu
Ilma tagatiselda.
Riigi sise eel es kiiru
See om sääne kõrraldus
Valitsusel olõ-i inäm
vannu vasta kohustuisi.
Minu puhul omgi viga
Vis lisnat aastat taga
Leeloq lauldeh ringi roide
Uma Helbi kooriga.

CASE STUDY:

Tunúwame

Generational Filming in Collaborative Museum Planning

The starting point and development of the case study *Tunúwame* significantly differ from the other case studies. We did not begin with filmed material and a process of interpretation but rather a substantial development project, which aimed to create a network of community museums and/or cultural centres with the Wixárika and Na'ayeri communities in the western Sierra Madre mountains in Mexico. The communities decide on planning and actualising the plans for the museums according to their own practices and needs. Our work as artists, and as NGO activists is to back their aspirations. Applying the method of *generational filming* is one important way in which we can further the discussions on the content and execution of the museum plans. At the same time, we are researching and making research-based art of the development on the project. Artistic and research-based performances bring publicity to the project, which we hope to secure support for building the museum. From the point of view of artistic research the significance of *Tunúwame* is in the development of the method in the context of a long term community project. Since 2016 we participate in the ArtsEqual consortium of the University of the Arts Helsinki in the research group *Socially Responsible Artists and Art Institutions* that "counts on art's ability to enable equal encounters between people from different backgrounds in itself, without any particular application. Art and research is being performed essentially in communities, with communities, on their terms and for them." (http://www.artsequal.fi/en/web/artsequal/research-groups/socially-responsible-arts-institutions-and-artists)

From the point of view of socially engaged arts, the *Tunúwame* case study has a very Kesterian starting point, since we are working long-term with

a politically coherent community that has very clear – although not univocal – cultural and political aims. The screenings of *generational filming* are a flexible and efficient way to further discussions in which common goals are sought for amid different kinds of points of view. The filmed discussions bring to mind the opinions of previous years and reflection on them creates new interpretations and practices.

This chapter is an interim report of the Wixárika community museum network planning case, based on two earlier ones. The first one, 'Wirarikojen ja saamelaisten keskusteluja taiteen ja käsityön opettamisesta' [Discussions Between Wixárika and Saami[1] Teachers About Arts and Crafts Tuition (Kantonen & Kantonen 2013)], was published in Finnish in the first university text book of Indigenous Studies in Finnish, Alkuperäiskansat tämän päivän maailmassa, (Virtanen, Kantonen, L. and Seurujärvi-Kari 2013), the second one, Enseñando y exhibiendo arte y artesanía en el contexto cultural indígena in Spanish in the cultural study book La cultura wixárika ante los desafíos del mundo actual: la negociación para la communication intercultural (Corona Berkin and Le Mûr 2015).

Tunúwame is a community based art and development project that aims to create a network of museums and culture centres administered by Mexican indigenous peoples[2]. Three Wixárika communities – San Miguel Huaistita, San Andrés Cohamiata, Bancos de San Hipólito – and a Na'ayeri community – Presidio de los Reyes – have each decided to found a museum or a culture centre in order to document, archive, exhibit and teach Wixárika and Na'ayeri knowledge and art in co-operation with the indigenous administrations and local schools. In spring 2016 four more communities have joined the network (CEIWYNA 2016). The museum[3] of San Miguel Huaistita will be called *Tunúwame*, after one of the five manifestations of the sacred Wixárika deer. Our participation in the project has been and will be concentrated on the part realized in the Wixárika community of San Miguel Huaistita.[4]

The planning of the museum started in 2006 and is a cross-cultural collaboration between the local community, the local school Tatuutsi Maxakwaxi, the Sámi Museum Siida, in Anár in Finland, the Finnish nongovernmental organisation the Coalition for Research and Action for Social Justice and Human Dignity (CRASH), and the university Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Occidente (ITESO) in Guadalajara. Our task, as members of CRASH, is to organise, interpret and document meetings involved in the planning of the museum. Our objective is to train community members to document their culture on video so that they can produce video material for the museum. We are applying the *generational*

filming method to our documentation and teaching as we study how it contributes to the realisation of the project. This research takes place in the context of both artistic research and indigenous studies.

The structure of this chapter is based on the structure of the *generational filming* method. First, we introduce the basic concepts and background of Saami and Wixárika art and culture in a historical context. Secondly, we explain our methodological choices, followed by the research context, and thirdly we discuss the video material generation by generation. Finally, we will analyse the meaning of *generational filming* as a method for both indigenous research and a cultural development project, as well as the relation of indigenous and artistic research.

We ask the following questions:

1. How can *generational filming* be developed collaboratively in the context of indigenous institutions in order to revitalise and develop indigenous art and culture?
2. How can *generational filming* be used for transmitting knowledge across different cultures and knowledge systems?

Background

There are around 45,000 Wixárika[5], a Mexican indigenous people also known to outsiders as the Huichol (Tatei Yurienaka 'Iyarieya 2010; Corona Berkin 2011). Traditionally, they have lived by growing corn in an area isolated by tall mountains and deep ravines, in the sub-tropical valleys and coniferous mountain plateaus of the western Sierra Madre mountain range. Today, many of them work part of the year in plantations as seasonal workers or sell handicrafts in the cities.

The Wixárika language, spoken by almost all Wixárika living on the Sierra Madre mountains, is part of the Uto-Aztecan language group and related, for example, to the ancient Aztec language of Nahuatl. The Wixárika region is situated where four states meet and is divided into five indigenous and autonomous communities. Despite the changes in modern society and the regional differences within their culture, the Wixárika lifestyle, cosmology and religion are a continuation of the culture practised in the pre-Columbian era in the Sierra. (Muller 1978; Anguiano & Furst 1978:10–11; Hakkarainen *et al.* 1999:52; Corona Berkin 2002:19; Liffman 2011:7). Wixárika culture is part of the Mesoamerican cultural area extending from northern Mexico in the north to present-day Honduras and El Salvador in

the south. The adaptability and openness to other cultures developed by the Wixárika over the centuries have helped them retain their cultural vitality despite the pressure of modernisation (Rojas Cortes 2012:57). While industrial mining threatens their most sacred place, the Wirikuta desert, as well as pilgrimages within it, since 2011 a great number of Mexican human rights groups, intellectuals and celebrities have supported the Wixárika in defending this site. The support campaign is now international (cf. Valadez 2012; Shipley 2014).

In Europe, the Saami are the only indigenous people within the European Union. They number roughly 65,000-75,000. The traditional Saami region, Saamiland or Sápmi, is situated in four countries – Finland, Sweden, Norway and Russia – yet most Saami live outside the region. Around 40 per cent of them speak Saami. There are nine distinct Saami languages, of which three – Anár, Skolt and Northern Saami – are spoken in Finland. (Seurujärvi-Kari 2012.) The Saami utilise contemporary technology in their livelihood, for example reindeer herding. Media and culture in Saami are available within Sápmi but outside the region there are few services available in their native tongue.

Arts and crafts are visible and functional parts of indigenous culture that are passed on to future generations. Indigenous peoples tell their own people as well as outsiders about themselves through arts and crafts. Arts and crafts are a channel for expressing, maintaining and passing on knowledge about everyday chores, survival in nature, the use of materials, technology, social relations and aesthetics. In this article we understand indigenous arts and crafts as culture-specific knowledge.

The Wixárika are one of the most researched indigenous peoples of Mexico. Their traditional arts and the meanings and aesthetics related to them have been the subject matter of a century's worth of research and admiration. Earliest interpretations date back to the travel writings of the early 20th century (Lumholtz (1986) [1900], Zingg (1982)[1938]). The Wixárika have been called a 'tribe of artists' since the days of the German explorer Robert Zingg (1982 [1938]). Through arts and crafts the Wixárika communicate with divine ancestors and other Wixárika and pursue a wholesome life (Furst 1978:19; Schafer 1989). The *mara'akame* is a healer, with expert knowledge of myths and song within a Wixárika community. Some of the most respected artists are also *mara'akame.* (Furst 1978; Eger 1978; Schafer & Furst 1996.) Arts and crafts are part of the Wixárika everyday life, as well as its festivals. Artistic expression is present in the design and patterns of objects and buildings. In the round village temple (*tuki*) and the smaller family temple (*xiriki*) the villagers take part in seasonal

ceremonies, in which epic stories are sung by the *mara'akame* and sacrificial art and handicrafts are offered to divine ancestors. Art objects, such as ceremonial staffs, also have an important function in the gatherings of the community administration. Ritual objects, such as bowls and arrows are taken to sacred places in the mountains and by the sea as exchange to divine protection, well being and success (Lumholtz 1973; Furst 1978; Zingg 1982; Liffman 2011; Neurath 2011; Mizuno 2012). Those objects are felt as powerful agents in Wixárika social and ritual life (Neurath 2013). Commercialized art is an important means of living.

Most Wixárika children learn craftsmanship from their parents and relatives. Children and young people interested in ritual handicraft may enter an apprenticeship under a *mara'akame* (Eger 1978:41-44). Self-governing community administrations, composed of agricultural and traditional administrators, have founded independent Wixárika-led institutions, which sometimes also collaborate with national institutions. One such example is the Tatuutsi Maxakwaxi (Great-grandfather Deer Tail) school, which started as an independent school, but it has since been incorporated into the national school network. It is the first Wixárika school to have included handicraft, visual arts and music in its curriculum. Film and video are not taught in Wixárika schools, but some Wixárika children make their own videos and upload them onto the internet.

In Saami culture, the Saami handicraft *duodji* is related to other traditional livelihoods, and Saami social life. Handicrafts have important social and functional dimensions for the Saami, although some of the symbols and ritual meanings have been forgotten. The expert on spiritual knowledge, rituals and symbols was the *noaidi.* Their best-known ritual objects are drums with patterns and symbols on them but only a few remain today, as Christian churches and missionaries destroyed much of traditional Saami spiritual and aesthetic knowledge on handicraft and art. Yet some of this knowledge has remained in secret. (Seurujärvi-Kari 2011; Pulkkinen 2011.)

The Saami have needed the skills to create handicrafts and design, making clothing, means of transport and containers, in order to survive in nature. These items have been extremely functional, portable and able to withstand extremes of weather. Today, as the Saami live in permanent houses and work less in the natural environment the uses for these items have changed, but the concepts of beauty and functionality have mostly remained (Guttorm 2011; Ruotsala 2011).

Saami cultural institutions are supported by the Saami Parliament, which has an annual budget for Saami art and culture. Vocational and theoretical aspects of Saami art, crafts, film and media are taught for ex-

Before entering the sacred desert Wirikuta the Wixarikas leave their offerings on the mountain top. Tuki is the community temple of a Wixárika community, San Andrés Cohamiata, Mexico 1985.

ample in the Saami Education Institute, SOGSAKK, in Anár, Finland, and the Sámi University College in Guovdageidnu, Norway. The basis of Saami visual arts is in *duodji.* Contemporary Saami crafts have been exhibited in the contexts of both art and design in Sápmi and internationally. Saami artists represent a wide variety of arts, techniques and equipment (Hansen 2007; Hautala-Hirvioja 2014).

According to the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, indigenous people have a right to "maintain, protect and develop [...] manifestations of their culture". These include crafts, ceremonies, technologies, art, and oral literature (United Nations General Assembly A/61/L. 67: article 11). In addressing this point, the Saami craftswoman and researcher Gunvor Guttorm emphasises that art and craft traditions are the cultural and intellectual property of indigenous peoples who themselves have the right to define and develop them (Guttorm 2011). Indigenous art researchers have often emphasised that the separation of arts and crafts is a fairly recent phenomenon and many indigenous artists have a background in folk art and indigenous myths (Hansen 2007; Hautala-Hirvioja 2014). In the discussions we documented, the Wixárika and Saami used the concepts of arts and crafts contextually – crafts were discussed in the context of craft education and arts in the context of art museums – while a more precise distinction between the two seemed irrelevant.

Abusers of Indigenous Arts, Advisers and Affiliates

Conquerors and colonisers have attempted to benefit from indigenous arts. The conquistadors in Mexico valued the materials from which local items were made. They smelted metal art objects and recycled the gold and silver derived from them into their own items. Literature scrolls were burnt as they were deemed pagan magic, and literacy was forgotten. Similarly, Saami drums were destroyed. The missionaries and priests who came after the conquerors were interested in indigenous religions and artistic symbols in helping them convert these people to Christianity. The remaining scrolls and drums were taken to museums and research institutions. Even today, many researchers and artists are eager to document these vanishing artistic traditions, yet few are interested in maintaining and revitalising the arts from the indigenous angle.

Many western artists have been inspired by the art of indigenous and "exotic" cultures. Mexican indigenous art was particularly popular in US art circles in the 1920s and 1930s (Mullin 1995). Wixarika art has been es-

pecially attractive to US and Mexican new-age groups since 1970s (Neurath 2013), while Australian aboriginal art was exhibited world wide in important museums and contemporary art centres in 1980s. However, the US contemporary art and media researcher Eric Michaels has shown that outside experts, such as teachers, art dealers and researchers, have strongly influenced the development of art forms that were considered original (Michaels 1994:151–158; cf. Myers 1995). Indigenous art traditions and individual artists also exchange influences with other indigenous peoples (cf. Morphy 2007). Hardly any indigenous peoples live such a secluded life that influences would not be exchanged both ways (cf. Clifford 1997).

Many socially engaged artists have been especially interested in indigenous peoples and many indigenous artists have worked as community artists and teachers. The aims of socially engaged art have diversified in the 2010s. Some artists want to support communality, while others concentrate on colonial oppression, some question the goals of development aid, while others emphasise the positive effects of modernisation. (cf. Kester 2011: 84–130). However, co-operative projects between indigenous peoples and outside artists should be considered critically. For example, some artists are not informed of the collective cultural rights of indigenous peoples. Artists do not always explain their intentions clearly to the communities, nor do the communities always understand the motives of the artists. At best such co-operation may give publicity to issues that are important to an indigenous community. At worst attention may be directed away from indigenous artists and issues. Outside community artists do not necessarily understand the communal context of the questions discussed in a work of art and cannot assess the effects of the project on the community (Koh 2004; Kantonen, L. 2005; Laako 2013). The art world has a tendency to concentrate on artists – even socially engaged artists – as individuals. Yet concentrating on an individual may damage the indigenous understanding of the communality of art. On the other hand, recognised indigenous artists may act as role models and examples to indigenous youth (cf. Stordahl 1998).

The collective ways of producing and experiencing art among many indigenous peoples might seem ideally open to community artists. However, the sharing of collective tradition has its rules and restrictions. Indigenous craftsmen and artists might view outside interest in their art with suspicion. The Wixárika do not eagerly explain their art to outsiders as they want to keep their cultural property to themselves. Neither have they usually let outsiders film in their communities and they have given information on their art only after they have understood the purpose and posi-

tion of the enquirer. The young people participating in our workshops, for example, wanted to make sure we had discussed with the representatives of the community elders about the possible publication of the project outcomes before we started work (Kantonen, L. 2005:120).

As a growing number of indigenous artists and scholars are expressing their people's need to control the presentations and representations of their art and ritual, many non-indigenous artists and researchers interested in indigenous arts are starting to re-figure their own creative agency. Anthropologist Barbara Glowczewski writes in her inspiring article how she stopped making films for ten years in Warlpiri communities in Australia. Even though she strived to respect the aboriginal concept of 'dreaming' in her experimental films, the Warlpiri women did not approve of her editing of the footage she had filmed in their rituals; for example the acceleration of movements disrupted the time-based knowledge of the dances. After ten years she found a way to film and archive videos in collaboration with an aboriginal art centre. Meanwhile, the people had also changed their attitude to images and she was permitted to publish selected footage of her earlier films. (Glowczewski 2010.) Like Glowczewski, we welcome the filming and editing restrictions required by the indigenous communities as a challenge to our creative work. For many years we were permitted to film only in the context of the school work. Like the Warlpiri, many of the Wixárika in the community of San Miguel Huaistita are also becoming more open to the possibility of filming in their communities, if they agree with the agenda of the film project.

In recent years indigenous peoples' rights to own, maintain and define their artistic heritage have been recognised more clearly in international agreements and declarations. Meanwhile, such peoples have faced the challenges of modernisation. The recognition of indigenous cultural rights and modernisation has created a need to build culturally-specific institutions, such as arts and crafts schools, cultural centres, museums and theatres. However, there are not enough educated indigenous experts, and outside researchers need to be consulted and experts hired. Yet it is essential that such institutions are run according to indigenous cultural standards because not only are the art-related values different but also the means of discourse. Even if an outsider learnt the indigenous language they could not necessarily negotiate with the people in a meaningful manner. For example, when the Wixárika middle school, Tatuutsi Maxakwaxi, Great-grandfather Deer Tail, was founded, Mexican university experts did not recognise the meaning of silence and pause in Wixárika negotiations. Over time mutual trust grew and Wixárika teachers were able to combine

Tatuutsi Maxakwaxi (Great-grandfather Deer Tail) secondary school, San Miguel Huaistita, Mexico 2015.

western knowledge with their own in different school subjects. Academic advisers began to respect Wixárika means of discourse and learnt to listen. (Aguinaga 2009; cf. Corona Berkin 2002, 2007, 2011; Rojas Cortes 2012.)

Indigenous museums offer cultural and educational services for indigenous audiences. The *Tunúwame* project sees indigenous children and young people as the main potential audience. According to the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples indigenous children have a right to be educated in their own languages "in a manner appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning" (United Nations General Assembly A/61/L. 67: article 14). Indigenous schools and learning facilities teach the culture to new generations but indigenous knowledge is also transferred to them through other institutions and media, such as family relations, indigenous political systems, television, radio, the internet, social media, art projects and museums. As indigenous rights have been acknowledged internationally, indigenous teachers across the globe have started to discuss how education should be organized and what the teaching of culture means to each people[6] and age group, while museum experts, including those in many national and other non-indigenous museums, debate how museums could enhance indigenous rights (Hirvonen-Nurmi 2013).

The remit of the Saami Museum Siida, in Anár, includes research into and, archiving, presenting and representing Saami culture both to the Saami and outsiders in three Saami languages, as well as Finnish and English, and it collaborates with its Saami sister museums in other countries. The cultural environment unit researches Saami landscape areas and archeological cultural heritage. Information services are available for inquiries concerning the museum's collections. Saami art is sold in the museum shop and Saami artists are employed, for example, in workshops. Wixárika and Na'ayeri art has been widely studied, exhibited in museums and sold in art galleries, but many Mexico's museums have, until now, exhibited their art as exotic objects in the context of the national culture. Indigenous artists themselves rarely get to exhibit in museums and sell their work. Nor do they have easy access to photograph and video archives of museums and research institutions. However, a rapidly growing network on indigenous and non-indigenous community museums is promoting accessibility especially in the state of Oaxaca.

The museum as an institution is historically both a nationalist and colonialist creation. When an indigenous people builds its own museum it redefines the historical conditions of the museum. Now those whose art and cultural heritage has been collected, and even looted, are creating an entity that interprets their heritage through the viewpoint of those who bear the culture. The CEIWYNA community museum network will give its indigenous communities the means to research and exhibit their art, as well as define the conditions of its sale.[7]

Artistic and Indigenous Epistemologies

Artistic research and indigenous studies are both newcomers in the academy. Both deal with a kind of knowledge that until now has been included only as objects of research, for example by art historians and anthropologists. Artistic research is conducted by an artist, not an art researcher. Indigenous studies can be conducted by a researcher representing an indigenous people or by a researcher collaborating with indigenous people from an indigenous viewpoint. In either case the researcher needs to recognise their own situated view (cf. Haraway 2004). Instead of bipolar concepts such as scientific and indigenous knowledge or scientific and artistic knowledge, we are here discussing a triad of indigenous, artistic and scientific research. Artistic research is a relevant context for this case study in looking for collaborative artistic methodologies to document Wixárika

culture and art. We also discuss the case in the framework of indigenous studies, as we are looking for indigenous epistemologies in the production of collaborative knowledge.

Many indigenous researchers and socially engaged artist-researchers share a concern for relationality and dialogue. Maori researcher Linda Tuhiwai Smith in her *Decolonizing Methodologies* emphasizes the context of the research and the implications of the research on the communities. An indigenous researcher has to pay special attention to her position as an insider of the community. (Smith 2012 [1999]: 138–142.) According to her, research made by Maori scholars is based on the principles of the collective Maori philosophy, *Kaupapa*, which refers to the aspirations of the Maori community of New Zealand. She argues that *Kaupapa Maori Research* fullfil the scientific criteria and is grounded in Maori world views. (Ibid.185–189.)

In Canada, Native Studies researcher Ross Hoffman reminds us that all knowledge is produced in epistemological relationships. Indigenous communities see their knowledge as collective cultural property that cannot be 'owned' by individual researchers or artists. The researcher is accountable to those others who take part in the relational networks of her study (Hoffman 2013, see also Andreotti *et al.* 2011; Guttorm 2011). Finnish artist-researcher Minna Heikinaho also wants to reconsider the question of authorship and ownership in the case of collaboratively produced art. She herself abstains from using her name in the context of collaborative art (Heikinaho, private communication).

Indigenous knowledge is holistic and does not follow many of the habitual dichotomies of Western thinking, for example, between 'nature' and 'culture' or between 'science' and 'art' (Virtanen, Kantonen, and Seurujärvi-Kari 2013). Indigenous epistemology aims to acknowledge knowledge based on tradition, experience, songs, dreams, shaman visions and communication with non-human actors as equal to scientific knowledge.

For example, Saami craftswoman and researcher Gunvor Guttorm has written about her site-specific installations in the context of indigenous, experience-based and place-bound knowledge (Guttorm 2013). Animals and other non-human agents are important in the thinking of both many indigenous peoples and also researchers in bioart. The Brazilian anthropologist Eduardo Viveiros de Castro presents a cosmological viewpoint which he calls *Amerindian Perspectivism*, in which not only humans but also animals and spirits are persons and subjects that have their own point of view, their own perspective on the world. (Viveiros de Castro 2000:470–471.) The Finnish live artist Tuija Kokkonen's *Kronopolitiikkaa koirien ja kas-*

Wixárika *peyotero* after returning from the pilgrimage to Wirikuta during the Peyote feast in San Andrés Cohamiata, Mexico 1985.

vien kanssa (*Chronopolitics with Dogs and Plants*) is an example of artistic research where non-human nature has personal agency.[8]

In the Wixárika communities the *mara'akame* is the specialist in indigenous knowledge. The education of a *mara'akame* takes ten or even twelve years. At the very least they would be required to study herbal medicine, the geography of sacred places, mythical songs that may take many days and nights, and visual arts as well as their use in different social contexts.

Portuguese sociologist Boaventura de Sousa Santos approaches indigenous epistemology from a post-colonial viewpoint. He argues that the centuries-old history of colonialism defined the knowledge of the conqueror on "this side of the abyss" and that of the conquered "on the other side of the abyss". Scientific knowledge belongs to "this side of the abyss" and indigenous knowledge – which is considered to be beliefs rather than knowledge – can be used as research material for scientific knowledge, but

it does not exist as knowledge. According to Santos, not only is knowledge diverse but the concepts and criteria defining knowledge are also diverse.

> Throughout the world, not only are there very diverse forms of knowledge of matter, society, life and spirit, but also many and very diverse concepts of what counts as knowledge and the criteria that may be used to validate it. In the transitional period we are entering, in which abyssal versions of totality and unity of knowledge still resist, we probably need a residual general epistemological requirement to move ahead: *a general epistemology of the impossibility of a general epistemology* [italics ours]. (Santos 2007:12.)

Santos writes about an ecology of knowledge that is based on many knowledges rather than a single definition and criterion of knowledge. Scientific knowledge is one of many knowledges and, as the abyss between the dominant and the repressed vanishes, the diversity of knowledge systems is accepted.

> As an ecology of knowledges, post-abyssal thinking is premised upon the idea of the epistemological diversity of the world, the recognition of the existence of a plurality of knowledges beyond scientific knowledge. (Ibid.20.)

The Mexican anthropologist of Mixtec origin, Xóchitl Leyva Solano, referring to Santos, states that epistemic struggle is needed to decolonise academic institutions. "Other knowledge" can be developed collaboratively between indigenous peoples, researchers and activists (Leyva Solano, 2014). Leyva Solano, together with Axel Köhler, works in collaboration with Maya artists, and has produced a sonorous and sensual audiovisual presentation, complementing their written research on Maya knowledge (Köhler et al. 2010).

Artistic research, especially the Nordic *sui generis* approach (See the introduction), does not attempt to be comparable to scientific knowledge. On the contrary, artistic research emphasises its own uniqueness and the fact that scientific attributes do not apply to it. Inkeri Koskinen, in her article on knowledge systems, includes both artistic research and indigenous research in the concept of "extra-academic knowledge". For her, one must apply the criteria of science to this extra-academic knowledge, otherwise it would be "incomprehensible and useless" to science because common criteria cannot be applied. Extra-academic research may be research material in other context, yet not comparable to scientific knowledge. (Koskinen 2014:129–131.)

We do not share the approach that the criteria of science should not be applied to artistic research, yet we do not accept that the criteria of science should be required from artistic research. Artistic research should actively challenge scientific criteria and epistemology, yet it should be exposed to scientific critique and justify its deviations from the conventions of science. Simply pleading artistic criteria condemns artistic research into an art ghetto. Discourse on equal terms with science is impossible if artistic research remains only research material for science.

Koskinen says it is essential that indigenous peoples' knowledge is under as strict a scrutiny as other research knowledge. Someone who provides information cannot be seen as a research colleague if their knowledge cannot be scrutinised critically.

> If the ways a shaman produces knowledge and the methods of shamanistic argumentations are taken into academic discourse the researcher must be able to relate to them *with the same critical attitude* as she does with other available theoretical systems. (italics ours) (Ibid. 141.)

Koskinen's criteria for accepting knowledge retain the criteria of scientific information. Viveiros de Castro's *Amerindian Perspectivism* requires a change in those criteria. It cannot be assumed that the viewpoint of a spirit, or a jaguar, (as channelled through a shaman) living in the jungles of the Amazonas could fulfill the criteria of "other available theoretical systems".

According to Koskinen "an extremely interesting way of using indigenous knowledge in research is through community research which enables indigenous conventions of knowledge genuinely to challenge established conventions of thinking and argumentation, and where research creates knowledge that merges diverse types of knowledge" (Ibid.135). The objective of the *Tunúwame* museum project is in many ways ideal in Koskinen's terms but it – our part at least[9] – lacks the aspiration to "create knowledge that merges diverse types of knowledge". Our aim is not to create a shared view on the discussions that take place about the project. In the spirit of community research we use research material to further the Wixárika museum project and create a truthful and polyphonic artistic video work. For our part the fruitful discussions and interaction are sufficient for research and artistic purposes whether or not the museum/cultural centre is ever built. The building of the museum is, however, essential from a development point of view. If the museum is never completed we would feel unsuccessful as NGO activists but not as artists.

Our academic background is a Nietzschean and Foucauldian perspectivism[10], which emphasises the relation between knowledge and power. All knowledge is perspective and expressed from within a power structure. Knowledge may be truthful but not objective, ie. not separate from power. *Generational filming* is a method expressing such a conception of knowledge as it recognises the editor's power through the choice of comments and the perspective of those who give them as they interpret the events and values of the videos they view. It also recognises the power of the local administrators and *mara'akames* making decisions on the planning and function of indigenous institutions.

Documenting Conversations between the Wixárika and the Saami

The idea for a Wixárika museum came from Agustín Salvador, a teacher of the Wixárika culture and a *mara'akame* in the community of San Miguel Huaistita in the early 2000s. Salvador realised that the traditional Wixárika way of life and culture would not survive without active measures. A museum administered by the community itself creates an opportunity to record Wixárika knowledge and document the community in its own terms.

In December 2002, *Taller de la Tierra*, a meeting on the land rights of indigenous peoples, was held in the Wixárika communities of San Miguel Huaistita and Bajío de Tule with the support of several universities and NGOs. We were invited to document the meeting on video. We also delivered a photography workshop and organised an exhibition, *Favourite Place*[11], on the relationship that young people have with their home region in the Tatuutsi Maxakwaxi, Great-grandfather Deer Tail secondary school. Pekka Aikio, then president of the Finnish Saami Parliament, invited the Wixárika to visit Sápmi. CRASH offered to organise the visit.

The Wixárika delegation spent two weeks (from 16th September until 2nd October, 2006) in Finland and Sápmi. The delegation consisted of three people from the Great-grandfather Deer Tail school: Apolónia de la Cruz Ramirez (ACR), who teaches Wixárika grammar, biology and crafts; Magda Soledad Salvador González, a 13-year-old student; and Angel Zavala (AZ), a school inspector. The group visited all levels of educational institutions in Sápmi, from a nursery to a higher education college. The itinerary also included visits to museums, the media, indigenous organisations and families. I (Pekka) filmed extensively during the tour. After visiting the Saami Museum Siida in Anár, the delegation felt that the Wixárika needed a similar museum.

In the *Taller de la Tierra* conference two pupils of the Tatuutsi Maxakwaxi school presented their drawing about the Wixárika´s relationship to the earth. Their teacher Agustín Salvador explained the picture (p. 247).

The Saami museum professionals promised to help the Wixárika with their museum planning and we promised to film the process. We filmed on the Sierra Madre Mountains in 2012 and 2014 and in Sápmi in 2012.

After each visit to the Wixárika and Saami communities, we have made a new video edition of the project and shown it at various indigenous and academic events. Instead of editing the generations of the document separately, we have followed a more conventional structure of documentary filmmaking and showing the phases of the project chronologically. We have aimed for clear and consistent narration in order to help with the planning of the museum project. In the next phase, as the training of Wixárika staff starts, our aim is to edit thematic episodes to be used in education.

We have acted in many roles with the Wixárika and the Saami: as artists, researchers, activists, art teachers, film-makers and interpreters. In the conversations we have documented the Wixárika and Saami have been communicating through an interpreter – the Wixárika spoke Spanish, while the Saami spoke Finnish, English and Saami interpreted into Spanish.

A conversation can never be available later than the time at it takes place, not even when it is videoed from start to finish and shown as an unedited version. Conversations have to be contextualised, translated, interpreted

and condensed. The commentators on the video and its new viewers may comment on earlier conversation topics through the generations and discuss them with each other. During later viewings the commentators may revise their own opinions, add and remove information, and correct mistakes, such as translation mistakes that affected the original discussion. (Kantonen, P. 2009; Kantonen & Kantonen 2013.)

First Generation: The Travel Video

The first generation of the *Tunúwame* case study consists of footage from the *Taller de la Tierra* meeting and the Wixárika delegation visit in Sápmi. The introduction shows a landscape and the surroundings of the planned museum. The travel video includes landscapes in Sápmi and discussions between the Wixárika and the Saami. Our earlier community projects have taught us that landscape pictures contain important information for indigenous peoples. A landscape picture is a message filled with background information on a culture's living conditions.

In San Miguel Huaistita Agustin Salvador (AS) explains a big painting which is being held up by the two schoolgirls who made it. The most important sacred sites at four cardinal points are introduced, and a *tuki* (temple) is at the centre. A group of people of different ethnicities and nationalities participating in the *Taller de la Tierra* conference is walking on the mountains and a Wixárika band is playing. It arrives at the *tuki* and gathers around the fire to perform a welcome ceremony. Everybody throws a stick into the fire.

AS: *Tuki.* Our temple *tuki* is made by our ancestors. It represents the whole Wixárika universe. Many would like to see that it stopped to exist, that the fire would be extinguished and that the Tail of the Deer would stop to exist. [...] The fire should burn stronger so that it would be seen from further away. The origin of the fire is at the *tuki*, it is lit by our ancestors. We would like it to burn brighter, so we would be stronger as a people. After the divine ancestors had built the *tuki*, they ascended up and they are listening us. Nobody pays attention to them any longer. They ask for our sacrifices and attention, they want to be listened to in our ceremony centres. (cf. Kantonen, L. 2005:213.)

Salvador expresses his concern for the revitalisation of Wixárika culture. There are enemies coming from outside who do not respect Wixárika cosmology and traditions. Fire is an important Wixárika deity; it is called *Tatewari*, Our Grandfather Fire. The Wixárika feed him collectively with their

offerings at their ceremonies. The grandfather asks for attention. He wants to be heard at the ceremony centre. He wants the officeholders of the local administration to pass on the divine myths to future Wixárika generations. Later on in his speech Salvador says that knowledge is given to the Wixárika by *Kayumari*, one of the most important deified ancestors, and by the peyote cactus and mediated by *mara'akame*'s feathers and the pen. Salvador himself wants to pass on this knowledge by writing textbooks on Wixárika culture for Wixárika schoolchildren (Salvador & Corona Berkín 2002).

We planned the Wixárikas' trip to Sápmi so that they would be able to get a comprehensive view on Saami schools and colleges in just under two weeks. We assumed that pedagogy and first-language tuition among indigenous peoples would be the most important issues. The issues were discussed at length but art and handicrafts turned out to be the issues discussed with the greatest interest. Traditional craft teaching methodologies were discussed in most schools.

The visit to the Saami Museum, Siida, in Anár, was crucial for the *Tunúwame* project. The visitors were in awe of the museum's architecture with its round main hall displaying artifacts according to each seasonal cycle. The life of animals and plants, arctic activities, handicrafts and art are subject to the annual cycle and they are not separated from each other in different sections according to different spheres of knowledge. The Wixárika thought the exhibition of culture was in accord with the cyclical and holistic world view of indigenous peoples. The round shape of the building reminded them of their own temple, *tuki*, whose round shape represents the shape of the universe.

The first generation introduced the themes that were developed by the following generations of filming: indigenous knowledge and pedagogy, collective traditional knowledge, indigenous mythology, cyclical time, the culture of growing corn, revitalisation of language and culture, material culture, spaces of learning, gender equality, bridging knowledge systems, sharing knowledge between indigenous peoples. During the visits to the schools the delegates had a chance to consider the relationships between indigenous and western Eurocentric scientific knowledge. The Wixárika see themselves directly related to all living organisms on their territory, and there is a spiritual and aesthetic dimension in the communication between humans and non-humans (Tatuutsi Maxakwaxi, 2014:62–64). Different knowledge systems, however, agree that all life is dependent on the sun and water. In Wixárika mythology the sun is called *Tayaupa*, "our father". The Wixárika were interested in knowing that the Saami people are called *beaivvi mánat*, "the children of the sun".

Second Generation:
The Wixárika Contemplate the Yield of Their Trip

After the trip we gathered with the Wixárika delegation to discuss the experience and view together the footage I had taken. The footage showed that the Wixárika compared the current state of their culture with that of the Saami and how the trip would help with their own work. The visits to Saami colleges and museums made them realise that they have retained some parts of their culture that the Saami have already partially lost. The main language at home, school and in administrative meetings is Wixárika. The *mara'akame* teach spiritual knowledge to future craftsmen in their native tongue. Traditional crafts are manufactured at home and the knowledge involved is passed down to future generations. Traditional Wixárika outfit with bead necklages and handbands are worn everyday, also at school (Mizuno 2012; Rojas Cortez 2012; Cruz *et al.* 2014).

However, traditional knowledge continues to weaken as elderly craftsmen and *mara'akame* singers pass on. Young families moving away from their communities lose their language under pressure from the dominant language. In some areas of knowledge the Wixárika converse in the dominant language because the terminology has not been developed in their own tongue.

Entertainment and media compete with traditional crafts and stories. The importance of crafts is not conveyed to young people who do not speak Wixárika or whose family members or neighbors do not participate in the *xiriki* and *tuki* ceremonies or the autonomous administration (Aquinaga 2010). The members of the Wixárika group noticed that if they do not actively develop their language its use may dwindle in the future (Cruz et al. 2014:51).

The group also think that indigenous education in Sápmi is much better resourced in terms of equipment, books, methods and research in Sápmi than it is on the Sierra Madre mountains. The Wixárika were envious, for instance, of the combination of traditional materials and knowledge with modern equipment they saw at the Saami Education Center SOGSAKK. They also admired the sale and marketing of Saami crafts and especially the Saami *duodji* trademark, which informs the public that the product is manufactured by Saami artisans.

ACR: I became acquainted with Saami art and crafts. I was able to see how the Saami make crafts out of different reindeer parts. They work carefully without discarding the tiniest piece of meat or leather. Instead, they cook it and make tools, such as knife

Three Wixárika delegates visiting the Sápmi in 2006.

sheaths. Even bones and antlers are used as raw materials for crafts. I was able to see how Saami dresses are made and that the dresses on sale in the shops are not always genuine and that the customers do not understand their meaning. It seems to me that the Saami have lost some of their language and culture. I think it is sad that the Saami do not use their beautiful dress in school, only in the Sámi University College. In our school both the language and dress are in everyday use. Even though we do not write Wixárika well we speak it daily. All the teachers and students speak Wixárika.

AZ: The progressive communication and media methods of the Saami were very impressive. Teaching is not simply based on talk; technology and recordings and projections made with modern equipment are used. We need to improve our methods and that worries me. At night, I have wondered where I should start and how I would be able to tell my colleagues and the communities about these thoughts.

While watching the video, the Wixárika pointed out teacher Elle-Maaret Näkkäläjärvi's yard, which was full of things. "That's the same with us", said Angel Zavala amused. "We were privileged because she [Näkkäläjärvi] invited us to her home without prior notice and see her tan leather."

The members of the Wixárika delegation point out that it is of vital importance for indigenous young people, teachers and activists to meet representatives of other indigenous peoples to be able to share the methods of revitalising their linguistic and cultural practices. Agustín Salvador's dream of the Wixárika museum might never have led to the planning of *Tunúwame* museum and a whole network of museums by Wixárika and Na'ayeri teachers had the delegation not visited the Siida Museum and talked with Saami teachers. After returning home, the delegates, especially Cruz Ramirez, started developing ideas learned from their Saami colleagues and planning craft workshops (Tatuutsi Maxakwaxi 2014; Cruz et al. 2014).

Third Generation: A Saami Greeting to the Wixárika

In May 2012 I (Pekka) made a trip on my own to Anár. My purpose was to video in the Saami Museum Siida, show the video of the Wixárika trip to Saamiland to the staff of the museum and the staff and students of SOGS-AKK college, and film their comments and greetings to the Wixárika. My guide at the college was, as before, Ilmari Laiti (IL), who was now retired. According to Laiti, both the Wixárika and the Saami can learn from each others' craft techniques and materials. He showed earrings manufactured by his student:

IL: Craftsmanship is similar around the globe but different versions and techniques bring new possibilities. A bit of reindeer shinbone has been worked into a turquoise earring. It's white bone that has been tinted, which makes the normal use of bone different.

Siida is important for teaching crafts, says Laiti, because the collections shed light on the historical background and context of Saami crafts. Indigenous peoples can change and develop their craft models and use old materials in new ways in order to renew indigenous design. The growing interaction between indigenous peoples – and travel in general – have made it necessary to manufacture Saami clothing using lighter materials that are not too hot even in tropical environments. Fashionable jewellery is made out of reindeer bone.

IL: Siida is ideal for the school because there are layers of culture in it. The students understand the historical importance of the work, that it isn't just for decoration, there was a function. [...] I introduced different eras and their layers in the class and it was easier for the students to understand the meaning of the pieces that they make in school.

The pedagogic dimension of the Siida Museum expressed by Laiti articulates an urgent need felt by many indigenous artists and teachers for the study and learning of the history of the craft techniques of their forefathers. The vast collections of Saami craft had impressed the Wixárika visitors.

Tarmo Jomppanen (TJ), then Director of Siida, is not surprised to hear that the collections made an unforgettable impression on the Wixárika. Jomppanen says that the exhibition emphasises culture and ecology, annual natural changes and natural resources. He is, however, critical of the fourteen-year-old texts in the exhibition and is working with the staff to rewrite them with even more emphasis on the Saami point of view.

TJ: Let's say that we thought already during the first year that the exhibition with its texts is a quite traditional ethnographic exhibition. A researcher explains what the Saami are like rather than the Saami themselves telling what they do.

The curator Arja Jomppanen (AJ) agrees:

AJ: The basis of the exhibition is coexistence of man and nature and the use of resources. What could be done is to point out several other connections between the

two, for example, names, memory and knowledge of tradition. It is fairly technical now: this is how you find food, this is how you find material for handicrafts, technical things like that.

The Jomppanens believe that the *Tunúwame* museum should serve the living culture of the Wixárika and its documentation. Arja Jomppanen suggests that it should focus on stories as much as on collecting items. It would be best to use methods familiar to the culture and in co-operation with experts on the audio-visual field collecting the story archive with the Wixárika. Telling stories invigorates language.

TJ: It could be more of a cultural centre, I think, it would be a meeting place where people could gather together, a social place with a museum.

The third generation concentrates on the participatory and pedagogical function of the indigenous museum. The ideas expressed here by the Saami professionals were later thoroughly discussed and digested by the Wixárika teachers.

Fourth Generation: The Wixárika Discuss the Museum

In September 2012 we spent a week at the Great-grandfather Deer Tail school in San Miguel Huaistita. We delivered a performance workshop for the senior year and showed teachers and pupils a half-hour video of the Saami comments on the *Tunúwame* project, as well as pictures from the Siida exhibition and the traditional buildings in the grounds of the museum. Lea interpreted the video because we did not want subtitles to interfere with the viewing.

It was even more important than the spoken part that the Wixárika could see what Siida looks like. None of the pupils and only some teachers had ever visited a museum. Another reason for not using subtitles was the principle we followed in making the *Asking for Advice* performance. In our experience speech in a language that the viewers understand makes the event more communal. While interpreting, it is possible to add explanatory details. As I (Pekka) heard the discussion between the Wixárika, my impression was that being able to focus on the pictures gave them a sense of belonging, while listening to the Saami. Immediately after the film several of the teachers were then filmed themselves, directing their

The headmaster of the Tatuutsi Maxakwaxi school Carlos Salvador is commenting on the video message of the Siida museum staff 2012.

comments to their Saami colleagues. They took the filming to be a medium through which they could send messages to the Saami.

After the viewing, the teachers spoke together in Wixárika. Although we were not able to understand what was said, it felt that the conversation followed no hierarchic order as the teachers happily spoke over each other. When they switched into Spanish each teacher gave a short, formal, uninterrupted speech. Every time they switched into Wixárika they immediately started talking over each other.

Cruz Ramirez was the only person viewing the video who had previously been to Siida. She took the floor first and addressed both us and our Saami associates. She showed initiative as she was the only woman to speak even though all of the male teachers spoke. Cruz Ramirez had adopted a contemporary view on a living museum that exhibits both the past and present. She talked about a conversation with her husband who has a more traditional view on museums.

ACR: I told my husband I was going to school to talk about the museum. He does not know much about these matters and asked me abruptly: "Where is it being built? They must exhibit old items there." "Yes," I told him, "but also items that we use

now, for example, my research on teaching crafts, the Wixárika grammar and other knowledge that is taught to kids in school. In 50 years all of this will be history." I told him this so that he wouldn't think museums were only about the past. They are also for the time that we are living in now.

Each male teacher brought up a new theme that was not, however, in contradiction with anything that had been said before. They were looking for the pedagogical meaning of the museum and therefore thought that it should be built in conjunction with the school. They wished to see information on their forefathers, other indigenous peoples, sacred places, traditional foods, crafting techniques and teaching methods, jewellery, changes in Wixárika fashions, changes in the local rivers and lakes, as well as earlier students in their school. The *mara'akame* singing in religious ceremonies should also be recorded, they said, because some of the singing tradition was already disappearing.

The English and Spanish teacher, Antonio Felipe López (AFL), thought it is important that the museum follows and documents changes in sacred places. Bodies of water are also sacred to the Wixárika:

> AFL: Sacred places are not like they used to be. They are in the same places but they have changed. For example, there used to be much more water. I have visited sacred places and seen [these things]. The museums should observe the sacred places and changes in them for years.

The science teacher, Eduardo Madera de la Cruz (EMC), was excited about the family register kept by Siida. The Wixárika do not have any registers about earlier generations:

> EMC: Most of all I find it important that the museum would collect information on each member of every family. You said earlier that people can ask [in Siida] about their ancestors and their occupations, what they did and how they lived. We don't have such a possibility of getting information about our ancestors. I think this possibility is good because we can die at any time and there is no information left for our family.

The history teacher and headmaster of the upper secondary school, Manuel de la Cruz Muñoz (MCM), noted how it is possible to touch some of the items in Siida:

> MCM: I was especially interested in it – I have been to some museums here in Mexico but you're only allowed to look, not touch. They are for keeping old items,

but the museum you talk about, is more of a way of learning. You can look but you can also do.

Some teachers were practical about the museum project and wondered where they could get construction materials. The modern Siida building seemed like a luxury out of their reach. The headmaster, Carlos Salvador, was happy that we did not offer them money for the museum. He thought that the community should build the museum like they had built the Great-grandfather Deer Tail school.

The father of the museum project, *mara'akame* Agustín Salvador, said in his speech that it was time for the Wixárika to co-operate with other indigenous peoples and get globalised.

AS: Other indigenous peoples can teach us. They have the culture of corn as we do, and they have their own communities and meetings. We can globalise with them. I don't have a western heart, I have a Wixárika heart. It is time for us to act like the Saami do in their own country. Yet we cannot think that our ancestors could not write. Yes they could, they could speak. We can start to co-operate with other indigenous peoples, for example the Saami, we can get globalised together with them. Since western learning arrived here we have weakened. We are people of the corn like other indigenous peoples. I send this message to them. They can learn to know us, what our heart is like. We are no longer weak, we get stronger. Today education strengthens us. The young must work and learn to write in Wixárika.

Salvador has received a traditional *mara'akame* training and knows the sacred sites and medicinal plants on the Sierra Madre mountains. As an adult he has learned to read, studied at university and written textbooks about Wixárika culture. He addressed his speech especially to the Saami and he used the filming occasion to give his view on Wixárika epistemological traditions.

The knowledge of indigenous peoples is foremostly oral literature. Salvador's ancestors could not write but the knowledge preserved in the *mara'akame* songs can be compared to written history. This knowledge is tied to annual changes in nature and the stages in growing corn. According to the Mexican indigenous myths man was created from corn. The Wixárika renew their connection with the gods and non-human 'persons', such as Tatuutsi Maxakwaxi, Great-grandfather Deer Tail, by growing and eating corn and passing indigenous knowledge on to their children.

Salvador thinks that all indigenous peoples are 'corn people' because they have their own ways of gathering together and maintaining the spir-

itual dimension. The purpose of the *Tunúwame* project is to create a museum and a cultural centre where the views of people like Salvador, who is an expert in traditional knowledge, meet with the views of Wixárika who represent different generations. The museum should represent both old and new Wixárika culture.

In the fourth generation knowledge is conveyed not only by the content of the conversation but also by the space of conversation, the language-specific ways of conversation: by talking informally and jokingly over each other in Wixárika, as well as formally in Spanish.

The teachers at Great-grandfather Deer Tail school want to found the Wixárika museum in conjunction with the school because the school building already represents their culture in its architecture and teaching methods. It is a centre of communal knowledge and functions interactively with families, elders and the Wixárika autonomous administrative system (Tatuutsi Maxakwaxi 2014, Helle 2015). The teachers have planned the museum as a modern pedagogical space, which nevertheless revives traditions. It gathers knowledge from indigenous peoples' homes, ceremonial centres, sacred places on the mountains and the school itself, while it helps young people to understand the meaning of these spaces in Wixárika culture. At the same time the museum can help young people to understand their own identity as bearers of their traditions and as members of an international community of indigenous peoples that looks into the future (cf. Seurujärvi-Kari 2012). The teachers at Great-grandfather Deer Tail school have observed, as has the Saami anthropologist Vigdis Stordahl, that each generation of an indigenous people forms its identity in a slightly different way than their parents' generation (Stordahl 1998).

The teachers feel, however, that Wixárika culture cannot be kept alive and transferred to future generations only through spaces and traditional customs. The Wixárika, as much as the Saami, need modern learning methods and artistic methods. It is not enough for young people to learn crafts at home and take part in ceremonies led by a *mara'akame* in the *tuki* and the *xiriki*, where art and craft items are used in their cultural context. The meaning of the art is often unclear to the young, and this highlihts the need for them to learn about art and crafts in class, through reading material, the media and, in the future, in a museum administered by the Wixárika. As the *mara'akame* Agustín Salvador teaches the culture in the native tongue he teaches a whole knowledge system, in which non-human nature is represented through personae who function today and not simply in a mythical past (Tatuutsi Maxakwaxi 2014: 40–45).

Irja Seurujärvi-Kari (on the left by the map) speaks in the museology workshop at the Tatuutsi Maxakwaxi school in 2014.

In 2013 Pauliina Helle, a student at Aalto University, Helsinki, visited the Great-grandfather Deer Tail school as an exchange student in ITESO University. Her task was to interview all the teachers and to write the mission statement and strategy for the *Tunúwame* museum project in collaboration with them. The functions and even the spaces of the future museum/cultural centre are defined. Every teacher takes responsibility for the development of a special area in the planning of the museum: indigenous history, material culture, art, social life. Helle's document (2015) articulates and summarises the contents of the earlier conversations and defines them as a concrete working plan.

Fifth Generation

In 2014 we spent three months on the Sierra Madre mountains teaching documentation workshops and planning the museology workshop, which subsequently took place in October. The Saami specialists Irja Seurujärvi-Kari and Paula Rauhala and a Finnish anthropologist Katri Hirvonen-Nurmi visited four indigenous communities on the Sierra. In every commu-

María Nieves is teaching the pupils how to make a ceramic *comal*.

Graciela Ortíz is grinding blue corn for *hamui*, a traditional pudding. Eduardo Madera is documenting the event on video in the museology workshop 2014.

nity the workshop was planned in collaboration with the self-governing indigenous administration, ITESO university, and a local lower or higher secondary school. In San Miguel Huaistita the teachers decided that all the teachers and students of the Great-grandfather Deer Tail school would also participate in the workshop. Local craftsmen and women were invited to give a master class and teach their skills: ceramics, saddling, making musical instruments, cooking traditional dishes. Seurujärvi-Kari and Rauhala shared their experiences of language and culture revitalisation in the context of indigenous institutions. Hirvonen-Nurmi gave practical examples of protecting and restoring museum objects, as well as the repatriation of indigenous objects. The fiction movie *The Kautokeino Rebellion* by Nils Gaup and two Saami documentary films by Päivi Magga from the collections of Siida were also shown. Wixárika and Na'ayeri teachers and activists then shared their plans for the future museum and their concerns.

After the workshop we interviewed the participants. The pupils of the Great-grandfather Deer Tail school said they had gleaned new information about special craft skills from the elders, as well as indigenous knowledge in general and Saami culture in particular. The teachers, facilitated by Helle one year earlier, had developed their ideas further since the earlier generations of conversation and recognised their engagement in the museum planning according to their field of pedagogy and personal interest[12]. The teachers collectively hope the museum will support the pedagogy of the school but everybody has their own view about its future role and function in the community.

The headmaster Carlos Salvador saw the future museum as an educative centre, the history teacher de la Cruz Muñoz saw it as an example of Wixárika architecture, the craft teacher Apolonia de la Cruz Ramirez saw it as a cultural space in which the goddesses would also enter if proper sacrifices were offered to them. She thought that the master classes with the local craftsmen and women demonstrated how the future museum would function at its best. Science teacher Madera de la Cruz (EMC) emphasised the documentation of the most important rituals in collaboration with the local authorities:

> EMC: I have a dream that one day I will be *jicarero* [one of the authorities] and I can film everything that happens there [in their ceremonies].

Agustín Salvador hopes the teachers will research how to explain the meanings of the exhibited objects and documents. Salvador hopes that the museum will help future Wixárika generations to understand and transmit the spiritual meaning of their culture, though the museum itself will not

be a sacred space like *tukí*, which had been given to the Wixárika by the non-human ancestors.

> **AS:** Let us see how we will succeed. The culture house will have many meanings, so many that we shall not be able to understand them all by ourselves. We should explain them all. But it [*Tunúwame*] will be just a copy, not like one of the old sacred houses, it will be just a copy.

It is interesting that while Salvador sees the museum as only a copy of a sacred place Cruz Ramírez sees it more as a true sacred place where the goddesses and divine ancestors could enter. She thinks it is up to the Wixárika themselves to define it as a sacred place and invite the goddesses there with their attention and offerings.

In the community of Bancos of San Hipólito, the Wixárika teachers spoke about "dreaming the museum". They wanted to share their dreams with the Saami specialists and were eager to listen to the Saami ways of dreaming. After Seurujärvi-Kari and Rauhala had explained the work of the Saami Museum Siida, the Wixárika were astonished to hear about the multiple methods used to revitalise Saami language and culture.

> **ROGELIO CAYETANO AQUILAR:** "How could you dream so well?"

Wixárika people often resolve their problems through dreams, and assume that other indigenous peoples also give equal importance to their dreams. Dreaming, intuition and "other" dimensions of knowing that are kept, according to Santos and Leyva Solanos, on the other side of epistemological abyss, are things that the Saami are not usually eager to discuss with non-indigenous researchers and collaborators, but this "other" dimension of knowledge was obviously assumed in the encounters between the Saami, Wixárika and Na'ayeri. Agustín Salvador expresses indigenous ways of knowing by saying that all indigenous people are "peoples of corn".

Recent Artistic Collaborations

We apply the method of *generational filming* differently in the *Tunúwame* project than in our other case studies because it has a clear cultural and political objective: the founding of a community museum. We negotiate future stages of the project with the Wixárika and follow their instructions. The social nature of the piece is an interesting challenge to our own artistic activities.

Translating Other Knowledge: Collaborative and Experimental Video Screening/Performance at the Arts without Borders conference in the Helsinki Music Centre 2016.

Agustín Salvador is leading the opening ceremony of the museology workshop at the Tatuutsi Maxakwaxi school in 2014.

Salvador Zavala is explaining the PowerPoint presentation by his nephew Alberto Diaz about the pilgrimage to Wirikuta in the museology workshop.

In the *Tunúwame* project I film for many purposes, sometimes not even knowing how the video will be used and whether we will continue working on it through the method of *generational filming*.

The latest artistic event of the *Tunúwame* project, was planned in September 2015 with the teachers of the Great Grandfather Deertail School and performed in December 2015 at the Helsinki Collegium of Advanced Studies together with the Wixárika community musician Heriberto de la Cruz[13]. With the *Great Grandfather Deertail School – ethnographic performance* we studied how indigenous knowledge is passed on and converted through different languages and mediums. During the course of the two-hour performance Cruz, or Niereme by his Wixárika name, guided the spectators through three spaces that were both ritual and pedagogical. Niereme translated from Wixarika to Spanish, while students of live art and professional artists translated from Spanish to English, Finnish and Saami. The performance began with a video screening showing parts of lessons of the official school subjects taught at Great Grandfather Deertail School, such as the Morning Prayer, Wixárika Culture, Arts and Crafts, Geography, and Indigenous Rights. After the "school day" the public could pose questions to Niereme.

Then traditional Wixárika music played by Niereme and his Finnish assistant lead the spectators into the atrium of the Collegium where a video of a pilgrimage to the sacred Turamukameta was shown. The video focuses on a walk down a lush green path into the hot valley and Niereme's prayer to the forefathers in Turamukameta. The video and its live translation were watched by the spectators through the windows of the Collegium's staircase. Each translator stood on a separate floor; Niereme and his translator in the atrium, the Finnish translator on the first floor and the Saami translator on the second floor. The words echoed on different floors in different languages. Spectators could choose their place according to their language and viewing preferences.

The third space, the space of the ceremony, was darkened so that spectators had to fumble in the glow of the campfire provided by the video projection. The quiet recitation by the *mara'akame* invited silent participation in the darkness. Niereme translated the *mara'akame's* singing, his own singing at dawn and the blessing of sacrificial food in the *xiriki*, the yard temple. The translators invited spectators to take part in a ceremonial dance and offered them corn pastries.

The ethnographic performance actualized one version of a dream to make a performance in Finland that would follow the structure of an indigenous feast, a dream that was conceived already during our first trip to Mexico in the 1980s.

The divine ancestors of the Wixárika were prominent figures in the filmed ceremonies. In the Morning Prayer, Agustín Salvador opens a channel to the afterlife by moving the *tepari*, a sacred stone disc, off the porthole to the other world. According to Niereme, the target of the pilgrimage, the Turamukameta, is both a sacred place and the "host" of that place, the the divine ancestor connected to scorpions. We followed Niereme's instructions and left our offerings in Turamukameta in order to get a blessing for the video project and Niereme's trip to Finland.

The host and target of the weeding ceremony was Tatata Comisario. Embodied by Niereme's wife's relative, the host Tatata Comisario was responsible for organizing both the ceremony and the weeding. The Tatata Comisario was also an ancestor living in the *xiriki*, and the night-long prayers, sacrifices and songs were aimed at appeasing him. In filming I focused on the people seeking to appease the divine ancestor and on the offerings made by them. I focused rather on the people seeking to appease him and on the offerings made by them. Tatata Comissario was hiding in the *xiriki*, inside a crystal attached to a sacred arrow. According to Mexican-based Austrian anthropologist Johannes Neurath, the crystallized forefather is

a threat to his living kin. The soul of the forefather resides in the crystal. The offerings and prayers make his soul break up, divide between several places and become less dangerous. (Neurath 2011)

Filming Niereme and the process of making the performance with him provides another kind of approach to the museum project and to applying the method of *generational filming* than the interviews, discussions, lessons and seminars filmed with the teachers of Great Grandfather Deertail School. In the materials filmed with Niereme, the focus has been more on the Wirárika ways of knowing rather than on representing the culture. The generations filmed with the teachers focus on plans and dreams about the museum. The work samples filmed at the seminar serve as proposals for how living traditions could be exhibited in a museum context. We had a similar kind of focus at a performance workshop in the autumn of 2012, in which students of the Great Grandfather Deertail school performed or showed things that they wanted to see exhibited in the museum.

The ethnographic performance can be understood as a separate case study realized with the method of *generational filming* within the *Tunúwame* project. While the spectators of the performance watch the first generation of filming, they also follow Niereme's interpretation of the recording and therefore also the creation of the second generation. Future performances will contain videos that are edited to contain interpretations of previous performances and public discussions. Compared to our other case studies of *generational filming*, the performative nature of the act of translation is emphasised. Since the first ethnographic performance we have filmed new generations of both case studies, the *Tunúwame* project and the ethnographic performance.

Conclusions

The Wixárika are restructuring their communities and developing modern institutions, in addition to their traditional ones, such as how they organise agricultural and traditional authorities at the *tuki,* as well as within the community administration. They are also adopting digital technologies for knowledge production and for revitalising, documenting and archiving their culture (cf. Kantonen and Kantonen 2013).

Generational filming has been used as a method for documenting art and craft teaching and conversations in museum planning. Video and moving image in general are good means of documenting artistic processes in their cultural geographical and spatial context. We already mentioned

the possibility of documentary film in general to give visual information of the landscape and of the material and cultural conditions of art-making. Documentary film also gives a very practical means of showing how art processes are carried out.

Generational filming in particular offers the opportunity to follow cultural processes in the long-term. The collaborative planning of the Wixárika community museum *Tunúwame* and the museum network has been underway for almost a decade. Museum leaders, community administrators and schoolteachers have come and gone but the conversation goes on. *Generational filming* offers a chance to follow the gradual development of the collective museum discourse and of individual stakeholders.

In the process of the globalisation and exchange of indigenous knowledge *generational filming* has worked as a technical device to transmit messages between the Saami and Wixárika and for showing them for a larger community of indigenous studies – students, teachers, researchers and museum specialists. In terms of oral discourse *generational filming* transmits messages at a slow pace. After every encounter pieces of footage are incorporated into the video, which is then re-edited. For those who have been present it serves as a record, instead of a written report or minutes of the meeting. The participants have not only represented their own personal opinions but they have been chosen and sent by the community. It also offers the chance to remember and re-live the knowledge transmitted by the face-to-face encounter that is no longer available. For example, Apolonia de la Cruz Ramirez remembers the conversation with Elle-Maaret Näkkäläjärvi and the joy she felt when she understood that they had similar ideas about craft pedagogy. In this way the video memory is both personal and mediated. For those who have not been present it is a chance to witness an exchange, to revise the information given by the representative of the group and later correct or add to his or her views.

It seems that the Wixárika teachers are collectively and individually developing contemporary Wixárika ontology and epistemology, trying to bridge the 'epistemological abyss' between academic Western Eurocentric knowledge and traditional Wixárika knowledge revealed, for example, by non-human 'persons' to the *mara'akame* in dreams and ceremonies. Their ability to think beyond different knowledge systems is tested every day while they are teaching and answering the students' questions. Some of the teachers are especially creative in inventing new ideas and in learning from the Saami experience. The planning of the museum encourages them to develop their understanding further. They are hoping to share these onto-epistemological questions with other indigenous peoples and

to become 'globalised'. The Saami and Finnish teachers and museum professionals have equally learned from the Wixárika, for example when planning closer collaboration between schools and museums.

In our opinion the pace of the video message coincides with the pace that the Wixárika usually produce knowledge collectively in community meetings. Issues are developed slowly, with long breaks between conversations, so the people have time to think and dream and take offerings to the sacred places before and between making decisions. We hope to study the culture-specific and language-specific ways of speaking further as our skills of Wixárika language gradually improve.

We have shown the video materials of the *Tunúwame* project in academic conferences in both Europe and Mexico. The feedback at the conferences has been appreciative and excited, but we haven't added any shots filmed at the conferences to the project yet. One reason for this is that there remains so much unprocessed material on the Wixárika's own reflection and dialogues with the Saami. Another reason is that we want the Wixárika to decide when the opinions of external experts are valuable for the project. The footage of the *Tunúwame* is far from getting saturated. The case study needs to be extended in breadth and depth. The teachers at Great-grandfather Deer Tail school are especially interested in the documentation of certain topics according to their respective responsibilities and interests. For example, some teachers are planning to film the pilgrimage to the Wirikuta sacred desert[14]. How the Wixárika incorporate their values and aesthetics in the process of filming is an interesting topic of future generational discussions. The participation of non-human agents in the documentation process is another topic that deserves further discussion.

The traditional Wixárika art is alive and well-known. The audiovisual expression of the contemporary Wixárika is only forming. There are some studies on the photography of young Wixárika (Corona Berkin 2002, Kantonen 2005), but they too require updating owing to the possibilities introduced by smartphones and the internet. Video filming is beginning to take hold among the Wixárika[15]. The video collective Sembrando is one example of the process.

Endnotes

1   The Saami write their ethnonyme 'Sámi' in their language. The writing in English varies. We prefer the writing form 'Saami', because it suggests the pronunciation with double a. However, we use the form 'Sámi' in official names of Saami institutions such as Sámi University College.

2   *Tunúwame* project was a development project of the NGO CRASH funded by the Ministry of Exterior Affairs of Finland 2014. As a state-funded development project it has ended but as an artistic case study it will go on until a saturation point is reached.

3   Many of the community members use the concepts 'museum' and 'culture house' alternatedly. The difference between them seems not to be important.

4   Anthropologist Katri Hirvonen-Nurmi participates in the same research group of ArtsEqual consortium and in the development work of the CRASH. She uses ethnographic methods for researching the museum project especially at the community of Uweni Muyewe (Bancos de San Hipólito). Researchers in the ITESO university also carry out research in the context of the community museum network.

5   In this chapter we discuss the *Tunúwame* project only from Wixárika viewpoint, because the Na'ayeri community Presidio de los Reyes did not join the project before 2013, and we are not yet familiar with the Na'ayeri context and history.

6   The teaching of indigenous children is being restructured in many countries. Though indigenous pedagogy has been widely studied and though there are encouraging results of teaching indigenous children in their languages, discriminatory and assimilatory teaching practices still continue in many schools.

7   The selling of Wixárika art is defined and controlled by the tradition. The artists who are studying with an older *mara'akame* usually do not sell their art until they are fully initiated. An anonymous Wixárika artist writes that the gods are not in favour of selling too much art (Corona 2008).

8   See. http://www.tuijakokkonen.fi

9   In the *Tunúwame* project there are other researchers besides us. Anthropologist Katri Hirvonen-Nurmi is planning to use *Tunúwame* data in her dissertation, development researcher Outi Hakkarainen is using research data on the Wixárika issues in her dissertation on post-extractivism, and Pauliina Helle made her MA thesis in Art Pedagogy (Helle 2015). Also Mexican researchers use research data on the *Tunúwame* process.

10 *Amerindian perspectivism*, previously mentioned, has been conceived in a different research tradition from the *perspectivism* of Nietzshe and Foucault.

11 More on our collaboration with the Great-grandfather Deer Tail school (Kantonen, L. 2005:191–222)

12 During these years the ITESO University has facilitated the museum planning.

13 Second time the performance featuring Wixárika teacher Eduardo Madera de la Cruz was presented at the Arts without Borders conference in the Helsinki Music Centre 2016.

14 The pilgrimage to Wirikuta has been filmed many times, for example recently by Nicolás Echevarría (2014), Alejandro Alarcón Zapata (2014) and Hernan Vilchéz (2014). The members of the community of San Miguel Huaistita would like the pilgrimage to be documented and edited in its entirety with all its rituals from the beginning to end, in order to save the knowledge for future generations at the *Tunúwame* museum.

15 The recent results of the *Tunúwame* project are a book in Wixárika and Spanish languages, Ki ti ´utame yu´uximayati – Museos vivos: Experiencias wixárika, na´ayeri y saami, (comp. Lea Kantonen, upcoming). San Miguel Huaixtita, Jalisco: Centro Educativo Intercultural Tatuutsi Maxakwaxí; Bancos de San Hipólito, Durango: Bachillerato Intercultural Takutsi Niukieya, Durango; Presidio de los Reyes, Nayarit: Bachillerato Intercultural Muxatena, and a referee article "Living camera in ritual landscape. Teachers of the Tatuutsi Maxakwaxi school, the Wixárika ancestors, and the teiwari negotiate videography". Kantonen and Kantonen (upcoming). Journal of Ethnology and Folkloristics. Tartto: University of Tartu. A new video project with the CEIWYNA museum network funded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Finland is going to start in September 2017.

The second generation of *The Haircut* on 30 July 2005.

The Haircut

The Haircut, the Hauka Ritual and Mimetic Excess

In a video clip, a young man sits anxiously while her mother cuts his hair. Beside him his little sister jeeringly cuts the air with her fingers. The young man looks at the person filming, his lip trembles and a tear rolls down out of the corner of his eye. The girl continues her teasing, the mother continues cutting his hair. The father comforts him playfully from behind the camera.

The discussions related to the case study called *The Haircut* focus on this moment that wavers between documenting the everyday and performing or playing for the camera. When the young man looks at the person filming, he gives the spectator a clue or a wink, which according to the discussions held with the audience, goes unnoticed by viewers of the video. None of the comments made by the public mention this moment of insinuation.

> PEKKA: You commented *The Haircut* that Pyry in his tears did not make a wink. But he does. He looked at me, and then he started. It was unnoticed by you also. He makes a clear wink: Now starts the performance. [...]
>
> RAY: The wink is a progressive thing, it marks a development of series of acts.
>
> PEKKA: But also I could say that the text is based on winks. Because the event is based on winks.
>
> RAY: Yes, if you change the focus to that moment in *The Haircut* where it changes, where he begins the act, so much gets resolved about your methodology. [...]
>
> It is a ritual with difference from that point on. It is ritual, doubled. It is a metaritual, because he [Pyry] himself is commenting on the ritual.

Sociologist Erwin Goffman borrows the musical terms *key* or *keying* to describe metaphorically moments of change in everyday communication. Not unlike a musical score, social interaction contains several overlapping layers. The key of *The Haircut* changes once the youngster looks at the person filming and starts to work up his crying. Goffman regards everyday life to share certain characteristics with theatrical performance that can be subjected to dramaturgical analysis. Goffman does not make a clear division between performing and not performing. In the theatre of the everyday, the wink is a punctuation mark – it indicates the beginning of a new sentence in a new key. A successful wink is almost unnoticeable; it reaches its intended audience and passes unnoticed by others. (Goffman 1974:40–82.)

Philosopher Gilbert Ryle illustrates the difference between what he calls thick and thin description with a story about a wink. While thin description describes only the event itself, thick description seeks to interpret its wider context minute details, intentions and motivations. Ryle writes about two boys, one of whose eye twitches involuntarily and the other who makes the same gesture deliberately. Without clarifying the context, the two movements of the eye are similar. Ryle adds a third boy to the story and recounts how he mischievously mimics the second boy's wink. Each wink looks similar and is similar in terms of thin description. However, thick description finds their contextual differences. In addition, Ryle's story recounts the third boy's rehearsal of the wink in front of a mirror. Ryle works an analogy between thick description and a multi-layered sandwich. Each layer builds on the previous. The one winking has to know what the wink means and what it means to parody it. (Ryle 1971.)

Anthropologist Clifford Geertz refers to Ryle's story and borrows his terms thick and thin description when he describes his formulations on the interpretive theory of culture. According to Geertz, ethnography studies a stratified hierarchy of meaningful structures, that is to say, the execution, detection and interpretation of the tic and the wink, of the genuine and the simulated (Geertz 1973:7). I shall apply the notions of the wink that Goffman, Ryle and Geertz describe to the structure of this chapter so as to expose the nuances of *The Haircut*.

The Literary Wink

This text continues the wink in literary form. If a wink begins a citation – a performance in another register – sooner or later the citation has to end in another wink. This text leaves it to the reader to decide where the winks are and which register they are transitions to. The sincere intention of the writer is to uncover the content of *The Haircut* and to adjoin this writing to the video case study and to the sequence of generations, rather than to analyse it from a position that seeks to explain it in its entirety. Typographically, the text appears on three levels: the first level consists of the research text, the second of the extracts from the discussions related to the public screenings of the recorded materials and the third contains the abovementioned supervision discussions. The supervision discussions, sometimes intervened by Lea, comment on the two other textual levels and create a new, pedagogical dimension. Simultaneously, they depict the dialogical process of writing this doctoral thesis. The research text strives to answer the questions raised by the discussions. The wink is in the structure of the text.

> **RAY:** Whether it's a camera or a pen, there is a methodology that you have developed, reflexivity which is generational, which goes... it almost doesn't matter what the medium is. What your thing is, is this generativity. It's a conceptual methodology that can be applied to any medium, and that's what you believe, isn't it?

The text attempts to reflect both the academic and the ideological views of the writer. Its narratorial deviations are attempts to explain a way of thinking, not manifestations of a purposeful erudite absent-mindedness or efforts to deceive the reader. The writer's understanding of knowledge is based on the belief that nothing is constant or decisive, that everything is continuously constructed. Foucault bases his notion of the perspectivity of knowledge without a single right viewpoint and a genealogy without a beginning and an end (before the end of the world) on Nietzsche, and this view corresponds best to the writer's intellectual queries. To survive the insecurity of Foucauldian constructed knowledge, the writer resorts (both in his writing and in his life) to Bakhtinian serious laughter. This is an attitude he acquired both from his relatives in Central Finland and from the ritualistic clowns of the religious festivities celebrated in the indigenous villages of Mexico.

Resistant Reflexivity

After viewing the two first generations of *The Haircut* at the doctoral seminar of the Finnish Academy of Fine Arts, Grant Kester, art researcher and one of the supervisors of this doctoral thesis, compared our video journal to reality television and asked:

> So how is that culture of constant performance and acting out, and the very conscious awareness of every step; would you say it is different in a kind of family situation that you created vs. the normative mass consumer culture context where the performativity is a kind of given now? Is there any tension in between that or is it simply a continuation of the way culture constantly turns life into a performative interaction? Is there a moment of resistance or self-reflection where that comes up? (Doctoral seminar at the Finnish Academy of Fine Arts, April 19, 2006)

Kester's suspicions and association of our video diary to reality television are justified since the era of reality television has introduced reflexive imagery into the mainstream and turned it into one the conventions of popular entertainment. Similar doubts have been raised in relation to the other case studies.[2] In this chapter, I shall approach the questions Kester raised about the possibility of resistant reflexivity from an anthropological point of view. The central concepts that are applied in the analysis of *The Haircut* derive from anthropologist Michael Taussig's *Mimesis and Alterity* (1993).

RAY: Maybe you should say something about jump cuts in your introduction: 'My writing is informed by filmic techniques narrative structure, jump cut and montage' – that is basically what you are doing.
LEA: What you are describing as montage is Finnish normative writing. We are educated to write in montage.
RAY: You have to decide how montage-oriented you're gonna be. How rough you are going to be with your reader. That's the question, because if you loose your reader, it's over. It's like leaving a trail of breadcrumbs just enough that they keep going.
PEKKA: And not too much, that they will not be full, and stop reading.

Taussig approaches mimesis[3] from the perspective of the colonial encounter. He dubs the first meeting of the colonizers and the colonized as *first contact*. For resistant reflexivity, *second contact* is particularly significant. This is when an individual sees herself in images or performances made by others. Mimesis becomes reflexive when the imitated and the imita-

Wixárika children are watching Flaherty´s *Nanook of the North* (1922) at the Tatuutsi Maxakwaxi school in San Miguel Huaistita, Mexico 2014.

tor exchange places. Taussig refers to this self-reflexive and regenerating mimicry as *mimetic excess*. (Taussig 1993:254–5)

In his book, Taussig introduces the art of the Panamanian Kuna people, the West African Hauka ritual and French ethnographer and filmmaker Jean Rouch's film based on the Hauka, *The Mad Masters* (*Les maîtres fous*), as examples of resistant mimetic excess towards colonial powers. I shall continue the analysis of Rouch's film and the Hauka ritual based on the notions constructed by Taussig so as to illustrate the self-reflexivity and resistant nature of *The Haircut*. Rouch's film and our home videos are graphic representations of ritualistic behaviour. Both have stemmed out of the needs of the filmed communities. In this chapter I shall discuss how and under what conditions they create resistant representations of the rituals they are based on.

Comparing Rouch's film and our home video might sound conflicting and downright obscene, since the Hauka ritual is about spirit possession and the home video is principally playing in front of a camera. Rouch's film was also shot over half a century ago in an African colony while our home video was shot in still existing conditions, in a detached house of a nuclear family living in a Nordic welfare state. Due to this discrepancy, I

think it justified to examine rather thoroughly the historical significance of both the cult of the Hauka and *The Mad Masters*, also those aspects that are not directly related to the key issues in *The Haircut*. Once their differences are revealed, points of convergence become likewise evident. At the end of this chapter, I shall attempt to close this gap of discordance by approaching Rouch's film and our home video from a ritualistic perspective.

Rouch's film *The Mad Masters* has probably been written about more than any other ethnographic film, with the possible exception of Robert J. Flaherty's Inuit tale *Nanook of the North* (1922). To form a better understanding of the cult of the Hauka, the studies of anthropologist Paul Stoller are essential. Stoller has familiarised himself with the time period depicted in Rouch's film, the film itself as well as the later phases and social dimensions of the cult. Cameroonian social philosopher Achille Mbembe's writings offer insight into West African thinking and the post-colonial mental state. I analyse Stoller and Mbembe's interpretations of *The Mad Masters* by comparing them with the interpretations made by anthropologists James Ferguson and Jean-Pierre Olivier de Sardan and film researchers Catherine Russell, Paul Henley and Laura U. Marks. Rouch's film's mimetic excess is best revealed by comparing its diverse and conflicting interpretations.

Inspired by Rouch

Jean Rouch's influence on the emergence of generational filming has been pivotal. When we started to show our minimally edited home videos to different kinds of audiences in 2005, we were inspired by Rouch's way of showing the film's rough-cut to those who had been filmed and taking into account their suggestions, sometimes even incorporating their comments into the final version. As I have already mentioned, Rouch called his method *shared anthropology*. In the recent decades, Rouch's method has become a convention in visual anthropology and documentary filmmaking. *Ethno-fiction*, another method of Rouch's, which he developed soon after completing *The Mad Masters*, had a significant effect on filming *The Haircut*. Rouch did not make a clear distinction between documentary and fiction films. He constructed the events needed in order to realise a particular cinematic narrative with the individuals he was filming. Rouch called such filmmaking *ethno-fiction*. *Jaguar* (1967) and *Me, a Black* (1958) are its most well-known examples. At the time of their completion, they

were paragons for the new wave of French filmmakers, especially for Jean-Luc Godard. Today, their influence is evident in docudramas and reality television.

Rouch himself acknowledges his debt to the father of ethnographic documentary films, Robert J. Flaherty, whose *Nanook of the North* could be called, in Rouch's terms, the first *ethno-fiction*, since Flaherty planned and scripted the filmed scenes together with Allakariallak, the Inuit playing the lead role. (Helke 2006:29–35) Another role-model mentioned by Rouch is Dziga Vertov, the avant-garde documentary filmmaker of early Soviet cinema, whose notion *Kino-Pravda* or "film truth" inspired Rouch and sociologist Edgar Morín to dub their joint project *Chronicle of a Summer* (*Chronique d'un été*, 1961) *cinema verité*.

Rather than reveal the truth through cinematic means, *Kino-Pravda* and *cinema verité* create a cinematic truth. Vertov's *Kino-Glaz* or *Cine-Eye* reveals something that a human eye cannot see. Rouch's *cine-trance* is a mental state of the person filming, a connection with both those in the state of trance and with the invisible powers moving them. Filming my own video diary has become increasingly informed by Rouch's and Vertov's ideals. *Generational filming* seeks its own video truth.

The Wonder of Mimesis and Sympathetic Magic

In *Mimesis and Alterity,* Michael Taussig discusses the nature and historicity of the mimetic faculty. According to Taussig, the wonder of mimesis occurs when the copy draws on the character and power of the original and these properties transfer into the copy. The copy becomes truthful and starts to affect reality. The magical powers of the copy do not, however, depend on an exact resemblance with the original. (Taussig 1993:xiii–xiv.)

One of the founders of modern anthropology, Scottish James George Frazer, termed such magic based on similarity sympathetic magic in his most famous work *The Golden Bough*[4]. According to Frazer, sympathetic or imitative magic is based on two principles: the Law of Similarity and the Law of Contact or Contagion. Consistent with the Law of Similarity, the magician can produce an effect merely through imitating it. According to the Law of Contact, "things that have once been in contact with each other continue to act on each other at a distance after the physical contact has been severed". (Frazer 1922:14.)

RAY: This is a major jump cut – I don't know where I am when I'm reading here. This is interesting: Law of Similarity and Law of Contact – metaphor and metonymy. It relates to linguistic practice, similarity is metaphoric. One thing is standing for another. Metonomy is basically proximity. Frazer was modelling a linguistic trope.

Taussig analyses Frazer's examples of sympathetic magic. He arrives at the conclusion that the Law of Contact actually contains the Law of Similarity. The power of the copy is not based on likeness, but on the fact that it has been in contact with the original. In several of Frazer's examples, manufacturing a magical object requires contact with the target of its use. Hair, nail clippings, personal belongings or simply objects that the target has touched have been incorporated into the magical object. Rather than being an exact copy, the magical copy is a poorly executed ideogram. It is an item typically used to harm the person targeted. (Taussig 1993:57.)

Taussig does not believe that it is only a matter of acquiring the magical material related to the target, but that the magical powers get transmitted through thinking and immersion caused by contact. In this context power is mimesis, it is the space between the original and the copy.

The Haircut's Mimesis

The first generation of the *The Haircut* consists of two takes from the video diary. They were shot on the same occasion, when our eldest son Pyry-Pekka was five years old and had a haircut in our kitchen, on 11 July 1992. The second generation comprises of takes that were shot on 30 July 2005, in which Lea cuts the hair of both Pyry-Pekka and our daughter Tyyni. Some of these takes have been cropped to correspond with the framing of the takes shot in 1992. In the later takes Pyry-Pekka is 18 years old and Tyyni six years old.

In the filming of the second generation, our purpose was to repeat an everyday event – a haircut – so, that as much of the situation remained similar: the cropping, room decor, clothes and objects, the dramaturgy and even certain lines got repeated almost similarly. This play for the camera draws upon a painful childhood experience. It realises Frazer's Law of Similarity and his Law of Contact or Contagion. The cutting of hair hints metonymically at magical powers. The place and the event are the same. However, the date has changed to 13 years later. The little boy has become a young man, the paint on the walls has faded and a teasing little girl, who resembles the little boy of the previous takes right down to the redness of her hair, has appeared beside him. The youngster's hair grows

The first and the second generations
of *The Haircut* in our kitchen, on 11
July 1992, and on 30 July 2005.

out of the same scalp as did the little boy's, but the flowing silkiness of childhood hair has become a tangle. All the same, hair falls on the floor off both heads and disappears into the jaws of the hoover. The youngster remembers his experience from childhood, immerses himself in it and reproduces to a degree the state of anguish he felt when he was a little boy. He creates a space between then and now, a Taussigian mimetic space of the in-between. Our desire was to show these two haircuts, cross-cut, to different kinds of audiences – friends and strangers, Finns and foreigners – and to observe how different audiences juxtapose and interpret the events. Would there be confusion about whether it is the same child in both takes or two different children? Which differences and recurrences would be significant to the spectator?

The third generation was filmed in Poland, Southeast Asia and Finland. In all of these places the audience consisted mostly of artists, art students and specialists. My doctoral seminar, which Grant Kester attended, provided a valuable turning point for the interpretation of the haircut. To our bewilderment, after watching the last sequence of the second generation, he believed the 18-year-old Pyry-Pekka's crocodile tears were genuine. He also thought Pyry-Pekka was a girl, which was not an unusual mistake during his childhood.

GRANT: In other words take the scene where Lea is cutting your little girl's hair and you are kind of hovering about with the camera, zooming in and out. In another circumstance you might be comforting her when she's upset about her hair being prickling or helping Lea. Your interaction is different when your hands are full. Unless you want to put the camera down and interact in the scene.

LEA: I want to comment. I feel that in a family situation it's very similar (to when) Janne referred to the bazaar. It is a very performative situation. This could be called a family game or a family play – some kind of play that gets family members in the same place and sometimes playing with each other. It is lighter than this. It is also important of course to comfort the baby, but she is performing also all the time, she is conscious that the camera is on her. She is pretending... he is pretending to cry, and the girl is imitating her big brother who is pretending cry so there are so many levels going on.

GRANT: Yes, I see.

LEA: It is very performative all the time.

GRANT: So you turn the whole family into a kind of a conceptual art piece about performativity. (Doctoral seminar at the Finnish Academy of Fine Arts, April, 19 2006)

In a discussion about the fourth generation of filming at my doctoral seminar, nearly half of the viewers thought Pyry-Pekka's tears were genu-

ine. Esa Kirkkopelto, professor of artistic research at the Theatre Academy Helsinki, interpreted the video from a phenomenological viewpoint:

> Dilemma concerning reality, fake, and truthfulness – this returns us again back to the phenomenological disposition, where this problem is solved that way that the appearance has always the primacy. Everything wants to appear. The manifestation is first, and the lie and the fake are only modes of the phenomenalization. That's how it is explained for instance when you read it in the introduction of *Being and Time* of Heidegger. This may also be a demonstration of power... that in the end there is a singularity that wants to get documented, wants to appear. But there is also this nostalgia – because something is always lost – that in a certain sense these tears of Pyry have gained in this phenomenological frame, they can regain the truthfulness that it is the picture itself that somehow weeps its disparition. (Joint doctoral seminar of the Finnish Academy of Fine Arts and the Theatre Academy of Helsinki, December 17, 2008)

According to Kirkkopelto's interpretation, the tears have turned the video itself into a Saussurean signifier: the picture weeps its own disappearance. While the video's tears are genuine, Pyry-Pekka's are perhaps not. One year later, Lea and I were on a walk in the woods, reflecting on Kirkkopelto's comments. Our discussion sums up the fifth generation of this case study.

> **PEKKA:** The cry and the memory of crying. [...] And later Tyyni laughs at Pyry when he is crying. Cry and laughter are both present and that is how reality leaks into the picture.
>
> **LEA:** That's right.
>
> **PEKKA:** You cannot really call them representations. Video documentation of crying and laughing is representation. This is what is perplexing about Pyry's crying.
>
> **LEA:** I did not hear you.
>
> **PEKKA:** The video is a representation of crying. In the actual event Pyry's crying was a representation of his crying in the event in his childhood. It is not a so-called "authentic" cry.
>
> **LEA:** It is already...
>
> **PEKKA:** ...it is not a fake but a representation.
>
> **LEA:** It is a signifier, not the signified.
>
> **PEKKA:** When it becomes a representation of a representation – the image in the video – and then it gets Esa's comment that the video is crying added to it, the crying is rehabilited so that the one who is crying is the image in the video, not Pyry. The representation of Pyry's crying becomes the video's presentation. (The forest of Hermanonkimaa, November 15, 2009)

The Haircut installation in Mänttä Art Festival, Finland 2009.

The version of *The Haircut* that became an installation piece for an exhibition at the Kunsthalle of Helsinki in the spring of 2011 was constructed so that each of the video generations were edited to be alike in duration, 19 minutes long. The two takes of the first generation were together only five minutes long. They were repeated several times in varying lengths so as to provide the largest number of relevant reference points to the other videos. I edited the second generation's videos according to the same principle, unchronologically. The most important scene in terms of discussion – Pyry-Pekka's tears – was shown several times during those 19 minutes. When the tears are mentioned in the videos of the third, fourth and fifth generation, the scene was visible in the monitor displaying the second generation. Correspondingly, the discussions were placed in such order that the discussion commented on and the comment itself are visible simultaneously.[5]

Five monitors were assembled on a plinth with five steps in the installation, so that the monitor displaying the first generation's video was on the highest step and the one displaying the fifth generation was on the lowest. A visitor to the exhibition viewed a synchronized version that comprised all generations. The visitor could then use a control to choose which monitor's track was playing in the headphones. The videos were subtitled in English, so that the spectators were able to follow all of the discussions.

In the summer of 2012, the sixth generation, which has not been edited for the abovementioned piece, was created accidentally. When visiting in Mexico, we showed a 14-minute excerpt of *The Haircut* to our family friend, anthropologist Amparo Sevilla, and to her daughter Lorena Moctezuma. Amparo questioned the authenticity of five-year-old Pyry-Pekka's tears. She felt that the tears and cries of agony were theatrical and designed to manipulate the parents to abstain from cutting his hair.

AMPARO: I saw clearly in your expression [Lea] that when he [Pyry-Pekka] stood up as a child, you did not look worried because you knew that you were not hurting him. Your expression was completely calm. When he stands up, you laugh because you know that he cannot be experiencing very deep agony. Your expressions and reactions are important to me at that moment – they are key to understanding what really happens since his figure conveys to the camera: I am the victim!

PEKKA: Yes, he is acting there too. I don't know whether he is acting more in the one where he is younger or in the one where he is older.

AMPARO: Precisely, he is acting in both.

PEKKA: I never thought of it before, since I always thought that since he is a child, he is innocent.

(Amparo Sevilla's home in México city, September 23, 2012)

The initial setting of the case study had overturned: 18-year-old Pyry-Pekka's crocodile tears had become genuine expression and the five-year-old boy's agony had been exposed as manipulative theatre.

The "Tickle" of Imitation

Although *The Haircut* is, in terms of its content, mode of narration and genre, very much unlike *The Mad Masters*, Rouch's film about the Hauka ritual, the two have interesting resemblances when it comes to representation, mimesis and mechanical recording. Most importantly, Michael Taussig's notion of mimetic excess opens up new insight into both recordings of reality.

Taussig's *Mimesis and Alterity* begins with a quote from Franz Kafka's short story *A Report to an Academy* (1917). An ape that is too human ends up writing a report to too ape-like humans: "But it tickles at the heels of everyone who walks here on earth, the small chimpanzee as well as the great Achilles". Taussig believes that the tickle implies the mimetic faculty, the ability to 'ape': "the nature that culture uses to create second nature, the faculty to copy, imitate, make models, explore difference, yield into and become Other". (Taussig 1993:xiii.)

The "tickle" of imitation does not manifest itself only in gestures, expressions and intonations but also in thinking, writing and other 'higher' faculties, which Walter Benjamin mentions in the text *On the Mimetic Faculty*. Kafka's ape – mockingly referred to as 'Red Peter' in the story – writes about his previous life as an ape in the human language: "Nowadays, of course, I can portray those ape-like feelings only with human words and, as a result, I misrepresent them. But even if I can no longer attain the old truth of the ape, at least it lies in the direction I have described—of that there is no doubt." Even Kafka's ape is guilty of mimetic excess as he reflects upon his own life and mimics an ape's thoughts in human language.

Mimetic Excess

In mimetic excess imitation becomes a continuous self-conscious process in which the imitator becomes the imitated. A copy of a copy is produced and from that a copy of a copy of a copy and so on for evermore. However, these are not new copies or simulations: the copy has an effect on the original. *Generational filming* takes advantage of mimetic excess methodically.

New copies, as well as new versions and interpretations of the event of the haircut, change the connotations of the previous versions.

Mimesis and Alterity was written in the beginning of the 1990s, before the breakthrough of the Internet. At that time, Taussig observed signs of resistance that employed mimetic excess in struggles related to ethnicity, gender and sexuality (Taussig 1993:255). Today, twenty years later, the situation is completely different. Nowadays, expressions of resistance are not filtered by the mass media and are voiced increasingly through private communities and networks. Internet forums offer members of online communities more and more opportunities to produce counter-images and counter-messages. While expressions and images of resistance have grown more versatile and personal, their political significance has become suspect. Resistance is bound to its context. Just as it can attempt to dismantle prevailing rivalries, it can likewise corroborate them.[6]

Taussig explains how mimetic excess changes power relations with examples related to colonialism and post-colonialism. The correlation of cause and effect does not stay consistent. The Panamanian Kuna people use small wooden figurines suggestive of the white colonial masters in their healing rituals. The figurines were formerly considered proof of the Kunas reverence towards the god-like white man and of the white man's place among their traditional pantheon of gods.

Taussig, however, comes to a different conclusion. The figurines are images of the 'European type', namely, images of Taussig's own cultural identity. He imagines an image of himself taking part in a healing ritual in which he is sung to in a language unknown to him. The Other and the Self, the original and its copy, cannot be distinguished from one another in the usual way, and the object of anthropological enquiry starts to eviscerate. Taussig himself becomes the object of his own study. (Ibid.8) Power changes hands; he, of the 'European type', has become material for the art of the Kuna. The magic and resistance of mimesis lies in the fact that the maker of the copy gains power over the original. (Ibid.13.)

For Taussig, the Kunas are a prime example of how a colonised people can simultaneously 'remain the same' and absorb foreign influences. The 'European' wooden figurines are one example of this. Another example are the appliquéd shirtfronts of Kuna women on their traditional *mola* shirts which can nowadays contain imagery related to baseball or modern technology. Western culture is, correspondingly, material for the Kunas' thoughts on afterlife. In the hereafter, the Kunas are rich and white men are poor. It is a world overflowing with Western commodities, including some of the most recent innovations. Heaven's product range is endlessly replenished. (Ibid.132.)

Mimetic excess creates ambivalence between the Kunas and the colonising culture. According to Taussig, mimesis relies on distinguishing between similarity and difference. Mimicry reveals both the differences and the similarities simultaneously. Identity, which Taussig perceives as a relationship rather than an entity in itself, is produced by the self-knowledge generated by mimesis.

Mimesis is a way to understand alterity. Knowing is corporeal. Through imitating the Other one gains an understanding of the Other. Taussig refers to Walter Benjamin's essay *On the Mimetic Faculty* (1933) in which Benjamin claims that the mimetic faculty is in a central role in nearly all of the higher functions of human beings. Understanding requires feeling in one's own body that which is to be understood.

With the help of several historical examples, Taussig shows how imitation was given several meanings in the first colonial encounters. Charles Darwin described in his journal how the people of Tierra del Fuego were excellent mimics of the white man. Every cough, gesture or yawn was immediately followed by a mock gesture by a native. He admired especially how the "savages" were able to repeat coherently phrases of several words in the English language and remember them for some time. (Ibid.74-75) Taussig calls this meeting the *first contact*. In terms of mimetic excess, the situation that Taussig terms the *second contact* is exceptional. In the *second contact*, man sees himself in images or performances made by others. Seeing the figurines of the Kunas is *second contact* for Taussig. *Second contact* causes often amazement not unlike an electric shock.

> To become aware of the West in the eyes and handiwork of its Others, to wonder at the fascination with their fascination, is to abandon border logistics and enter into the 'second contact' era of the borderland where 'us' and 'them' lose their polarity and swim in and out of focus. This dissolution reconstellates the play of nature in mythic pasts of contactual truths. Stable identity formations auto-destruct into silence, gasps of unaccountable pleasure, or cartwheeling confusion gathered in a crescendo of what I call 'mimetic excess' spending itself in a riot of dialectical imagery. (Ibid.246.)

The Hauka

Amidst the Nigerian Songhay, spirit possession was not unusual during the colonial period. The cult of the Hauka, however, caused disapproval among the traditional Songhay possession priests, because the spirits of

the cult of the Hauka were colonial rather than traditional spirits. (Stoller 1992:154.)

The cult of the Hauka was first known as the Babule, spirits of fire (Henley 2006:758), movement. In the summer of 1925, a woman called 'Europeanne' arrived to the Nigerian village of Chikal from the 'shores of the Red Sea'. Her name derived from the fact that a "European" spirit had possessed her. Within a month, she had gained hundreds of followers who were organized militarily and in training for a guerrilla war. Every evening, members of the movement were possessed by spirits. The spirits were "European" soldiers, officers and their wives.

The Hauka ignored the regulations set by their colonial masters, whom they did not fear since they were themselves European spirits and descendants of Bilali, alter ego of Dongo, the god of thunder. Bilali was Muhammad's black devotee, who could burn houses and kill people without any feelings of remorse – just like the French colonists. The Hauka believed they could do the same. (Stoller 1995:122.)

The French colonial administration was shocked by the Hauka and reacted quickly. It saw a deformed version of itself in the Hauka – in Taussig's words, it experienced 'second contact'. In the eyes of the French, Hauka rituals were expressions of mutiny that ridiculed the colonial power.

The followers of Europeanne were imprisoned and beaten until they confessed that the Hauka did not exist. According to Jean Rouch, one of the imprisoned Haukas was possessed by the spirit of the Corsican Major Crocchicia, responsible of the decision to apprehend the Hauka, and started to scream that he was stronger than any of the other spirits and that the imprisoned should break free from their confinement. The prison was made of clay, and the Hauka succeeded in their escape. However, the Hauka were recaptured and imprisoned for an additional two months, and then expelled to their home villages. As a result of these oppressive measures, the captured became martyrs and the cult of the Hauka spread like wildfire. (Rouch 2003:190–191.)

'The Wicked Major' became one of the most influential Hauka spirit. The Hauka began to establish their own anti-French villages, which overlooked the laws and customs assigned to all French colonies. The Haukas also challenged the leadership of village elders who worked in cooperation with the colonial masters. (Stoller 1992:154–155)

After four years of oppressive actions from the French, the cult of the Hauka moved to the neighbouring country, the British colony of the Gold Coast. Although the Hauka caused likewise violent conflicts in their new location, and were imprisoned and persecuted, they were also secretly ap-

preciated. The years between 1935–1943 saw the golden age of the Hauka. Its practice was permitted during weekends and in remote locations. (Ibid.155.) The Gold Coast's, or Ghana's, independence in 1957 marked a transition for the cult, since it was based on the spirits of the colonial era. Jean Rouch mentioned in an interview that the cult of the Hauka died with the independence, since the spirits of the new leaders did not fit in with the rest of the Hauka spirits. (Taussig 1993:240–241) The cult died out in Ghana, but according to Stoller, it was actively practiced in its birth country Niger, even after the country's independence in 1960. In *Embodying Colonial Memories*, Stoller claims that Lt. Colonel Seyni Kountché, leader of the coup d'état of 1974, was a Hauka medium and that his cruel military regime was based on the cult of the Hauka. (Stoller 1995:165)

How is it possible that the Hauka, based on the spirits of the colonialists, could endure after the colonial era ended? Stoller gives an informal explanation. The influence of the Europeans did not end in the independence; European companies and experts in different areas continued to work in the countries. Visual anthropologist Paul Henley questions the whole idea of Hauka cult being an act of resistance against colonial powers. According to him, Hauka was and is first of all one of the possession cults of the Songhay people, and the connections to the colonial powers are of a secondary importance. If so, the independence would not have changed the essence of the cult. (Henley 2006:748–755)

After the independence several leaders of the newly independent countries had gained their power under the protection of former colonial masters. Niger provided one of the most blatant examples. The government of De Gaulle conspired behind the scenes so that the party that had fought for independence lost its power after a transition period of two years to the presidency of the pragmatic and corruption-prone Hamani Diori. His autocracy was sustained by the French and continued until the military coup of 1974. (Ibid.143–144)

A more comprehensive explanation can be found in the thoughts of Cameroonian social philosopher Achille Mbembe. In his article "The Aesthetics of Vulgarity", Mbembe analyses the postcolonial mental state. He believes that post-colonialism is a fitting term since rather than being defined by its status as independent, the nature of a state is defined by its status as a former colony. In his analysis a postcolony is chaotically pluralistic, and binary categories – such as state versus civil society, resistance versus passivity and hegemony versus counter-hegemony – cloud our understanding rather than provide helpful definitions. These binaries don´t dissolve, but rather get confused in the postcolony.

According to Mbembe, post-colonial power is constructed on the mimicry of the colonial administration or *commandement*, on the mimesis of power structures. In the post-colony, the *commandement* becomes a fetish. Its signs, words and legends are no longer symbolical but become rather indisputable instructions and truths. The *commandement* creates a new 'common sense'. (Mbembe 2001:103.)

Mbembe describes the relationship between master and servant as convivial. He labels the nature of their coexistence with the term mutual *zombification*. Mbembe uses this term to describe how masters and servants are forced to share the same living space, but simultaneously rob each other of vitality, so that both sides are left impotent. Thus, there is no capacity for leadership and the needs of both sides erupt in Bakhtinian grotesqueness and lechery. The subjects have no other choice than to parody their masters through lechery and grotesqueness and show how power is based on arbitrariness. Mbembe believes that the slogans of those in power turn lewd in the minds of the people. Their actions are likewise grotesque and debauched. Those wielding the power, on the other hand, delight in getting themselves dirty. (Ibid.106, 108.)

In an earlier article, "Provisional Notes on the Postcolony", Mbembe defines the African postcolony as a simulacral regime. In such a society, official but essentially hollow ceremonies are extremely important. On such occasions, the subjects act like subjects and the leaders like leaders although everybody knows that it is all pretending. Deviating from this hypocrisy is a deadly serious matter. In his article, Mbembe refers to a Kenyan newspaper article, which relates the story of an elderly rural couple, who did not know that at the lowering of the state flag all should stand to attention. The local police beat the old man and humiliated his wife as a result of their "crime". Mbembe believes that in the postcolony it is not important what you think, but what you pretend to think. (Mbembe 1992:7-9.)[7] According to Mbembe, instead of having one identity, subjects in the postcolony have to manage several. Moreover, "the postcolony is made up not of one 'public space' but of several, each having its own logic…" Mbembe terms the postcolonial subject a *homo ludens par excellence*, one that has the faculty of play and can change persona or splinter his or her identity according to the situation. Resistance and the logistics of power cannot define these constantly moving, volatile identities. (Mbembe 2001:104.)

The executors of the 1974 military coup appeared as liberators who would weed out the corruption and recklessness of the old regime and restore order and discipline to the country. Colonel Seyni Kountche, leader of the military junta and Hauka medium, appeared strict and resolute.

Stoller deduces that the ruthless style of Kountche's junta corresponded to the ideals of the Hauka. Just like the military hierarchy of a Hauka ceremony, the new administration was based on the colonial model of the *commandement*. It is proof of history's irony that since Kountche's regime was a reprise of the Hauka ritual, in addition to the military discipline there was also always present *zamba*, betrayal. All of the members of the original junta betrayed or deserted the paranoid Kountche, who imprisoned and assassinated those around him like Dongo, the thunder god of the Hauka. The worst betrayal came in the form of Bonkano, a *zima*, Songhay predictor and Hauka priest, as well as Kountche's right hand man, who was in charge of the secret police and organized a failed coup attempt, after which Bonkano disappeared with millions in his pockets. (Stoller 1995:167–190.)

The Storyline of The Mad Masters

The Mad Masters (1955), Jean Rouch's film about the Hauka, was filmed nearby Accra, the capital of the Gold Coast, in April 1954[8]. According to Rouch, the name of the film is a pun. In the *hausa* language, Hauka means mad. The main characters of the film may manage the madness of possession, but the real fools are the archetypes for the Hauka spirits, the Europeans. (Rouch 2003:189.)

The film recounts the events of three days. The first day depicts the hectic daily life of the colonial Gold Coast's capital, Accra. Rouch's voice-over identifies a couple of people as they go about their civilian occupations. On the morning of the second day, they leave the city for the countryside in rented cars and take part in a Hauka ceremony organized at the compound of the cult's high priest, Mountyeba. At nightfall, they return to the city. The third day depicts the people, who were possessed by spirits the previous day, going about their everyday activities.

The Mad Masters unfolds chronologically while Rouch's almost ceaseless commentary guides the viewer's attention. The only exception to the chronology are the two montage sequences, in the first of which Rouch associates the Hauka ceremony with a British military parade and, in the second, Rouch crosscuts from the faces of the possessed to their normal, smiling faces. With the first juxtaposition, Rouch wants to show that the Hauka ceremony is an African interpretation of Western society. With the second, Rouch seeks to assert that the members of the cult of the Hauka are normal people owning a particular therapeutic faculty that is unfamiliar to the West.

Lea is interpreting *The Mad Masters* to the Wixárika children at the Tatuutsi Maxakwaxi school in San Miguel Huaistita, Mexico 2014.

RAY: Rouch is "guiding" or is he directing or interpreting?

PEKKA: At least he is guiding the viewer what to look at.

RAY: How he really guides us, is his montage, what are in between these moments. He is looking for the foam, the head shake, running around – and all that boring time in between he is not interested in. It has to do with 20 seconds tapes, partly it is technology, partly his own interest.

PEKKA: We wrote an article about Seto singing (see chapter 6), the importance is between the songs, because the song mothers always start to sing suddenly. They can discuss like this and suddenly... Those moments in between are important in order to understand the singing. In Rouch film those moments are missing.

The middle section, which is less than half an hour long and contains the ceremony itself, is, understandably, the most disputed part of the film. The beginning and the end, during which the context of the cult of the Hauka is established and the cult is portrayed as part of modern urban Africa, attempt to soften its blow. The members of the cult are also presented as normal, working citizens.

The ceremony begins with the presenting of a new initiate to the Hauka priest. The man has slept in a cemetery with corpses for a month and has clearly been possessed by a Hauka spirit. The mediums that have already been appointed are penitent and beg for forgiveness from the priest. One of them has slept with the girlfriend of his best friend and become impotent. Another has made fun of the Hauka. The priest calls forth the animals to be sacrificed, a chicken and a goat. Their blood is spattered on the altar and on a mound called the Governor's Palace.

The one-stringed violin and the calabash start playing. In the first part of the dance, the participants move around the yard counterclockwise. In the second part, the participants are possessed by spirits, one after the other.[9] In a close-up, Rouch shows how the left and then the right foot of a man sitting on the ground start shaking feverishly. The possession spreads as several heads start to jerk violently and the mediums begin to foam at the mouth. Breathing is heavy and their eyes are clouded over.

Sentries armed with wooden rifles check that those who have been punished will not participate in the dancing before they have been possessed. Some participants are wearing pith helmets; others are sporting whips made of fan belts of cars. Each one has one distinctive piece of clothing or prop, for instance a red scarf or sash – so that the spirit can easily recognize its own "horse", the spirit medium whose body it will possess. Twelve Haukas appear in *The Mad Masters*, the majority of which are "European" soldiers, officers and their women. A "truck driver" and a "train driver" are also among them.[10]

The third part is the most dramatic. This is when "roundtable discussions" are held, with mediums literally foaming at the mouth as they debate about how the dog that is going to be sacrificed should be prepared. 'The Wicked Major' demands that 'The General' scorches himself with a torch so as to prove a real Hauka. The flame burns his clothes, but the "horse" – the body the Hauka spirit has "mounted" – remains intact. 'The Captain' scolds the others: "Why isn't anyone listening, always the same thing!" The priest cuts the throat of the sacrificial dog and the Hauka rush to drink the animal's blood. The priest decides that the dog shall be cooked so that bottled dog meat broth can be given afterwards to those Haukas who were unable to come to the ceremony. When the meat is cooked, the Hauka snatch pieces of meat out of the boiling pot without burning their fingers. The dog's head is the most desired delicacy. At dusk, the Haukas begin to withdraw from the bodies of their mediums. The men that have already returned to their normal state hurry the others to avoid paying the night fare for their transportation.

Reception of The Mad Masters

Before filming *The Mad Masters* Rouch had already earlier filmed the Hauka ceremony and added fragments of this material to his movies *In the Land of the Black Magi (Au pay des mages noirs)* (1946) and *Battle on the Great River* (Bataille sur le grande fleuve) (1952). After seeing *Battle*, Hauka mediums asked Rouch to film the ceremony in its entirety at the farmhouse of their high priest, Mountyeba[11]. The motivation for making the film was that, in case a proper ceremony could not be organised, the Hauka could attain trance by watching the film. Thus, the film would work, in Taussig's terms, as 'second contact' (Taussig 1993:240–243): the Hauka would see themselves through the eyes of the Other, Jean Rouch. They hoped the effect would be electrifying.

> **RAY:** This is huge, way beyond the *second contact*, it becomes truly generational, also generative. You must theorize this more, that the film can stand for the event. That the Haukas themselves thought – that moves to another area of filmic power.
> **PEKKA:** Can it be said that it starts from the 2nd contact?
> **RAY:** Yes, I think it does, but it keeps on going after that. It doesn´t stop in the 2nd contact. What is it, it does, is a question.
> **PEKKA:** Even though it is milder, Taussig said that for him the film was like a electric shock.
> **RAY:** This is a place where maybe you could begin to critique Taussig. If Taussig ends in the *second contact* there you have the place where they are going beyond. They are using 2nd contact as another tool.

To my knowledge, this has never happened. Rouch never showed the film to the Haukas.

> **PEKKA:** Rouch got scared: if they would look at the film and go into trance, who would take the responsibility of that event? Also it was a practical reason that it was forbidden to show the film in these countries. That would have been an illegal event.
> **RAY:** He never showed! There was never a *second contact*?
> **PEKKA:** No, it's not documented, and Rouch himself denied the possibility.
> **RAY:** Actually the *second contact* is not seeing the film, but the *second contact* is seeing the camera. It's knowing that you are being filmed.
> **PEKKA:** But if you are in the trance, and you don't notice the camera?

Do the Hauka give the spectators of Rouch's film a signal – a wink – that they are making the film to further their own ritualistic means? Langenbach claims that a Hauka looking straight at the camera knows he is being

filmed, but to what extent does he know he is part of a performance? The performers' awareness of the camera's presence in *The Mad Masters* is debatable but possible.[12]

The 'second contact' took place for Taussig himself when he saw Rouch's film for the first time. Its climax was Rouch's Vertovian (or, according to others, Eisensteinian, for ex. Russell 1999:344) montage of two images: an image of cracking an egg on the head of a statue depicting a governor and an image of a British colonial governor attending a military parade wearing a hat with a yellow-white feather decoration. The magic of mimesis washes over Taussig and he exhales together with a public composed of New York academics. Taussig feels as if the film has penetrated into his "optical subconscious" through its use of the montage. According to Rouch, due to the scene with the egg, the film was thought to mock the Queen and was consequently banned in Britain and in the Gold Coast. (Taussig 1993:242.)[13]

The Vertovian or Eisensteinian montage that Taussig and other researchers refer to is, in my opinion, their own construction dreamt up while writing since the film does not apply methods similar to the soviet-avantgardist montage. The image of the statue is followed by a general view of the parade and the governor's hat is just about visible in the lower right corner of the frame in the next shot. I believe that the parallels denoting a montage exist in Rouch's voice-over, not in the image. In any case, the connotation is effective. In editing *The Mad Masters*, Rouch's aesthetics are rather conventional. They support the smooth and dramatic presentation of the action.

In the premiere for invited audience in the Paris Museum of Ethnography (Musée de l'Homme) of *The Mad Masters* the voltage of "second contact" was so drastic that Rouch´s dissertation supervisor, one of the leading African researchers of the era, Marcel Griaule, demanded Rouch to destroy the negatives of the film. The film was still in the form of a workprint without voice-over. So Rouch had to improvise the commentary alive for the audience which consisted mostly of anthropologists and African intellectuals. Paris studying black African intellectuals felt themselves through Rouch´s eyes as the animal-like creatures, which flowed from the mouth drooling, eyes were bulging, and the body was flexible to biased positions. They condemned the film as racist, and feared that the film would be made on the basis of generalizations about Africans. (Henley 2006:733.)

Renowned Senegalese film directors gave the two most famous African verdicts on the film. Blaise Senghor told in an interview that after exiting a Parisian theatre showing *The Mad Masters,* he felt as if people would think: "He's another one who is going to eat a dog." Ousmane Sembéne answered Rouch's question about why he dislikes purely ethnographic films depict-

ing traditional customs with: "What I reproach them for, as I reproach Africanists, is that you observe us like insects". (Stoller 1992:151-52.)[14]

> **RAY:** This Sembene response is very traditional. You may criticize both sides.
> **PEKKA:** But that is a historical comment, what is the position for me to criticize?
> **RAY:** That's why this is a dissertation. You have to enter, you cannot just sit on the sidelines. The whole point is that you are entering into the field with a position.
> **LEA:** But Pekka doesn't make comments on his own films either, he refuses, he takes other people's comments.
> **RAY:** This is a place where you cannot be silent.

The only person from the premiere audience, who spoke publicly for Rouch´s film, was Belgian anthropologist and film-maker Luc de Heusch (Henley 2006:733). For the final cut Rouch created together with his film editor Suzanne Baron a subtler soundscape based on the field recordings and dominated by Rouch's enthusiastic commentary. Rouch guides the viewer's attention meticulously. He explains every peculiar detail and event. This unrelenting guidance prevents the viewer from wondering what happens outside the frame. After the worst uproar about *The Mad Masters* had abated, Rouch regretted the epilogue, which emphasises the therapeutic dimension of the Hauka ceremony. The epilogue[15] remarks on the healing qualities of the Hauka ceremony, which are impossible for Western people to understand. Such praise trivialises the mysteries of spirit possession and makes them sound like expressive therapy. Rouch withdraws from his role as observing ethnographer and his patronising attitude is revealed. Unlike what he had planned, Rouch was cautious about showing the film in Africa and especially to those who appeared in the film. Rouch thought it downright dangerous. (Taussig 1993:243.)

The Mad Masters's Mimetic Excess

Structurally, Rouch's film resembles a traditional documentary film utilizing narration and a chronological plot structure. However, interpretations of its content and its underlying message are conflicting. The film does not give a definite interpretation of the Hauka ritual and, despite Rouch's overriding commentary, leaves room for contradictory interpretations.

Taussig argues that in the Hauka ceremony "what's being mimicked is mimicry itself – within its colonial shell", and that Rouch's film is mimicking this mimicry. (Taussig 1993:241–243.) The added mimetic layer is pro-

duced by the presence of the mechanical device of mimicry, the camera. Paul Stoller describes the Hauka ceremony as a "horrific comedy" (qtd. in Taussig 1993:241). It is fascinating to imagine how excessive the mimesis would have become if Rouch would have returned to the Hauka mediums, kept his promise, shown the film to them and filmed their reactions.

Scorching oneself with a torch or with boiling water without burning oneself while thrashing in the fits of a trance is, for the practitioners of the cult, proof that they are, at that moment, no longer human but Hauka spirits. This belief has been communicated in the writings of the researchers witnessing the events. Is such an event mimetic excess that expresses and creates resistance in the Hauka medium? Taussig believes that it is so in the ceremonies and in Rouch's film. There is first-hand evidence that mimetic excess befalls the Western public, but information about the experiences of the participants themselves is highly mediated.

Taussig suggests that Rouch filming the Hauka produces what Walter Benjamin calls the "dialectical image" (Ibid.243). For Benjamin, the dialectical image is like a momentary flash in which the past and the present collide and create a new, entirely independent constellation. It is a flash of revolution and historical truth.[16] Rouch displays an image of the 'European' and an image of the 'savage' simultaneously. Both images parody themselves. Laura U. Marks compares Benjamin's dialectical image with Henri Bergson's recollection-image. Both point at something that cannot be represented but can interfere with official history. Benjamin's dialectical image calls into question the visual imagery that pertains to the prevailing politics, the imagery related to recollections, shared memories and remembering. (Marks 2000:51)

Pyry-Pekka's re-enactment of the childhood haircut is a parody of a painful experience, but it is also a parody of a young man's rebellion against his parents. It shows both the parents' authority and the child's rebellion in ridiculous light. The past and the present, the experiences of childhood and adolescence give each other meaning in a sudden flash, in the act of crying. Do the scenes capture Benjamin's 'dialectical image' in the context of family history? Or are we witnessing Marks's interpretation of the Bergsonian recollection-image?

Literary Interpretations of The Mad Masters

In the analyses I have read[17] on Rouch's film the most common argument – if not even a canonised interpretation (Henley 2009:108) – is that the Hauka ceremony parodies European colonial masters. This is based on the

assumption that the participants are aware of their rebellious and disdainful antics. Taussig shares this belief. However, in his article "Of Mimicry and Membership", anthropologist James Ferguson criticises Taussig's idealised understanding of the intentional resistance expressed in the Hauka ceremony. Ferguson finds the Africans' comments on the racism in Rouch's film much more significant. He believes that emphasising parody and magic weakens the African peoples' demands to their rights as members of the global society. (Ferguson 2006:167.) Ferguson and Taussig seem to speak different languages. Taussig writes about imagery and mimesis, while Ferguson focuses on harsh societal facts.

In Taussig's writings, images move beyond porous boundaries and create mimetic excess globally. Taussig has adopted the notion of "porosity" from French post-structural feminist philosophers, particularly from Luce Irigaray who uses it in relation to women's physical desire. Porosity is a defining characteristic of desire, which defies the separation of the Self and the Other. In political jargon, especially after the rise of the Internet – that is to say after the publication of Taussig's work – porosity has come to describe the uncontainable global stream of images and information, of which WikiLeaks is the most famous example.

Ferguson rejects this "porosity", as well as the assumption that the Africans are making a parody, with the analysis of a letter written by two young African men, found in one of their pockets after they had died in the cargo hold of an aircraft. "Help us become like you" was its fundamental message to the leaders of Europe. For these martyrs of the global economy, borders were not porous. (Ibid.155-156.) Ferguson's political correctness seems like an intentional attack towards an anthropology that is overly postmodern and inadequately left-wing.

Anthropologist Jean-Pierre Olivier de Sardan rejects the assumption of a parody for the opposite reasons. He believes the Hauka should be examined as a religious rather than a political phenomenon. In the "hundreds" of interviews conducted among the Songhay, he received no responses that would support the interpretation promoting resistance. Olivier de Sardan deems it impossible that a human could use Hauka spirits to further their political ends, when the spirits are the one who are choosing the humans – when and where they settle is up to the spirits and not vice versa. (cit. in Henley 2009:114–115.) Olivier de Sardan represents an essentialist point of view, according to which both spirit and possessed body are autonomous, not identities constructed by the same colonial culture. If the cult of the Hauka is understood as part of the rebellion against colonialism, the Hauka spirit does not need to be consciously created by the medium to be

an expression of resistance. The practitioner of the cult can be possessed and still retain in his or her normal awareness the knowledge that the cult of the Hauka is intrinsically rebellious.

Film researcher Laura U. Marks believes that the Hauka embody the Songhay's historical experience of colonialism. She understands the cult as an exorcism of the evil spirits of colonialism, without any elevating aspects. In her opinion, Rouch's film documents this fetishized spirituality. (Marks 2000:100–101.)

In addition to Rouch, perhaps the most extensive research on the Hauka cult through fieldwork has been conducted by Paul Stoller. In his earliest studies, he represents the side celebrating resistance, but in later studies he emphasises the Hauka ceremony's local problem-solving abilities, its exercise of power and the corporeality of the experience. Stoller accepts Mbembe's view that binary opposites – such as leadership versus resistance – cannot fully illustrate the African postcolony. (Stoller 1995:50) A harsh binary interpretation cannot define the cult of the Hauka either. In his writings, Stoller has documented ceremonies of the Hauka that are resistant, instrumental and even entertaining (cit. in Henley 2009:128). The Hauka produces a variety of manifestations depending on the context.

Anthropologist and filmmaker Paul Henley presents in his recent monograph and so far most comprehensive analysis of Rouch's works, *The Adventure of the Real*, a politically conciliatory interpretation by citing Rouch's own writings and responses to interviews. Henley understands the cult of the Hauka as a continuation of the strong Songhay tradition of spirit possession. Although the Hauka is the youngest of its possession cults, it belongs to the tradition and has its own function. In terms of harvest, traditional possession cults are more crucial. However, the Hauka is efficient against witchcraft. Henley interprets the shocking and supernatural elements of the ceremony, such as eating dog or burning oneself with a torch, as expressions of the Haukas' power and otherness. They are not rebellious acts but feats of strength. (Ibid.128–129.)

In his earlier article "Spirit possession, power, and the absent presence of Islam: re-viewing *Les maîtres fous*" (2006) Henley doubts the canonical view of Western anthropologists interpreting the Hauka cult as an expression of counter-hegemonic parody of European colonial powers. Henley picks up the egg-breaking scene that caused an "electric shock" to Taussig, when compared by montage and Rouch´s voice-over to the plumed helmet of the British governor: "Why an egg? To imitate the plume worn by British governors on their helmet." Rouch let the viewer imagine that the Haukas are among the public of the parade looking for their model. The

comparison of the Hauka ritual and the parade is made in *The Mad Masters* by filmic means. By analyzing the cultural context of the egg-breaking Henley is suggesting another view to the scene. In a previous scene of the film an egg is broken for fertility, to cure the impotence of one of the participants. Egg is commonly used in Songhay tradition for fertility. Even though Hauka spirits have European names, for Henley it doesn´t mean that they are a parody of the Europeans. Being European is just one layer of the spirits´ identities. They have other features like being "from the Red Sea" ie. from the Islamic world. (Henley 2006:738–740.)

Of the film researchers relevant to this doctoral thesis, Katherine Russell is perhaps most critical towards Rouch. Her moral critique has a feminist ring to it. In her article "Ecstatic Ethnography: Filming Possession Rituals", Russell resents the film's explicitly male point of view. (Russell 1999:225.) Rouch's film contains almost only men, even if in the ceremonies of the Songhay, both men and women are possessed. The only female medium in the film is a prostitute, whose return back to "normal" life is never shown by Rouch.

Russell spots a movie poster of *The Mark of Zorro* in the Hauka priest's hut and interprets this as an image of Rouch's double, of his potential Hauka spirit. Just like Zorro, Rouch is a masculine hero, who rushes into new adventures, camera in hand. He is encouraged by the ethos of surrealism that creates the avant-garde artist. In 'ciné-trance' his camera attempts to show that which the human eye cannot see: the gods. Like a true avant-gardist Rouch wants to show that which cannot be seen. He is a seer through whom one can glimpse into another reality. In *The Mad Masters*, Rouch's *shared anthropology* suggests identification with African men and their violent rituals (Ibid.228).[18]

Russell condemns Rouch's avant-gardist utopia and deems it impossible. The Hauka could use Rouch's film as a part of their ritualistic activities, but the film can never enter into the world of spirits. The film has to make do with remaining mere description. For Russell, *The Mad Masters* is at its worst an example of the theatre of cruelty that is watched in the guidance of an interpreter, Rouch's narrative voice. (Ibid.224, 226.)[19]

Russell describes Rouch's patronising attitude aptly, but overlooks the immersive technology of filming that gets the viewer to empathise and enter into its world. It does not always remain descriptive but draws the viewer into believing in it.

RAY: It (the film) could be useful creating the state, the cognitive state, and they (Hauka) had a place in their framework, they wanted to make a tool of it. Then he (Rouch)

denied their possibility of re-appropriation. That is classic colonialism that he shows the technology but withholds it, because they would misuse it.

PEKKA: Is it so that in their mindset they make an equation between the representation and the real? In the sense that if we have the film we can get to the trance.

RAY: The other reason he may have is that this (film) would destroy the ritual. It could have the opposite effect.

PEKKA: To tame it.

RAY: Because from that point on, that the film itself becomes the wink, they can't get into it, because they have seen themselves, in the same way that when you see your behaviour you tend to change your behaviour.

Rouch himself never wrote an analysis of *The Mad Masters*. In his writings, the film only gets a mention. Rouch's opinions on the film can be found in his numerous interviews. The most comprehensive of these was published in the *American Anthropologist* in 1978 under the title "Jean Rouch Talks about His Films to John Marshall and John W. Adams". (Rouch 2003:188–209.) Also in this interview Rouch remains a storyteller, without any inclination to give an in-depth analysis of the film. He remains faithful to the traditions of the avant-garde and appears to let the film speak for itself.

In the interviews, Rouch's views on the cult of the Hauka are clearer than his views on his film. He believed that the Hauka was an African interpretation of European culture. It viewed the Europeans as a culture that cared about nothing, feared no taboo and believed it can do anything. That is why the Hauka as "European spirits" could do supernatural deeds and break taboos. Rouch believed the cult of the Hauka was an expression of resistance against the colonial rule. When the African countries gained their independence, the cult of the Hauka adapted to the other Songhay possession cults and submitted to the power of Dongo, god of thunder. (Ibid.198–195.)

When Rouch filmed *The Mad Masters*, synchronised recording was not yet possible while filming in the field. Rouch could film takes of up to 25 seconds before he had to reload the camera. (Ibid.191.) This technical factor made Rouch make a raw edit already while filming. While he reloaded the camera, he decided on the angle of shooting. The long take that Pasolini dreamt of (See ch. 2) was technically not possible for Rouch. He had to invent the storyline of the film, the illusion of the continuous activity, while he was filming. Pasolini´s statement that montage is the killing of the take, is ambiguous and unfair to Rouch, when the "long take" of his camera was 25 seconds long.

The final narrative and soundscape of *The Mad Masters* was created at the editing table with editor Suzanne Baron. Russell calls the final version "an exotic spectacle of otherness" that has its power invested in "the shock effect of its images" (Russell 1999:222). *The Mad Masters* provided a good opportunity to make strong political, ethical and aesthetic statements on colonialism, filming other cultures and, of course, on the Hauka ceremony itself. Even if the film has a smooth narrative structure, it is by no means clear-cut or one-dimensional. It does not underestimate the severity of the Hauka ceremony.

Interpretations of *The Mad Masters* are largely time and culture-bound. This is illustrated by the fact that many interpretations have changed over the decades. The first African viewers deemed the film racist. The comments of the Senegalese filmmakers, Sembéne and Senghor, are understandable in light of the rise of the self-esteem of black Africa and the drive for independence in the 1950s. It was then that *La Négritude* movement thrived in the French colonies and among the black intellectuals living in Paris.[20] The white man had to be shown his place, also in the movie theatre. Perhaps Rouch's incessantly warbling sonorous French was more annoying than the actual visual content of the film. Rouch appropriated a black African possession ritual as the subject of his warble. Today, *The Mad Masters* is deemed one of the best films on African colonialism and it belongs to the syllabus of cultural studies programmes in African universities (Stoller 1992:159).

None of the anthropologists or film researchers I know would suggest that Rouch should have edited his film in a radically different way. To my knowledge, none of them have either written a study comparing the dramaturgy and editing of *The Mad Masters* to Rouch's later films, the well-known *ethno-fictions Jaguar* (1957) and *Me, a Black* (1960). Rouch filmed *The Mad Masters* and *Jaguar* simultaneously (Rouch 2003:204), but why did he not utilise his ideas on *ethno-fiction* in the Hauka film?

The duration and amount of the raw takes on the Hauka ritual largely dictates the rhythm and structure of the visual narration. Already while filming, Rouch thought about the end result. He might have had in mind also the Hauka mediums' wish to be able to attain trance by watching the movie. Perhaps he thought of his Parisian surrealist friends when he filmed a close-up of a Hauka foaming at the mouth. He had also planned very practically how transitions from the end of one take to the beginning of the other occur naturally. If Rouch had been cautious in advance of the African intellectuals or of the supervisor of his doctorate, Marcel Griaule, he would not have succeeded in fulfilling the Hauka medium's commis-

sion. The masculine gaze of the camera that feminist film researcher Katherine Russell points out, is obvious. Rouch is no peeping Tom, he almost completely forgets women. He seems to have followed his own preferences and interests while filming. These did not include the African women's housework, without which it is unlikely that the Hauka ceremony would have been realised at all. Rouch's enchantment with male fervour makes him forget filming the material context of the Hauka ceremony.

Rouch's narrative voice could have been considerably different. In the best case, there would have been none. It is fascinating to imagine what would have happened were the *ethno-fictions Jaguar* and *Me, a Black* made prior to and not right after *The Mad Masters* (1955). As a consequence, *The Mad Masters* could have a storyline and narrative voice constructed in collaboration with the Hauka. The first *ethno-fictions* had likewise no synchronous sound, and Rouch had to invite the lead characters of his films to Paris for the recording of the audio track. They improvised the dialogues in a studio and then added sounds recorded on location. *The Mad Masters* could have had an audio track based on the Hauka mediums' own interpretations. Imagine this: Hauka mediums are watching themselves get into a trance on the silver screen of a darkened theatre and go into a trance as a result. The sound engineers are trying to stay on track as Rouch himself goes into ciné-trance behind his camera. The *second contact* is a light tingle compared to the high-voltage jolt the abovementioned event would incur.

When *The Mad Masters* had its premiere, the dialogue technique of the *ethno-fictions* was well on its way. However, they still took place in the form of a monologue. Rouch improvised the voice-over for the film. He watched the film while it was shown to an audience and explained to them what he saw – just like the lead characters of the early *ethno-fictions* in their studio sessions. One can only imagine how Rouch sought to replace an engineered audio track with eloquent speech and vocalisation. Rouch was in a hurry when he got ready for the premiere of *The Mad Masters* – which was typical of him since he always had too many irons in the fire – and did not have time to edit the audio track. Let us imagine another fascinating scenario: Was the audio track of the future *ethno-fictions* inspired by the catastrophic nature of the premiere? To my knowledge, he was never asked about this during his lifetime.

I saw *The Mad Masters* for the first time in the late 70s at a seminar on visual anthropology at the University of Helsinki. It was shown on a ticking 16-millimetre film projector, and the resulting experience was nothing like an electric shock. A deeper memory trace was left by the yanomamö films shot by Timothy Asch and Napoleon Chagnon in the jungles of the

Amazonas region. The next time I saw *The Mad Masters* was 30 years later, at home, on my own DVD player and without subtitles. The third time was a blurry youtube-version. Already due to the type of media, electric shock and *second contact* were lost on me.

The ritual of The Haircut and the Hauka ritual

We applied Rouch's concept of live narration to the first public viewing of *The Haircut* in Gdansk, Poland in August 2005. The video was shown without its subtitles and Lea instructed the local interpreter to simultaneously interpret the video's Finnish into Polish. In January 2006, the multi-lingual audience in Burma heard our household discussion as a live translation both in Burmese and in English. In the screenings of the generational videos, we have usually used subtitles. However, in one of the most recent screening in the spring of 2013 in Mexico, we began to show our home videos once again without subtitles and with live commentary.[21]

I am writing the case study of *The Haircut* from a similar position as Rouch, had he written an analysis on *The Mad Masters*. However, my position is also that of the participants of the Hauka ceremony and that of the researchers who witnessed the ceremony or saw the film. This is an ambiguous position. My point of view is simultaneously that of the creator and the subject, of the one discussing and the one editing the discussion. My position is less clear than that of the researcher or film director who is solely responsible for the final manuscript or film. In the chapter *Scolding* I discuss what kind of power and authority *generational filming* methodically produces.

The comments of the viewers of our videos are comparable to the research texts and interview responses that have been written or uttered on the basis of watching Rouch's film. I interpret these comments as belonging to the mimesis that mimics in written form the material of *The Haircut*. Each generation of the video takes part in the mimetic excess in which a copy, a copy of a copy, a copy of a copy of a copy is created – all the way to the sixth generation. Simultaneously, the viewers' comments are part of the case study that they reflect upon. This text, consequently, is not separate from mimetic excess either. This text is reflecting what happens in the *Haircut* scene, and what has been said about the scene, and what I have written in the previous version of this text commented by my supervisor. This text could be rewritten with the comments of the readers of this text.

The first haircut can be interpreted as the first event, in the same sense as the Hauka ceremony that Rouch filmed. The events differ in content

and context, the Hauka being a colonial situation, and the haircut a family scene. The status of the haircut video recording is the same as the status of Rouch's filming: they create a mechanical trace of an event that occurred in front of the camera. If one accepts the canonised assumption of the Hauka ceremony as a parody of European culture, then the ceremony contains likewise a mimetic layer that is analogous to the second-generation event of The Haircut, since the second haircut can be understood as a parody or simulation of the first. The second haircut and the Hauka ceremony are rituals. Thus, the filming of the haircut, not the haircut itself, is a ritual-ised event in our family.

In this context I speak of ritual in the sense of a recurring event, of which the community – that is, my own family or those practising the cult of the Hauka – has a shared perception that overrides its direct usefulness. In anthropology, the ritual has represented stability and traditionalism. The ritual has drawn its influence from sacredness and transcendence. It has secured the survival of the community in times of conflict. In modern anthropology, this belief has been called into question. Anthropologists Jean and John Comaroff claim that the ritual is more about creativity, re-evaluating signs and crossing borders than it is about stability. In the ritual the community claims something new rather than reinforces previous be-liefs. (Comaroff and Comaroff 1993:xvi–xx.)

The Comaroffs define ritual in a different way – more broadly – than earlier anthropology. Rituals should not be associated only with the sa-cred and the transcendent, but as an everyday practice, technology or dis-course. "Rather than being reduced to a species of ceremonial action, that insulates enchanted, self-reproducing systems from the 'real' world, then, ritual may be seen for what it often is: a vital element in the processes that make and remake social facts and collective identities. Everywhere." (Ibid.xvi.) The ritual draws its creative power from its constant interaction or tension with the everyday and the mundane. Rituals produce and relay meanings and value into everyday practices. They do not fix and define meanings, but create new associations and idea systems. The ritual can re-act in multiple ways to the challenges of a contradictory world. (Ibid.xxi.)[22]

Media researcher Nick Couldry (Couldry 2004:57–74) has analysed the kinds of media rituals reality television produces and contains. His starting point is the traditional Durkheimian understanding of the ritual. (see, for example, Durkheim 1912) According to Émile Durkheim, father of modern sociology, the community celebrates itself in the ritual. In a ritual, nothing is repeated out of habit. The activity has a premeditated form and content that expresses some of the community's central values.

They are expressed indirectly, not directly. More important than the form and the content is its constructive role in the community. According to Couldry, in today's world, media attempts to seize the place of the ritual as the phenomenon that brings people together. Media does not announce any shared, articulated message, but attempts to convince us indirectly that it represents everyone. Reality television particularly uses ritualistic methods as it pulls its viewers into its spirit of togetherness. One of the most prominent examples of such is the eviction ceremony in *Big Brother*.

The haircut filmed in our kitchen can be understood as a ritual from the perspective of both traditional anthropology and newer research represented by the Comaroffs. The hair is not cut out of habit but out of a desire to make art and to create a self-reflexive performance of the everyday. The success of the performance requires both the collaboration of family members and the masking of that collaboration. The dynamic event creates new associations both in its makers and in the viewers of the videos. Such play has an affect on our family and alters our relationships to domestic space as well as to the space of the media.

Theatricality and Corporeality of the Ritual

The members of the cult of the Hauka embody "European" spirits while Tyyni represents her older brother and Pyry-Pekka himself when he was little. The significant difference between these representations is, of course, that the Hauka mediums are possessed by spirits, while our children together with us parents are possessed by the thrill of play. The Hauka mediums have all kinds of clothing and props so that the spirits recognise them as 'horses' for them to inhabit. Lea, our children and myself are wearing clothing and handling props from which the ritualistic repetition of an earlier event can be recognised.

> RAY: So therefore, is the "I" a construct, is it a spirit? That's where your logic takes you.
> PEKKA: We do construct our identities in the video scene. It is separate [from] what we are in so called normal life.
> RAY: You don't talk about constructivism in your videos. Maybe you have to take side and talk about how identities are constructed in the video.

I interpret the comment of my supervisor, Ray Langenbach, as partly ironic and partly analytical. The logical reasoning goes along these lines: a Hauka spirit is a creation of colonialism. It has formed out of the tradition-

The most important prop of *The Haircut*: the yellowish cotton towel. The first and second generations of *The Haircut* in our kitchen, on 11 July 1992, and on 30 July 2005.

al beliefs of the Songhay alongside with their experiences of colonialism. Our characters in the videos are creations of play in front of the camera. They have been created by the decades long filming of the video diary and the related critical thinking of representation. Thus, following Aristotelian deduction, our characters in the videos are spirits.

Filming a long-term video diary inevitably creates a video personality. The so-called natural person's relationship to the camera and filming creates the video personality. These two personalities – the natural and the video version – form a relationship of mutual dependence. The natural person is present in the video version and vice versa. Shooting on film and the mere awareness of the camera's presence – whether it is actually filming at the time or not – affects the natural person. Consistent with the ideals of classical documentary film, the video person tries to be the double of the natural person.[23] Such doubling functions only momentarily. A video person in agreement with the ideals of reflexive documentary film attempts to simultaneously acknowledge the camera and ignore it. This fluctuation creates an in-between space in which the viewer can change his or her attitude toward what is viewed: one can empathise with the filmed event or with the filming of the event.

The most important prop of *The Haircut* is the yellowish cotton towel made of waffle cloth, which is the key impulse for Pyry-Pekka's return to the childhood memory of the haircut. The emotional memory of crying as a child is triggered by two things: the towel accidentally falling off his shoulders and the scissors yanking on his hair. According to one viewer, the towel falling off his shoulders transforms Pyry-Pekka's tears into genuine crying.

> In the beginning, I too thought it was only a joke, but when he grabbed the towel like that, I somehow got a feeling that it's real. He reacted to it somehow physically. (Raita Virkkunen on the course *Artistic Fieldwork and Documentation*, which I held at the Finnish Academy of Fine Arts, March 25, 2008)

In the sixth, yet unedited generation, the towel's significance is reversed: it reveals Pyry-Pekka's theatricality. This theatricality is also emphasised by the size of the prop. The younger Pyry-Pekka had a big towel on his shoulders, while the full-grown Pyry-Pekka has only a little one.

> AMPARO: He has a very special sensitivity, right? I am amazed by the sensitivity of his acting.
> PEKKA: Did you notice what happened with the towel?
> AMPARO: I did: Help, my costume is dropping! He didn't want to be exposed.

PEKKA: What happened with the towel was a key moment for one of the viewers because she believed the authenticity of the tears after it happened.

AMPARO: Because of the towel? For me, it's the complete opposite. The gesture is by no means clear.

PEKKA: For you the towel was more like a costume.

AMPARO: Yes, it was a part of the costume and of his character, his acting. It was a costume, not just a towel.

PEKKA: And when his costume threatens to fall off, he faces reality. He does not have a script in which it is written: The boy drops the towel.

AMPARO: No, no, no! He was forced to change his characterisation, since he was about to be exposed. If a person is really in pain, he couldn't care less whether the towel drops off or not. At least this is how I interpret it. (Anthropologist Amparo Sevilla's home in México City, September 23, 2012)

In a discussion on the fourth generation in the Finnish Academy of Fine Arts, one of my supervisors, Ray Langenbach, commented on six-year-old Tyyni's role in the event:

> "In this case of Tyyni, she becomes a meta-discourse in the family, she is very savvy, she has grown so through all these. When she gets her haircut she watches Pyry having his, she becomes a meta-agent, makes fun of him because of his historical haircut. She takes that information and reapplies it in the present. She is the viral agent of the process."

In Ray's interpretation, Tyyni surprises the rest of the family by adding to everything – Pyry-Pekka's childhood and adolescent tears, her parents' video project and maybe even on the whole family institution – her own amused interpretation. Tyyni's meta-discourse does not only occur when she is mocking her older brother, it is also present when her own hair is cut into the same bowl cut as his, and she whinges and squirms just like him. Tyyni's resistance is reminiscent of Mbembe's depiction of the post-colonial subject parodying the *commandement*. Her fingers that cut the air like scissors make fun of the most extreme expression of power: interfering with the physical immunity of a subject. Mbembe uses the phrase *homo ludens par excellence* to describe an individual from the postcolony. Tyyni, a child, is *homo ludens*, a playful person, both in nature and in her meta-discourse. She is like the joker of Boal´s Theatre of the Oppressed (Boal 1979:167–179). The video does not reveal Tyyni's purposes. The meta-discourse exists only in the video recording, not in the event itself. Seven years later, Tyyni remembers it:

TYYNI: I remember when I was in that original video. I remember thinking for a moment that Pyry is crying because I am talking like this, because I am annoying.

PEKKA: Irritating.

AMPARO: Teasing.

TYYNI: Like he [would be thinking]: I can't take it, I can't take it!

PEKKA: Like it was your fault.

LEA: Did you regret it at all?

TYYNI: Just for a moment, but then he [Pekka] said: Oh Pyry! [I understood that] aha – he's acting.

PEKKA: You knew.

TYYNI: It was obvious.

PEKKA: When I comforted him.

AMPARO: Poor thing!

(Anthropologist Amparo Sevilla's home in México City, September 23, 2012)[24]

RAY: Are these roles personas? Is it what Grant is asking? If the issue is authenticity, don't there need to be roles?

PEKKA: The discussion between Grant and Lea was, that she was saying that there is a scale of the authenticity and the role.[25]

During the haircut shown in the second generation, Pyry-Pekka reflects on the crying himself:

PYRY-PEKKA: You cut it like this, and then you pull it back and then – dhhhk! You pull a tuft of hair off my head like with their roots. Kssssk! You do like this with the scissors, and you cut and cut. That is what I was crying about then. I remember it now.

LEA: Poor thing. Poor thing. I'm sor—

PYRY-PEKKA: .....youuuuuch!

(Second-generation haircut, July 30, 2005)

Both being possessed by a Hauka spirit and revisiting childhood memory through re-performance are corporeal experiences. They can be triggered by pain or by any other physical stimulus. Pyry-Pekka remembers corporeally the childhood experience of scissors shredding his hair. Does the memory of the earlier event increase the pain, and does physical pain produce the memory? Mimetic excess occurs as a corporeal sensation. According to Walter Benjamin, the human mimetic faculty is central to the capacity to reason. By mimicking himself as a child, Pyry-Pekka reinforces his own self-understanding. Corporeal experience produces knowledge. The video aims to convince its viewer of the authenticity of the cry through a seemingly

The first and the second generation of *The Haircut* in our kitchen, on 11 July 1992, and on 30 July 2005.

spontaneous physical reaction. When he grabs the too small towel that is falling of his shoulders, the viewer senses that the danger is genuine. His red eyes shed a tear onto his cheek. All of the viewer's reservations disappear.

A salty tear on Pyry-Pekka's cheek is like foam exuding out of the mouth of a Hauka medium. Of course the contexts – trance and family play, colonial politics and family relations – are far different, but authentic bodily secretions are in both cases compelling, though different in scale and intensity. Where does the secretion – the tear or the foam – come from? Undoubtedly, Pyry-Pekka's body produces the tear and the Hauka medium's body the foam. However, paraphrasing Paul Stoller's view on the cult of the Hauka, I argue that it is the ritual that creates both tear and foam.

As ritualistic events, the Hauka ceremony and filming the haircut on video differ fundamentally. Context, scale, intensity and power relations

are inherently different. We are fooling around with a video camera in our own house in a Nordic welfare state. The Haukas are possessed by spirits in a ceremony performed in remote rural areas in West Africa, hidden from the governing powers. The Hauka ritual is in itself inexhaustible. There always remains a surplus that research cannot grasp in writing. The cult of the Hauka was born under the pressure of colonial power structures, while our play is inspired by the Western art community. The excess, both mimetic and transgressive, is in the ritual itself and is evident in Rouch's film as well. The mimetic excess of *The Haircut* is in the video recording, but not in the event itself. The cult of the Hauka has historical and cultural significance regardless of Rouch's film. It has religious proportions. The significance of *The Haircut* is in its reflection on representation, and its continuity as a play in our family.

Stoller criticises earlier studies on spirit possession for not giving enough attention to the sensual and experiential aspects of the rituals, which for him are fundamental properties of spirit possession. A func-

"You cut it like this, and then you pull it back and then – dhhhk! [...] That is what I was crying about then. I remember it now." The second generation of *The Haircut* on 30 July 2005.

tionalistic analysis accesses the communal significance of the ceremony[26]. Psychoanalytic research understands the psychodynamics of a spirit medium. Biological inquiry examines the physiology of trance. The symbolic approach opens up the intellectual level of significance. Approaching the ceremony from the perspective of performing arts interprets it as a cultural pre-theatre. According to Stoller, none of these approaches exposes the level of possession that cannot be seen, but is felt, smelled and tasted. (Stoller 1995:17–21.)

Stoller paraphrases Rouch's doctoral thesis as he describes spirit possession as a multisensory chain of events. The sounds, smells and movements that belong to the ritual lead the medium into a state in which the spirit can enter the body. The priest of the ceremony directs his assistants to physically discipline those who have not attained a trance and to, in this manner, help them open themselves up to the spirit. When the medium is ready, he sees how the spirit forces itself into the group of possessed dancers holding an inverted skin of a newly sacrificed animal. The dancer sees this vision thrice before attaining the trance. When he sees it for the first time, he bursts into tears. The second time makes his nose drivel. The third time makes him scream at the top of his lungs. During the fourth vision, the spirit protects the medium's double by covering his head with the bloodied skin. Now the medium can take all the blows, burning flames and pain. When the ritual reaches its end, the spirit removes the protecting skin and withdraws from the body. (Ibid.22.)

Rituals have social purpose. The Hauka ceremony can also have very specific aims. In Rouch's film, one of the men participates in the ceremony in order to get cured of impotence. The desire to maintain and reinstate the community of the cult of the Hauka can also be the incentive. A successful ritual has its criteria, which is usually implicit but mutually recognised. Close to the end of Rouch's film, the man possessed by the "train driver" commends the ceremony and suggests that two similar ones should be organised the following year. The viewer may assume that it was the cooking and eating of the dog that made this particular ceremony a unique experience for the participants.

Pyry-Pekka's tear is produced in a family ritual. From the time when he was three years old, he has taken part in these daily filming sessions chronicling the everyday life of our family. The camera has been usually in a corner, positioned so as to film the view in front of it. At times it has been performed to directly, and at others, it has been in the way of other action and even in danger to be broken. The presence of the camera has become an accepted element of domestic space throughout the years. There exists a

consensus about the purpose of filming, which manifests itself in the discussions, but the success or meaning of a particular take is rarely directly addressed. There is no need for a voiced justification of why something is being filmed. Anyone who is present can suggest filming.

The situation in which the second-generation haircut was filmed was exceptional in the sense that it had a clear objective. All of us family members new that the purpose was to film similar takes as Pyry-Pekka's haircut thirteen years earlier, and to display this material in public. Utilising Michael Kirby's terms (Kirby 1987:3–20), the event of filming received at least one additional matrix compared to the usual scenes in our video diary (See performing according to the matrix in the chapter 3: *Spying and Counter-spying*). In general, the recordings in the video diary consist of more or less impromptu events, discussions and speeches. They are not, however, completely unplanned or spontaneous. The switching of the camera on or off are always conscious actions, which affect how people behave and turn their behaviour into a performance. Our characters in the video are constructed by the framing, the movements of the camera and our awareness of it. The viewers assess our performance and our authenticity. Awareness of the camera and forgetting its presence depend, likewise, of our relation to the camera.

There are interesting parallels between the reception of Rouch's film and our home video, as well as in the reactions of their makers or, rather, in the refraining from those reactions. The moral critique that Rouch received can be summarised by the comment made by the Senegalese film director Sembéne, in which he claims Rouch observes the Africans "like insects". The moral criticism of *The Haircut* focuses on the use of children in an artistic laboratory experiment. The "like insects" comparison could be used on us as well. In the joint doctoral seminar of the Finnish Academy of Fine Arts and the Theatre Academy Helsinki I asked how many believed the adolescent Pyry-Pekka's tears to be genuine. Almost half of them said yes. The question provoked moral critique. Jan Svenungsson, visual artist and one of the professors of our department at the time, thought that even asking such a question was humiliating from Pyry-Pekka's point of view.

JAN S: Why is he upset?

PEKKA: Was he upset?

JAN S: He looks like it.

PEKKA: He looks... How many felt that he is upset? About half. That's one reason that I chose the scene to show. How do you interpret that scene?

JAN S: If I would be him I would feel very upset watching myself being shown, and then it also being asked around, "how many think he is upset, and how many think

The first and the second generations of *The Haircut* in our kitchen, on 11 July 1992, and on 30 July 2005.

he is not." I would be very upset. (Joint doctoral seminar of the Finnish Academy of Fine Arts and the Theatre Academy Helsinki, December 17, 2008)

Jan Kaila, director of our department, raised another issue regarding moral critique in the same seminar. Did we let the six-year-old Tyyni purposefully taunt Pyry-Pekka, something she would not have been permitted to do had there been no camera?

JAN KAILA: In the end there is sort of provocation by your daughter. How much that is a product of filming?
PEKKA: She knows...
JAN K: There is a double... you are taking kind of objective role to get from us... Do you feel to let her provocate for the camera?

PEKKA: Yes, I think that happens always, when camera is on. You are on a string that is it fictional or real?

JAN S: But you have to know. You are not only the artist and filmmaker, you are also a parent, You have to know for you.

PEKKA: Yes, to be in contact with people I am with. I can see that you are a bit annoyed. Should I comfort you and tell what REALLY happened there. Or should I say that this is only a video, and all your comments, both you are right, when saying that his crying was real, or it was a play.

(Joint doctoral seminar of the Finnish Academy of Fine Arts and the Theatre Academy Helsinki, December 17, 2008)

When he first gave a public screening of *The Mad Masters*, Rouch presumably knew that the expert audience would not respond neutrally. The harshness of their judgement took him clearly by surprise, since he altered the commentary and made it as reconciliatory as it is. The harsh moral critique of *The Haircut* surprised us. We were used to the fact that especially artists reacted disapprovingly to our video diary project, but the reception of our play in front of the camera in *The Haircut* was unexpected. When Rouch's

Teachers and pupils are watching Jean Rouch´s *The Mad Masters* at the Tatuutsi Maxakwaxi school in San Miguel Huaistita, Mexico 2014.

most influential academic authority Marcel Griaule insisted that the film's negatives be burned, Rouch knew that he was in possession of a cinematic treasure (Stoller 1992:151). A similar avant-gardist feeling of joy spread in me when I realised that showing *The Haircut* turned the audience against us.

Presenting the case study in the Theatre Academy's international performance symposium elicited even a feminist attack. In the scene in which Lea and I walk in the woods and reflect upon Esa Kirkkopelto's thoughts on the crying scene, the angle of the camera puts me in the forefront talking and Lea in the background agreeing with me. Ilka Theurich, student of performance studies, commented:

> As a female artist I'm completely shocked. Not about that you filmed your family but after seeing the last images it shows me the hierarchy in art history. The whole film. You're filming, you're making art, and your woman is dealing with the everyday stuff. When I see you in real life, I did not have the feeling, but the documentary shows the picture of hierarchy in art history, and I was really frustrated in the end. Even the woman is walking behind you, because you are holding the camera. COME ON! STOP IT! (Colloquium on Artistic Research in Performing Arts, CARPA, Theatre Academy Helsinki, November 20, 2009)

Rouch refrained from publicly defending *The Mad Masters* against the moral critique it received. Pertaining to modernist ideals, he chose to believe that the work would speak for itself. The harsher the critique, the more significant the film became historically. We have likewise refrained from defending our own choices, but for slightly different reasons. Our most important line of reasoning is that defending our own work and our choices could have prevented the materialization of the viewers' comments and new generations of video. Chapters 6 and 9 discuss our way of working in relation to other cultures and postcolonial discourse.

The Barber of Shoah

Claude Lanzmann calls the people he interviewed for his film about the Holocaust characters. Lanzmann wished that instead of reminiscing about their experiences, they would relive them in front of the camera. The past and the present would exist in the image. Recounting the facts would not suffice, they had to be imagined and re-experienced as well. Lanzmann borrows a classical term from Diderot when he describes this as "the paradox of acting"[27]. Believable – or in Lanzmann's words true – performing

requires both the right frame of mind and the right physical disposition. (Chevrie and Le Roux 2007:44–45.)

Possibly the most well-known scene of *Shoah* is the barber scene. Lanzmann found Abraham Bomba in New York, a Jewish barber who had cut the hair of those led into the gas chambers in Auschwitz. Lanzmann rented a barber's shop in Tel-Aviv for the retired Bomba, found customers for him and interviewed him while he cut their hair. At first, the barber speaks of his traumatic experience with dry efficacy, as if he was repressing his feelings. Then Lanzmann asks him to cut the hair of his customers like he did at the entry to the gas chambers. Bomba's speech alters and his face contorts with shock. Lanzmann believes that fact becomes flesh once Bomba relives his experiences. (Ibid.41.)[28] Equating our domestic scene with Lanzmann's *Shoah* is an even greater sacrilege than comparing it to *The Mad Masters*.[29] I shall draw this parallel anyway, since both of the works have inspired this research project.

Already due to its scope, *Shoah* is a paragon for me. After nearly ten years of filming, Lanzmann had acquired 350 hours of filmed material. Already at a very early stage, he had decided not to use archive materials. Lanzmann wanted to make a film about the present, in which the Holocaust continues to subsist. He was horrified by the thought of making a film in which the time of the gas chambers was reminisced. "The film is not made out of memories, I knew that right away. Memory horrifies me: recollections are weak. The film is the abolition of all distance between past and present; I relive this history in the present." (Ibid.45.)

When he started his project, Lanzmann did not have a clear objective. He describes his original thoughts as compulsive. One of these thoughts was that he only wanted direct eyewitness statements from people who had been in the actual houses of the extermination. This was an impossible task since no evidence remained on site and no one had survived the gas chambers. Those who had seen what was happening were traumatised and hardly able to talk about their experiences or to describe what they had been through. Lanzmann's solution was to address the topic in the present. For Lanzmann, the people interviewed were characters in a "fiction rooted in reality" and the places were "non-places of the memory" (Ibid.44, 39). The concentration camps and other historical sites were customarily filmed in their existing state, which seldom revealed their terrible past. Lanzmann finds a resolution after perusing through all available material and visiting places that had held concentration camps. Simply reading the material seemed to bring him little understanding of the actual events. Seeing the places did not reveal much either, since nothing was

Watching the barber scene of *Shoah* with friends in our living room 2017.

visible of the past. Only through combining information and experience could he understand.

Lanzmann's revelation to bring a past event, the horrors of the concentration camps, to the present moment, has been crucial to the piecing together of the material of our video diary. When I started to systematically watch the filmed materials in 2005, it contained over 800 hours of video. The viewing experience of the first months was frustrating since, after one hour of watching, all of the shots felt similar. They didn't form a narrative because they were fragmented, accidental, contingent and contained multiple themes. Taking notes was confusing because it seemed impossible to decide what was essential in each shot in terms of the entire research. I understood the shots only when I looked at them from the perspective of the present. Each viewer's comment arises from its own present and comments on the events of the past. The layers of *Generational filming* form no historical narrative or truthful account of things.

Generational filming distances us, the performers in the shots, from the historical continuum and turns us – like it did the people Lanzmann interviewed – into characters. Both are "fictions rooted in reality", but not

in a similar sense, since Lanzmann is guided by an absolute moral maxim, which he wishes to prove: the unique nature of the horrors of the Holocaust. Our home videos are play partaken by us family members, our close friends as well as the camera recording the events.

Lanzmann's notion of the interviewed as dramatic characters draws a parallel to Michael Kirby's non-matrixed and matrixed performing, in other words, acting.[30] Their significant differences can be found in how Lanzmann and Kirby articulate the subject matter of their reflections. Kirby examines the theatrical or performative event, while Lanzmann discusses the theatricality of the filmed interviews. Lanzmann strongly refuses *Shoah* being a documentary film[31]. *Shoah* contains no historical archive images; everything has been filmed for the project. The past manifests itself when the interviewed relive it in front of the camera.

The mimetic excess of *Shoah* differs greatly from that of *The Mad Masters*. My first experience of watching *Shoah* was devastating. Nine hours – actually I did not see all the film at the same day but only in short parts on a VHS cassette – of long stories, painfully exact descriptions of acts, deep social-philosophical and historical analysis, incessantly interesting talking heads, altogether witnessing human evilness. Even fertile green landscapes did not offer me any consolation, because the nature could only conceal the horrors that had happened 40 years earlier at the same places. After watching I felt disconsolate and thankful.

Applying Taussig´s terms the first contact with human evilness happened at the door of the gas chamber, the barber Abraham Bomba as it´s only surviving witness. When he cut the hair of the victim, he both sealed and concealed the death sentence. He cut the hair professionally so the victim would not anticipate her fate. When Lanzmann in an arranged situation asked Bomba to cut the client´s hair in a similar way than he did at the foyer of the gas chamber, the *second contact* overwhelmed Bomba. He felt himself cutting the hair of the people who were going to the gas chamber. The *second contact* was captured on the film. In this take we all watchers participate in the legacy of holocaust´s evil, and the viewer gets exposed to the evilness mediated by the take. The mimetic excess gets revealed as new variations of experience of evil.

Just like Lanzmann's characters, Pyry-Pekka relives his childhood upset as an adolescent when his hair is cut. Please keep in mind that I have no intention of comparing the torment of a survivor of the concentration camps with the constructed distress of a little boy having a haircut. The similarity is visible in the formation of the characterisation, in the "paradox of the actor".

Shoah is considered one of the first postmodern documentary films chiefly because it demonstrates the contingency of knowledge (Williams 1988:65–67). This interpretation is confusing, since Lanzmann's truth about the Holocaust is absolute. The postmodernity of *Shoah* lies in the nature of its knowledge.

Second Contact – Once Only or Recurrently?

Taussig does not give an explicit definition of *second contact*. He uses the term 'reverse contact' to describe the same phenomenon. Second or reverse contact occurs when we recognise ourselves in the expressive acts of the cultural Other, are fascinated by them and grow aware of how the rigid distinctions between "Us" and "Them" melt away. There occurs movement in which "Us" and "Them" intermingle. Focus on the self and the Other alternates between blurs and clarity. This self-renewing movement and the variations in perspective create mimetic excess. (Taussig 1993:246) Taussig does not elucidate the transition from *second contact* to mimetic excess. According to Taussig, it comes into being like a force of nature. The image, the image of the image and the counter-image begin to cross-produce each other. However, *second contact* does not end in the first occurrence of becoming aware of the images made of the self by the Other. The meta-level that the transformation of the self into an image of itself creates belongs to *second contact*. *Second contact* is reflexive and recurring – and this repetition creates mimetic excess. When *second contact* is realised through the camera, the performance becomes part of the *second contact*. The *second contact* renews itself through performance. Performance is not rigid posing, but can create new levels of performance.

Anthropologist Paul Stoller applies Taussig's concepts when he analyses spirit possession among the Nigerien Songhay people.[32] Spirit possession is *second contact* experienced by the ancestors. The Genji Bi spirits are ancestors of the neighbouring Kurumba and Gurmantche people, defeated by the Songhay. The Genji Bi spirit sees its own image in the Songhay taking part in the ceremony and possesses the body. The possessed differ in appearance and behaviour from a normal Songhay. The possessed expose their chest and legs and sing rather than talk. According to Stoller, "in the bodies of the mediums the spirits become replicas of ancestors which embody the past, make contact with the present and determine the future" (Stoller 1995:43).

Danilyn Rutherford's study, *Raiding the Land of the Foreigners, the Limits of the Nation on an Indonesian Frontier* (2003), is an ethnographic monograph

about the Biak, a people under Indonesian rule although culturally Papua New Guinean. Rutherford associates first and *second contact* with the Biak's traumatic experiences under Indonesian dominion. Their songs, legends and behaviour contain traces of an unfamiliar, oppressive culture as if it were their own. According to Rutherford, however, instead of adopting the norms set by the state, the Biak's have integrated foreign traits into their own culture in a curious, imprecise way. Their self-image is not controlled by rationality but irrational desire. For example, sudden violent behaviour is admirable because it conforms to the Biaks' impression of the governing foreigners. Due to the imprecision, however, the Biaks' performance of the foreign power retains simultaneously the distinct qualities of the Biak as well as steals the power of the original.

The haircut of the first generation evokes the impression of a traumatic event. I shall mention three comments that associate haircutting with castration and with loss of power. These are anthropologist Timo Kaartinen's written feedback on the first draft of this chapter, a comment by a member of the audience recorded on video and a written comment made at the Mänttä Art Festival.

"A pubescent youngster rejects the "original" meaning set by the authority of his parents (haircut = castration), but recognises, however, the trace left by the self of the "first contact" – whose connection with the universal patriarchal authority he explicitly rejects." (Excerpt of an e-mail, January 2, 2012)

VISITOR AT THE EXHIBITION: When I went to the barber's for the first time, I had a hard time leaving my hair behind.
PEKKA: Did you feel like the older boy was sincerely sorry?
VISITOR: Yes, I thought so. Mostly because it reminded me of my childhood.
PEKKA: We came here this morning and saw that an extremely aggressive message about the haircut had been left here.
Message on the wall: DO NOT HUMILIATE OTHERS IN FRONT OF THE CAMERA! CUT YOUR OWN HAIR!
(Third generation viewer comment in relation to our *Studio Kitchen* installation at the Mänttä Art Festival in 2006. One of the monitors showed filmed material from the first and second generation of the case study *The Haircut*)

As a symbolic event, the haircut is rich with meaning. Hair represents individual power and freedom. Interfering with it means adapting and shaping the individual according to a common template. In extreme cases, the cutting of hair amounts to treachery.[33]

Pyry-Pekka's haircut in the first contact contained extortion, oppression, bribery and torture. "Press your head down…. not that much" are lines repeated by the mother. The boy is reminded of a potential reward, a sweet, if he undergoes the torture. In Taussig's colonial context, first contact implies familiarising the "savages" with "civilized" social conventions. In first contact, Pyry-Pekka gets a clean bowl cut in replacement of his wildly protruding hair.

The *second contact* works on the trauma of the first contact. In Taussig's examples, the colonized people prepare a parodic image of their colonizer. In the *second contact* of *The Haircut*, the parody is aimed at the event of the first contact: the haircut as a mutual and unifying ritual of the family.

The Resistance of Mimetic Excess

Taussig's *Mimesis and Alterity* ends in a wish. Perhaps the world is ready to appreciate mimicry and mimesis as an intrinsic value. It is a magical power that can overturn the relationship between signifier and signified. The Hauka ceremony and the figurines used in the healing rituals of the Kuna are examples of this. Their liberating mimetic excess encourages joyous imitation that renders power relations questionable.

Taussig's thinking is thoroughly postmodern, but his visions of the future are almost naively optimistic – precisely the opposite typically believed of the postmodernists. The resistance of mimetic excess is based on the notion that everything is historical and, thus, malleable. One can be both the creator and the subject of one's own life. That, which alters us, is alterable. Mimetic excess is "a somersaulting back to sacred actions", which were earlier governed by shamans and now by mass media – although not entirely. Counter-images, contradictory actions and disarming mockery are possibilities (Taussig 1993:255).

How well has Taussig's notion of the resistant nature of mimetic excess endured the test of time? At the time of writing, in the beginning of the 1990s, themes related to gender, ethnicity and minority rights were topics for heated discussion. Postcolonial issues were propagating. On other continents, especially in Asia, discussion had already begun. Political art was showing tendencies of the ethnographic turn.[34]

Taussig summarises: "Mimetic excess as a form of human capacity potentiated by post-coloniality provides a welcome opportunity to live subjunctively as neither subject nor object of history but as both, at one and the same time." (Taussig 1993:255.)

In terms of resistance, it is crucial that mimetic excess calls into question prevailing power structures. Laughter and the playfulness of imitation disarm the established power. Instead of an 'either-or' opposition one can begin to think of oneself and the world as both 'this' and 'that'.

In his article "Of Mimicry and Man" (Bhabha 1994:85–92), Homi Bhabha analyses the ambivalence of imitation. "Not quite, not white" is used to denote the relationship between the colonial subjects and their masters. According to Bhabha, mimicry, the will to be alike, renders its subject laughable. The ceremonies, speeches and behaviour of the colonial masters turn into travesty when they are weighed against their imitations.

Now, twenty years after the publication of Taussig's book, one can easily say that Taussig's wish has not come true. However, it has not been forgotten either. A mimetic renaissance has occurred on the internet, but have the new methods of expression improved the rights to self-govern and have they increased the sense of freedom? The vulnerability of Taussig's vision lies in that which is left unsaid. Mimetic excess appears to be joyful, empowering play in which loftier opponents are laughed at. Ferguson criticises Taussig (Ferguson 2006), just like several other anthropologists, for romanticising the Hauka ritual as an example of self-motivated resistance. Fascinated by the mimetic play of a foreign culture, Taussig forgets both economic and political factors, which Ferguson calls for, as well as ignores how he exercises power when he determines what the Hauka ritual and the figurines of the Kuna are about. Taussig mentions that he himself has become the subject of his own research. He is amused by this and writes a short poem about his experience, but this is pretty much how far he goes in his self-reflection. (Taussig 1993:8.)

In the early years of our video diary, in the beginning of the 1990s, one of the fundamental reasons for wanting to exhibit our domestic life publicly was to show an alternative image of a family than what was the norm of the family dramas on television. The point was not to show material that mainstream media actively censored in their own portrayals of families, but rather to show things that the mainstream did not consider valuable. We were inspired by direct documentary film and video activism of the 1980s. As cheap portable video cameras and recorders became commonplace – I acquired my first Betamatic in 1984 – excitement grew among artists and activists to counter-monitor the "big brother" with their own video cameras, and publicly display the material collected by the community on video or through community television.

Community television has, however, never reached more than marginal status in mass media. The self-made videos of ordinary people were commercialised by mass media as funny home videos. In its typical way, the

mainstream turned the "unprompted" creativity of the ordinary person into festive occasions and funny mishaps. Accidents caused by stupidity or pranks became their core content. When such "spontaneity" gets repeated in similar form, prevalent customs and norms are reinforced. Mainstream programmes exploiting funny home videos celebrate the ordinary everyday in a patronising way, striving to conceal the standardising nature of the media. The viewer remains a consumer; the generous invitation for anyone to send their own materials does not change the fundamental nature of the programme.

In this chapter, I have focused on how *The Haircut* has been presented in an artistic context. In chapter 4 I discuss our earlier adaptations of the video diary. Future projects are discussed in the chapters 7 and 11. Even if *generational filming* has been realised as a method for making and presenting art, its core content and mode of presentation has to do with its relation to media.

The filmed scenes in *The Haircut* show a present-day Western family living under the almost ceaseless regulation of modern technology and in continuous contact with the media. *The Haircut* is a symbolical presentation of a family living in the midst of media, exposed to it and trying to find its own ways of functioning within it. Our way of living amidst media is distinctive, since recording devices are present in very intimate and everyday situations, as seen in the case of the haircut.

In the seminar discussion quoted above, my supervisor, art researcher Grant Kester asked how our project differs from the reality television of mass media.

> "So if identity is a play, it is performed, it's performed no differently in the most vulgar reality tv-shows. […] So how is that culture of constant performance and acting out, and the very conscious awareness of every step. Would you say it is different in a kind of family situation that you created vs. the normative mass consumer culture context where the performativity is a kind of given now? Is there any tension in between that or is it simply a continuation of the way culture constantly turns life into a performative interaction? Is there a moment of resistance or self-reflection where that comes up?" (Doctoral seminar at the Finnish Academy of Fine Arts, April 19, 2006)

As a format, reality television has been progress for television culture in terms of participation. It does not differentiate between ordinary people and celebrities; it enables the viewers to truly influence the content of the programme. It promotes real environments, and breaks the boundaries of classes and norms. It is a truism to say that these possibilities have not

been used to activate and empower people. In reality, the opposite phenomenon has become the norm: ordinary people have become so-called unnecessary celebrities.

Kester wanted us to differentiate between our self-reflexive video project and reality television. The fundamental difference lies in the modes of presentation, not in the themes of our videos or in the recordings of the events. Almost without exception, when presented in the framework of *generational filming*, we have been present at the screenings of the videos. Hence, watching the videos has not been a one-way event, and audiences have been able to participate in the discussions. Moreover, interaction has not ended at this level of communication between artist and spectator as discussions are filmed and become topics of the discussions of new audiences. With the use of spiralling discussions, generational filming moves the focus from the actual event, the event of the first generation, to how it is being discussed and how the events and discussions change as they become mediated. Mediation becomes likewise a topic of discussion. Media becomes everyday and loses its invisible authority.

Generational filming transforms radically the standard relationship between the viewed content and the event of viewing it. The normal watching of television follows the classical one-way model of message, media and receiver. As a format, reality television stimulates this one-way model owing to the possibility of giving feedback. However, it has not radically altered the viewing experience or the established power structures. The method that runs through *generational filming* is discussion. It enables communication between viewers and originators that can call into question one-way communication and the worldview and impression of the human being it perpetuates. The process, in which each audience becomes part of the artwork it has looked at, alters both the viewer and the process itself. Although reflexivity generates an endless cycle, this is exactly how it prevents the performer or viewer from being in a position that is passive and easily manipulated.[35] The viewer is in constant motion and participates actively in mimetic excess.

> **RAY:** Is the cutting of the hair analogue to cutting the film?
>
> **PEKKA:** Violent act against the footage.
>
> **RAY:** This whole thing becomes an analogue for what you are doing. That is Esa's point what appears in, is the thing itself.
>
> **PEKKA:** "The extreme expression of power is filming, not cutting."
>
> **RAY:** Not cutting hair, it's cutting film. It´s the power of different kind of cutting, the jump cut. Cut is present here in the writing.

PEKKA: Now I see in concrete, what can it be to write about writing. It is bringing in these decisions what I'm saying and not saying like when I'm showing the film, and not showing.

RAY: Film simply borrowed the narrativity from writing.

The mimetic excess of *The Haircut* is in the video recording, but not in the event itself. Tyyni cutting my hair in our kitchen 2017.

Endnotes

1 The dramaturgy of Jan Kaila's doctoral thesis *Photographicality and Presentation in Contemporary Art: Works 1998–2000* for the Finnish Academy of Fine Arts is based on extensive endnotes and dialogical discussion with his supervisor painter Carolus Enckell.

2 "To me the whole situation including now this moment is so much like *Big Brother*. Now it is everywhere the reality TV programme, will you show this commenting to other audiences?" (Chances and Challenges: Practice-Led Research Symposium, University of Leeds, May 26, 2007)

"You see reality TV, and that is basically what this is. You see people's reaction for home video, it's interesting only for the people videoing and being present." (*Asking for Advice*, NICA, Yangon, Myanmar, January 6, 2006)

3 Mimesis is a Greek term denoting the imitation of reality or nature. Rather than creating a replica or a copy, it is re-performing and includes representation. Mimesis is an open and ambiguous term. It can jump from one form of expression to another and copy, imitate and get distorted. Walter Benjamin ascribes mimesis to all human intellectual activity. Aristotle believes it to be central to human attempts to understand the world. Humans learn through imitating. Mimesis is also essential to the cathartic experience of a spectator of a tragedy. The soul-cleansing catharsis builds up in the spectator as he or she empathises with the frightening, agonising and terrifying events of tragedy. However, mimesis does not fully arrive at that which it seeks to imitate and, thus, it succeeds in creating both a connection and a distance between the event and its viewer. (Aristotle 1967) Plato uses mimesis to describe art's unnecessary attempt to convey truth. According to Plato's Theory of Forms, ideas contain the highest form of truthfulness and reality is a copy of this world of ideas. Art, in its various forms, attempts to mimic reality and, consequently, produces imitations of imitations. (Plato 1981) According to Erich Auerbach, mimesis is the guiding principle of all Western literature (Auerbach 1946). Since Homer, Western literature has utilised mimesis to describe reality. Auerbach's views have decisively influenced art research, especially film studies, during the latter half of the 20th century. René Girard constructs a whole worldview that relies on mimesis. According to him, mimetic desire and mimetic competition govern all human activity. An individual and a community desire that which the other possesses. (Girard 2008)

Out of the doctoral theses at the Finnish Academy of Fine Arts Denise Ziegler's *Features of the Poetic: The Mimetic Method of the Visual Artist* applies Aristotle's notions of mimesis. (Ziegler 2010) In this paper I shall use the term mimesis mostly in relation to art, anthropological and postcolonial research.

4 *The Golden Bough* is a study on magic and religion. Frazer uses several literary sources to delve into questions related to human sacrifice, scapegoats, dying gods and fertility rites. The study is based

on the evolutionary belief that all religions have a common origin. Frazer believes that the cult of Diana, the Roman goddess of the Earth, depicts the beginnings of religion. According to the legend, the cult was governed by a high priest whose fate was to die through the hands of his successor. The high priest spent his days guarding over a sacred tree with golden boughs and waiting to be slain by his successor. Frazer finds a parallel phenomenon contemporaneous to his time through literary sources. The Reth, the divine incarnation of the first king Nyikang of the Shilluk people of South Sudan, is to be killed when he looses his sexual potency and a new king has to be elected in order to safeguard the prosperity of the community. In contemporary popular culture, the most famous version of the legend can be found in Francis Ford Coppola's *Apocalypse Now* (1979). Kurtz, the colonel gone rogue played by Marlon Brando, awaits his killer in the jungle of Cambodia, leading a reign of terror. A copy of Frazer's *The Golden Bough* lies on the table by his bed. Mimesis is realised – in the grove of Nemi just as in the Cambodian jungle – when the new high priest takes his place. According to Frazer, cultures live through three stages of development: the era of magic, the era of religion and, finally, the era of science. Although Frazer's views were rejected already during his lifetime, his visions continue to inspire.

5   I call the method of linear editing *diachronic editing* and editing that comprises of several simultaneous and juxtaposed videos synchronic. A multi-channel video installation has to be edited taking into account both methods. See chapter 10.

6   I am addressing only a couple illustrative examples of how the concept of resistance has changed in recent decades. In his article "The Romance of Resistance: Tracing Transformations of Power Through Bedouin Women" (1993) anthropologist Lila Abu-Lughod describes the everyday resistance of Bedouin women living in an isolated male-dominated community in the Egyptian desert. Traditionally, women's resistance has been aimed at the men ruling over them and such resistance has been expressed in song, mocking speeches and actions denouncing the masculine authority. Abu-Lughod admits to having romanticised the resistance of her research subjects in her previous studies, but due to modernisation, she has began to question the actual resistance of defiant activities. In the spirit of rebellion, young Bedouin women have started to enhance their looks and dress according to Western consumerist ideals. Abu-Lughod believes that while the women grow independent of their parents, they simultaneously adapt to Western consumerist culture.

7   Thank you to anthropologist Timo Kallinen for introducing me to Mbembe's earlier article. Kallinen believes that Mbembe's article illustrates why Hauka ceremonies prefer imitating military parades over other colonial rituals.

8   Taussig erroneously cites the filming year as 1953. Laura U. Marks makes the same mistake. This raises the suspicion that she has not checked the date from any other source than the one she is referring to. (Marks 2000:100) I rely on Paul Henley´s account (Henley 2006:732).

9 Dividing the ceremony into three derives from Henley. Henley reveals the structural similarities between the Hauka ceremony and the more traditional possession ceremonies of the Songhay. (Henley 2009:122–124)

10 Henley cites a rather accurate census of the Hauka. In Rouch's first study on the Hauka in 1943, he mentions 15 Haukas. The film introduces 12 more and Rouch's later studies mention over 50 different Hauka. Rouch is quoted saying that he has seen over a hundred different Hauka. (Henley 2009:118–120.)

11 I use the written form of the name that appears in *Ciné-Ethnography*, the collection of Rouch's writings and interviews edited by Steven Feld. Paul Henley uses another form of the name, Mounteyba. Stoller cites it as Mounkaiba. In the opening credits, two Hauka mediums are mentioned: Muntyeba and Muykayla. In my opinion, this confusion aptly depicts both the communication between Europeans and Africans as well as the communication between humans and spirits.

12 In a private e-mail exchange, anthropologist Timo Kallinen provides a different interpretation of Rouch's decision not to show the film to the Hauka. He writes that: "As we discussed earlier, *The Mad Masters* was supposed to become a copy which the Hauka could use in their own ceremonies. This rules out the idea that the Hauka would have understood it as Rouch's perception of them. They believed it simply repeated the ceremony they performed. According to Kallinen, the fact that Rouch never gave the film to the Hauka had to do with the debate that arose in Europe, but could also have to do with Rouch understanding that he could never give them the pure copy that they wanted." (E-mail, March 25, 2013)

With another case study, *Tunúwame*, (See ch. 7) we are facing somewhat similar situation with Mexican indigenous people, Wixárikas, who are unsatisfied with the films made by others about their pilgrimage to their sacred place , the Wirikuta desert. The Wixárikas want to include all important phases of the more than a week-long journey, and we have promised assistance in their filming project. "I want to film everything on the pilgrimage", Wixárika teacher Eduardo Madera de la Cruz told us (personal communication, September 2014).

13 I assume that the reason for the ban was the film's reputation as provocation against Britain and other colonising powers. In an interview conducted by documentary filmmakers John Marshall and John W. Adams Rouch said: "I couldn't show the film, first because of British censorship, which equated the picture of the governor with an insult to the Queen and to her authority; and I couldn´t show it also because when I projected the film – I´d done experiments about this – the people who went into trance did so in an uncontrollable and almost dangerous way. It is a kind of electroshock to show a man a film of himself in trance." (Rouch 2003:192.)

14 In Timo Korhonen's doctoral thesis *Hyvän reunalla. Dokumenttielokuva ja välittämisen etiikka* (2013) (On the Edge of Goodness. Documentary Film and the Ethics of Caring) Sembéne's comment has been attributed to Rouch. According to Korhonen, Rouch criticises the makers of an observational film of relating to their subject matter like they would relate to insects (Korhonen 2013:54). *The Mad Masters* can be said to represent Rouch's period of observational documentary, before the period of creating methods that were more reflexive in nature.

15 The English subtitling reads "And when seeing these smiles, when learning that these men might be the best employees of the waterworks crew, when comparing these faces with the horrible ones of yesterday, we can't help asking ourselves if these African people do not to know some remedies allowing them not to be abnormal but to be perfectly integrated in their environment. Some remedies that we still do not know."

16 "It is not what is past casts its light on what is present, or what is present its light on what is past; rather, image is that wherein what has been comes together in a flash with the now to form a constellation. In other words, image is dialectics at a standstill. For while the relation of the present to the past is purely temporal, continuous one, the relation of what-has-been to the now is dialectical: is not progression but image, suddenly emergent." (Benjamin 2002:462, N2a,3)

17 For this chapter, I have picked accurately and economically those texts from the extensive literature on Rouch's film which illustrate *The Haircut*'s relationship to *The Mad Masters* and the Hauka ceremony.

18 I address Rouch's main terminology, such as *ciné-trance* and *shared anthropology* in other chapters.

19 Russell, like many other researchers, compare the Hauka ritual and Rouch's way of creating dramatic narrative with Antonin Artaud's Theatre of Cruelty. "We cannot continue to prostitute the idea of theatre whose only value lies in its agonising, magic relationship to reality and danger," Artaud begins the "First Manifesto" of his Theatre of Cruelty. (Artaud 1970:68)

20 In 1935, Aimé Césaire, studying at that time in Paris and originally native of Martinique, used for the first time the term *La Negritude* to describe the shared history and cultural experience of the blacks. It appeared in the paper of the black radical students, *L'Étudiant noir*. Its editorial board consisted of several subsequently significant cultural figures and politicians fighting for the independence of the African countries, such as Senegal's first president Léopold Sédar Senghor. After the Second World War, *La Negritude* became a political and literary movement that opposed colonialism, emphasised the uniqueness of the black identity and verged ideologically on Marxism. Jean Paul Sartre became the movement's most prominent advocate. His essay "Black Orpheus" ("Orphée noir", 1948) is one of the most significant declarations of the ideology behind *La Negritude*. Historian James Clifford writes about Césaire in his article "A Politics of Neologism: Aimé Césaire"

(Clifford 1988). According to art researcher Hal Foster, *La Negritude* is a manifestation of a phenomenon called primitive fantasy, a fantasy in which it is believed that the cultural Other has access to such primary psychological and social processes that the white majority cannot access. The white counterpart of this fantasy is the group of surrealist nonconformists that formed around Georges Bataille and Michel Leiris in the 1920s. Both groups combine in a creative manner the transgressive potential of the unconscious and a radical understanding of cultural otherness. Both were marked and demarcated by the primitive fantasy. For the surrealists, studying otherness focused on studying the Other in the Self. *La Negritude* emphasised the dichotomy between African sentimentality and European rationality. (Foster 1996:175.)

21 I discuss the relationship between simultaneous interpretation and subtitling in more detail in the chapter 4.

22 "The creative power of ritual, in other words, arises from the fact that (i) it exists in continuing *tension* with more mundane modes of action, of producing and communicating meanings and values; (ii) its constituent signs are ever open to accumulation of new associations and referents; and (iii) it has the capacity to act in diverse ways on a contradictory world." (Comaroff and Comaroff 1993:xxi.)

23 In this context, I use the ambiguous terms natural person, video person and double in a very general sense. Here, I do not define whether the natural person is understood existentially as the genuine self or as the culturally constructed self, although I, personally, believe in the latter notion. This philosophical quandary is not essential in terms of the relationship between natural and video person. Based on both views, we can deduce that the video person is constructed in relation to the (existential or constructed) natural person and that this relationship is mutually dependent. The double is as loaded with meaning as the previous terminology and has a particular role in film research. Real, delusional and metaphorical doubles and doppelgängers are key terms in fiction films. In this context, I use the concept of the double to denote semblance, without particular cultural connotations.

24 **Tyyni:** Yo me recuerdo cuando yo estuve allá en este video original. Yo me recuerdo este que un secundo pensé que yo estoy hablando muy tanto así, un secundo pensé que Pyry lloró porque yo estoy tan "ärsyttävä"
Pekka: Irritante.
Amparo: Molestando.
Tyyni: Él como: "Yo no quiero, yo no quiero."
Pekka: Que es tu culpa?
Lea: Repentiste?
Tyyni: Un segundo, pero después que él (Pekka) hablaba (consolidando): Oh, Pyry. Ah, eso es actuado.
Pekka: Ya supiste.

Tyyni: Estaba muy claro.

Pekka: Cuando yo estaba consolidando a él.

Amparo: Pobrecito.

25 **Grant:** You said…maybe you can elaborate on this… all the interactions within the family were in some way demonstrations, whether with or without the camera, and there is this kind of acting or self-presentation going on. And the camera maybe encourages that in someway. I expressed some concern about how this will intervene in the very delicate ecology of raising a child in terms of parental attention. So (Lea's comment) was…'No, it's playful. It's playful because it is a demonstration of lack of fixity in one's identity'. So if identity is a play, it is performed, it's performed no differently in the most vulgar reality tv-shows.

Lea: I don't agree.

Grant: Explain then how it's different.

Lea: I think it's not an either or situation. This is a very serious thing to me, so you really touched me actually.

Grant: That´s central to the work, isn't it?

Lea: So I think you can be performative and sincere at the same time.

Grant: Maybe you can help us to draw this out by defining what is sincere, what it implies.

Lea: I just pick up the word, because you used it in the morning (lecture).

Grant: Does it mean that your intentions are good? How does it manifest in the work?

Lea: In the work, no. I mean in human relationships. There can be deep face-to-face human relationship and it can be at the same time performative, and I don´t say, that it is just a play, a performance, as if that would be something inferior. I think performative play can be very deeply touching and intimate, and still joyful in a sense that there is no embarrassment to show it publicly. (The doctoral seminar of the Finnish Academy of Fine Arts, April 19, 2006.)

26 The Hauka ritual is a ceremony because it is a recurring, carefully structured religious event that is performed at a predetermined time. The filmed haircut is not as strongly a ceremonial event, even if we have filmed at least 50 haircuts during twenty years. The festive aspect of the event is lost in the video recordings.

27 Lanzmann's interpretation of Diderot's notion of the actor's paradox is ambiguous. Diderot's understanding of what was good acting was the opposite of the general view of the latter half of the 18th century. Diderot did not value the actor who was emotionally engrossed and welded into the character he was portraying. According to him, a good actor immersed himself with the feelings of the character and reproduced them. A gap was constructed between the character and the actor, perhaps the size of mimesis. This gap was expanded in the 20th century by Bertolt Brecht's notion of the gestus, so as to enable the verfremdungseffekt of the Brechtian epic theatre. I place Lanzmann's characters between Diderot's actor's paradox and Brechtian epic theatre. The roots of Brechtian epic theatre are in storytelling. Storytelling becomes theatre when the events are not

only recounted or remembered – a swearword for Lanzmann – but also partly relived. This is what happens to Lanzmann's characters.

28 In the documentary film *The Act of Killing* (2012) by Joshua Oppenheimer and Cynthia Cynn (See ch. 6) the memory of the executioner of the Indonesian genocide becomes alive and relived, when the executioner himself acts the movements of killing as a performance. For the viewer the filmed acting out is ambiguous, because the executioner is showing his grim movements with pride, and without any resentment. Oppenheimer and Cynn refuse to take any moral stand, and the film doesn´t tell how much the executioner is conscious of the impact of his deeds in front of the camera. *The Act of Killing* is the first part of a trilogy, which tells the history of the genocide from the point of view of the executioner. The second part, *The Look of Silence* (2014) shows the view of the victims. While the relived experience in *Shoah* is tragic, in *The Act of Killing* it is grotesque.

29 The Jewish documentary filmmaker Eyal Sivan has collaborated with Palestinian director Michel Khleif to produce a reproduction of the barber scene in *Shoah* for their film *Route 181 – Extracts from a Palestinian-Israeli Journey* (2003) – drawing upon mimesis once again – in which instead of the Jews of the Holocaust, the victims are the Palestinians who died in a massacre, when Israel was constituted in 1947. This angered Lanzmann's friend, French Jewish philosopher Alain Finkielkraut, who accused Sivan in a radio programme of Jewish anti-Semitism. In February 2004, Sivan filed a defamation case against Finkielkraut. The court case took place in May 2006. In his statement Finkielkraut claimed that *Route 181* "rests entirely on an analogy between the fate of the Palestinians from 1947 to the present day, and the destiny of Jews under Nazism. It is a constant plagiarism of Lanzmann's film". Statements from both sides in the court are film analysis at its best. They have been published supplemented by an introductory essay in the June 2007 issue of New York's culture magazine, The Cabinet. I participated in the Documenta 12 –seminar in which actors from New York performed the statements from the trial followed by a panel discussion with comments from the audience. Sivan took part in the discussion, but Finkielkraut had cancelled his participation at the last minute. Lanzmann refuses to be in any contact with Sivan. In his writings (Lanzmann 2007:30), Lanzmann has explained that the Holocaust cannot be compared with any other genocide. It seems as though his film *Shoah* cannot be compared with any other film either.

30 See chapter 3 *Spying and Counter-spying*.

31 Even though Lanzmann himself refuses to label *Shoah* as a documentary film, in the film history (for ex. Robson 2006:165) *Shoah* is defined as a documentary film, because it is not a fictional film, but based on interviews of real people, and sights of real places.

32 Anthropologist Vincent Crapanzano defines spirit possession as follows: "any altered state of consciousness indigenously interpreted in terms of the influence of an alien spirit" (qtd. in Russell 1999:196)

33 The archetype of treachery related to the cutting of hair is the haircut of the enslaved Samson. Abraham Bomba, the barber in *Shoah*, is forced to cut the hair of those about to be exterminated so that they would not anticipate their impending death.

34 Hal Foster's essay *The Artist as Etnographer* (1996) is the most valued text analysing the ethnographic turn in art. Foster sums up the turn as mutual jealousy. The anthropologists envied the artists' freedom, creativity and self-reflexivity, while the artists' envied the anthropologists' methods, especially the method of ethnographic fieldwork, participant observation. The artists view ethnography as they do psychoanalysis, as a privileged discourse, since both study that which is unknown or unconscious: psychoanalysis studies the unconscious and anthropology primitive cultures and othering. Foster deems the artistic end results as quasi-anthropology and well-intentioned confrontations with otherness that are mainly benefited by the art institutions that present the results.

Anthropologist George E. Marcus (Marcus 2010:85–87) believes Foster's criticism is partly apt, partly unreasonable. He feels that Foster blames artists of the same sins that contemporary anthropologists blame the previous generations of anthropologists. Fieldwork done by anthropologists has become multi-faceted and hard to define. Artistic approaches can solve many problems for which the more traditional methods find no satisfying solutions.

35 I discuss the possibilities and dangers of *generational filming* in the chapter 5. In the examples of this chapter, when we artists make editorial decisions the communal possibilities of *generational filming* are only partially realised.

Autobiography of a Friend – Artist in Service

I write in this chapter about an artwork that attempts to communicate some aspects of one of its maker's, Goa von Zweygbergk's, summer identity. The work, *Autobiography of a Friend – Artist in Service*, is an oxymoron. It attempts the impossible. If Lea and I recount Goa's life story, it no longer is an autobiography. If Goa tells her own story, it is one. If we tell her story together, is it an autobiography of a friend? And what can it communicate about a human being born in the body of a sparrow?

> One summer we had a sparrow. We found her on a mini-golf field. She had never opened her eyes. When she opened them for the first time, she saw me with the consequence that she grew up believing she was human. Against all our assumptions I managed to keep her alive, for example by massaging her belly with my lips. That is how I managed to make her defecate, which was extremely painful for her during her first days. Sirpa grew and she became a fully-grown person living in the body of a sparrow, and she loved us uninhibitedly. Only after her death I understood why she had been in my life. Probably I killed her myself, when she was forty-two days old, by stepping on her. After a long time I understood, that God wanted to tell me something like this: Only human love is so crooked that it can kill the one you love the most. Forty-two days Sirpa was in my life and I see it as the greatest experience in my life. And it is possible that we might never be able to transmit this experience for the world. (The artistic monograph of *Autobiography of a Friend*)

In August 2008, grandma Goa who, in her blonde curls and sleeveless shirt that shows off her muscular arms, looks eternally like a 25-year-old, is

playing with a large metal cross hanging around her neck as she recounts to my camera possibly her most significant religious experience. We are in a basement gallery, and have just watched a raw version of *Autobiography of a Friend* together with a handful of friends serving as invited audience.

The opening scenes of the video were shot on the first day of July 2006. Lea's words, "Film Goa, she's so beautiful right now" begin a four-year filming period during which the three of us attempt to capture what Goa is like in her summer place, on the island of Sandö in the Turku archipelago. The opening scene shows Goa chopping wood naked, a copse of pines behind her glimmering in the afternoon sun.

Of the entire thesis, this chapter has proved the most excruciating to write. Its writing was prefaced by a four-month period of having no words or having to search for them. I attempt to write about the experience of being unable to write and the experience of its rupture. The chapter has many beginnings, each of which could serve as the first. I scrapped several paragraphs starting with "In this chapter I write about…". The one that lasted longest claimed that this chapter is a "discussion about the relationship between artistic knowing and anthropological knowing". What I want to write now is that the chapter is a failed attempt – is Goa just an excuse? – to position our artistic practice within the discourse of socially engaged art.[1] It recounts a disappointment with the theoretical explanations of socially engaged art and my own incompetence to identify with them and understand them. I am too embarrassed to write about it without quoting myself.

I woke up half three and thought I should just move to Pyry's bed in Esko's room, but no, I started to write. I'm reading *The Idiot,* Dostoyevsky's *The Idiot,* so that's constantly making itself visible in the text. (Pause.) It's the literary work that inspires me the most; it's the best novel I know of. All the justification in it. But it's also a really destructive paragon, since all those that write or talk about their lives in it are doomed. And Dostoyevsky empathises with all of them. In a way, it's my frame of reference as I write this chapter on Goa. I get disappointed with all the approaches, one after the other. First there's the relationship between dialogical art and anthropological research, then the postmodern theories on identity, I get disappointed with those too. Then there's Bakhtin's interpretation of Dostoyevsky – that's my lifeline with Goa. My most recent disappointment followed from trying to place our dialogical practice in one of those existing frameworks and relate it to them. It went somehow like this: Kester's *dialogical aesthetics* – Kester is my supervisor – is familiar to us and we are practically ideal artists for it, but then there's Lyotard's *differend*, which remains outside it. And then again Lyotard, okay, it's not exactly an ideal framework for socially engaged art, since it tries to speak of something that cannot be spoken of

or at least tries to express something about it. Then there's the more approachable version of Lyotard's agonism, Belgian social philosopher Chantal Mouffe's version. I – like many others in the art world – got excited about it, even if it takes a hocus-pocus leap into its own *agonistic pluralism* and turns the enemy into an adversary. How can it just hocus-pocus itself like that? Her [Mouffe's] critique is geared against Habermas's notion that there could be a rationally sound *deliberative democracy*, that people would understand what is common good. She [Mouffe] claims that when there are these feelings, passions, involved then that's not possible – and I agree with her. But the hocus-pocus lies in how the antagonistic, which contains the enemy or image of the enemy, is understood suddenly as the opponent. Mouffe was my latest disappointment. I got disappointed that all these theories that are applied to art want to have the last word, and also in the fact that the art that Mouffe understands as agonistic is the basic Yes Men kind of activist art, which has its place, but does not have any dimensions to re-think a resistance to hegemony theoretically. This is the scope of disappointment that I experience when I try to position myself as part of something, it's like the theoretical application of my feeling of homelessness. That's what I'd like to write, but then again (laughter) I can't construct a super-structure above all these theories, I can't say that they don't know that they don't know, that I know that they don't know, and that I don't know either. This is where I end up. The only support with a project like this that I can think of comes from Foucault, who tried to get to know and tried to understand all of the available knowledge related to his own research and ended up with, not nihilism, but not with hocus-pocus either. His is rather a continuous genealogical developmental process. This is probably one reason why this doctoral thesis keeps dragging on and on. (Sigh.) (My study, January 18, 2014, at 4.30am)

Before starting to write (and before the period of actively not being able to write) I had been thinking of our stubborn fixation that Goa was the most "postmodern person" we knew. I had tried to place Goa within the frameworks of Judith Butler's and Tuija Pulkkinen's theories on identity with no success. Finnish philosopher Tuija Pulkkinen rejects the notion that human beings are born with a fundamental Self that should show itself during one's lifetime. Identity, including gender identity, is constructed within different kinds of knowledge and power discourses that cannot be chosen by the individual (Pulkkinen 2000). Pulkkinen develops her theory on identity construction largely on Judith Butler's notion of performativity. In *Gender Trouble* (1990), now considered a classic in feminist studies, Butler approaches identity through gender. She applies Foucault's genealogical view (inherited from Nietszche) that abandons the pursuit of origin and focuses on tracing histories without any hope of finding a common beginning.

The presumption here is that the "being" of gender is an effect, an object of genea-logical investigation that maps out the political parameters of its construction in the mode of ontology. To claim that gender is constructed is not to assert its illusoriness or artificiality, where those terms are understood to reside within a binary that coun-terposes the "real" and the "authentic" as oppositional. As a genealogy of gender on-tology, this inquiry seeks to understand the discursive production of the plausibility of that binary relation and to suggest that certain cultural configurations of gender take place of the "real" and consolidate and augment their hegemony through that felicitous self-naturalization." (Butler 1999:43.)

For Butler gender identity – and identity in general – is a performance constructed through acts. The English verb *perform* can be understood both as performing and doing. Human beings constantly perform or produce their gender by mimicking other gender acts and performances. In addi-tion to performance as enactment, Butler's performativity also refers to linguist J. L. Austin's speech-act theory and its performatives, which are words that do things. In *How to Do Things with Words* (1962), Austin labels sentences performative when they are neither true nor untrue but, uttered in an appropriate context, have an effect on reality. The performative that is cited most is the priest's proclamation "I declare you husband and wife".

A human being becomes its self by operating performatively, and not by searching for an identity "foundational and fixed" (Ibid.187). Accord-ing to Butler the absence of a "foundational and fixed" identity does not, however, condemn people to determinism or result in loss of agency. The fact that identity is constructed is not the opposite of agency but its "nec-essary scene of agency, the very terms in which agency is articulated and becomes culturally intelligible" (Ibid.187). For Butler, categorising people according to biology into males and females is a thought construct, not a fact of nature. It is just as constructed as social gender.

Why can I not see Goa, who after her divorce started to dress like a man and was irresistible in the eyes of straight men, as a mannequin of the Butlerian identity analysis? During her adult life she has looked like a Bar-bie, a punk rocker, an organic farmer and the typical visual artist in black uniform – not to forget her professional identity of a chic designer of an ecofashion label and salesperson of the *Defender* product line. In the intro-duction to *Autobiography of a Friend* Goa is defined as follows: "a Finnish-Swedish mother of four and a Christian left-wing artist, a landowner and an entrepreneur". During her life, Goa has shed her skin several times in the Butlerian sense. Not only does she change her outward appearance as a fashion statement, with it changes both life style and value judgements.

Each time Goa gets reassembled in a new way. Goa was brought up in a Finnish-Swedish working-class family, whose heirlooms include the nobiliary particle "von", inherited from the family's Czech roots. She uses Finnish at home, except with her youngest child with whom she speaks Swedish. She owns property but has only a small income. The Goa we see on video meets the Finnish ideals of a woman who grew up after the Second World War: she is the drudge, a woman who can manage both men's work and women's responsibilities (See e.g. Näre and Kirves 2008). In Goa's case none of the basic categories related to identity – gender, class, ethnicity – appear in a familiar and complete way.

> **LEA:** I think Butler can be used to describe Goa extremely well, but it's another thing altogether that Butler ticks you off. You have to try to express it somehow and continue writing. […] How to talk about a person that is situated in the middle of all these categories or in strange in-betweens, regardless whether identity is discussed in relation to gender, class, religion or language. She touches on this in that video she made about her family. Goa cannot be placed without residue in any either-or category, but is strangely left in between. How to speak of a person whose identity and all its variables are in many ways dependent on each other? That's what's so violent in that taxonomy, that there are only those either-or choices. That's why it feels like you haven't gotten far enough with Butler, when you're disappointed with her too, when she speaks exactly about this. I think you shouldn't be disappointed with Butler, but the point is that in your disappointment with her theories you yourself are situated in an in-between. You want to understand but something in you resists. (The kitchen of our home, January 24, 2014)

I confess my inadequate knowledge about Butler's gender theory. My hesitation is primarily emotional. I cannot find an appropriate place for my filming or for my relationship with Goa in Butler's theory. I am a straight man in a carousel of identity construction. The anthropological notion of a joking relationship is the closest expression I can find to describe the relationship that we share through filming, and Bakhtin's dialogism/the carnivalesque provides its most appropriate explanation. I return to this question later in the chapter.

I met my second impasse when I tried to situate the work made with Goa within the framework of Grant Kester's – my other supervisor's – *dialogical aesthetics*. Kester's thinking has felt familiar and inspiring within the spectrum of socially engaged art aesthetics, but it has not felt like my own thinking. Russian semiotician Mikhail Bakhtin's (1885–1975) dialogism[2] is the most constant common denominator between Kester and our artistic practice, although I believe we have read our Bakhtin very differently.

Soviet national Bakhtin questioned the monovalent understanding of truth in Marxism and presented the notion that truth is composed out of several dissimilar claims that can even contradict each other. In Bakhtin's thinking, Marxist dialectics and dialogism approach truth in different ways. Dialectics, ensuing from Hegel's idealism, combines thesis and antithesis into a synthesis that then leads to the elucidation of truth. In dialogism, however, thesis and antithesis can take place simultaneously. Truth does not get elucidated as one truth but retains its multiplicity. According to Bakhtin every utterance is in dialogue with its preceding and succeeding utterances. The meaning of the utterance is not determined in and of itself, but in relation to other utterances. Even a single word acquires multiple meanings due to its own history and associations. (Bakhtin 1986:136.) Bakhtin bases the applicability of his theories on the arts on Dostoyevsky's novels.

During Christmas 2013 I started to read (once again) Dostoyevsky's (1821–1881) *The Idiot*. It is the predecessor of soap operas and sequels – why not also of the story about Goa, who loves Jane Austen films and box-sets of relationship dramas, which she calls "morning shows" and which she believes should be consumed in the morning with milk coffee.

The Idiot progresses approximately in "real time" – in its first two hundred pages it recounts the activities that happen during one day, from morning to evening. The next hundred pages are spent bickering about an inheritance and a letter of defamation, which is read out loud. Dostoyevsky reports loyally all the interjections and nervous fidgeting of his characters. When the young beauty Aglaya meets Prince Myshkin, who has been labelled an idiot, in the park at seven in the morning, the reader knows that they only have an hour. I get anxious because Aglaya gets to her actual point only after ten pages. I quicken the speed at which I'm reading in order for them not to get caught – in vain. The realistic tempo makes me feel like Dostoyevsky has transcribed video footage shot in secret. All of the chapters are approximately identical in terms of length, around twelve pages, and they repetitively end in a cliff-hanger – long live oxymorons! They were first published chapter by chapter in the *The Russian Messenger* (*Russkiy vestnik*), the monarchist weekly periodical, in 1868.

In Bakhtin's reading, Dostoyevsky creates a polyphonic word-space in which the author does not speak of a hero but with him (Bakhtin 1984:63). For Bakhtin "Dostoevsky[3] is the creator of the polyphonic novel. He created a fundamentally new novelistic genre". (Ibid.7.) Bakhtin distinguishes between a polyphonic and a monologic novel. In the former speak several independent voices, while in the latter, regardless of the multiplicity of

voices, the writer regulates the assembly of voices. Polyphony fractures the novel and makes it read as if it belonged to several genres at once or as if it were completely devoid of genre; it introduces multiple accents and internal contradictions (Ibid.15-16).

When I read *The Idiot*, Goa appears and trades places with both Nastassya Filippovna and Prince Myshkin. According to Bakhtin Dostoyevsky does not explain to his reader who his true protagonist is, rather "the hero interests Dostoevsky as a particular point of view on the world and on oneself, as the position enabling a person to interpret and evaluate his own self and his surrounding reality" (Ibid.47). In *Autobiography of a Friend*, details of Goa's life are wanting. Only her relation with her summer place is recounted with chronological precision. It bears a resemblance to Prince Myshkin in *The Idiot.* At the beginning of the novel, Myshkin arrives in St Petersburg penniless. After a couple of hundred pages, however, we find out that he has a letter in his possession that might prove him the inheritor of his aunt's 1,5 million rubles. Goa had a working class childhood and youth, but her grandfather's acquisition that is now owned by Goa, the so-called "stunted forest" in the Turku archipelago, has become in half a century a valuable plot of land. The "stunted forest" has become a paradise on earth for Goa, and it has been fought over and hacked into pieces much like Myshkin's inheritance. In *Autobiography of a Friend* Goa is a Dostoyevskyan "person to interpret and evaluate her own self and her surrounding reality". Its portrait of Goa is not a representation pertaining to Aristotelian drama or an autobiographical account of her life from birth to the present day. The spectator is instead drawn a map of Goa's values. The work discusses her values without directly commenting on them. *The Idiot* consists of fragments of meetings between characters, or better said, of monumental floods, of video records that fill entire cassettes, which the reader watches identifying with his or her own abjection, longing for grace and fear of death.

The quote at the beginning, Goa's story about the sparrow – which could be considered her religious manifesto – reveals its Dostoyevskyan character in the Bakhtinian sense. There are several confessions in *The Idiot* that are spoken or read out loud. The most heart wrenching of these is young Hippolite's "MY ESSENTIAL STATEMENT, Après moi le déluge", which he reads, dying from consumption, to a cynical party crowd taking up forty pages of party time in the novel (Dostoyevsky 1969 [1868]:407–434). The video recordings of Goa's fable are watched by a few professional artists, and their comments are incorporated in the work. They find in Goa's story connections to ethology.

Lea, Goa, and I on the beach of the *Autobiography of a Friend – Artist in Service* installation in Kunsthalle Helsinki 2011.

- Sometimes it happens in Galapagos that they have found birds who have learned songs of the wrong species as a result of some kind of trauma. They lost their connections to their real parents and neighbours.
- This identification with the human, someone who gives them food, the role of the feeding mother. Somehow it can bridge between species, make a bridge. It's amazing how it can happen between these kinds of very remote species, between sparrow and human.
- It is quite clear that the baby sparrow imprinted on Goa. And you know, religious sacrifice, stepping on the bird!
- This imprinting process itself is what killed the bird. The bird would not have been under her feet otherwise. It would never be anywhere near someone who could possibly step on it. It was the imprinting process – that which doubles for love – which killed the bird. (*Autobiography of a Friend*, artistic monograph)

The portrait of Goa is drawn mostly by her actions and the commentaries on them. According to the participants of the previous discussion, Goa is a *bricoleur* in Lévi-Strauss's terms[4]. She uses a chainsaw and other "masculine" tools in creative ways. Her identity shows itself performatively, and sometimes as a performance. The lively naked Goa confuses the spectator's expectations of how gender, religion and ownership should be performed. The characters in Dostoyevsky's novel are fictitious, but still they cannot be completely controlled by the author. In a sense, Goa's position in *Autobiography of a Friend* is its opposite, since she is one of its authors and a real-life person. Her relation to the work and the image it conveys of her is, I believe, nevertheless similar to the relationship Dostoyevsky's characters have to Dostoyevsky's novel. According to Bakhtin, Dostoyevsky's protagonists constantly attempt to break the finalising and, in some ways deadly, framework supplied by the words of other people (Bakhtin 1991:59). Goa acts like Dostoyevsky's protagonists when others interpret the videos about her life. She answers to viewers and interpreters in a way that questions the meanings of their questions. Goa, the naked woodcutter, is interpreted by a member of the invited audience thus: "There's a naked woman, the most obvious convention related to gender – gender can be equated with the naked woman – and on top of that there's nature." As an answer to this interpretation and question on the gender thematic of the video, Goa describes three art projects in which she has "interfered" with the work of another artist. The first one is a performance in which her husband Ilkka gets drunk in front of an audience and offers his wife to the audience to be kissed. The second is an exhibition of unsigned drawings that were displayed so that they were presumed to be by another artist.

The third one is the unedited version of the work at hand, which Goa had named *Pekka Kantonen*. Goa does not acquiesce to seeing her video persona as a representation of gender in "someone else's words". She wants to define the question of gender in her own way.

> For me the thematic of gender is interesting in the point when conflation really takes place. Ilkka (husband) pushed my head into a bowl with chocolate pudding in it and he asked the audience members if they wanted to kiss his wife. And then the audience was allowed to kiss his wife. The second artwork in this series – or let us say the second group performance with my participation positioned in this continuum – is the performance by our group *New Jerusalem* titled *Ilkka Nursing from His Wounds*. It took place in Kluuvi gallery. There was a performance installation in the toilet and in the big exhibition hall there was a party dinner prepared by Pekka. The drawings on the wall were drawn by me, but I left them without signature knowing that they would be seen as drawings by male artist Pentti Koskinen. Now later when we have worked with this footage and this artwork has been done, I have articulated to Pekka, that this work, that I have titled *Pekka Kantonen*, is the third part in this triptych. It is the third artwork where I let this happen: As an artist I let my subject conflate with another subject. This is my viewpoint on the thematic of gender. (*Autobiography of a Friend*, artistic monograph)

In her reply Goa stages a cunning manoeuvre. The comment was directed at the video's representation of the female gender. A naked woman in the wild nature of the archipelago is a stereotype of femininity. Goa's answer, however, moves the point of view to an experiential level. The issue of gender lies in living in a female body and experiencing the blurring of divisions, not in the performance of femininity. She tells three stories about the construction of her artistic identity, a project in which gender plays an important role. In all three examples she is in the service of a man. In these collaborations she assumes the position of a submissive woman: she offers herself to the other, fades out her own identity and lets it blend into the other's. It remains unresolved whether Goa is critical towards such a construction of the male and the female. Through her actions she analyses (in a very Butlerian way) the convention that shapes both us who take part in the artworks and its audience and the convention that determines how gender is performed in our culture. In these projects putting herself in the service of another was Goa's conscious decision. Who is the agent then and who the target of this agency? Once again an oxymoron. I am filming a video, which bears my name as its title, but its subject matter is Goa. By giving the work such a name, I am exposed as a voyeuristic filmmaker,

and this role is given to me by Goa. Is the naked Goa mirroring my masculine gaze? The portrayed relationship between a naked female logger and a male filmmaker depicts our friendship in a way that would be described in anthropological terms as a joking relationship.[5] The ethnographic sequence that has to do with tree felling (and its unedited version named *Pekka Kantonen*) contains macabre hints to the battle and banter between genders. Goa's chainsaw evokes in a male viewer, or in me at least, the fear of castration. The saw cuts throw the lower branches of an upright tree, it fells a huge pine, it sets of the tension of a leaning trunk, and finally it cuts into a tree stump, which Goa's leather boot then kicks free. My last name Kantonen means little stump.

The Installation's Fourfold

Autobiography of a Friend is an installation that consists of five videos. Four of them show a fragmentary portrait of Goa and the fifth a view of the landscape around Goa's summer place in the archipelago. The form of the work is research-based fourfold.[6] Four wheelbarrows, each carrying a monitor and a DVD-player, have been pushed onto a field of sand spread out onto the floor of the Kunsthalle Helsinki. Four five-metre-long wooden planks have been arranged to form a cross and divide the field into four sectors. The horizontal axis contains the word pair ethnographic-artistic and the vertical axis the pair sequence-monograph. These word pairs name the four sectors. In the front left there is ethnographic monograph, in the front right artistic monograph, in the back left ethnographic sequence and in the back right artistic sequence. Each wheelbarrow and its video occupies one of these sectors. As the makers of the work, we are offering four different interpretations of Goa's summer identity. The description of the work mentions that visitors may ask the guard to change the position of a wheelbarrow if they feel it is misplaced within the fourfold.

In relation to the installation, "ethnographic" implies a research-oriented approach. Ethnography is research-based writing on people or peoples based on fieldwork that employs the method of participatory observation. "Artistic" refers to activities that follow methods and ethics defined by the artist; it is a way of thinking that guides the artist's decision making in his or her practice. "Sequence" denotes a simple, dense whole that deals with a single topic. The sequence film is a small-scale short film and a subgenre of ethnographic film developed by filmmakers John Marshall and Timothy

Ethnographic sequence of
Autobiography of a Friend
– Artist in Service.

Asch depicting a single topic or event.[7] A "monograph" likewise focuses on a single topic but attempts to combine everything essential about its subject matter into a diverse yet totalising entity. An ethnographic film corresponding to the form of a monograph attempts to relate all filmed material under its general idea. In *Autobiography of a Friend* the fourfold's tension lies between ethnographic and artistic intention. Ethnography aims to generate knowledge about its subject matter, while artistic practice attempts to give form to it.

The Four Videos of the Fourfold

The opening scene of the *Ethnographic Sequence* shows a pathway through a brushwood made of natural stones, which leads to a sandy beach flanked by knotty pines basking in the sunlight. The text, Sandö, 1.–5.7.2006, informs the viewer where and when the video was shot. The landscape cuts to a close-up of a service building with a long-limbed and muscular woman, otherwise naked except wearing a pair of shabby leather boots and a leather cap, stepping out of its door carrying a chainsaw. The close-up shows how the woman encircles the largest and eldest pine on the beach, raises the saw to eye-level and cuts into its lowest branches. In the backlight, we see her nimbly climb up the tree's trunk with some traction ropes hanging off her shoulder. She ties the ropes to the bases of the branches, lowers herself down the tree and tests the pull on the ropes. The camera is filming off a tripod from some distance away when four people dressed in holiday attire arrange themselves in pairs on both side of the tree and get ready to pull on the ropes. The chainsaw roars, and we hear the woman shout orders to her assistants: "Pull!" "Run!", and the king pine falls. The axe thuds cut into the sound carpet of birds chirping as the woman chops at the wood. A close-up shows a small crucifix swinging between her sweaty breasts. In the last shot, the filmmaker's hand can be seen inserting wood into the stove of the sauna.

The titles of the scenes in the *Ethnographic Monograph* are: Arriving to Sandö, Kinship, Care of the Environment, Food Supply, Wood Supply, Contemporary Media, Free Time and Meaning of the Place. The video shows the trip to the island of Sandö where Goa's family has held ownership of several hectares of land for 75 years. Goa's great grandfather, forester Gösta von Zweybergk, bought the most stunted part of the forest at a modest price because it reminded him of the stark landscape of Lapland where he had fallen in love with Goa's great grandmother. Goa's grandmother had a

summer cottage built on the island in 1971, when Goa was seven years old. Since then Goa has spent all of her summers save two on the island. The video follows Goa as she meets with relatives who are spending their holidays on the same island, cuts down a bed of eutrophic reeds, fishes, chops wood, plays beach volley, and finally it records Goa's thoughts on what the place means to her. Goa says that it is the place where she is closest to God, and it is also where God comes closest to her.

The Artistic Sequence is documentation of a performance for the camera, which took place on a deserted beach on Goa's property. Goa crawls naked towards the camera and past it. She moves with her upper body upside down but still upright – like a headless torso – dragging her head so that it is hard to tell apart the position and movement of individual limbs. The video captures almost the entire event. In the end Lea can be heard singing a hymn.

The Artistic Monograph begins with a discussion between the members of a small invited audience who comment on the first version of the ethnographic sequence and the early stages of the ethnographic monograph. The image jumps between shots from a later commentary on the discussion and shots from other events mentioned during the course of the discussion. The topic changes with an uncontrollable air, from gender performativity to contemplation on religion and filmmaking. The countless discussions in which the filmed material is watched and the form of the work discussed establish the reflexive nature of the monograph.

The Dialogic Approach

The dialogic approach characterises all artworks created by Lea and myself. *Generational filming* is based on discussions between people – watching the videos, spending time in a forest or in a kitchen – and the interpretations of the videos in the case studies. Our socially engaged art projects[8] have been based on dialogues between us and those participating in the projects. Compared to all of our other artistic projects, *Autobiography of a Friend – Artist in Service* applies such a dialogic approach possibly in the most diverse way.

According to Bakhtin, Dostoyevsky does not retain for himself a privilege over meanings, but only keeps the smallest amount of compulsory expertise that narration requires (Ibid.73). In the planning of our installation we aimed to leave the construction of an impression of Goa mostly to the viewer. Each of the four videos attempted to draw up the figure of

Goa within their theoretical restrictions – the terminology of the four-fold – as truthfully as possible. The mosaic served to rupture the more or less unbroken sequences of each video. This fundamentally paradoxical view corresponded to Lea's and my image of Goa before making the work. Goa did not comment on the truthfulness of the portrayal, but gave herself "to the service of other artists". The performance in the artistic sequence is her most direct statement about the portrayal – and it is a non-verbal commentary. Goa resisted our idea of the fourfold persistently. She, like many others that took part in the artistic monograph, suggested that we forego the fourfold and concentrate on making a one-channel video work. Goa also disliked the name but finally agreed to it in want of a better option.

According to Bakhtin, Dostoyevsky's characters are not what they claim to be but neither are they what Dostoyevsky claims they are. In *Autobiography of a Friend* Lea, Goa and I – its authors – do not claim to articulate who Goa is. The artistic monograph is a dogged attempt to elucidate Goa's artistic identity through the method of *generational filming*. In one of its sequences Lea and I discuss in the forest:

> LEA: We somehow respect Goa's artistic vision… In this artistic video Goa's artistic vision becomes predominant, Goa is in dialogue with us as an artist, and we try in this artistic…
>
> PEKKA: But who defines Goa's artistic vision when she says that she is completely at our service?
>
> LEA: It's an aesthetics in which we as colleagues create the aesthetics, a collaborative, socially engaged aesthetics in which the portrayed person surrenders as material to the director out of a mutual decision, and it is by definition… Or it's the decision of the person who is portrayed that we do it like this. I think it positions itself against the hegemonic ethics of community-based art. (The artistic monograph of *Autobiography of a Friend*)

Autobiography of a Friend is the community-based project of three artists and two families that pushes the boundaries of community-based art. Do two families and their network of friends serve as enough grounds for community-based art? How do you call a community-based project in which all adults are artists? I justify my decision to define *Autobiography of a Friend* as community based art by the fact that the group's small size and professional competency warrant that many aesthetic and ethical norms of community-based art can be questioned. I consider *Autobiography of a Friend* an example of dialogical art.

Grant Kester's concept of *dialogical aesthetics* is a statement against avant-gardist art and modernist aesthetics in general. In *Conversation Pieces* Kester does not give a fixed definition of the concept, but lets several artistic examples serve as its definition. Among these are English artist Stephen Willats's residential projects, Austrian collective Wochenklausur's staged dialogues between diverse social groups and the encounters between Asian and western artists organised by Singaporean-German artist Jay Koh. (See Kester 2004:82–123.) In his book *The One and the Many: Contemporary Collaborative Art In A Global Context* (2011) Kester continues his analysis of dialogical art and expands its reach to global and non-western contexts. He no longer writes of "dialogical aesthetics". It has come to be replaced by "collaborative art practice".

Although artworks pertaining to *dialogical aesthetics* are rooted in soil tilled by the avant-garde, it questions several of the ideals of its predecessor. Although self-questioning is part of the avant-garde ethos, the desire of dialogical art to compromise both with its audience and between those participating in the project is decisively not. In the art Kester promotes dialogue between the audience and the participants is at the heart of the aesthetics. The work of art or other end result does not have intrinsic value but dialogue aiming for a shared good or collective decision does. The artist is not self-sufficient and solely in charge of the work but listens to the participants and compromises with them to a necessary extent. "A dialogical aesthetic suggests a very different image of the artist, one defined in terms of openness, of listening […], and of a willingness to accept a position of dependence and intersubjective vulnerability relative to the viewer or collaborator." (Ibid.110.)

Dialogical aesthetics suggests that we abandon focusing solely on the end result in the evaluation of the work or project, and that the process of making the artwork and discussions and post-discussions related to it are valued alongside the final creation. Art is thus defined first and foremost as dialogical communication. It is not expected to have universal meaning. "Rather, it is based on the generation of a local consensual knowledge that is only provisionally binding and that is rounded at the level of collective interaction." (Ibid.112.) Even if the consensus is temporary, the aesthetics conceptualised by Kester favours long-term, coherent communities. The change that the artwork attempts to bring about does not aim for a momentary surge of good feeling; a meaningful community-based art project aims for a sustainable improvement in the life of the community. A successful, and usually long-term project changes all parties involved: the artist, the participants and the audience.

Many Kesterian ideals are fulfilled in *Autobiography of a Friend*, but many are also carnivalised. The carnevalesque characteristics exemplify our dissimilarities with Kester's reading of Bakhtin. Two nuclear families with long-term marriages and their friends are a "coherent community" in many respects. Families that have sailed through relationships and marriage crises are the corner stones of a western model of society. They are ways of life into which all of us westerners are interpellated.[9] All other options are still deviations to the norm. Friendship between nuclear families, similarly as the unity within a nuclear family, belongs to the main infrastructure of bourgeois society. Our micro-community was not, however, cohesive in a heteronormative sense. Goa's family is a blended family, and the group discussing *Autobiography of a Friend* consisted of a single mother, an unmarried couple, a family of two mothers and a child, and a gay man.

The *dialogical aesthetics* is carnivalised due to a sort of error in scale. The death of the sparrow is the most shocking and cataclysmic event in the whole work. The fate of the sparrow is symbolic. It symbolises a religious crisis. The self-reflexive discussions about the form of the work sound as deadly serious as the discussions on mental health. The work´s comedy is based on seriousness. Aesthetic details are considered with similar thoroughness as existential confessions. The contrast with the dialogical projects Kester describes is substantial. Those deal with important societal issues: construction plans on Hamburg's central park, Argentina's La Plata river's delta's ecosystem, and India's Advasi people's sacred places. (See *The One and the Many*) Kesterian dialogical art is often pragmatist in nature as it aims for concrete changes that better the lives of the participants. There was no such agenda in *Autobiography of a Friend*. It did attempt to change – and actually did change – the artists' and other participants' ideas in the spirit of *dialogical aesthetics*. Our notions about gender and agency changed during the project, but the dialogue lacked the ethos of consensus. The dialogue was agonistic in Belgian philosopher Chantal Mouffe's notion: all kinds of different notions of values ran rampant without finding consensus. However, they never boiled over and became antagonistic, hostile conflicts (See e.g. Mouffe 2000).[10] We wanted to express this agonism and polyphony in the end result of the project. Mouffe's notion of agonism can be interpreted as sharing a similar quality as Bakhtin's notion of polyphony. Both of them accept multiple voices without harmonising them. Goa did not agree with some of our decisions, but neither Lea nor I form a monolithic and unified view. Our conflict is present in the work. We did not reach agreement about how we should address the viewer:

LEA: Could we find a way of editing, in which we could make the viewer a direct question?

PEKKA: Middle plates (titles?) could be a direct way.

LEA: The audience should be addressed somehow.

PEKKA: Middle plates would be the most direct way, because talking to the camera is not addressing the audience.

LEA: Maybe we could try it.

PEKKA: Who would speak? I would.

LEA: I would, too.

PEKKA: No, because it is me who is behind the camera. When Goa presents her idea about conflation she is looking at the camera and at me. This act defines the role of the camera.

LEA: Yes, in that case.

PEKKA: We could of course make the viewer to imagine that the object of her gaze would be somebody else, but we would need the methods of montage, then.

LEA: We could find a dialogical way of addressing: Hi audience! Hi you in the Kunsthalle, here we artists in this forest want to ask you what you personally think about art.

PEKKA: Mind the mosquito on your nose.

LEA: How do you understand the relationship between art and research? Do you see this as art or as research? How would you define the relationship between these four videos?

PEKKA: You are being dialogical in a didactic way. Maybe you want to add a facebook address.

LEA: I am asking a question. Is it dialogical?

PEKKA: My immediate answer is: no. You are making it pushy. I would hate to see an artist in a video waving her hand at me.

LEA: So how can we address an audience member without being pushy?

LEA: I claim we can do it by white text on black screen. Or we could follow Godard. His films are a good example about addressing people. (The artistic monograph of *Autobiography of a Friend*)

I notice that the joking relationship that manifests itself in *Autobiography of a Friend* does not find a worthy expression when I try to define it through Kester's and Butler's theorisations. They remain, borrowing Bakhtin's words, strange to me. When attempting to describe Goa's gender, Butler's notions of gender construction feel foreign just like Kester's *dialogical aesthetics* feels in relation to our artistic practice. Why? Perhaps it has to do with a different kind of sense of humour. For example, Butler's refusal of an essentialist notion of identity is so absolute that it does not leave space to interpret someone whose life contains God, the basic unit of essentialism. Making fun of her own religiousness is a source of enjoyment in her

life. If, according to *dialogical aesthetics*, the objective of a community-based art project is to create a temporary consensus, that objective is not reached in *Autobiography of a Friend*. It is sought in the discussions that seem to go on endlessly but only amusing disagreement is achieved. Perhaps the participants' shared sense of humour is the consensus that fulfils the criteria of Kester's *dialogical aesthetics*? If in the *Tunúwame* project the *dialogical aesthetics* is applied with earnest motives, here we apply it with playful motives.

Kester's interpretation of Bakhtin's dialogism emphasises the equality of different voices, not their discord. An artist working within the principles of *dialogical aesthetics* leaves the last word unsaid in her work. The participants retain some power to influence the end result. According to Bakhtin's interpretation, in Dostoyevsky's polyphonic novel the author listens to his characters, gives them liberties and records their speech. This is also how the dialogical artist works. "Assertive ways of saying" give way to the "aesthetics of listening" (Kester 2004:102–107). The process behind *Autobiography of a Friend* was more along the lines of *dialogical aesthetics* than the end result, which lacked any aspiration to achieve common understanding. The artwork was born out of discussions between different parties and the discussions themselves became part of the artwork. Their nature was self-reflective and they were focused as much on the form that the piece would take as on its topic, Goa's Finnish-Swedish summer identity. Due to its emphasis on self-reflectivity, *Autobiography of a Friend* became an art project that Miwon Kwon would define as *collective art praxis*. It did not attempt to paint a comprehensive portrait of Goa or to empower her through her realisation of the importance the place holds for her. It constructed a temporary fourfold out of her life and summer lifestyle.

In August 2009, we watched with Goa and her husband Ilkka the entire discussion filmed a year previously in the Välivuosi gallery. It is the discussion which the artistic monograph is based on and contains the story about a human born into the body of a sparrow. We considered adding Ilkka as the fourth author of the work, since he was its first viewer and commentator. He inevitably became part of the artwork. Watching the unedited discussion on the island of Sandö was a harrowing experience for all four of us. A month later Ilkka voiced what he believed had happened in the viewing of the material. He felt that there was something in watching oneself in an unedited video recording that French philosopher René Girard terms *mimetic desire*. (Girard 2008) It is desire motivated by jealousy and envy, which wants that which the other wants or what the other is. This desire was emphasised because, not only did Ilkka have to watch him-

self taking part in the events, he also had to endure others' interpretations about him in the other generations of the video, and Ilkka – just like the rest of the participants – was exposed over and over again.

> **ILKKA:** Is the camera rolling? I've been thinking in the meantime, since we watched it in Sandö, the word I've been thinking about that's related to your method, which I keep thinking about, I'd use the word 'expose', it always exposes something about the nature of reality, it exposes people's own space to themselves, one's own situation, relations between people, which you can't see when you're in the middle of it. Then when there's an added layer, that which the exposure, the terror of being exposed about your own... I'd use Girard's term mimetic conflict to describe being exposed. One of Girard's main attempts is to reveal the violent competition between people. It shows itself there, your method reveals it. Whether you're filming a family or any other group of people, exposure always happens. Precisely because of the generationality. The more it gets repeated the more there are layers of exposure.
>
> **PEKKA:** One layer does not logically follow from the next; it doesn't strengthen it but might reverse it instead.
>
> **ILKKA:** And what's best, it also exposes you.
>
> **PEKKA:** Even though I'm behind the camera.
>
> **ILKKA:** Yes it does, that's why I like the method. It would be horrible if one would remain someone looking from above. There is that aspect but at the same time you're on the other side (below). Exposures happen within you too. When you film like this (yourself).
>
> (Our kitchen in Hermanonkimaa, August 29, 2009)

French philosopher, US resident René Girard's (1923–2015) theory on mimetic rivalry and conflict is, unlike other postmodern theories, an attempt to claim that a grand narrative, one all-inclusive theory on culture, is indeed possible. This narrative does not flatter mankind: humans became human through an act of ritual murder. All cultural institutions are based on an archaic religion that believes in the sacrifice of one in the stead of many. Even language was born to represent this act of violence. The development of cultures is based on envy. All desires are mimetic, which means that man does not desire something for himself or for the sake of some other thing but because someone else wants it. When everyone cannot get the same thing mimetic rivalry ensues and when it boils over it turns into mimetic conflict. In order to avoid the battle of "all against all", a mutual enemy is chosen, a scapegoat, to be eliminated together. No one is to blame for this deed since everyone took part in it. Thus, harmony returns to the community and the scapegoat becomes sanctified and worshipped, since it was him or her who restored peace. According to Girard, this cycle

repeats itself with variation regardless whether it is studied on the scale of societies, small communities or personal networks. (Girard 2008)

Ilkka's comment on Girard opened up a new direction, which I pursued. I read Girard's *Violence and the Sacred* (2004), which was translated into Finnish, as well as the Nuori Voima Magazine's special issue on Girard (2008). I was convinced that his theory on mimesis not only explained *generational filming* but also framed all the rest of my artistic practice. I fell for it like I had previously fallen for Foucault's genealogy or Althusser's interpellation. My way of reading was immersive: everything that I read happens to me – whether I am reading a description of events or theory. Such a way of reading was taught to me by my most influential arts teacher, theatre director Jouko Turkka.

I have finished reading Dostoyevsky's *The Idiot*.[11] Rogozhin has killed Nastassya, and Prince Myshkin, after staying awake with Rogozhin at Nastassya's deathbed, has descended into a state of idiocy. Hippolyte, who suffered from consumption, and the drunken general Ivolgin have died. I have identified especially with these four – not with Rogozhin. The only one left alive with whom I can identify with is Prince Myshkin, who is in a state of idiocy. The insight that I have gained through my literary struggle is crystallised in a question, which I do not know the answer to and which I even do not know how to search for. Understanding the experience, which the phenomenological approach provides tools for, is not enough. One has to understand the nature of the structuring of life and human identity. Bridging these two is something that *Autobiography of a Friend* and its textual analysis fail to do.

Endnotes

1   All the case studies in this book can be considered as socially engaged art, because they are based on co-operation with people in social context. Case studies described in chapters 6 and 7 are in conventional sense more socially engaged art than the other case studies.

2   Out of the doctoral theses in the Fine Arts Academy of the University of the Arts Helsinki, Jay Koh's *Art-Led Participative Processes. Dialogue and Subjectivity within Performances in the Everyday*. (The Academy of Fine Arts at the University of the Arts Helsinki 2015) uses Bakhtin's and Kester's thinking in its analysis of cross-cultural community art.

3   The translators of *The Idiot*, Henry and Olga Carlisle, write the name of the author "Dostoyevsky", but the translator of Bakhtin´s *Problems of Dostoevsky´s Poetics,* Caryl Emerson writes it "Dostoevsky". I apply the former spelling.

4   French Claude Lévi-Strauss (1908-2009), creator of structural anthropology, labels in his book *The Savage Mind* (1966) someone who uses the tools and materials that are at hand according to his or her needs and imagination a *bricoleur*. He or she can do this and that, but does not master work like a professional. In Lévi-Strauss's binary construct, *engineer* is a professional of the field. His or her actions reflect a way of thinking that Lévi-Strauss terms the "scientific mind". The bricoleur's actions reflect the workings of a "savage mind".

5   In anthropological research, a joking relationship is a relationship in which there is sexual tension between a man and a woman that, giving the rules of the community, can be expressed through bullying and banter. For example, a man may make sexual insinuations to his brother's wife publicly since they are revealed as banter already when they are uttered and thus are rendered harmless. When both parties can ridicule each other the relationship is called a symmetrical relationship. When only one side is allowed to ridicule the other it is called an asymmetrical relationship. A joking relationship ritualises and carnivalises relationships between men and women and tensions within communities or extended family. Sexual tensions are consequently governed by the structural rules of the community. Within classical anthropology, English anthropologist Alfred Radcliffe-Brown has dealt with this topic in particular in his studies on West Africa. (See e.g. Radcliffe-Brown, Alfred, 1940. "On Joking Relationships". *Journal of the International African Institute* 13 (3):195–210.)

In 1962, Ethnographic filmmaker John Marshall made the short film *A Joking Relationship*, in which a girl soon to enter marital age and her uncle jokingly discuss matters of gender. I became familiar with the concept 'joking relationship' in Mexico's Rarámuri villages. During our community-based projects we attended corn beer festivities, in which people of different ages embraced each other while others looked at them and laughed. I gained deeper understanding of the festivities after I

had read American anthropologist John G. Kennedy's monograph *Tarahumara of the Sierra Madre*. Kennedy describes the Rarámuri, or Tarahumaran, joking relationship as a "burlesque courtship". (Kennedy 1978:196–198)

6   The fourfold is a graphic illustration that is used to depict an entity made up of two pairs of concepts and their relationships. It is applied to very many different kinds of instances: those of strategic planning, social research, communication – in any type of informative demonstration in which the theme can be restricted by two pairs of concepts. In the 1960s, American business consultant Albert S. Humphrey developed the SWOT analysis for strategic planning in companies. The fourfold of the SWOT analysis consists of the word pairs Strengths-Weaknesses and Opportunities-Threats. For a large-scale study on welfare in the 1970s, Finnish sociologist Erik Allardt composed a fourfold in which the word pairs wellbeing-happiness and standards of life-quality of living offered a method to analyse the Nordic societies (Allardt 1976). The newspaper Helsingin Sanomat has used in several instances a fourfold diagram to elucidate its articles of investigative journalism. The newspaper published on October 14, 2012 an article by sociologist Tuomas Ylä-Anttila, which analysed the newspaper's survey on eight core values sent to the 4 000 municipal election candidates of Uusimaa. He placed all of the answers of the candidates of different parties in the fourfold consisting of the pairs right wing-left wing and conservative-liberal (Helsingin Sanomat 14.10.2012). In the social sciences, using the fourfold has surged due to French philosopher and sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's study *La Distinction* (1979) in which he establishes the connection between social class and taste.

7   By the end of the 1950s, ethnographic filmmaker John Marshall had filmed the Ju'hoasi people of the Kalahari dessert, nowadays an area belonging to Namibia, for decades. (In the 1950s the Ju'hoasi were called by their colonial name Bushmen, and later they were called the Kungs, then the Sans.) Much of the filmed material was left unused. Especially at the end of the decade, when synchronic sound had been invented for portable filming, Marshall had filmed with his Ju'hoasi friends intimate, everyday events and discussions that each had their own little story, but that would not fit any larger narration. Together with the young filmmaker Timothy Asch, who had also filmed the Ju'hoasi, Marshall developed a subcategory to ethnographic film, the sequence. It was a type of short film that depicted one event or topic, and unlike ethnographic film in general it did not strive to explain all of the visual material or to give an overall picture of the people or community in question. "Film can follow small events closely, letting them take their own time and produce their own content. The result is a sequence notable for the lack of conceptual and contextual framework which other forms of film attempt to supply. Most filmmakers would be unwilling to call a sequence a film." (Marshall (1993) qtd. in El Guindi 2004:100.) Marshall's *A Joking Relationship* presents an intimate discussion between a girl soon to enter marital age and her uncle in the shade of a tree. The western spectator, such as myself, is discomfited by the playful eroticism and warm confidentiality of the encounter. The film only shows us this moment, without background information on the Ju'hoasi's family ties or marital preparations. *The Meat Fight's* (1974) brawl about hunting spoils instils similar feelings of confusion.

The topic of a sequence was often selected based on the one hand on its denseness and on the other on its ambiguity and confusing quality that made it hard to fit into a larger ethnographic presentation, which usually aimed to explain its subject matter. Timothy Asch made his most famous sequence film in collaboration with anthropologist Napoleon Chagnon among the Yanomamö people in the Amazonas. *A Father Washes His Children* (1974) shows the care with which shaman Dedeheiwa washes his nine children. In another film, *Magical Death* (1970), the same shaman organises a magical death to all the enemies of the village under the influence of hallucinogenic mushrooms.

I read about sequence film while doing an exercise in anthropological fieldwork, in which I used as source material our home videos (See chapter 5: *Scolding*). I started to think about the application of the concept of sequence film to our video diary material. The example scene I was working with showed Lea and I scolding our son and his friend. During one of our *Sunday walks* I lectured to Lea about sequence film.

Pekka: I am fascinated with the thought that I would refrain from making artistic and many-sided video works for the artistic part of my research. The research motive would be the prime purpose of the videos.

Lea: Research? I think they are pictures first, like moving pictures in a wizard's family-album (in *Harry Potter*). They are pictures about a family situation, for example the picture where you are straining with the chainsaw and Ukko is carrying boards. There is the father, the son, and their relationship. They are separated and together, both involved in a kind of construction work that does not need any background information, with a rhythm and movement proper for their corresponding ages. It is all there as in a family-album picture.

Pekka: A sequence film is to narrate only one thing, not many.

Lea: I see the scolding video as a sequence film.

Pekka: But when the commentatory scenes are added, it is no longer a sequence. It is gaining other expectations.

Lea: It is discursive, the knowledge is mainly in the discussions. Of course there is some knowledge in our positioning related to space and each other. But the main thing is the talking, compared with, for example, the transfer-of-knowledge videos, the ones in which you are with Tyyni on a swing or rolling the logs with Ukko, which are conveying non-discursive knowledge. I am fascinated with your non-discursiveness. I am afraid that you are getting too much overwhelmed with narration.

Pekka: There is no fear of that.

Lea: Sequence film is also a picture, figured by framing and inclusion. It´s not un-artistic, I mean you cannot escape the art.

Pekka: Now you are misunderstanding.

Lea: That's good.

Pekka: First of all, the sequence film is not leading to narration. On the contrary, it is the thematic (monograph) film which is leading to narration, because you cannot define the theme if you don't

start adding levels to the obvious action that is taking place in front of the camera. Sequence film is striving to demonstrate as clearly as possible the action that is framed as an action. If it has ethnographic purposes, it does not have these artistic levels, or at least it is not striving to add more levels to the factual....

Lea: ...you are speaking of ethnographic film now.

Pekka: Yes, but this is not the solution that I am looking for. Instead I want to find another solution: What is an artistic sequence film? Is it a conceptual contradiction? I don't think so, because I am trying to crystallize that the art, in this meaning that I am trying to demonstrate, is bringing a level connected to the activity of filming and not to the action filmed. The main point of my research is really concentrated on filming. If I start to be a real puritan in this respect, I only concentrate on the most essential, I don't start constructing additional...

Lea: ...what is the most essential?

Pekka: It is constructed by every sequence itself. It is not necessarily demonstrating how porridge is cooked in this family, but it can also demonstrate, let's see, how to demonstrate a 360-degree space.

Lea: Then it has two levels: how to cook the porridge and how to demonstrate space.

(The forest of Hermanonkimaa, June 3, 2007)

The most well-known collaborative work by Asch and Chagnon, *The Axe Fight* (1971), is interesting from the perspective of *generational filming*. One particular night, Asch and Chagnon had the opportunity to witness a half an hour axe fight between the villagers and their guests. An outsider would not be able to make much of the material shot in darkness just as it is. Asch and Chagnon decided to show the same sequence three times. The first time around we hear them trying to make sense of the sequence. Then the same sequence is shown again with added still images and diagrams clarifying the family relations of the protagonists. Finally, the brawl is shown in the most candid documentary form without commentary. The motivation to replay same sequence several times was first and foremost pedagogical and ethnographic. The film was the first in its genre to both show ethnographic material and reflect upon the ethnographic research process. (El Guindi 2004:103.)

8   Lea's doctoral thesis *Teltta. Kohtaamisia nuorten taidetyöpajoissa.* (*Tent. Encounters in Artistic Workshops with Young People*). (2005) introduces and analyses community-based projects realised within the framework of the *Tent Project*.

9   According to French Marxist philosopher Louis Althusser hegemonic ideology interpellates or invites each subject to live according to the predominant ideology whether the subject wanted to or not. In a way, Althusser turned Karl Marx's basic notion about society on its head. For Marx, the economic system is the basic structure and the immaterial parts of society, such as its predominant ideology or its culture, its higher tier, which take shape according to the economic structure. According to Althusser ideology is a structure that extends everywhere, and controls the minds and lives of people. "Here, ideology is the system of the ideas and representations which dominate the

mind of a man or a social group." (Althusser 1971:106–107.) Althusser, like Marx, believes ideologies are imaginary, but Althusser adds that they define one's relationship to reality. "What is represented in ideology is therefore not the system of the real relations which govern the existence of individuals, but the *imaginary* relation of those individuals to the real relations in which they live." (Ibid.111.) (italics mine)

10 I address more thoroughly the value systems of the different approaches to socially engaged art in the final chapter of this book.

11 My supervisor Ray has finished the reading of this chapter. His comment:
"Lucas van der Weyden in which Christ on the Cross looks directly at the viewer. It is this terminal view of the one about to die…the scapegoat… who sees humanity as it truly is. It is the epileptic's moment of clarity before the storm. The storm of the nervous system, but also the social storm about to engulf the royalty of Russia. Dostoyevsky shared his disease with the aristocracy but also was one of the people.

Do you lead the audience into a place where you can 'see' them as they are? (As you too are?) Naturally at this point in the dissertation, the reader will ask whether Girard can also be applied to the moments of crisis described in the previous chapters: the hot soup, Ukko's birthday especially, and whether it was the audience themselves who wished sacrifice in haircut. Whether you became the scapegoat there and in previous chapters. Have you scapegoated yourself or purposely placed yourself in the position of the scapegoat as a kind of 'trap' for the audience? The scapegoat, Myshkin, the epileptic, Dostoyevsky himself, holds a kind of communal power through the act of observation at the edge of chaos. There is a painting by the manner they present themselves. Like the fox who seeks the piece of food held by the crow, you entice them to sing ("Such a beautiful voice you have, let me hear you sing.") through the power and promise of the camera's 'exposure', and they thereby drop the food into your mouth."

Ripples at Home Exhibition

This chapter deals with the central artistic part of my doctoral work, *Ripples at Home*, an exhibition that was realised together with Lea Kantonen at the Kunsthalle Helsinki in the spring of 2011. Firstly, I shall introduce the works with Sakari Viika's photographs and our texts in the exhibition leaflet. The graphic depiction at the start of this chapter is the floorplan of the exhibition by Mika Aalto-Setälä. Following the introduction I will describe the production process of the show. The forms of indexing and editing were developed during my research as I became more aware of how the spatial and written forms of the research were developing, after which I move on to explaining the planning of editing and installation. The structuring and indexing of the material are part of both the written and the artistic side of my research and there is no distinction between where the structuring or indexing serve only one part of the research. Therefore, I shall describe the show and the written part as a single process, in which the initial stage is the same for the artistic piece and the written work, after which we make the works and I write the chapter.

The research question of this chapter deals with *generational filming* as a method and how the case studies may be shown as installations and video works. Before the Kunsthalle show, which only included two nights, the original viewing event of the method was usually a performance. Is it possible to frame a participatory process based on interaction as a gallery piece? Is it possible to preserve the interactive part of the work? I shall look at questions of choice, editing and installation in this chapter. I call *diachronic editing* the type where editing takes place within the confines of a single video tape or project, and *synchronic editing* where the piece is a

multi-channel video work, consisting either of multiple video tapes or projects[1]. I shall analyse the differences between plot-based pieces and works lacking a plot. I shall also make a difference between the traditional view of history based on causality and Foucault's genealogical view of history. The basis of my analysis of our chronological and fragmentary video diary is Foucault's genealogical view of the historical process.

Ripples at Home is a Gesamtkunstwerk (a total work of art) that depicts a view of the home as a mediated meeting place that forks into many relationships, power structures and cultural relations. Its history is told through a series of contingent and arbitrary chains of events that are branded by repetition, the relationship between space and people, deviations, the inevitability of seasons in nature and the invasion of the global media world. *Ripples at Home* opens up the method of *generational filming* from its original context – the forming of meaning through discussions with an audience. Some of the artworks exhibited in the Kunsthalle, those depicting our home and family history, may first be seen as deviating from the generational method, as they do not include comments from an audience. *Generational filming* is materialised in them through shots commenting other shots and thus forming a historical continuum. As I describe and analyse the show my point of view is that of a maker of art, accompanied by comments from the audiences. I aspire to express my view on the success and failure of the show reflexively from the position of an artist and to avoid taking the position of the viewer or generalising my own experiences or observations. When I write about the viewer or her place in the show it is a fantasy of mine that reflects my hopes and fears.[2]

The Works of Art in the Kunsthalle Show

In the catalogue leaflet we described *Ripples at Home* and the pieces in it in the following way:

> *Ripples at Home* examines the essence of the concept of home while extending its scope. Home is an open and evolving fabric of family members, friends, conversations, languages and cultures. A visitor entering a home – or an exhibition – always brings something new to the place and the situation.
>
> The processual works in the exhibition illustrate the Kantonens' idea of home as a place of conversation and community. In addition to the couple's own home Rauhala, we also get to visit the summer villa of a Finnish-Swedish family in the Turku archipelago, an artist residence in an apartment building in Burma, and the imaginary house of Grandma Hilda in Laihia, Finland.

LEA AND PEKKA KANTONEN

Ripples at Home: Map of Homes and

Stains on Grandma Hilda's Rug

Home:
The imaginary home of
Grandma Hilda, Laihia

The Four Seasons

Homes and other places:
Rauhala
Setoland
Säpmi (Samiland)

The German Time Was Enacted on Us

Homes and other places:
The house of Maria Kala, Helbi village
The house of Hilana Taarka, Võmmorski village
Obinitsa community house
Värska Cultural Centre
Museum Street, Tartu
Tartu Literary Museum
Museum of Cultures, Helsinki
The forests of Hermanonkimaa village
House of the Sciences, Helsinki
SIM-house, Reykjavik

The Home as Stage

Homes and other places:
Rauhala
The forests of Hermanonkimaa village
Finnish Academy of Fine Arts
Theatre Academy Helsinki
University of Art and Design Helsinki, UIAH
Sunway University,
Kuala Lumpur, Malesia
Anthropology Department
of the University of Helsinki
University of Leeds
Estonian Academy of Arts
Imatra Art School
Laznia Centre for Contemporary Art, Gdansk
Kuppala bar, Helsinki
SIM-house, Reykjavik
Ebe Ano restaurant, Berlin
The home of Kristiina Kajesalo, Helsinki

Translation Tours

(To be completed during the exhibition)
Homes and other places:
Setoland
Säpmi (Samiland)
Wixarikojen vuoristo
San Miguel Huaistita, Meksiko
Grandfather Deer´s Tail
Inari
Ivalo
Utsjoki
Karigasniemi
Kautokeino
Karasjoki

Other Places

The Dream and Blueberry Soup

Homes and other places:
Rauhala
Maya culture

Haircut

Homes and other places:
Rauhala
The forests of Hermanonkimaa village
Finnish Academy of Fine Arts
Theatre Academy, Helsinki
Artists´residence NICA, Yangon
Mänttä Art Festival
Post-Museum, Singapore

Autobiography of a Friend

Homes and other places:
Vedagrund, the summer cottage of Goa
Hamnnäs, the summer cottage of
Goa´s second cousin
Sodankylä
Swedish-speaking Turku archipelago
Välivuosi gallery
Rauhala
Heavenly Kingdom

Memoirs of an Entrance Rug

Home:
Rauhala,
the home of the
Kantonen family

- *Memoirs of an Entrance Rug.*
- *Autobiography of a Friend – Artist in Service.*

- ◨ *The Haircut.*

- ◧ *The Dream and Blueberry Soup.*

Generational Filming ✕ Ripples at Home exhibition

The homes videoed for the exhibition – private homes, homes of national, linguistic or cultural minorities – open their doors to the turmoil caused by visitors. The camera's gaze can provoke the host family to call their customs into question or defend them.

MEMOIRS OF AN ENTRANCE RUG

The entrance hall is that place in a home where guests first step in upon arrival. The entrance rug is where the artists' family members, guests and exhibition visitors meet each other and the video camera.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A FRIEND – ARTIST IN SERVICE

The protagonist and third author of *Autobiography of a Friend – Artist in Service* is sculptor Goa Zweygbergk, a Finnish-Swedish mother of four and a Christian left-wing artist, a landowner and an entrepreneur. Recorded at her summer villa in the Turku archipelago, the installation videos demonstrate the strength and fragility of her many identities.

The videos occupy various intermediate positions between art video and ethnographic video. The four videos in the installation are placed in wheelbarrows in the form of a fourfold table where the opposite pairs are artistic– ethnographic and sequence (simple)–monograph (complex).

THE HAIRCUT

A haircut is one of the ordinary events that occur in homes. When the event is shot on video and the resultant video, *The Haircut*, is translated into various languages, screened again and again, it acquires new meanings contingent on the language and the situation.

THE DREAM AND BLUEBERRY SOUP

The Dream and Blueberry Soup depicts an everyday domestic situation which embraces simultaneously the states of dreaming and wakefulness and the states of being a child, an adult and an animal.

THE FOUR SEASONS – VIDEO ORATORIUM

The Four Seasons tells the story of Rauhala, the home of the Kantonens, over a period of twenty years. In addition to domestic chores that vary with the time of the day and the seasons, also the home, its inhabitants, its regular guests as well as the countless

video recordings change and are affected by one another. The family members and guests appear in the video and sound recordings and in the recordings of recordings simultaneously in different ages.

For a group of visiting Seto people, Rauhala is a stopping point on their journey from Sápmi (Samiland) to Setoland. The Setos' drive to develop their language and community introduces a new perspective into the home of their hosts.

STAINS ON GRANDMA HILDA'S RUG

The work tells about an imaginary farm house in the Finnish province of Laihia, with something strange happening on the floor. The work is dedicated to Lea Kantonen's maternal grandmother, Hilda Nummela who was a skilful weaver, media artist Heidi Tikka who understands the structure of textiles, and artist- researcher Säde Pitkäpuro[3] with whom the Kantonens have over a period of several years developed a theory of stains, clots and smudges.

THE GERMAN TIME WAS ACTED UPON US

The research video *The German Time Was Acted upon Us* takes as its topic a song composed by Kukka Manni, sung by the Helbi choir and performed in the home of Kala Manni. The video also investigates the question, posed in the song, of the post-colonial situation in Setoland and the division of the question into a host of complex issues. Discussion of Kukka Manni's song is making its way into ever more public forums: from cultural and community centres to museums to an international anthropological conference, yet ultimately returning back home.

TRANSLATION TOURS (TO BE COMPLETED DURING THE EXHIBITION)

A group of indigenous Wixárika people from the Tatuutsi Maxakwaxi (Grandfather Deer's Tail) school in Mexico visited schools in Sápmi (Samiland) in 2006 at an invitation from the Finnish Saami Parliament and the non-governmental organisation CRASH. The next year, a group of Seto people made a tour of Sápmi (Samiland). The meaning and significance of the videos arises from the multilingual discussions and meetings between members of indigenous peoples and small nations. The artists serve in the role of interpreters and documentarists.

THE HOME AS STAGE

The series of four videos entitled *The Home as Stage* consists of events videoed at home, with people actively organising and altering the space for their own purposes

◧ *The Four Seasons – Video Oratorium.*

◧ *The Four Seasons – Video Oratorium.*

Ripples at Home exhibition ✕ **Generational Filming**
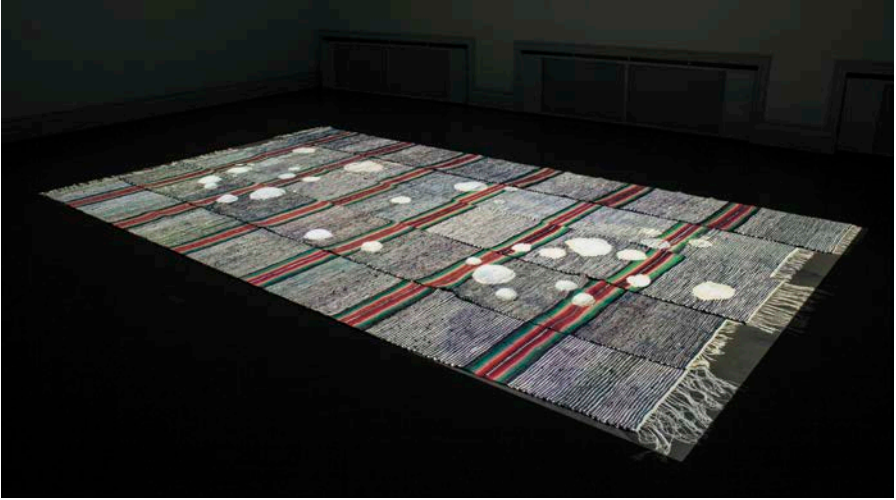
◼ *Stains on Grandma Hilda´s Rug.*

◼ *The Home as Stage.*

and performances. During the exhibition, Pekka Kantonen will discuss the videos on camera with the audience. Depending on the audience feedback, the videos will acquire new endings. The four episodes of the series are *Spying and Counter-Spying, The Dream and Blueberry Soup, Throwing* and *Scolding*.

The last video in the series, *Scolding,* is the first and most extensive work ever made using *generational filming*. A video of a child being scolded at a birthday party puts into motion a long series of events, where the camera, dubbed baby, begins to compete for attention with other family members, calling also the father's authority into question. In the subsequent video generations, the events are commented upon by other artists as well as a theologian, an anthropologist and a group of family therapists, all looking at it from their own perspective.

Premises

In our video installations in the 1990s and in the performance *Every Moment* (1993–1997) our home was the stage of temporal events: "The central theme of the video within the work is time. Our main interest has been how time passes within the piece. We have looked for shots in which time is either especially slow, dense or it completely loses its meaning." (Catalogue for *Every Moment, Everywhere*, Pori Art Museum 1997.) At the time we already thought of an installation that would create a feeling of being in a home in the middle of events. The project was left waiting for ten years, until in the spring of 2007, Lea had a dream:

> The dream took place in the entrance hall, it was the entrance hall of that Sámi home. We were guests and there were people constantly coming and going. Then there was that ecstatic dance with the man who was partly Pekka Aikio (then chairman of the Sámi Parliament of Finland), partly Petronilo (a Rarámuri chieftain in Mexico). I thought the dream was about the coming installation *Studio Kitchen* and about the role of the viewer or how the viewer would be seen as part of the piece. It also involved Kirsi (Kirsi Saarikangas, Lea's doctoral supervisor), whom I saw yesterday when she suggested that the floorplan of the home suggests different places for family members and guests, and of course, for adults and children, men and women. I think I walked through different rooms in the dream, and I guess we slept somewhere, but it was the entrance hall where it took place, or the important moments [...] The entrance hall in my mind is definitely a guest's place, because it is the first place you enter, and the rooms further in are the ones that are least open to the guests. [...] I thought about a piece that would take place in the entrance hall rather than in the kitchen. If it was a video installation or interactive, the guest's place in

the family corresponds with the visitor's place in a gallery, because they are short-term encounters, yet meaningful like in the dream." (our car, February 16, 2007)

Seeing dreams and following their suggestions is one of our artistic procedures that we have applied for decades[4]. Lea's dream creates a synthesis of our socially engaged projects, research work and video diary. The dream combines two indigenous political leaders from our dream-based *Tent* project, personifying their respective cultures in a single dance partner. The stage of the dream is an entrance hall of a Saami house but it could be any entrance hall. Lea's interpretation of the dream was that we should first set the installation we were planning in the entrance hall rather than in the kitchen. The dream made us realise that in the coming show the guest/visitor would proceed in the same manner as when one enters a home (or another culture): first into the entrance hall to greet the hosts before entering the living quarters. The dream told us that the show needed an introduction, an entrance.

Following Lea's dream we deliberately started shooting the video diary with the entrance hall as an important back-drop. We looked for shots in our video archive that had been filmed in the entrance hall and made new ones with the same framing or otherwise involving the older shots. The new handheld shots concentrated on following the events in the entrance hall or someone entering or leaving the entrance hall. The shots filmed off a tripod, on the other hand, concentrated on depicting the entrance hall as a space and a stage of action. At the same time, in the summer of 2007, we also started shooting clips in our combination of the kitchen and the living room to form a basis for another, larger video installation. All of the views in the projection would be shot through the large windows of our kitchen.

Studio Entrance hall (*Memoirs of an Entrance Rug*) which was shot in the entrance hall was first shown in the Finnish Academy of Fine Arts Gallery Välivuosi in August, 2008. The show was a process exhibition during which we edited and changed the video installation. We also made trial runs for two other video installations, *The Four Seasons* and *Autobiography of a Friend*.

Already in our early plans the Helsinki Kunsthalle best suited to our idea of the video diary as a spatial experience. The halls of the Kunsthalle are big and tall enough to fit our Rauhala home as video projections without having to compromise with scale. We wanted to exhibit our simple home, inside another unique building. The Kunsthalle is one of the finest 1920s neoclassical buildings in Helsinki, furthest away from our wooden house. The Kunsthalle and our house do have some important characteristics in common: both floor plans are based on the possibility to walk around
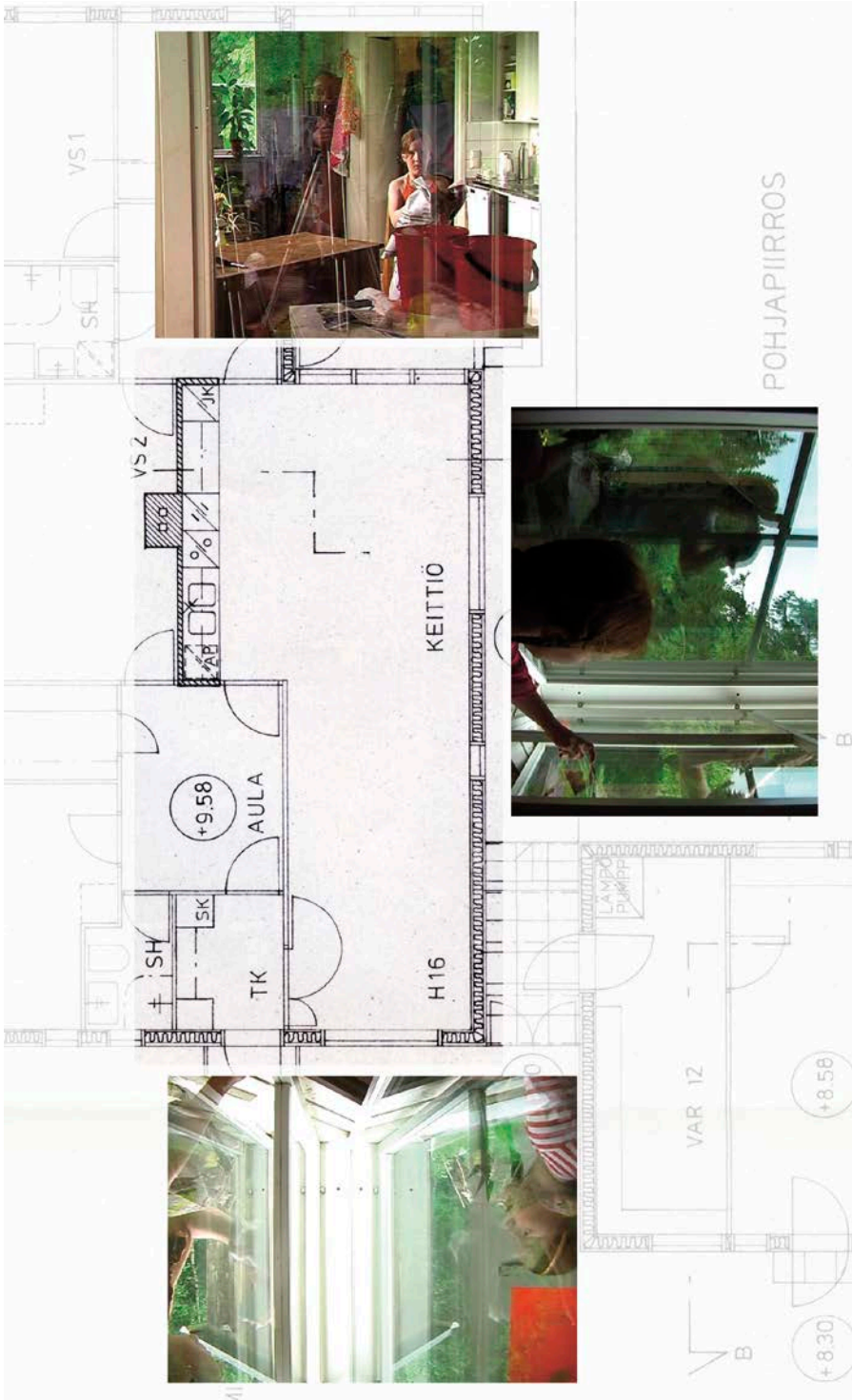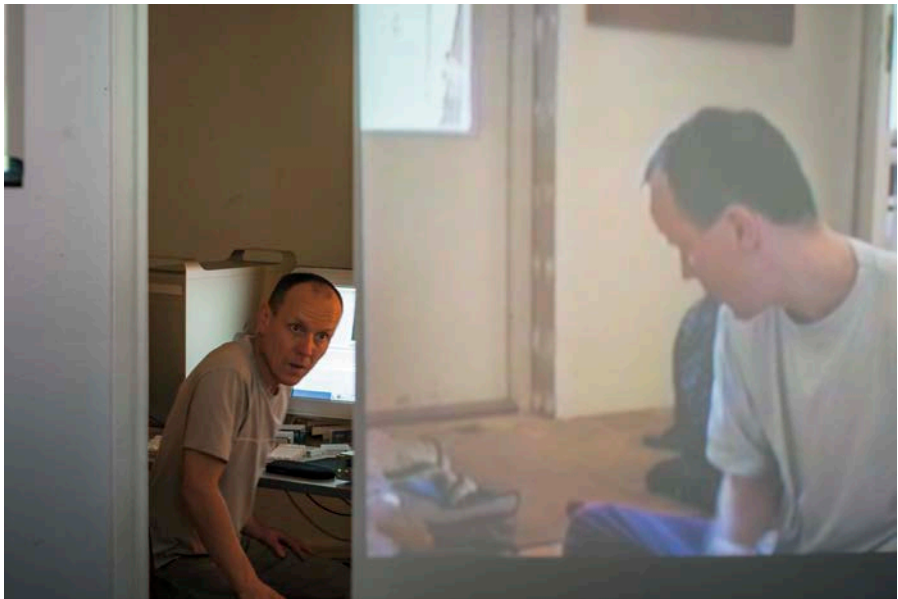
▌ The floorplan of our home with summer video stills of the windows for the planning of *The Four Seasons*. The porch window above, the kitchen window in the middle, and the forest window below.

▐ *The Four Seasons – Video Oratorium*.

▎ Editing inside *The Studio Entrance Hall* installation in Gallery Välivuosi 2008.

the space, from one room to another, and in both natural light creates a unique atmosphere for the inside.

When the exhibition was accepted in the Kunsthalle programme in the spring of 2009 we proceeded with the planning via two routes. The first one was to show the case studies of *generational filming* in installations and video works. The second was to depict our home as a spatial experience through video projections. At this point we had not realised yet that they were two variations of the same method. In September 2009 we characterized the show in a text written for the portfolio:

STAGING AND REPRESENTING HOME SPACE

We apply two types of artistic procedures in building a relationship between the spectator and our home space. In large installations (Studio Entrance Hall, Staged Living Room, Space of Carpets)[5] we invite visitors into our home space, but at the same time we restrain the visitor from immersing into it. The fourth wall[6] appears and disappears; transparent screens are 'windows' showing the space both from the inside and from the outside.

The main focus of the video projections is the relationship between living creatures and the space. Home space is constructed by movement rhythms and stoppages, making visible the two-directional relationship that moulds the inhabitant to his or her dwelling and vice versa.

The second procedure is the *generational filming* method. Here the focus is on the events and conversations that take place in the video shots. The first procedure invites people to discuss ontological questions, and the second epistemological and ethical questions.

Using these two procedures we want to represent home as a space that is under constant reconstruction and change. Home does not mean only staying in one place, but also includes travel, visits, displacements and communication with.

Indexing

Before starting to plan the Kunsthalle show we made trial runs and show versions of *generational filming* case studies and our first version of the *Memoirs of an Entrance Rug* in August 2008. Since we started performing the *Asking for Advice* performance in 2005 I systematically started to watch the video diary material and make an index that would serve the making of future pieces and video performances. In the 1990s, at the time I was working on *Every Moment,* I made a chronological list of video shots. The date, dura-

tion, location and event of every shot is mentioned. I assessed the shots on a scale from one minus to three plusses.

In the summer of 2006 we took part in the Mänttä Art Festival with *Studio Kitchen*, our furthest attempt in trying to organise our video diary according to anthropological classification. The piece consisted of four monitors, an editing desk, a bookcase, a kitchen and a sleeping corner. The walls were covered in white paper, on which I made notes while I was living and doing my research during the show. The classification of a society's life into cycles, by anthropologist Victor Turner, was the basis for my classification of our life on video. Turner classifies life into economic, life and ritual cycles. (Turner 1997 (1969): 1–43.) Very quickly I noticed that Turner´s ethnographic approach brought a new viewpoint to the video material, yet it did not serve the making of the pieces. His classification was created to serve written ethnography that intents to cover the whole year cycle of the life. Our video diary was too fragmentary for that type of classification.

I had to create my own indexing system to help me find the right clips for each piece in the Kunsthalle show and the right recorded conversations for my written research. The index was created unsystematically word by word as I kept watching the video material and writing notes about each clip. Before creating the index I had to decide what should be noted down for each clip and thus find the keywords for linking the videoed event to the written note and the editing project so that the clip could be used as a part of a finished piece and part of the research text.

First I had to decide what to write on the clip notes. The basic notes included the date, time of day, duration of the shot, whether it was a handheld or a tripod shot, the view, surroundings and main characters. I assessed the shots with minus and plus signs, whether it was an interesting event or had cinematic value. The description of an event or the transcription of a conversation would have required choices to be made because the possible use of a shot defined what would be worth mentioning. My supervisor Ray Langenbach suggested that something about the moments before the shots should be mentioned in the notes. The motives for filming and the nature of the shots would make it clearer in a very different way than what the shot alone could depict. For a few months I tried to follow his suggestion but realised that I had often forgotten what had happened before the shooting. The method would have required watching the material right after it was shot.[7]

The indexing of the primary material, the first generation, of the case studies was fairly simple. The public viewings of the following generations were also straightforward considering their indexing. However, the forest walks, countless discussions pondering the case studies, or the shots that

commented on the case studies, were not as straightforward. I decided, for example, to index all of the haircuts in our family under the *Haircut* case study. Dreams recounted on video have been included in *The Dream and Blueberry Soup* case study. It was more difficult to include various shots within the *Scolding* case study because the material included several different variations of scolding, reproach and rebuke as well as transferring of knowledge that may be relevant with the other case studies.

The indexing for the large home installation, *The Four Seasons*, was more difficult and was not quite finished before the editing started. The piece consisted of four large video projections and six monitors of various sizes. The pictures projected onto three translucent screens represented our three largish kitchen windows. The fourth, a video projected onto the gallery wall, shows the tile wall in our kitchen, which reflects the opposing window opening into the front yard. The four large projections synchronically show four days and the four seasons in just over 40 minutes. Inside the installation the viewer may experience a spring-, summer-, autumn- and winterday from dawn till dusk in our combined living room kitchen. At the same time the viewer may follow a twenty-year period with our family and friends in the room. We grow old and the room wears down.

When we started consciously shooting the windows for the installation in the summer of 2007 we did not uniformly frame the picture every day or shoot every window. At first we did not shoot the tile wall as the wall projection idea appeared only in the summer of 2009. The indexing of the shots made especially for the installation was fairly easy but the way the indexing of the hundreds of shots taken in our kitchen that would serve the final result was more difficult. The shots off a tripod from the 1990s only needed five references: the kitchen window, the porch window, the forest window, the wall, the kitchen. If any of the windows was even partly visible it defined the shot. The kitchen wall was in very few shots. The kitchen was most prominent in the pictures and the windows were rarely shown. Most of the shots went under "kitchen", a category of which no shots ended up in the final edition. Also the handheld shots, under the category "passings" from the 2000s, were left out of the installation. Juxtaposing the window shots with each other would have required such meticulous indexing that I had no time for it. When I had shot all of the windows at the same time I was able to create a synchrony, but this clear comparison lacked a sense of history and I was unable to use it too often. In order to help with finding interesting juxtapositions the indexing should have included the time of the day, the colour of the light, the ambience, the people, the clothes and the items and events in view. The dates of the shots

luckily helped with finding the comparisons because the basic dramaturgy of the installation was based on the natural year.

The indexing of the video shots for the written research came to life at the same time as my research questions and theoretical contexts became more precise. My early research was defined by what the conversations with the audiences and other discussions would bring to the forefront. What I had recorded on video was my primary research material. At first I perceived the case studies through the keywords. These words were immediately included in the index. Every time they were discussed in the later shots or when a visual event was caught on tape the date of the shot was included in the index and if the shot was particularly good or interesting I painted it with a yellow background. The keywords were theoretical cinematic concepts and the names of theoreticians, artists and researchers. Gradually, I added recurring events, actions and places to the index. The final index – which is by no means comprehensive or logical – includes around two hundred entries. The first category includes the shots and camera angles organized under each work. The second one includes cinematic concepts, such as the camera as a mirror, eye contact with the camera, playing about in front of the camera or discussions about camerawork. The fieldwork category mentions all of the places outside the house where we have shot the video diary. There are two categories for personal references: research and inspiration subjects; and people appearing in the shots. The concept category mentions, for example, home, crisis, dialogism, paradox and death. The recurring actions include baking, woodwork, window-cleaning, celebration, evening games and talking on the phone. The window-cleaning shots are the longest clips, followed by those in which someone is talking to the camera, the transfer of knowledge and Sunday walks. Usually a written research index serves the reader in finding what he is looking for. My own video index helped me in finding the right shots for the editing and the discussions included in this written part, but I could not develop a system that could be generally applied to the video diary. Had I started a different type of research with a different set of works of art based on the same diary material the index entries would have been different.

Editing

Ripples at Home included 31 videos. The video oratorium *The Four Seasons* consisted of ten videos. Some of the case studies were shown as one-channel video works. The duration of the entire works was over 14 hours.

I edited the videos during eight months, of which the first three was spent in choosing the material and uploading it into the editing program. The editing period was preceded by five years of research, watching the videos and making notes. Lea assisted me when she could in watching the videos, classifying and choosing them. During the editing period she was the first one to critically view the raw version. We made all of the changes together.

In his article *The Camera and Man* (1973) Jean Rouch describes the editor as "the second ciné-eye. She[8] is an "objective" viewer who, during the editing process is in a critical dialogue with the director, the "subjective" viewer. The premise for a dialogue is that the editor knows the object only through the filmed material without having been present during the shoot and does not know the subject. (Rouch 2003 [1973]:40.)[9] Lea's role in the editing process was critical in an opposite manner to that of Rouch's editor's. She knew the filmed objects and people as well as I did and had often been present in front of the camera or next to it, when I was shooting. She became familiar with the material but was never involved in the technical editing. She was an "objective" viewer in Rouch's terms when she was part of the editing choices. She could reject my long-term editing choices simply by the grounds that they did not fit the whole. Our roles made the editing process quicker, as Lea's position was closer to the implied viewer than mine.

Two of our works, the three-channel *Memoirs of an Entrance Hall Rug* and the five-channel video pyramid *The Haircut* were nearly complete before the intensive editing period. I realized, before starting, that five months of editing would be too short for finishing the edit. The editing had to be planned with respect to the best possible, or first, edit. With some case studies I had to leave out the last generation of video from the edit because I did not even have time to watch it. The cooking pot video in *The Four Seasons* was finalized between the press conference and the opening. *Translation Tours* only appeared in the show after the opening weekend.[10]

Haste in editing or in any other creative work period is not necessarily a negative matter. Haste creates mistakes but also surprising solutions that sometimes surpass original plans. A tight schedule may increase the amount of improvisation in the result. If a project is carefully planned and needs a large production crew, like many fictional films, improvisation may be destructive and strenuous.

Haste was visible in *Ripples at Home* in both good and bad sense. The attentive viewer found many technical mistakes because editing was completed following a sense of rhythm rather than accurately to every frame. This style of editing vivifies visual narration that only an experienced pro-

fessional editor can create with flawless work. In editing, as well as in all my artistic work, I follow my most influential teacher, theatre director Jouko Turkka's example: he aspired to decide the final form of his plays at the last minute. This way the making of art receives characteristics of survival.

Diachronic and Synchronic Editing

In terms of editing, a multi-channel video installation is essentially different to a single-channel piece: it is not perceived only in relation to the previous and following shots, it also has to take into consideration the simultaneous projections. Editing that involves material for one tape only is here called *diachronic* and editing that involves several tapes *synchronic*. *Diachronic editing* perceives shots as following each other whereas the synchronic sees them as simultaneous. The editing of multi-channel video has been theorized relatively little in the research of moving image even though multi-channel works are now everyday in contemporary art. This sub-chapter does not consider the differences between synchronic and *diachronic editing* outside the confines of *Ripples at Home*; not in our other works, in other artists' works or in the contemporary research of moving image. My aim is only to create a contextual basis for my analysis of *generational filming.*

The greatest demand for synchrony in editing is when pictures of matching size are projected next to each other. Narrative, fictive and functional contents demand great synchrony between the pictures. *The Four Seasons* and *Memoirs of an Entrance Rug* may be described as opposing this type of synchrony, they do not involve a plot or action and they are not fictive. They depict the space and recurring events of everyday life. Our aim was to build a historical-spatial experience of the home. The basic structure of both installations follows the natural cycle of the year. In *Memoirs of an Entrance Rug* a nearly twenty minute video loop extends from late winter into late summer. The much longer work, *The Four Seasons* covers, as its name suggests, a whole year.

In August 2008 I edited *Studio Entrance Hall* for a show in the Finnish Academy of Fine Arts Gallery Välivuosi. *Memoirs of an Entrance Rug* is a later, slightly changed version of it. The idea for the show in the gallery was that the piece would come to life during the show and the audience could follow the editing and discuss with me. The show lasted only for seven days. On the fourth day we reached a final edit that was good enough to be set up, and it was exhibited until the end of the show.

The piece was made of three video projections that were given names according to the contents: coat rack, door and mirror. The coat rack part shows the entrance hall floor bare or covered by a red rug. The front door and the coat rack were partly in view. Other shots show the coat rack completely or actions involving the coat rack. The door part shows all of the six doors opening into the entrance hall: the front door, Pyry-Pekka's door, Tyyni's door, the bathroom door, Pekka's study door and the kitchen door. People passing through the doors, the doors closing, opening, left open or closed and the action seen through the doors dominate the shots. The mirror part mainly shows a full-length mirror and the front door window opposite it, as well as both reflected indefinitely. In many shots the image of the mirror and the reflected image are overlain. Another recurring picture is the mirror-image of the camera.

One of the main aims of the editing was to create a similarity between the three pictures so that the viewer could build a spatial whole in their mind. The rhythm and movement from one projection to another had to be made interesting to the viewer. The sounds and the actions had to be in balance. The common thematic thread was to make the twenty-year history of the entrance hall, and its relation to us occupants, visible. Instead of a person, the red rug was supposed to be perceived as the "main character." The rug was a character, who did not say much but conveyed much more. Too much action prevented this from happening. Because of this I removed many clips shot in the early 1990s that had too much action in them and added slow-paced non-intensive episodes, including shots of closed doors and views of the rug in the door and coat rack shots. I did not make any changes to the mirror part. It was originally based on a few long shots that involved aggressive pictorial changes and transitions. I felt that the older the shot the more auratic and attention-gathering it was. The installation could not take too many shots like this. I only had to make few changes for the third and final edition. We wanted the sensual tone of the "dance" on the red rug in the entrance hall to be emphasized. In the picture our son's, Pyry-Pekka's, Midsummer party guests and the hosts' bodies touch and circulate around each other in the entrance hall. The videoed event is, in itself, a completely conventional welcoming ritual but as it is shown without the faces and gestures of the people their movements resemble those of a dance choreography. I portrayed this dance-like shot next to a shot with the nearby doors closed.

We wanted to find a long-lasting passage of time that would not be built on a continuum but on repetition and traces. The most common way of conveying the flow of time is to shoot a single space for a long time and

to show the shot in extreme acceleration. We chose another approach. Especially the shots involving the red rug consist of overlaid and equally framed shots. The characters moving in the space become transparent. The device[11], used in old vampire films, makes the presence of death and evanescence visible. We used the device to allow cats to appear on the rug and to make them disappear according to a rhythm characteristic to each cat. Another device used to show the passage of time was to shoot the same events and people in different years and decades. Passing through doors, phone calls, washing clothes and looking in the mirror were repeated again and again in new variations.

The delay as the viewer changes her attention from one picture to another has to be taken into account in *synchronic editing*. Narration that emphasizes the unity of plot, time and place demands precise editing. If the screens are not next to each other and not quite the same size there is much more room for manoeuvre. We decided, even before the editing, that we would not aim for extreme precision. We were not telling a story on the screen, we were showing a story happening at different moments in time without a plot. In this type of story-telling the accuracy of the plot often manifests in the wrong contexts and becomes humorous. Narration without plot makes the viewer assume that there are no chains of events or storyline between the shots. When they do appear they seem false and ridiculous.

Originally the installation of *Studio Entrance Hall* in Gallery Välivuosi consisted of three equally-sized translucent screens made of architectural sketching paper that were hanging at slightly different heights. We wanted to give the space a three-dimensional feel with the projections. The coat rack projection was the lowest one as it covers more floor than the others. Anticipation for the unity of space and action was created by the equal size of the projections whereas the contents of the videos did not share the same objective. We solved the problem by making the central projection of the door smaller, while a roll of paper that reached down to the floor served as the screen. The screen became a three-dimensional object. Its elongated shape resembled that of a door, similar to the door that was projected onto it. A three-dimensional feel to the coat rack projection was created with a red rug, which was also in the video, placed in front of it on the floor. The mirror projection, which shows the door window and the reflections on the mirror, had such an impression of space because of the overlaid images that it did not need extra effect.

As I was editing the *Memoirs of an Entrance Rug* and *The Four Seasons* I thought that the different projections I was using were musicians who

would play picture notes, while I was "conducting". The reference to Vivaldi's *The Four Seasons* was not a joke. *Synchronic editing* without plot requires mainly temporal and rhythmical perception. When I analyse and describe my editing solutions my idioms and concepts, to some extent, are more involved with music than fine arts.

The role of music is concretely emphasized in *Memoirs of a Entrance Hall Rug* because the audio track is dominated by music – or the sounds of the practice of various instruments. Our children's musical progress is a subtext that viewers who themselves have learned an instrument may hear in the installation. Another aural development story is related to telephone technology. A short history of mobile phone sounds can be heard on the soundtrack. Also different generations of washing machines and other household appliances are represented.

The Four Seasons is even more clearly a composition and choreography of its editor. As I started the editing I had no idea where to start. I did not even know whether to follow a functional or temporal logic. I had over two hundred shots of each of the three livingroom/kitchen windows and fifty shots of the kitchen tiled wall on two hard drives, total almost a thousand shots. I had uploaded the shots for months, seen connections between them, imagined the final work, but there was no structure or story. At 2 a.m. on November 9th, 2010 I wrote in my diary: "I have uploaded material on the kitchen for two weeks. Now, at night, I woke up and realised that it is beginning: the palette is ready for the work to start." I had to start with a single shot. It was a view – I call this window the kitchen window – of our front yard in spring, after the snow was gone, the grass is grey and I am playing football with the children. The window opening to the porch is called the porch window and the window opening to the back garden is called the forest window. The tiled wall is the wall. (See pictures on pages 374 and 394.)

FROM THE DIARY:

The kitchen window dictates the dramaturgy of the piece. It contains most changes in lighting, nature and colours. It is the soloist. I am starting the dramaturgy of *diachronic editing* with it because the essential changes take place in it. The second one is the porch window, essential for action and reflections. The forest window is the most mysterious one, it accompanies. And the wall (the tiles) only reflects the others. The changes in the other windows are cast upon it. I will immediately reject realism in narration and fantasy in image editing. No illusion that the windows were filmed at the same time except briefly. For example when snow falls off the roof. No fantasy in image editing because it destroys credibility – and magic. Narration fantasy, editing realism.

The transitions from one picture to another are either straight or dissolved cuts in both pieces. In traditional cinematic narration a straight cut, when the place does not change, is usually used for chronological continuity from one picture to another. A dissolved cut is used for a temporal and possibly a conceptual break. As I was editing I noticed that a straight cut usually felt like the right choice when I was simply looking at the project as a whole, but when I was looking at all of the projects simultaneously a straight cut felt violent and clumsy. If cuts in several projects were simultaneous there was a feeling of a momentary high point: something important is happening right now. If that was not the case there was a curious accent, as if a singer in an oratorium had pitched her voice at the wrong time. Synchronising straight cuts so that they happened nearly simultaneously created a different type of involuntary emphasis. An impression that the projections had lost their synchrony and the relation between the pictures had become arbitrary was apparent to the viewer.

In a summery window-washing scene straight cuts worked best because all of the pictures included overlaid reflections. The straight cut gave the multilayered visual world rhythm and clarity. Dissolve cancels out the subtlety of the layers. Everything in the picture becomes irrelevant and the viewer is unable to see what is a reflection in a window and what is image manipulation. A dissolve, usually a slow one, was necessary, however, when one of the projections showed a long and intensive shot. The other projections had to accompany the soloist *in legato*. They told their own story but without the emphasis of sudden cuts. Pronounced changes in lighting looked especially distracting.

When the plot is not at the forefront, light is the most important element in *synchronic editing*. Video projecting is light and its changes. The light does not have to be same in all of the projections but the hues have to be in accordance. Morning, afternoon and evening light go together if they are set right. Light at different times of the year is more difficult to fit together. This is why I decided not to attempt functional narration. With *The Four Seasons* I had to hold on to the realism of seasons as nothing in the action or persons could overcome the power of light at different times of the year. This "force of nature" also made the editing easier because there was no reason in looking for a shot that took place in the autumn for a sequence in spring even though the clothing or movements would have created a spring-like impression.

Synchronic editing is, as I have said before, more like composing than story-telling. Composition happens with the help of light, colour and movement. Relations have to be formed between the projections. New

continuities and breaks between them are made as the rhythm of movement, colours and light remains or changes from screen to screen. An event in the storyline can only take place if these "musical" preconceptions are met. *The Four Seasons* contains a few functionally continuous events. In one of the shots from the 1990s our sons and the neighbours' children run from the porch window to the forest window. I reshot the scene twenty years later with the, now adult, children – with a stop watch and exact orders. Joining the shots was entirely in accordance with the viewer believing the reality of the light. In this episode some of the small children in the first shot run from one projection to another as young adults. Functional continuity is the main component of story-telling. When action continues from one projection to another or from shot to shot the viewer starts to build a causal relation. When the causal relation starts to overcome mechanical continuation of action story-telling is born. It can be built on events, relations between characters or associations with words that have been spoken aloud. The most plot-like events in the two installations are scenes in the door projection of *Memoirs of an Entrance Rug* in which our daughter Tyyni and her friend Lotta are spying on me. Later we compiled a new case study, *Spying and Counter-Spying*, out of those shots (See ch. 3).

I edited *The Four Seasons* with the presumption that the four large projections could be shown in perfect synchrony. There are only a few moments in the video that demand perfect synchrony. One of them is the light turning on in the kitchen. One of the projections shows the light, the others show the change in the lighting. The moment has two important meanings. To me, and the invigilator of the show, it is a point in the video that allows for checking that everything is in order. To the viewer it is a moment at which the different historical times suddenly combine. The synchrony is, however, an illusion because the light turning on in all of the four projections was shot with one camera. *The Four Seasons* plays with the illusion of synchrony. A large yellow balloon lands next to me in one shot. As it flies off it arrives in another projection as a yellow space hopper knocking over pots.

Forces of nature play an important role in *The Four Seasons*. We wanted to convey the experience of living in the middle of the forest at the mercy of the forces of nature. Our home and the relationship of its habitants have not only been formed by its architecture and the functional and mediated modes of living, but also by the nature surrounding the house. An autumn twilight, a winter storm and a gentle dusk on a summer night are scenes in the natural year with which we invite the viewer to empathise. Experiensing

the forces of nature, in the midst of a video installation, takes attuning. Musical factors are more important than events. One must find the summer night tempo that reaches for the viewer's alertness level and tunes it into the mood of an hilarious summer night. I was building the summer night rhythm and the contradictory mood mainly with acoustics and by turning off the lights. The monologue of a two-year-old Tyyni rings out clearly as she keeps turning off the lights in the porch window projection. Our early 1990s Opel is lying in the ditch, there are children brandishing wooden swords and doing cartwheels on the meadow next to it. The car lights turn on and then off as a cloud of fumes rises in the air. In the next clip the moon rises over the same meadow twenty years later.

An autumn dusk takes around ten minutes on the video. In reality it takes nearly an hour. A cliché of digital photography is to speed up the picture so that the viewer does not notice the speeding up in human movements but notices it in the nature and hence loses belief in the truth. I used long fades to create a sense of speeding up without speeding up the picture itself. A long enough total duration and slow fades make the viewer lose track of time. It is likely that the viewer follows the other projections for a while before returning to the kitchen window and is surprised how quickly the morning has come. The kitchen window is the soloist of the scene and the change of light in the fading pictures of a sunrise. The changes in the other pictures are very few while the change in the kitchen window makes the viewer believe that the light changes in the other projections as well. In the winter storm part of *The Four Seasons* the scene is set for the viewer through the media. The viewer can follow cars stuck in the snow in the morning television news through the forest window projection. In the other projections the viewer sees wind blowing horizontally. The scene consists of winter storms shot in various years. A multi-projection installation allows for the stretching of synchronic time. Some shots in *The Four Seasons* last longer than whole seasons in other projections. In the kitchen window we see Lea scything in the garden while in the other projections autumn arrives.

One of the premises for editing was that the window videos would be projected on translucent screens. The translucency of the window would repeat in the translucency of the screen. The window does not simply open to the outside but with correct lighting conditions it also reflects the inside. I shot many clips in which both the outside and the inside are visible – sometimes completely equally. I shot the windows from the outside and the inside. As the projection screen showed the video in the same light as its own mirror-image from both sides, the viewer was both outside and

inside in several and layered positions within the installation. The audio of the installation consisted of four mono soundtracks that together created a four-channel stereo effect because all of the audio material was recorded in the same space. Without a separate audio edit I was able to create an audio space. Some shots have layered soundscape, because one can hear both the sounds of the actual space filmed, and the sound of a recording of the same space ten years before.

Especially in *The Four Seasons*, but also in *Memoirs of an Entrance Hall Rug* our aim was to create a spatial-historical experience of our home with various times and spaces existing together. Many Mediaeval and Cubistic paintings depict many moments and views simultaneously. Multiple exposure and montage in cinema aim at the same goal. With the help of a divided stage and montage, dramaturgy theatre can also relate several histories simultaneously. The most famous Finnish example is Jouko Turkka's *Siinä näkijä missä tekijä* at the Helsinki City Theatre in 1976.

The sense of history in *The Four Seasons* is created by viewing the same people and items simultaneously as young and old, new and worn, contemporary and aged. The main attention in editing is the maintenance of the viewer's sense of time and space rather than creating credible chains of events. The viewer is invited to our home where she stays awhile. The viewer's position is fickle because she is there at many different times looking out of the windows as well as looking in through the windows. The edit builds a space in which the viewer may reside and change place. I aimed at a dreamlike spatial experience. Everything is possible in a dream yet we cannot decide where we are and what takes place. In a dream we may only direct our attention but not what we see.

The concrete physical environment is never left in *Memoirs of an Entrance Rug* or in *The Four Seasons*. The viewer is steadily placed between the projections either in our entrance hall or our farmhouse kitchen. The realism of the space allows the temporal and functional transitions that are free of causality. The entrance hall and the kitchen are spatial anchors out of which the viewer may follow and believe the events and temporal transitions that transcend everyday realism.

Editing the Case Studies

The editing of *generational filming* case studies took nearly four years. I made a new edition after each generation was finished. Every generation included at least two viewings, which followed the earlier material for the next

generation viewers to assess. Each edition is single-channel but they were not made as typical video pieces. The logic of the editions was closer to that of an introductory talk at a conference rather than a final piece. Especially the early versions were unstructured and on purpose included many themes. The viewer saw conversations that were only loosely connected. When there were only two or three generations it was premature to decide which themes would be the most important in accordance with the case study. I tried not to decide what would be essential. After each generation the edition became more concise depending on what the previous audience had focused on. The versions presented in the Kunsthalle were no longer introductory, they were supposed to interest the viewer as finished pieces. *The Haircut* was the most self-sufficient and advanced: we built a five-step pyramid out of monitors with the generations shown on each level. I edited the material both synchronically and diachronically. The most important goal in editing was to get the five videos into synchronic discourse. The top two monitors showed the first two generations of haircuts. The other three commented on the haircuts and the discussion commenting on them. I edited current haircuts in between the commentary discussions to include the idea of *generational filming* to the cutting of hair. Tyyni is cutting my hair and Pyry-Pekka is cutting Ukko's hair in the pictures. The new haircuts gave rhythm to the piece and timed the comments with the original haircuts.

Scolding advanced to a sixth generation and became 80 minutes long. I made *Scolding* into a two-channel piece with the event itself looped in one monitor and the other generations in the other. I assumed that only few people would watch the whole piece, which made it important that the scolding was always present to make the discussion in the other video comprehensible. I tried a different approach in connecting the event and the comments with *The Dream and Blueberry Soup*. The event was shown as a large, independent projection. The comments were shown in the *Home as Stage* compilation in one monitor so that the events of *The Dream and Blueberry Soup* were super-imposed over the commentary discussion videos as a background in a conference. The other two videos in the *Home as Stage* compilation were *Spying and Counter-Spying* and *Throwing*. They were film pieces still at the stage of video introductions. Both were missing the last filmed generation. According to the original plan my intention was to discuss the pieces with the viewers, film the discussions and add them to the pieces. This never happened. In the subchapter "Installation" of this chapter I shall analyse why the videoed discussions were unsuccessful in the Kunsthalle show.

The Studio Entrance Hall installation in Gallery Välivuosi 2008.

Historicity Without a Storyline

Michel Foucault questions the paradigmatic view on history that is based on causality and origin. He took the German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche's genealogy-based view on history as his guiding principle: matters follow other matters but their origin is impossible to maintain. A historical viewpoint usually assumes that there are cause-and-effect relations and history is perceived according to the view. The Aristotelian drama offers an artistic view on such a historical assumption. We see history through a Foucault-like genealogy in our home installations[12]. The genealogical depiction of history is interested in the repetitions, discontinuities and ruptures in history. It does not aim at finding origin, it aims at perceiving series and chains of events, and their contingence[13]. The narrative of the genealogic approach is different to the Aristotelian structure of drama.

Foucault's essay *Nietzsche, Genealogy, History* starts with the description: "Genealogy is gray, meticulous, and patiently documentary. It operates on a field of entangled and confused parchments, on documents that have been scratched over and recopied many times." (Foucault 1987:76.) I often contrast our video clips, filmed in different formats, and interpreted

and commented multiple times, to Foucault's parchments. The decades-long daily video documentation of our everyday life is meticulous and patient. According to Foucault, genealogy shows "the past in its characteristic dispersion." Chance, error, miscalculation have started what later has seemed important and the result of a logical development (Ibid.81). As I started making notes for the video diary the material seemed to be "in its characteristic dispersion." Only the development of the method, the *generational filming*, clarified the connection between the material and the clips. Genealogy does not deny the historical significance of a certain matter it only questions the irreversibility and logic of the process. According to Foucault " the search for descent is not erecting foundations: on the contrary, it disturbs what was previously considered immobile"(Ibid.82). The generational analysis of the video diary does not merely aim at showing that the filmed events could have been different but also that the interpretations of the shots could have been different.

Foucault's genealogical thinking freed us from the restraints of causal relations as our video diary does not build an Aristotelian narrative of reality. The daily shoots do not form a narrative continuity because of a lack of screenplay or even an attempt at one. The choices made at the shoots are usually arbitrary and intuitive. It is possible to find ingredients of a storyline in the material, but without a vast, intentional search the material does not suggest one. Our video diary tells a different type of narrative. It perceives a reality that is chronological and fragmentary.

The genealogical approach has enabled a structural analysis of the vast, discontinuous yet chronological material. In my interpretation of genealogical historicity the structuring of documentary shots has to start with key shots. The researcher/artist defines the key shot, which is always a contingent choice. To simplify: one has to start somewhere and the start does not matter as much as how one proceeds. I started with certain shots, filmed new ones to fit in with the old ones and attempted to create both temporal and spatial relations between the shots. The genealogical approach is present in the relations between the shots. They are not primarily based on cause-and-effect relations. A causal relation may be one way of creating relations between shots but also repetition, chance, disturbance and the contingence of choice may be the basis for a relation between shots.

The genealogical approach is "patient and meticulous." Details are stressed at the cost of trusting "the great narrative," which could be visualized in our own lives. A story, or life story, if one should be created, is born out of various singular documents that, in our case, are video shots. Their truth-value in a piece of art or in artistic research is not the same as it is in

scientific research. Artistic truth-value is weighed in its relation to the viewer not in relation to reality. I will look more carefully at the relation of artistic and scientific, in this case humanistic, research in the concluding chapter.

One of the key shots in *Memoirs of an Entrance Hall Rug* is from August 1992. The three-year-old Ukko is sitting on the floor and examines his treasures – coins, bottle caps and other small items – and arranges them into his shoe. I enter the room and try to make a phone call on the landline. In vain I wait for an answer. In July 2008 I shot a very similar scene where the 19-year-old Ukko is clearing up his wallet. I stand behind him listening to a mobile phone call. The start of the shot insinuates that the scene is arranged. My shadow covers Ukko's upper body and as I enter the room past Ukko the video camera's shadow replaces mine. The video camera is both the replacement of the father, the father's eye, and the eye of the piece. The red rug is emphasised in the shot. It connects the shot with the pictures on its both sides. Talking on the phone joins the projections together. Historical jump-cuts come to life through the noises made by the telephones. The different ringing sounds manifest the historical transition from landlines to mobile phones and the various generations of the mobile. Media history is apparent also in the various video formats. The soft analogical picture represents the past and is more dreamlike than the sometimes too sharp digital picture. While editing *The Four Seasons* I initially thought that the change from the 4:3 format to the 16:9 format during the 2010 shots would be a problem as the aspect ratio change might be disturbing on a large screen. I did not, however, try to harmonise the ratios – and in the final edition the aspect ratio change is more of a historical marker than a mistake.

Installing

We planned *Ripples at Home* especially for the Kunsthalle Helsinki. The decision about the gallery was made nearly two years in advance, which gave us time to plan the installation in peace. Apart from some small details we kept to the plan set in the summer of 2009 (See. p. 376). The idea was to create a route for the visitor, somewhere to stop, drop by, return, orientate, get lost, go the wrong direction or get stuck. The visitor could also quickly walk through the show and get an overall impression.

In the autumn of 2009 as my supervisor Ray Langenbach and I visited the newly-renovated and empty Kunsthalle we were encouraged to try out extravagant solutions. Ray proposed that the visitor should see our home from a bird's-eye view so that our kitchen in *The Four Seasons* could be

viewed from the ceiling of the central hall. We also planned for a theatre group to be allowed to use our projected kitchen as a set and a stage. Everything else was adjustable apart from the settings on the video equipment. I dreamt about a Chekhov play in our virtual home. The security measures and the short time given for hanging made it impossible to build the bird-watching tower. We could not get a visiting theatre group but there were two nights of performances. One of them was an intervention by the students on the *Home and Homelessness* course we gave at the Finnish Academy of Fine Arts and the other one was a night of performances on invitation. On these nights the video pictures became something else.

Reserving the central hall for *The Four Seasons* was the basis for building the show. The beach for the *Autobiography of a Friend* was built in the sculpture hall, usually the second space the viewer visits, was another starting point in the planning. It seemed natural to place the *Memoirs of an Entrance Rug* at the top of the stairs so that the viewer faces it first. The view from the bottom of the stairs is ecclesiastically grand, whereas the banal entrance hall installation is quite the opposite. The coat racks, everyday clothes and the projections in various sizes created a homely atmosphere but its creation demanded special skills and ingenuity from our technician, Eero Yli-Vakkuri, as the walls of the staircase are protected and the ceiling is out of reach.

After the large installations were in place we could decide on the smaller scale case studies. *The Haircut* was the most architectonic of them, so we showed it through five older monitors that were built into a five-step pyramid by our assistant Lauri Isola. The most suitable place for it was next to the beach in the sculpture hall as it was clearly a video sculpture. The unpainted pyramid made out of plywood fitted well by the beach, a fictive outside space. The other small case studies were situated in the corridor, except for *Scolding*, which was placed in a room of its own. The last large hall, at the back of the exhibition, hosted *The German Time Was Acted upon Us* made with the Seto women's Helbi choir, and *Stains on Grandma Hilda's Rug*, based on Lea's family history. The first generation of *The Dream and Blueberry Soup* was placed in the most prominent place for videos, the alcove at the top of the stairs.

The most defining element in the planning of the installation was the relation we could create between the work and the viewer. *Ripples at Home* was a Gesamtkunstwerk consisting of stand-alone works of art. In the rooms of the Kunsthalle we attempted to offer various ways of meeting the pieces and enter their world. The *Memoirs of an Entrance Rug* at the top of the stairs was the prelude to the show. The presentation of the piece did not

The cooking pot video of *The Four Seasons* installation. See the book cover.

The floorplan of our home with winter video stills of the windows for the planning of *The Four Seasons*. The porch window above, the kitchen window in the middle, and the forest window below.

The Four Seasons – Video Oratorium.

The kitchen tiled wall projection of *The Four Seasons* installation.

attract the viewer to stay at the top of the stairs. There was no seating or anywhere the viewer could feel comfortable. The viewer had been invited in and was asked to enter the exhibition. At the shows in Kunsthalle the audience usually starts the tour from the sculpture hall. We too wanted to lead the visitors there. The visitors were lured in with a summery projection of a beach in the Turku archipelago. The beach projection of *Autobiography of a Friend* was the lightest part of the show. It complemented the sandy beach on the floor, and together they created an environment where the viewer could lie on a deck chair and dwell into four versions of the summer identity of the third artist featured in the show, Goa Zweygbergk. Two videos that we call sequence videos, according to an ethnographic term, had to be absorbed quickly, but the other two monograph videos demanded attention. Acoustically, the space was dominated by the beach projection's maritime sounds, as the audio of the monitors was heard only through headphones. The luring of the viewer advanced a step at a time. The beach projection, together with the audio, created a calm holiday atmosphere. It was supplemented by the velvety sand that invited the viewer to walk on it. Should the visitor go this far it was likely that she would also lie in a deck chair and pick up a pair of head phones from the handle of a wheelbarrow. The children visiting the show enjoyed the sand, and the adults who went far enough to put the head phones on usually viewed several of the identity videos in the installation.

We situated *The Haircut* five-step pyramid next to the beach and gave two possibilities for viewing. Watching the video did not require hearing the audio as the videos were subtitled and the events were simple – either conversations or haircutting. The interested viewer could put the headphones on and choose one of the five audio tracks. Another viewer was also offered a seat and headphones. The viewer controlling the audio channel could create a work that she wanted to see and hear. The other viewer standing by could absorb the visual and informational side of the work but was alienated from the discussion and events. The other viewer was refused the feeling of being in control, which the viewer controlling the audio channel had over the case studies.

It is likely that almost all of the visitors spent some time with the one shot *The Dream and Blueberry Soup* (See ch. 2). Assuming that the piece would attract viewers we installed it in a place where viewers had been used to seeing single-channel video pieces for decades. After the sculpture hall we wanted to offer the viewer a short rest. At the same time *The Dream and Blueberry Soup*, shot in our kitchen, served as an introduction to the great hall, the stage for *The Four Seasons*.

The solution for the installation of *The Four Seasons* aimed, more than any other piece in *Ripples at Home*, at an illusion of reality. The sense of reality is created with reflections and scale. The three large windows and the reflections of the inside and the outside on the tiled wall included a depiction of another space. As the video camera recorded, and the video projector projected, the representations on translucent screens, that showed both the representations and their mirror-images, the viewer entered a hall of mirrors, which she knew to be a recording but could also emphatise as real. The large projections showed our home in 1:1 scale and we appeared on the screens in life size. The central hall of the Kunsthalle was big enough for the viewer to be able to be both inside and outside our kitchen. One viewer made an observation that when there were no people in the projections she felt being inside the kitchen but when we appeared in the picture she felt like observing our life.

Together with the large projections our dinner table, also visible in many of the video pictures, was in the middle of the hall. On it were four monitors showing Estonian Seto discussing around the very same table in our farmhouse kitchen. The four-channel video was shot in the autumn of 2008 after we had returned with a 20-strong Seto committee from Saamiland. In the video the noteworthy Seto explain the meaning of their visit for their people. Our aim was to break the illusion of the home as a sanctuary of the nuclear family and people close to it. The speaker was in one monitor while the other monitors showed the name and status of the speaker, the Finnish and English subtitles in white on black background. The picture changed from one monitor to another depending on where the current speaker had sat at our kitchen table. An ideal installation would have conjured up the participants of the discussion around the table as if in a séance or the morning meeting of a company, but the monitors were too sturdy to recreate the illusion of a table discussion. Had the monitors been smaller they would not have been as controlling. Horizontally placed flat screen televisions sets on the table would have made the surface of the oval table resemble a water spring. A projection on an amorphous surface, allowed by modern technology, would have been another good option but we lacked the resources for technically advanced solutions and were satisfied with the more easy option. Following the discussion from monitors that faced different directions was difficult because it was necessary to change headphones in order to hear the audio.

The humorous parts of *The Four Seasons* were situated in front of the kitchen wall projection. We created a three-dimensional illusion of reality by placing a real electric stove and a sink under the projected picture.

There was a cooking pot on the sink. In a hole cut to its side was a small flat screen that showed the kitchen as a reflection on a pot. The smallest video picture showed the largest view of our home. In the oven there was a slightly larger screen that showed my talking head complaining about my terrible fate as an artist. I get old but the complaints remain. The viewer had to sit on a stool or on the floor next to the oven to hear my monologue.

Including domestic appliances in a piece depicting a domestic environment involves both dangers and opportunities. The art historic weight is apparent and difficult to perceive. In Finnish art history everyday items were prevalent in installations in the 1980s as artists wanted to blemish the "white cube." As domestic items appeared repeatedly they, and documentaries, changed from alternative art into a cliché. In the Kunsthalle we tried to avoid a homely presentation as well as a sterile video projection.

In the planning of *Memoirs of an Entrance Rug* and *The Four Seasons* the relation between the everyday items and video projections was essential. We wanted to depict the home space three-dimensionally even though the work was a two-dimensional video projection. An important failure preceded the planning of the installations with *Studio Kitchen* at the 2006 Mänttä Art Festival. Afterwards we assessed that too much of everything had been presented there: too many videos, too many domestic items and too much furniture. The walls were papered for my process notes. I partly lived in the installation, editing and researching. The abundance of the piece and the excessive homeliness also had positive features. The visitors approached me more easily than in the Kunsthalle and allowed me to film the discussions. Writing on the papered walls did not remain as my exclusive privilege as the audience, without permission, also wrote their comments on the walls. One of the comments explained that a visitor had left their child to nap on the installation bed. I received valuable feedback on our case studies (See ch. 7: *The Haircut*) and special experiences. Once, as I was on my computer thinking about my research, a viewer thought I was a statue and was frightened as I became alive.

It is likely that without *Studio Kitchen* we would not have realised that both *Studio Entrance hall* in the Välivuosi Gallery and *Memoirs of an Entrance Rug* in the Kunsthalle should be more referential. The items of the everyday have similar auratic power as videoed documents of the everyday. The older they are the more charming. Thus I was forced to leave out old functional diary sequences during the editing and kept to a bare minimum of items during the installation.

Everyday items as part of a piece of art question its independence. They are smudges[14] that blur the border between the everyday and art. How many

smudges a piece can take is an artistic choice. The odd, but functional, use of items anchors them as part of the piece. The video projectors of *Memoirs of an Entrance Rug* were set on shelves above coat racks, some of which were in the videos. Seeing an item and its video representation at the same time awakens a childlike eureka moment. The charm of mimesis is created if the juxtaposition has a historical or narrative dimension. The item and its picture without a context express tautology without the charm. In *The Four Seasons* the pot, with a video screen on its side, conversed with its own old, projected self before a hole was cut into it for the screen.

Ripples at Home was a presentation of a lifestyle and a world view. The installation emphasised the home as a meeting point of crossing information streams, people and cultures, technologies and lifestyles. In our exhibition the home was not a safe nest for the nuclear family to hide from the outside world. The exhibition home was in constant interaction with the outside world through media and various commodities. We attempted to find an expression for us and our home being in a reciprocal relation with different cultures and people. The problem with the concept of the show was that we feared we might be depicting Rauhala, our home, as the cen-

PHOTO: SAKARI VIIKA

Studio Entrance hall installation in Välivuosi Gallery 2008.

tre of the world that absorbs the different indigenous cultures, our friends summer houses and art seminars. We reflected on leaving out some pieces simply to create a balance between our home and other homes in the show. The volume of various pieces and their parts was a way of communicating. In the video pyramid of *The Haircut* our countryside home was in dialogue with the NICA artist residency in Myanmar. The discussion of the Seto in our livingroom/kitchen was a crack in the idyll. *The German Time Was Acted upon Us*, made with the Seto song mothers, was projected, despite the deficiencies in picture and sound, in large scale on the back wall.

Ripples at Home consisted of 31 videos, totaling 14 hours of material. We never thought anyone would view all of it and so we put together the show keeping in mind that half an hour in the Kunsthalle would offer an experience. Each piece had a characteristic nature that would be perceptible very quickly. If the viewer found a piece interesting she could have spent an hour with one piece.

The Kunsthalle Helsinki is a recognised shrine of art. Historical collections and recognised contemporary art, as well as young and experimental art is exhibited there. The longest tradition is the annual, national *Young Artists* show, in which we took part at the start of our careers. My presence in the *Ripples at Home* show was part of the exhibition plan. My intention was to edit in the exhibition space and talk with the audience, as I had done in the *Studio Entrance Hall* in the Välivuosi Gallery. A few days after the opening of *Ripples at Home* I realised that what had seemed successful in a gallery space was not easygoing at all in the Kunsthalle. The architecture invites the viewer to calm down with the art. I felt that the presence of the artist was awkward and disturbing when the viewer was concentrating on the work.

We attempted to create self-sufficient installation and video works out of the process of *generational filming*. The artist's, my, presence contradicted also with this aspiration. I was satisfied with spending my time at the exhibition and should anyone have recognised me as the artist and wanted to talk I would have been happy to do so. I did not film the discussions. Abandoning the discussions and their recording during the show seemed like a failure and I tried to look for reasons for my exhaustion. In hindsight the abandoning seems like the right thing to have done. *Ripples at Home* aimed at being an installation of a process that was based on interaction with various human groups and audiences. Beforehand we thought that the interaction should continue also during the show so that it would preserve the participatory characteristic of the video performance rather than becoming a documentation of a participatory process.

The participatory nature of the show was less noticeable and more convenient than the earlier video performances and discussions had been. The viewer was not offered a possibility to engage in dialogue with the artist, except in the performance evenings. She could not express her view on the pieces or their themes. She could not affect the future versions of the pieces – the viewer could only change the position of the wheelbarrow on the beach in *Autobiography of a Friend*. No visitor took advantage of this possibility. In *The Haircut* video installation she could choose which audio channel to listen to. Participatoriness was limited to the viewer's own experience of the show. With the large installations, especially with *The Four Seasons*, our aim was to activate the viewer into thinking about her own position as a visitor. We tried to set up some of the pieces so that the viewer could experience both being inside the piece and observing it. The pieces offered the viewer the possibility to make choices, rather than participation in a discussion or expressing a view.

The show in the Kunsthalle was both the artistic part of my doctoral dissertation and a presentation of the method we had developed together. It was also a summary of our video diary thus far. The primary purpose for it was to succeed as an artistic act but also as a research presentation. It was an example of artistic research, in which the two criteria had to actualise in the best possible way. The research criteria and artistic criteria do not always contradict each other, they can also support one another. I feel that the only artistically inferior parts of the *Ripples at Home* were the three unfinished case studies included in the *Home as Stage* compilation in the corridor. The methodical presentation of *generational filming* demanded their presence, yet we would have left them out on artistic grounds. During the making of the pieces we received most critique from artist friends about the fourfold structure of *Autobiography of a Friend*. It was considered clumsy and difficult to understand as an installation, and it would only repel viewers. We were strongly suggested to make it into a single-channel video work. The research made us stubbornly stick to the fourfold table. Luckily, because the visual strength of the piece is based on a fourfold table built on the sand.

A unique side of artistic research is present in *Ripples at Home*, which separates research by an artist from research by art researchers. The making of art and research on the piece took place simultaneously, intertwined and feeding off each other. Even if this research text has been written after the show the research was carried out simultaneously. The show was not installed before I started to wonder how to write my research text. The writing has been present throughout the process in the form of written

and video notes. *Asking for Advice* performances were preparing us to make installation versions of the case studies. When we made the first versions of the *Studio Entrance Hall* installation, the comments of the visitors of the show encouraged us to apply the same kind of method with *The Four Seasons* installation.

Endnotes

1 The video tape is a concept of the analogical age. We use the notion as familiarly as we use 'film' even though neither is materially the case while are watching an art piece involving moving image. Usually we watch a file of a digital recording. Project is the precise expression for what I was watching during the editing phase. I use Apple's Final Cut editing program, which uses project for an edited whole. The producers of hardware and software define what we do with moving image and how we name the various parts of the work. I shall not delve into the effects on the creative process by companies and their product development but I would like to point out that the artist's creative work, when dependent on contemporary technology, enhances the economic and cultural position of the companies that make them.

2 In research of cinema, fine arts and theatre, the viewer is both an empirical and theoretical concept. My own fantasy about the viewer has been mainly inspired by cinema research. Since the 1970s the theoretical, researcher-created visitor is called 'spectator' while the visitor in empirical research is known as 'viewer.' My own fantasy visitor could be defined by 'viewer of extended cinema.'

3 Säde Pitkäpuro is a literal translation of Ray Langenbach, and a female name.

4 Quotation from the article "About Method" Kantonen, Pekka 2007. In Geist 11-14. Stockholm: GOU, 173-181.

Dreams

In the first phase, when we look for ideas for an art project, our most important tools are dreaming and Sunday walks with the video camera. Ideas, artwork concepts, plans, or even complete artworks appear sometimes in dreams. The dreaming can intervene in any phase of the creative process by offering practical solutions or suppressed interpretations. Dreams can be revelations that we have not been conscious of in our daily life. But they can also present solutions, omens, and warnings to the problems we are dealing with.

"I dreamt one night of an art exhibition that was being held in an old industrial complex. A tent and its surrounding campsite had been built on a patch of sand in a corner of the building. Behind the tent were three photographs which showed the tent in three different settings. In two of the pictures there were people, in one only traces of people. Around the tent were several different types of documentation that showed a western family living in three aboriginal cultures.

Upon awakening, I remembered the photographs – their design, their landscapes – precisely. I had seen the model for the tent in my dream that very day when reading one of Richard Scarry's children's books to our son. In the book, a turban-clad mouse sat in front of a nomad's tent. The tent was an Arabic-style 'black tent'. At the time, we were expecting our second child and I had many

strange dreams. When I told Pekka about this one, he immediately said, "Let's build the tent!" (The Tent, a book of travels 7, 1999)

5 In the *Ripples at Home* exhibition the names of the works were: *Memoirs of an Entrance Rug, The Four Seasons – video oratorium* and *Stains on Grandma Hilda's Rug*.

6 See Chapter 4, endnote xiii.

7 An example of a video diary note:

June 6th, 2007
The made-up story from last night is hilarious. I know I'm unable to retell it. The same story becomes new when Tyyni tells it. Lea in the kitchen is the audience. The shot is a reference to an event that was never filmed, a reconstruction. Tyyni becomes the narrator/interpreter.
23.25 HANDHELD. EVENING. TYYNI'S BED IN MUSEUM. TYYNI AND PEKKA. TYYNI RECOUNTS LAST NIGHT'S STORY ABOUT COUNT HÖPSENDAHL'S COWS, PART 1. BEDTIME PLAY. REFERENCE +
T recounts, P only supplements. The count had milk cartons and he got a cow to fill the cartons. House with cow pictures and a wedding ring.

June 12th, 2007
As I open the slop bucket cupboard I see a mouse run off. I set a trap. In a bit I hear the snap. I open and see a twitching little mouse. I wonder whether I should have prepared for filming the death. I decide to shoot a preying cat from the mouse perspective (dead).
51.40 HANDHELD, DAYTIME, PEKKA. OUT OF THE KITCHEN. I TAKE OUT A CAUGHT MOUSE.
52.30 I call for Kunto and Kulta (our cats), CU (close-up) me carrying trapped mouse. 53.00 As I turn, like a violent computer game. 53.40 CU I remove from trap, doesn't come off, I pick up a nail. 55.20 I offer to Kunto – not taken up. I speak: don't be offended. +

8 Rouch's most important collaborator in the editing period was Suzanne Baron, despite the fact that Rouch uses, at least in the English translation, the masculine 'he' pronoun. The article was first published in English (1974) and later in French (1979). In my source, *Ciné Ethnography,* edited and translated by Steven Feld, the year 1973 is mentioned in connection with the essay.

9 Rouch writes: "The second spectator is the editor. He must never participate in the shooting but must be the second ciné-eye. Knowing nothing of the context, he can only see and hear what has been recorded, that which has intentionally been brought back by the editor. Editing, then, is a dialogue between the subjective author and the objective editor; it is a rough and difficult job, but the film depends on it."

10 All of the 31 videos would not have appeared without the assisting help of Lauri isola, Jani Ka-rimäki and Epa Tamminen in the final editing phase. See more detailed credits in the Acknowl-edgements.

11 F. W. Murnau's *Nosferatu* (1924) is one of the most well known examples where translucence ex-presses the characters presence in the land of the dead.

12 Foucault's essay "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History" in *Foucault/Nietzsche* (Foucault 1998:63-107) was the most influential source for me when we started to understand how our home installations were telling the history of our home. I received background information for the article from the philoso-pher Tuija Pulkkinen's polemic research *The Postmodern and Political Agency* (Pulkkinen 2000).

13 In this context contingent refers to postmodern philosophy, in which the contingent means a state of being where things could be otherwise and could change into something else. There is no rea-son, fate or truth that could justify the state of being as it is. It could be otherwise. The view is based on Tuija Pulkkinen's reading on the philosophy of Richard Rorty (Cf. Pulkkinen 2000:59-61).

14 During the planning of the show Lea was in electronic mail contact with Ray Langenbach about 'smudge.' The contents of the correspondence have been published in Kantonen, Lea (Ed.) (2010) *Ankaraa ja myötätuntoista kuuntelua. Keskustelevaa kirjoitusta paikkasidonnaisesta taiteesta*, 153-168.

Conclusions

Generational filming is a method of working with moving image for the purposes of art and research. It can be used regardless of the aims and themes of the work in question. It can also be used alongside other methods of working, as in our piece *Autobiography of a Friend – Artist in Service*. Discussion on completed case studies and prospective projects have been divided under four headings in this final chapter that presents the conclusions of my research. These are "Generational Filming in the Tradition of Moving Image", "Generational Filming as Ethnography", "Generational Filming as Socially Engaged Art" and "Generational Filming as Artistic Research". Such categorisation is, however, only indicative since the discussed themes overlap with each other.

Generational Filming in the Tradition of Moving Image

In this research I have approached my analysis of *generational filming* through the act of viewing. I justify my viewpoint by the specificity of the method including the act of viewing as part of the art work. Then watching is a performative act that is producing the artwork. In the performances of *generational filming* one is watching the act of watching. I relate the method and our video diary project to video art and cinema by giving the references to influential art works of film and video.

    I have applied film researcher Miriam Hansen's classification of viewing cultures in my analysis, dividing viewing cultures into pre-classical, classical and post-classical cultures of viewing. The classical period, being the watershed between the pre-classical and the post-classical period, was

the era of Hollywood film. According to Hansen, pre-classical and post-classical viewing cultures have a lot in common. Our performance *Asking for Advice*, which represents an earlier stage of *generational filming*, is related to both of these cultures of viewing. The performance consists of several video takes of varying length that are first viewed and then discussed together. The performance venue – typically a gallery space – doesn't try to mimic the enchanting darkness of a movie theatre and allows the audience to exit and enter the space at any given time. The performance attempts to create a social space in the same manner as the vaudeville theatres and nickelodeons of early cinema. The test viewings of *generational filming* and their precursor, performances of *Asking for Advice*, support Hansen's argument about the similarity between pre-classical and post-classical viewing cultures. Rather than denote a return to an earlier culture, they offer an expansion to the notion of viewing.

Hansen applies Oscar Negt and Alexander Kluge's notion of *proletarian public sphere* in order to indicate the possibilities within post-classical viewing cultures. Negt and Kluge define *proletarian public sphere* as a utopian space in which the public sphere gets defined by people's social expectations rather than by forms of regulation or standardisation established by those in power. 'Proletarian' has an anti-hegemonic meaning not to be restricted to the social class. Both *Asking for Advice* and the test viewings of *generational filming* generate what Kluge and Negt call *the proletarian public sphere*. The test viewings also meet the criteria of Jean Rouch's *shared anthropology* since viewers influence how the case study evolves into its next generation. I refer to Kluge, Negt and Rouch when I call sharing and interaction generated by the test viewings *shared space of watching*. Such a public or partially public space is intensely social. With the exception of the first performance of *Asking for Advice* in Gdansk 2005, the test viewings have been so small-scale and participatory that at least half of their entire audiences have taken part in the discussions. Evidence of the method producing *proletarian public sphere* can be found in the way the public's comments change over time: the more generations are watched, the more the public's comments address either the event of watching itself or their own lives. According to Negt and Kluge, success is measured by the extent to which the public shares personal or collective memories. In this sense, the events of *generational filming* have been socially successful.

The most radical way in which the individual works or case studies of *generational filming* differ from other genres of film is that they are in the state of becoming. In order to define when a work is complete and when to stop filming new generations, we consider whether new test viewings

would generate material that differs in quality or only present variations of previously shot material. The material reaches a saturation point of sorts. It is like the fading out of the chorus at the end of a pop song.

The completed case studies presented in this research can be said to belong loosely to the genre of documentary film. From a filmmaker's point of view, the case studies of *generational filming* contain four kinds of footage: events, comments on events, other events affiliated with primary events, and comments on comments. The technique of filming has ranged from stabilised filming, in which framing remains unchanged throughout the take, to a more freeform method of filming. When I have filmed events and discussions my aim has been to make a long lasting record of them. Above all, *generational filming* attempts to reach a reflexive viewing experience and a reflexive filming situation. The most crucial distinction between reflexive filming and generic filming, whether fiction or documentary film, is present in the way reflexive narration depicts the world as something that happens not only in front of the camera but also behind it or even within it. The person filming and the camera itself can take part in the filmed situation and participate in the course of its events. I use *maintenance filming* to allude to Mierle Laderman Ukeles's artistic strategies in her *maintenance art* and to suggest a method of filming in which the filmmaker takes part in everyday tasks such as cleaning or stirring the porridge while shooting the film. Jean Rouch called his immersive way of filming rituals in Africa as *ciné-trance*. My version of immersive filming I call *video intoxication*. Then filming becomes creative improvisation.

The scenes of the case studies contain characteristics of fiction films in the same way as Claude Lanzmann's *Shoah*, which has been an exemplary work for me while negotiating my relationship with the video diary. Lanzmann's insight is to bring the experiences in the concentration camps as testimonies into the present moment of filming. *Generational filming* brings the events of the first generation to the present moment of each of its audiences. The viewer is offered a space for both empathy and reflection. Filmed comments break the hermetic world of the first generation. The viewer can likewise empathise with or reflect on the comments. She can change her relationship to what she sees, each new generation suggesting a new locus from which to reflect or to feel empathy.

The generational method generates emotionally moving Brechtian drama. I hope such a paradox – an oxymoron once again – conveys that in my experience viewers react very emotionally to conventional home videos showed to them, and when they watch others commenting these home videos, they reflect on their own viewing experience. In Brechtian epic

theatre the viewer is encouraged towards a critical, non-immersive viewing experience. The generational method generates both critical and immersive experiences. The power of the viewers' reactions may result from expectations related to the act of viewing. The viewing situation creates an expectation that the recording represents something more substantial than what is actually portrayed. In the performance *Asking for Advice*, the recording represents a general theme, such as transfer of knowledge, and in the viewings of *generational filming*, the recording is selected for research purposes. The viewers become likewise researchers, whose considerations guide future viewings. The more video generations are watched, the more weight the first generation takes on, and the more serious its reception becomes. The take starts to represent the "truth" to some viewers, even though it is only one scene among thousands.

Filming and being conscious of the camera's presence affects how the viewer experiences truthfulness. In the case study *Spying and Counter-Spying*, I apply Michael Kirby's notion of matrixed and non-matrixed acting in order to show how many levels of acting a recording of quotidian behaviour can contain, and how even the camera can be seen as "acting".

Works or case studies using *generational filming* as their method, in this study are performative, reflexive and open by nature. Their performativity is evident in each viewing occasion when the work renews and regenerates itself. Reflexivity permeates its structure and content, as well as the viewer's experience. Each generation forms a hermeneutic circle that comments on the previous generations and the entire work. With their memories and associations the viewers comment both the work and their viewing experience. None of the case studies are complete in any sense since with each generation the method produces new yet as significant and contradictory interpretations of the viewed material as the previous generations.

The audience does not usually directly affect the creation of a video piece excepting a few ethnographic or documentary films or interactive television programmes. In *generational filming* the piece is created expressly out of the comments of different kinds of publics. In the completed case studies the comments of different generations defined the direction in which the piece developed, as well as its final content. Of course, as the artist I selected which comments were included in which edition. However, according to my standards a good version is not one that reiterates the documentary nature of the video, but rather contains as many different kinds of comments on as broad a range of topics as possible. These then prompt the next audience to comment as diversely as possible. During the process a good edition was like a good opening statement at a conference.

Only in the last version did I attempt to condense and pay attention to the overall rhythm and other aesthetic details of the piece. Only then was the piece supposed to be self-sufficient.

In our digital age, when both audio and visual tracks can be added into a project almost inexhaustibly, several different kinds of practices can be applied to the editing of moving image. Common to all these practices is that different versions of the edited material are shown only to a small professional audience, if even that. Only the completed artwork is public. In the case studies of *generational filming* I have applied a different kind of method of editing. I edited a new version with each new generation. The shown version was thus always incomplete until the last generation was filmed. Even the final version might seem incomplete since it lacks the comments of the final audience, which the viewer herself is part of. The versions that were shown as installations or video works in museum spaces could be understood as final versions, since they no longer offered space to comment. The work itself did not contain a conclusion in the classical sense, but the context of the performance froze the piece as a completed work of art. The same video would have become incomplete the moment a commenting audience would have watched it.

In the performance of *Asking for Advice*, we decided on Lea dubbing the video clips that we showed live rather than having subtitles. This emphasised the temporariness of the edition and the viewers felt that they took part in making the piece. For *the* screenings involving the method of *generational filming* I made English subtitles for the videos, because edited generations were usually so dense with information that live dubbing would be more confusing than helpful. In the course of the *Tunúwame* project we have again returned to live dubbing – mainly from Finnish to Spanish – because the screenings are intended to aid the planning of the museum, and the main purpose is to spark conversation and to avoid fixed authorizing.

As I edited materials of *generational filming* for the exhibition *Ripples at Home*, I thought about the difference in editing single-channel and multi-channel video works. I named editing single-channel works *diachronic* and multi-channel editing *synchronic*. When editing diachronically one has to take into account the sequentiality of takes, but when editing synchronically the focus has to be on both sequentiality and simultaneity.

The most successful installations in *Ripples at Home* were multi-channel. Installations representing domestic space (*Memoirs of an Entrance Rug* and *The Four Seasons*) were works that didn't contain screenings pertaining to the method, but rather implemented the notion of generationality through showing the space of the home and its people and their habits within a

timeframe of twenty years. In *Autobiography of a Friend* the videoed screenings of *generational filming* were not central, but only one of the approaches. *The Haircut* was the only case study installed as a multi-channel work based solely on the method of *generational filming*. Six generations were shown simultaneously from six different monitors that were placed on the six steps of a chipboard pyramid. The spectator could choose the audio channel while following all six video channels. The piece retained some of the case study's reflexive and performative nature, since the spectator could actively influence the viewing experience. In the single-channel installations the case studies suffered from chronological narration and invited passive spectatorship. Watching a single-channel installation was like watching any generic film. Multi-channel works suggested several ways of viewing. The successes and failures of installing the works reinforced the insight that the method produces material that finds affiliation with Hansen's post-classical viewing culture in contrast to classical, contemplative viewing.

Generational filming introduces dialogism and polyphony into the tradition of moving image in a way that to my knowledge hasn't been previously attempted. The artworks produced with the method consist mostly of discussions in which the process of making the work is discussed. Self-reflexivity not only concerns the author of the work; those who are filmed also take part in self-reflection, which touches both on the viewed work and each viewer's own set of values. The method produces a work of art that is both antagonistic and polyphonic.

Generational Filming as Ethnography

The discovery of *generational filming* was inspired by Jean Rouch's notion of *shared anthropology*. While Rouch showed the unedited version of his film to the people or communities appearing in them, in the viewings of *generational filming* we have showed the same take, the comments related to it and the comments on comments to ever new audiences. Our purpose has been to study what happens to the interpretation of the take when it goes through this process and to develop an audiovisual method with which to study unfixed and mutable information.

All of the case studies of this research can be interpreted as ethnographic data, even if I haven't engaged with all of them from an ethnographic point of view in writing. The sixth chapter on the Estonian Seto song tradition, *The German Time Was Acted upon Us*, in which the method of *generational filming* is used to uncover the meanings of a single Seto song and its per-

formance, represents best a generic ethnographic research topic. When the song mothers commented on themselves in the recording of their own performance we gained important information on how we should record their singing. The songs were to be recorded in their entire length without cuts. Close-ups were desirable only if they showed details of jewellery or brooches. When we showed the comments of the song mothers and their close relations to an audience of specialists, we gained information on the appropriate way of publicly representing Seto culture. According to the most conventional reading, we should not have showed the discussions of the song mothers during which lead singer Kukka Manni searched for lyrics in her "archive", a plastic bag, because it ridiculed the Seto. However Kukka Manni and some of the Seto community's members permitted us to show these preparations. We included both interpretations in the case study since together they depict the discussion around representing Seto culture. This knowledge, gained through filming, would have been hard to come by through methods based only on text. For this purpose it was crucial that I filmed moments that are in-between, when nothing seems to happen.

American visual anthropologist Jay Ruby writes in "Towards an Anthropological Cinema", in the insightful final chapter of his book *Picturing Culture*:

> I maintain that to do ethnography demands certain things, like an articulated theoretical position, a knowledge of language of the people studied, and a long-term, intensive period of participant observation. Films made by people who have not observed these methods fail to qualify as ethnography. Once a study has been completed in this manner, then the form in which it is communicated can be as innovative as the subject matter requires. (Ruby 2000:266–267.)

Ruby's concern is first and foremost how the finished film can prove to be viable ethnographic research. Ruby borrows this model from reflexive ethnographic writing. The filmmaker should tell the story that was told to him by the people he filmed. Just like the ethnographic writer, there is no direct contact to the life that a book or film is about. The filmmaker or writer tells their version of the story they were told. However, Ruby takes for granted that ethnographic film provides a narrative that most probably does not follow the Aristotelian narrative structure favoured by fiction films, since human lives rarely yield to it. This other kind of narrative is reflexive, shows the filmmaker's influence on events, and addresses the viewer in a way that helps keep track of things, even if it does not relate events in the accustomed way common to generic plot-based films. (Ibid. 265–266.)

Generational filming constructs an unconventional narrative. Unlike Ruby's model, not only does it relay the filmmaker's interpretation of the told story, but communicates a polyphonic narrative, in which the people appearing in the "story" take part in – meaning the people in the shot, as well as the viewers, who become part of the narrative and thus also characters in the story. The method also incorporates into the narrative whatever happens between the "actual story", meaning the recording of the first generation, and its interpretations.

In Ruby's model the ethnographic filmmaker films his subject matter with a theoretical framework based on anthropology in mind. He edits his data with this model in mind, in order for the final film to fulfil research criteria. In *generational filming* each case study defines its own theoretical model depending on how the viewers understand and theorise what they see. The essential difference between these models is that in Ruby's there is a theoretical framework in place beforehand, which undoubtedly gets revised during the process of filming. In *generational filming*, however, the generational method itself is the methodological framework, which generates theories and interpretations.

What if different audiences interpret what they see in such a self-evident manner that nothing interesting emerges? To this day none of the test viewings have generated flat or unconflicting research material. If this would happen, the experience would be interesting research data in comparison with the previous case studies.

I realise that the method of *generational filming* is particularly rewarding in the area of humanist research since it documents, generates and reflects on shifting and mutable information. Knowledge about the subject matter accumulates cyclically and is revised with each video generation, but also diversified. The method generates more questions than answers about its subject matter, since it generates contradictory statements and does not offer self-evidently to anyone – not even to its makers – a status that would propose a position from which to decide the value of polyphonic knowledge. The method questions its own truthfulness with each generation.

The editors of *Moniulotteinen etnografia* (*Multi-dimensional Ethnography*) Pilvi Hämeenaho and Eerika Koskinen-Koivisto write in the introductory chapter "Etnografian ulottuvuudet ja mahdollisuudet" ("The Dimensions and Possibilities of Ethnography") (2014:14):

> The epistemological foundation of ethnography is in hermeneutics. The hermeneutic process of knowledge production happens in the interaction between the researcher's and his subject's understandings. Interpretations are created always in

relation to the researcher's perception of the nature of this knowledge and the subject's world views.

Generational filming is an audiovisual statement about the hermeneutic method. It does not contest hermeneutics, but in a sense carnevalises hermeneutic knowledge production, since while unfolding hermeneutic circles move closer to reliable knowledge, the video generations move ever further from a unified conception of what happens in the filmed scenes. Generationality creates perpetually more questions about its subject matter without offering any clear answers.

Generational Filming as Socially Engaged Art

The method of *generational filming* is based on collaboration and interaction. Already because of this the created artworks and projects can be considered socially engaged art. In the introduction I presented the most significant topics in socially engaged contemporary art. In this part of this conclusive chapter I attempt to place the case studies of my research within its discourse. I argued in the beginning that neither artists nor researchers forming theories can be placed categorically within the theories and aesthetics they relate to. My thoughts on our own projects and their relations to the discussion on socially engaged arts are likewise not without conflict.

Here I will consider all of the case studies that are related to the videos we have filmed at home as one whole. *Autobiography of a Friend*, the collaboration with Goa von Zweygbergk, *The German Time Was Acted upon Us,* filmed with the Seto song mothers, and *Tunúwame*, the Wixárika museum project are each distinctive from the point of view of socially engaged arts.

I begin with *Autobiography of a Friend*, since during the process of filming and even during the writing process it was referred to as the example of dialogical art that would fulfil – in a critical and carnivalesque sense – the criteria of Grant Kester's *dialogical aesthetics*, which has as its principal tenet long term collaboration that leads to real changes and is made within real communities. In the art projects defined by Kester as *dialogical aesthetics*, large societal problems are addressed, such as in, for example, Austrian collective Wochenklausur's project *Intervention to Aid Drug-Addicted Women* (1994-1995) in Zürich, in which decision makers where literally lured into the same boat with the city's sex workers and drug addicts in order to discuss the social status of drug addicts.

The topic of the piece is Goa's, one of its author's, summer identity. Goa's family, their regular seasonal guests, other friends, Goa's relatives and a few art professionals made up the community around the project. Filming and thinking about her summer identity began as a playful holiday project, but, as the years went by, discussions became deeper and more complex. The unifying theme of the different videos in the fourfold became the intersectionality of identity, which in Goa's case comprised of her Finnish Swedish heritage, womanhood, motherhood, religious beliefs, issues of health and her identity as an artist.

As artists our interest lay in the way in which a dialogical project could be realised when its components were subjected to critical discussion by the artists themselves and people close to them. With hindsight I see that it is this kind of self-reflexivity that does not aim primarily towards real change is what transformed the project into what Miwon Kwon describes *collective art practice*. Kwon does not reject the artistic value of a project that affects real social change, but is cautious of projects that presume that the community they are collaborating with is coherent and long lasting.

In his writings on *dialogical aesthetics* Kester recommends working with communities that are politically coherent. We, as part of Goa's circle of friends, hope to be a coherent and long-lasting community, but as a work of art *Autobiography of a Friend* gives no guarantee of this. The piece actually communicates quite the reverse. Each participant questions a close friend's or even their partner's ideas – I question Lea's views and Goa's husband Ilkka questions Goa's. The piece has a twofold message in relation to permanence and temporality. In any given moment anyone can oppose the person with whom they share their life with, but it does not stop them from continuing to share their lives with each other. *Autobiography of a Friend* could have been a particularly antagonistic piece with a different style of editing, but we left the conflicting opinions of the participants as subtext for the viewers to doubt and question, without it becoming the predominant topic of the piece. The controversy about gender performance is the only one shown as a disagreement between those taking part in the discussion.

The case study *The German Time Was Acted upon Us*, made in collaboration with the Seto song mothers, was meant as an experiment in order to see whether *generational filming* could be used in supporting cultural heritage. When we began working on the case study our aim was to collect information on how the song mothers and their close circle would want us to film them and their traditional singing on video. The act of recording was important for the community from the outset, since they understood its

impact on the continuity of their cultural heritage. The most important questions that arose in the case study related to the question of how to film singing. We received very specific and uncompromising instructions for filming: we should film in long shot and whole bodies. That is, without any "artistic" interpretation from the filmmaker's part. Instead of "artistic" angles and framings, art could reside in the rhythms and dialogic nature of the filming.

The case study *The German Time Was Acted upon Us* was a laboratory experiment that gave us a positive test result. The Seto community of Obinitsa agreed on our approach and the method resulted in interesting research material, which other methods might not have generated. Admittedly, *The German Time Was Acted Upon Us* does not represent in itself a long-term project of *dialogical aesthetics*, but rather laid the foundations for one. In future we intend to use the method of *generational filming* by watching the materials filmed in Setoland with the Seto community of the village of Obinitsa, and by creating an audiovisual archive. It actually follows Kwon's ideals, since recording the singing created temporary communities around it and these communities reflected upon their own singing and performance on video. Temporariness was brought about by the intervention-like nature of the viewings. We did not organise the viewings according to a consistent research plan but rather made spot checks with different audiences. We showed questionable material – such as Kukka-Manni pulling the lyrics of traditional songs out of a plastic bag – in order to reveal the reflexivity of the research. In order to make filming itself a research question, one has to show something "inappropriate". If the showed material had been only "appropriate" in the conventional sense, the audience perhaps would not have come to think of questions related to filming, which were the essential research questions from our point of view.

Of all the case studies in this research *Tunúwame,* the museum project of the Wixárika, comes closest to what Grant Kester defines as *dialogical aesthetics*. The project is long in duration; although it has been in the making for a decade it is still in its initial phases. We collaborate with a lasting and coherent community in order to reach a real and socially significant goal: building a cultural centre and museum that is self-governed by the Wixárika. So far all of the groups that have taken part in the filmed discussions are also taking part in the actual planning of the museum. Discussions have been held with Wixárika and Saami communities, and with Finnish and Mexican professionals in the fields of museology and indigenous studies.

The ethos of *Tunúwame* leans in a Habermasian way towards consensus. The aim of the discussions is to further the creation of the Wixárikas' own

museum in such a way that as many Wixárika as possible would be able to support. As the outsiders, our part is to facilitate while trying to withhold from making any decisions or interviene in power relationships between the Wixárika themselves. After several decades long collaboration with the Wixárika we know that their community is no exception compared to other unique indigenous communities defending their rights and living in the modern world.

I shall now discuss all of the case studies filmed at home as one example, even if the conclusions for each chapter are very different. The case studies have all consisted of very different kinds of discussions and contents, but their structures as social events have followed a similar pattern: We have filmed the first generation event in our home and showed it to different kinds of more or less coincidental audiences.

The genre of socially engaged art that is created in the first generation can be defined as home mode filming made by an artists´ family and their close friends. They break the rules and aesthetics of normative home mode filming, which usually focus on the family's moments of happiness and celebration. Especially in the fifth chapter, *Scolding,* I discuss our filming from a point of view concerning home mode filming that is applied in ethnography and media research. None of the theoreticians or researchers of socially engaged art consider home videos or filming at home socially engaged art.

Showing our home videos to different kinds of audiences creates a meta-level that reflects on filming and a temporary community of viewers, which is best described in socially engaged arts by Nicholas Bourriaud's micro-community based on his notion of *relational aesthetics.* Bourriaud refers to a community that forms out of makers and participants within a relational art project. Such a temporary community puts into practice during the duration of the project a micro-utopia that is as meaningless and temporary as the community itself. When New York based Rirkrit Tiravanija, born to Thai parents in 1961 in Buenos Aires, turns a gallery into a Thai kitchen and cooks for the gallery's visitors free Thai meals, a micro-community with its own micro-utopia is created in Bourriaud's sense.

The micro-utopias of our home videos were emphasised in the viewings of the home videos and discussions on them, since it is hard to think of them as anything else except that we organise dozens of viewings in which different kinds of groups of people discuss how we scold our children or cut their hair. Despite the futility, or perhaps because of it, different audiences enjoyed almost without exception watching our everyday events and the comments on them. Audiences often joined enthusiastically in creat-

ing a micro-utopia with us that has as its main aim to secure the continuity of our art project. Some members of the audience also gave us tips on how to systematise our chaotic daily life. Due to their dialogical nature traces of Kester's *dialogical aesthetics* can be found, while the reflexivity and temporariness point towards Kwon's notion of *collective art praxis*. Some case studies, such as *Hot Soup*, *The Haircut*, and *Scolding*, contained features provoking antagonism. I do admit to provoking members of the audience against each other about what they had seen in some of the viewings. In the first viewings of *Hot Soup* I asked the audience who was to blame for the child burning her hand. In viewings of *The Haircut* I asked who believed the young Pyry-Pekka's tears to be genuine. My questions annoyed some viewers. One could say that I provoked antagonism in some of the viewings but due to the insignificance of the thematic my actions only affected the atmosphere of the viewings but incited nothing socially significant.

The method of *generational filming* can be used in a harmful way and incite disagreements and controversy. The test audiences of our home videos were especially sensitive to what they saw and delivered pointed arguments and moral judgement. Future discussions can be easily led into chosen directions by manipulating the nature of the discussions through editing. It takes a certain kind of discretion and understanding to show psychologically sensitive material.

Discussions pertaining to the method can incite strong and surprising reactions. This is what happened with *Scolding* and *Autobiography of a Friend*. I noticed then the potential of using the method therapeutically, but did not even consider looking into it's therapeutic faculties without collaborating with a professional therapist. Wrongly used the method could even have traumatic consequences. Even though my concern was not with therapy, a group of therapists made up one audience of *Scolding.* I wanted to hear the thoughts of a specialized group not related to art and, in anticipation, *Scolding* seemed suitable.

In the screenings we attempt to value different kinds of comments. The situation itself creates its own dramaturgy and hierarchy, without us controlling speech. When the group was closed such as, for example, the doctorate seminar, the prevailing hierarchies were reproduced in conversation. Professors and other persons valued in the hierarchy of the art school dominated the conversations. When the group was more open as was the case with, for instance, a performance in a gallery, the topic of the discussion could change surprisingly and speech was more evenly distributed. Showing private and everyday occurrences to people belonging to another cultural environment opened up the possibility of discussing intercultural

relations. Screening with people of different ages sparked conversation on relationships between generations. In public space, in a gallery or in a seminar, a recording of our private life turned into a paragon of our culture's and generation's daily habits and was compared to the experiences and cultural environments of the viewers. For example, the danger in *Hot Soup* was completely different for Finnish women and Burmese men. An apparently meaningless event turned meaningful when it was viewed from the point of view of cultural differences.

Generational Filming as Artistic Research

It is characteristic of artistic research that it is a hybrid form of research, which does not have (yet) its own distinguishable methodology or theoretical footing. The Nordic *sui generis* perspective (See Borgdorff 2013:148) encourages the researcher to combine elements from different fields of the arts and sciences in their own distinct way. One of the editors of the manual of the Share network, Irish professor of artistic research Mick Wilson, writes of the ethos of making research and the ethos of visitation; of the right to visit the territories of different sciences and research. Wilson does not present the researcher with a set of ethical rules but writes about such a relationship to the world metaphorically:

> Interdisciplinary engagement by the artist-researcher can be thought of as (in part) the experience of being a 'guest' in another's 'place' (in their *topos* or their 'disciplinary turf') where we recognise that our host has *a way of doing things*. However, as guest, we are not giving up the right of critique, merely suspending the moment of critique until we have engaged in learning the local ways. [...] There is a requirement to be attentive to the way things are done and find some provisional accord with a new or unfamiliar perspective. (Wilson 2013:215.) (Italics by Wilson)

The ethos of being a guest describes well the relationship that I have aimed for in my research. My art and especially my research have drawn from anthropology and film research for decades. Instead of being a guest one could say that I have temporarily inhabited different research traditions. I have applied them in the spirit of artistic research, making use of artistic freedoms. My research in its entirety does not represent a particular approach but instead I have made use of different theories for each case study. The common method of *generational filming* connects all of the case studies both as video works and as chapters in this book.

In their book *Otsikko uusiksi. Taiteellisen tutkimuksen suuntaviivat* (*Rewriting the title. Guidelines for Artistic Research*) Mika Hannula, Juha Suoranta and Tere Vadén expect from artistic research that it would "shine both artistic and scientific light" (Hannula et al, 2003:13) on its subject matter. As the framework for such research they call forth experiential democracy. They refer to "the thought that no area of experience is out of reach of the criticism of another area of experience. Thus, the arts can criticise the sciences, as can the everyday criticise philosophy." (Ibid.15.) According to Hannula, Suoranta and Vadén experiential democracy creates open, critical and self-critical, even paradoxical, research in which different elements are in fruitful tension with each other. (Ibid.14.)

In *generational filming* both the video works and the written research communicate a narrative of the case study that is polyphonic. Situated knowledge that is committed to its context gets formed spherically. Such knowledge opens up new questions and topics of discussion. The video works and the written study interact, and both open up and comment on the other. The written does not seek to interpret the video works and neither are the videos illustrations of the written research. "The methodological goal of research based on experiential democracy is to relate how artistic experience and academic theorisation interact with one another, how they steer and affect each other and how this becomes critically reflected research." (Ibid.16.) In *generational filming* such interaction is at work within the video and in the text, as well as in between the two. Theorisation – and hopefully the artistic experience as well – happens both in the video as well as in the text. Artistic research shares with the arts a disregard for being unambiguous and verifiable.

In the last section of the *Share Manual*, which focuses on methods of artistic research, serendipity[1] is granted an entire subchapter. Serendipity is one of the key concepts that describe both the creation and the process of my research.

> The key element in serendipity is the facility of the researcher to achieve insight through the unplanned occurrence, event, or chance encounter that is the occasion of the serendipitous discovery. The overarching context is one of systematic enquiry, but it is an accident or interruption in the systemic or considered approach that yields the insight." (Share 2013:291.)

Without serendipity, penicillin and other ground-breaking innovations wouldn't have been invented. *Generational filming* revolutionised my relationship to our video diary, and perhaps without serendipity it wouldn't have

been presented the way it is presented here. If I wouldn't have seen the scolding video before Ukko's 18th birthday party, I wouldn't have showed it to the people gathered at the festivities, and if the gathering wouldn't have reacted so forcefully to it, I wouldn't have felt the need to apologise to Ukko for scolding him. If I wouldn't have filmed my apology, and if I wouldn't have made the video as an exercise in anthropological fieldwork and showed the same video in my doctoral seminar, the method might not have been created. The method was also called forth by the comments on our performance *Asking for Advice*. Instead of serendipity, however, the main motivation to find a method of working was the frustration felt when trying to come to terms with an overwhelming amount of video material.

Although the method of *generational filming* was discovered in our home while watching home videos, it can be applied for many uses. In ethnographic research and long-term socially engaged art projects recorded conversations can be used like a memo. Such recordings can help recall previous stages of a project so as to enter the next stage without unwanted repetition. Especially if there are long intermissions to a project, recordings can bridge the temporal gap by bringing a past conversation to the existing moment. Due to its polyphonic quality, a video recording makes it possible to follow different discourses and how people form their understanding. It also reveals and records how discourses change during a project. The fact that the method preserves polyphony decreases the risk of the researcher appropriating the subject matter or its participants´ views and engagement, since the videos show who brings forth each idea in the recorded discussions. When it is used responsibly, the method supports equal intercultural discussion and interaction.

One of my research questions is: What happens to meaning when a take and its commentaries are watched and commented on repeatedly? The case study *Scolding* in particular presented a seemingly contradictory outcome. The more generations were watched, the more the members of the audience began to reflect on their own gaze and matters related to their own lives. Concurrently, the act of scolding gained significance.

The screenings of *generational filming* produced a particular viewing experience that differs from the generic experience of viewing a film. Films tend to invite the viewer to empathise with onscreen events, or to make the viewer analyse what she sees. It is rare that these two ways of viewing would occur simultaneously. In this research, discussions on the home videos make the viewer both analyse the discussions and to empathise with them. The method of *generational filming* creates a way of viewing that is simultaneously analytically reflective and immersive.

Endnotes

1   Serendipity is a concept that describes the role of a fluke in scientific or other innovation. It origi-
    nated in English art historian Horace Walpole's letter to his friend in 1754. He writes about Persian
    stories featuring three princes from the island of Serendip (now the island of Sri Lanka) as their
    protagonists. The threesome "were always making discoveries, by accidents and sagacity, of things
    they were not in quest of." Serendipity was a word coined by Walpole to summarise the main events
    of the stories and the intrinsic quality of the three princes.

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- Apocalypse Now (1979)

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– Echo of the Mountain (2014)

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– Nanook of the North (1922)

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– Joking Relationship (1962)
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Meliés, Georges
– A Trip to the Moon (1902)

Mol, John de
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Murnau, F. W.
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– In the Land of the Black Magi (1946)
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– Eat (1963)
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– Empire State Building (1964)

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– The Dream of the Flower (2014)

Appendix

TAXONOMIC & ANTHROPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS IV

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GRANT KESTER – ENGAGEMENT

OTHER FAMILIES – OTHER

ANTHROPOLOGY > CONVENTIONAL ROLES

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KANTONEN FAMILY

MOTHER/WIFE CHILDREN

SEXUALITY & GENDER

DISCOURSE (POWER) THEORY

CRITICISM OF PAR-ENTING & FILMING

INTERPELLATION – ALTHUSSER

SUBJECTIVITY/SUBJECTION/ SUBJUGATION – BUTLER

LANGUAGE AND CONVENTIONAL ROLES

DOMINANT DISCOURSES

RABONOW-INSTITUTIONS

BUTLER – HETERONORMATIVE & QUEERING ROLES

POWER

FOUCAULT

FEMINIST FILM ANALYSIS

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DISPLACING THE GAZE – LACAN, ZIZEK LOOKING AWRY

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AUSTIN

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AUDIO ENVIRONMENT

AMBIENCE

MISE EN SCENE

PLACE / SITE

ARCHITECTURE OF HOME

LIGHT ENVIRONMENT

COLOR

HERMENEUTICS

THE CAMERA W / OR W/O TRIPOD

CAMERA MOVEMENT – PLACEMENT

CAMERA ON-OFF DESIRE & INTENTION

INTENTIONALITY VS SAMPLING/AMBIENCE

EDITING

CRITERIA OF SCENE SELECTION

CAMERA ON – CAMERA OFF -PERIODICITY

AUTHOR / AUTEUR

DISPLACEMENT OF GAZE

RECEPTION

FEEDBACK

CRITICISM OF PARENTING

REFILMING (WHAT TO CALL THIS?)

FEEDBACK ON TAPE

CRITICISM OF FILMING

Ray´s Taxonomy of the Project (January 13, 2008). See p. 165.

Abstrakti

Tämä tutkimus kertoo kuvaamista ja katsomista reflektoivan *videokuvan sukupolvittelun (Generational Filming)* metodin syntymisestä ja sovellutuksista. Tutkimukseen kuuluvat kahdeksan tapaustutkimusta olivat installaatioina ja nauhateoksina esillä tohtorintyön taiteellisessa osiossa Helsingin Taidehallissa näyttelyssä *Kodin väreilyä* (2011). Tutkimuksen neljä viitekehystä ovat: taiteellinen tutkimus, yhteisötaide, elokuvatutkimus ja visuaalinen antropologia.

Metodi sai innoituksensa ranskalaisen etnografin Jean Rouchin *jaetusta antropologiasta*. Rouchilla oli tapana näyttää elokuviensa raakaeditiot kuvatuille ihmisille ja muokata lopullinen versio saamiensa kommenttien perusteella. *Videokuvan sukupolvittelun* tavoitteena ei kuitenkaan ole saada aikaiseksi valmista dokumenttielokuvaa, vaan pikemminkin tutkia, miten yhdessä katsominen muuttaa kuvatun otoksen merkitystä ja miten kuvatallenne performatiivisesti vaikuttaa nykyhetkeen. Metodi tuottaa videon sukupolvia, kun video-otosta katsotaan ja kommentoidaan yhä uudelleen. Ensimmäinen sukupolvi on tutkittava otos, toinen sen kommentit, kolmas kommenttien kommentit ja niin edelleen.

Metodin ansiosta videoiden katsomisesta tulee yhteisöllinen tapahtuma, jonka tutkimus nimeää *jaetuksi katsomisen tilaksi*. Ihannetapauksessa erilaiset kulttuuriset ja yhteiskunnalliset näkemykset kohtaavat tasavertaisina niin, että erimielisyydet eivät lukkiudu vastakkaisuuksiksi. Kun ihminen näkee videolta omat aiemmat kommenttinsa, hän saa niihin analyyttistä etäisyyttä. Useissa tapaustutkimuksissa katsomisen lähtökohtana on videopäiväkirjaotokset, jotka kuvaavat valkoihoisen länsimaisen ydinperheen arkea, siis perhekuvauksen normia. Kuvauksen kriittinen arvio syntyy yhteisessä keskustelussa, joka sukupolvittelun metodin ansiosta siirtyy yhä enemmän käsittelemään katsojien omaa arkea, muistoja ja arvomaailmaa sekä reflektoimaan yhteistä katsomiskokemusta. Metodi luo oman väliaikaisen katsojien yhteisön.

Tutkimus noudattaa taiteellis-tutkimuksellisen prosessin kronologiaa. Aluksi keskitytään videopäiväkirjan kuvaamisen eri tapoihin, kuten jalusta- ja käsivarakuvaukseen sekä pitkiin otoksiin. Kolmea tutkimusprosessin myötä syntynyttä yhteisöllistä kuvaamisen tapaa käsitellään erikseen. *Videohumaltumisessa* kuvaaja ja videokamera muuttuvat lähes erottamattomiksi ja ne luovat kuvattavaa tapahtumaa yhdessä esiintyjien kanssa. *Ylläpitokuvaaminen* on arkielämää ja kuvaamista yhdistävä kuvaustapa. Kuvaaja pyrkii selviytymään mahdollisimman hyvin sekä arkiaskareista että kuvaamisen haasteista. *Sunnuntaikävelyssä* videokamera kävelyn aikana tallentaa vapaata keskustelua, joka ei pyri mihinkään lopputulokseen.

Kodin väreilyä -näyttelyn tekoprosessia analysoivassa luvussa pohditaan parin tuhannen tunnin videomateriaalin jäsentämistä ja indeksointia sekä taiteellisten teosten että tutkimuksen kannalta. Editoinnin analyysissä tehdään ero installaatioiden ja nauhateosten editoinnissa. Tutkija nimeää monikanavaisen teoksen editoinnin *synkroniseksi* ja yksikanavaisen teoksen editoinnin *diakroniseksi*.

Kolme tapaustutkimusta on toteutettu yhteistyössä kolmen eri yhteisön kanssa. Niissä tutkimuksella on myös muita tavoitteita kuin otosten merkityssisällön pohtiminen. *Tunuwame*-projektissa metodia sovelletaan wirrarika-kansan parissa yhteisömuseon suunnitteluun. Viron setukaisten parissa kuvattu tapaustutkimus *Sääti meile Säksä aigu* perustuu naiskuoron esittämän laulun videotaltiointiin. Kolmas yhteisö on kaksikielinen taiteilijaperhe, jonka kesänviettoa Turun saaristossa kuvataan useana peräkkäisenä vuotena.

Videokuvan sukupolvittelun metodi on erityisen antoisa ihmistutkimuksen alueella, koska se dokumentoi, tuottaa ja reflektoi ihmisyhteisöjen muuttuvaa tietoa. Tieto tapaustutkimuksen aiheesta karttuu syklisesti jokaisen videokuvan sukupolven myötä tarkentuen, mutta myöskin alati moninaistuen.

Index

PEKKA KANTONEN'S doctoral dissertation explores the act of filming, being filmed and viewing film in the context of everyday life. He began the journey described here in a state of confusion with more than 1000 hours of home video diary material shot since 1990. Together with his family Kantonen set off to show video clips to audiences in Finland, Estonia, Poland, Southeast Asia and Mexico, asking for advice from people of various cultures and occupations on how to interpret and edit the material. This performance was inspired by Jean Rouch's method of *shared anthropology*, which involved showing a raw edit to those filmed and taking into account their comments during the final edit. However, Kantonen does not intend to arrive at a finalised video diary. The method, *generational filming*, created together with Lea Kantonen, involves a potentially endless process of sedimentation, where each generation comments on earlier generations. Every screening circle demands a new reflexive and inclusive edition. This book, which functions as yet another layer, describes the method from the viewpoints of artistic research, socially engaged art, visual anthropology, and film studies.