

Terhi Skaniakos

Discoursing Finnish Rock

Articulations of Identities in the
Saimaa-ilmiö Rock Documentary



JYVÄSKYLÄ STUDIES IN HUMANITIES 140

Terhi Skaniakos

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ABSTRACT

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The purpose of the study is to examine the articulation of identities in the *Saimaa-ilmiö* rock documentary (1981). *Saimaa-ilmiö* is a Finnish full length rock documentary film directed by Aki and Mika Kaurismäki. It is based on the events of the Tuuliajolla (Adrift) tour cruise, which took place on Lake Saimaa in 1981 with three Finnish rock bands: Juice Leskinen & Slam, Eppu Normaali, and Hassisen kone. The main research question is to examine what identities, or more specifically, identity positions, are articulated in within the discourses related to rock and Finnish culture. The research setting is based on Critical Discourse Analysis (Norman Fairclough).

Many articulations of *rock* reinforced the Anglo-American based rock culture and its ideology and authenticity, which was largely based on the fact that the bands performed live music they had authored themselves. Many representations in the film, such as bohemian life, are part of the rock mythology. Rock culture was also youth culture. The people in the film are young and represent the suburban generation, even though most of the musicians come from the "periphery", various parts of the Finnish countryside. Lyrics, music and other behaviour implement counter cultural attitude against authorities and those in power. The discourses related to the *Finnishness* are also manifold. The use of landscape, romanticized images of the countryside, was mostly affirmative with the ways the landscape has been canonized within the construction of Finnishness. There are nostalgic intertextual references to the vernacular culture and lowbrow Finnish culture. Changes in the Finnish society and culture are also addressed. Furthermore, the fact that the music is sung in Finnish is a significant element.

In *Saimaa-ilmiö* there are many strong articulations which interconnect rock and Finnishness. The strongest identity position is related to masculinity, which interconnects articulations of rock, bohemianism, and Finnish low popular and vernacular Finnish cultures. The women, who are represented as passive bystanders, are offered less powerful positions. The film offers also other identity positions. The counter cultural position against authorities and societal norms become most strongly articulated in discourses of rock culture. However, the hatred for the elite and the powers that be is also a feature in lowbrow Finnish culture. The articulations of place are mostly related to the vernacular Finnishness, which is also articulated in the rock culture to some extent. The film offers a position for the provincial men, who come from the periphery, outside the densely populated Helsinki area. In this sense it creates conception of Finnish rock as broadly national phenomenon. This position is also strongly Finnish, even though the national symbolic elements are articulated within the rock context, which separates them from the official representations of Finnishness.

Keywords: *Saimaa-ilmiö*, rock documentary, rock culture, Finnishness, articulation, identity, critical discourse analysis.

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Jyväskylä, 30 March 2010

Terhi Skaniakos

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 The *Saimaa-ilmiö* rock documentary

Saimaa-ilmiö is a Finnish full length rock documentary directed by Aki and Mika Kaurismäki. The film is based on the events of the *Tuuliajolla* (Adrift) tour cruise, which took place on Lake Saimaa on May 31 - June 7 in 1981. The tour consists of concert performances of three Finnish rock bands: Juice Leskinen & Slam, Eppu Normaali, and Hassisen kone. They represent an indigenous Finnish rock style which is considered to have developed during the late 1970s. The crew – band members and their companions (girlfriends, fans, journalists, friends) - travelled on S/S Heinävesi performing concerts on six locations ashore.

Saimaa-ilmiö is significant in the Finnish rock history for several reasons. It was the first real full length rock documentary produced for the big silver screen. Furthermore, it was made at the time when Finnish rock was becoming an established genre called, and also contributed to this process. The importance of the film has become greater in the course of time since other rock documentaries of a similar scale have not been produced in a many years since *Saimaa-ilmiö*. Thereafter, I consider the film as a good subject for the study of Finnish audio-visual representation of rock.

Saimaa-ilmiö is the second (co)production of the Kaurismäki brothers. Their first film, which also included music performed by Juice Leskinen & Slam, came out earlier the same year and was called *Valehtelija* (The Liar, 1981). Their first films were produced by their own small production company called Villealfa Filmproductions. The events of the cruise take place in Lake Saimaa and its surroundings. Physically this group of lake basins, altogether nearly 4400 km² in area, is situated in Eastern Finland. These lake basins, most of which are named (Orivesi, Puruvesi, Haukivesi, Yövesi, Pihlajavesi, etc) are connected through narrow inlets (Image 1). The water of Saimaa runs to Lake Laatokka (Ladoga) which is now located on the Russian side of the border. There are many residential towns onshore: Joensuu, Varkaus, Mikkeli, Lappeenranta, Imatra and Savonlinna.

Lake Saimaa area is very famous in Finland and refers to specific cultural scenery known in national iconography (paintings, films, travelling and tourism). This includes numerous beautiful and romanticized lake images and stories located in this area. Therefore, to have the tour on Lake Saimaa does in itself connote certain meanings in Finnish cultural memory.

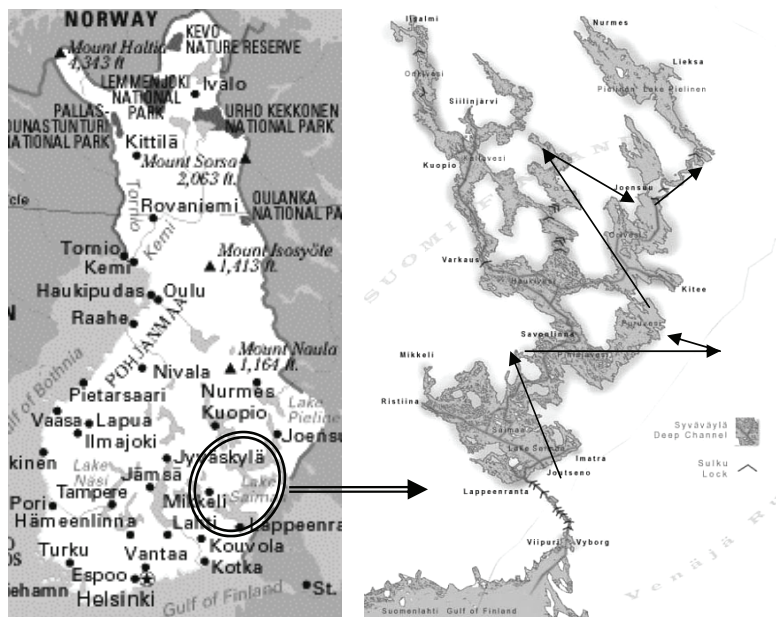


IMAGE 1 Map of Finland (Merriam-Webster 2009) and the location of Lake Saimaa (Ympäristöministeriö 2009) and the cruise.

The title *Saimaa-ilmiö* has several connotations. The literal translation of the title would be *Saimaa Phenomenon*, 'phenomenon' referring to the happening of a big crew touring on Lake Saimaa. The Finnish title also refers to the *China syndrome*, which in Finnish is called *Kiina-ilmiö*. 'China syndrome' is related to atomic energy: if an American nuclear plant melts down, it will melt through the earth until it reaches China thus destroying it. Therefore, there is a possible reference to the 1970's acute and real fear for new nuclear power. In 1979 a movie, *China Syndrome* concerning this topic was released. The translation the Kaurismäki brothers have chosen for the title of the film is *Saimaa Gesture*. This in turn refers to an older noir drama by Josef von Sternberg, *Shanghai Gesture* (1941, United Artists, US), the contents of which bears no resemblance to *Saimaa-ilmiö* at all.

Saimaa-ilmiö has not been widely studied before, even though the scholarly and public interest towards Aki Kaurismäki's other movies has been wide. The film is mentioned in books introducing his work (Connah 1991; Bagh 2006; Timonen 2006), but is in a marginal position within his oeuvre. The most well known scholarly work is carried out by two film scholars: Andrew Nestingen

(2004; 2005; 2007), and by Pietari Kääpä (2004; 2007; 2008), who has studied *Saimaa-ilmio* from the perspective of transnationalism and globalism (2006).

The material of the study, *Saimaa-ilmio* rock documentary, is analysed as a cultural text. By 'texts' I refer to the use of the term in cultural studies, meaning any media form that is self-contained; books, performance, TV-programmes, films, videos, songs, advertisement, etc. The main theoretical and methodological approach is critical discourse analysis. In addition, a variety of tools from film studies, musicology and cultural analysis are applied. Thereafter, the work at hand is multidisciplinary at nature, combining various tools from the above-mentioned fields of studies.

The main purpose of the study is to examine *what* are the sociocultural identities articulated in the *Saimaa-ilmio* rock documentary film. Thereafter, I aim to find out *how* the identities, and more specifically identity positions, are articulated within the discourses presented in the film. The research topic is relevant for the analysis and construction of the recent history of Finnish popular music as it relates *Saimaa-ilmio* to two specific cultural contexts: the *rock culture* and the *Finnish culture*.

As stated earlier, the main research material is the *Saimaa-ilmio* rock documentary. In addition to the film, I also use some complementary material related to the cruise and the film: *Tuuliajolla* book (a journal of the cruise written by rock journalist Juho Juntunen), and relevant original recordings of the three bands. I have limited the material to these texts, in addition to which I use academic studies and other contextualising material whenever it is required within the framework of critical discourse analysis. The reading of the film is made from today's perspective. I rely on a theoretical and methodological understanding of the study which focuses on this media text, which itself concerns a historical phenomenon. However, the study approach is neither historical nor focusing on reception of the film. Thereafter I have delimited a systematic analysis of contemporary 1980s sources out of the research material. However, the following Subchapters on Finnish rock and documentarism are presented in order to create a subtext of the historical context, in which the film was made.

By analyzing the articulations of these identities I want to contribute to the study of rock music and rock documentarism as recognized forms of culture. I also hope to find out how *Saimaa-ilmio* contributes to the reproduction and construction of these sociocultural identities. Despite the importance of Finnish language in the material, I have chosen to report the study in English. The reason behind this choice has to do with my wish to contribute to the international scholarly discussion on music and identity construction by presenting the work in the lingua franca of today's academic communities of popular music and cultural studies.

1.2 Positionings

The present undertaking belongs to the field of cultural studies and more specifically the *cultural study of music*. Both of these study fields are broad and intertwined. Cultural studies is interested in the meaning making processes related to cultural forms. It has been influenced by several theoretical approaches, varying from structuralist linguistics to feminist theory, and the focuses can include subjects or group formations. It is by no means a uniform discipline with common aims or shared theoretical starting points. What is shared is the interest to understand the ways in which humans interact and make sense of the world through culture.¹

The history of the cultural study of music dates back to the latter half of the 19th century, when early ethnomusicologists were taking interest in the cultural study of music. The non-Western musics have been analysed within the comparative musicology, which was replaced by ethnomusicology and music anthropology in the mid-20th century. Even though ethnomusicology is a field where the music as culture has been of great importance, it should be noted that a great deal of work on popular culture and popular music has been done within the critical tradition of the so-called Frankfurt school. The most famous scholar in this field has without a doubt been a Marxian social philosopher Theodor W. Adorno. His critique was aimed at the mechanisms of capitalist society and mass culture. For the cultural studies of today the most influential approach was developed especially within the British cultural studies and the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (better known as CCCS), which functioned between the years 1964 and 2002. Many of the researchers, for example Richard Hoggart, Stuart Hall, Dick Hebdige, Paul Willis and Dick Bradley, have provided critical perspectives on culture and its analysis. More importantly, they brought the topics into the realm of media: TV, film and video. Their interest in working class cultures and subcultures paved way for the analysis of popular cultures in other fields of study.

Popular music study has since been established as an independent field of study. At the turn of the 1970s a group of Anglophone literature and especially sociology oriented scholars became interested in popular music. Their interests lay especially in the social aspects of music, less in the music itself. As a result of this, however, popular music studies while becoming established as an own area of study, yet remained a multidisciplinary field. The first chair in this field of study was established at the Salford University, Manchester, UK in 2000. The post was first occupied by Sheila Whiteley.

There have been changes within the field of musicology as well. A comment on traditional formalist musicology emerged in the form of *new* or *critical musicology*, within which the scholars were interested in social and cultural experiences related to particular genres, their practices and political

¹ For a thorough account on the basic ideas within cultural studies see, for example, Barker (2002).

aspects. Furthermore, there have been strong focuses on certain issues, as the questions of cultural identity (national, ethnic, racial, gendered, place related etc.) in the 1990s. Another area, that of *cultural musicology*, has formed study of music as culture into a broad field. (Hesmondhalgh & Negus 2002, 3-9; Middleton 2000, 2.) Within both critical and cultural musicology there has been an attempt to break down the artificial academic barriers between musical styles, and the same theoretical approaches have been applied to art as well as to folk or popular music, or their hybrids.²

Common to all these approaches is, as Middleton (2000, 3) states, that “*culture matters*”. Emphases vary in the ways in which culture and music are studied and in accordance with the focus. Some seem more pertinent to study the cultural or social, the practices, the politics, the economics, the way of talking or writing about music, while others prefer to focus on music. One relevant question deals with the nature of the analysis: does the analysis focus on the context or on the text?³ Those calling for the importance of textual analysis come in fewer numbers and often have institutional musical education and competence.⁴ Music does have a mythical status among many scholars, who are afraid to comment on the music without having been formally trained in (often classical) music. The need for and importance for the so-called textual analysis has, however, been acknowledged, for example, by Richard Middleton (1990; 2000). The problematic aspect in the study of music is that it has traditionally meant formalist analysis concentrated on the musical parameters established in the analysis of classical music (melody, rhythm, harmony, form), with the tools developed for notation based music. This approach is largely rejected within the current approaches of popular music studies, even though such examples exist (e.g. Moore 2000; Kukkonen 2008).

The studies focusing on the contexts often reduce the music to social categories or stress the intuitive and cultural competence based analysis of the music culture (Middleton 1990, 117). The study of the text, or its close reading, is seen as problematic in many ways, as Scott (2003, 14) states:

“[T]he [...] broad arguments I am making rely for their persuasiveness on a considerable amount of supporting evidence. They do not permit me to concentrate on a small number of examples, since I would immediately be open to charge of either having relied on too tiny a “control group” or having cunningly selected those few examples that reinforce my exaggerated claims. On top of this, I am aware how easily a detailed analysis (or close reading) tends to become fixated on musical structure rather than on historicizing musical discourse. For this reason, the close reading has become problematic for poststructuralists, and it is compounded by the challenge poststructuralism poses to the very idea of deep structure. To the reader who bemoans the plethora of examples, I will simply say that where I have felt that they merely lend additional weight to rather than deepen my argument I have consigned them to the notes.”

² I have discussed my personal relation to various fields of music studies and cultural studies in Skaniakos (2009a).

³ Concerning the debate within Cultural Studies, see Kovala (2002).

⁴ Textual analysis has been part of the work done by David Brackett, Richard Middleton, Allan Moore, Philip Tagg and Sheila Whiteley, to mention a few known scholars from the Anglo-American realm.

The analysts' way of making interpretations can be based on a variety of materials. There have been some attempts to bridge the gap between the text and the context without falling into structuralist or formalist analysis. One example of such approaches is critical discourse analysis, which was developed particularly for media studies by Norman Fairclough. The analysis of a communicative event includes the analysis of a cultural text, which is used and produced within the social processes and practices at the levels of discourse practices (genre & intertextuality) and sociocultural practices (wider contexts), thus aiming at making a thorough and validated link between the understanding and interpretation and the analysed texts. It is for this particular reason I have chosen to use the theoretical-methodological approach of critical discourse analysis in the analysis of *Saimaa-ilmiö* rock documentary.

A critical discourse analysis of a rock documentary means studying a cultural text and its production, which is situated in the larger context of rock culture and the wider society and culture. Therefore, the theoretical and methodological approaches are drawn mainly from cultural studies and cultural musicology, but also from film and media studies. These fields are not mutually exclusive, as for example both cultural studies and media studies have utilized linguistic approaches, which in my study become apparent through the applied analysis of discourses. The main analytical concept is *articulation*, which is used in order to examine the sociocultural identity constructions in the film. The concept originates from Antonio Gramsci, but it has been theorized within cultural studies by Lawrence Grossberg.

By this dissertation I want to contribute to the study of Finnish rock music by offering an insight to the early stage of Finnish rock through *Saimaa-ilmiö* rock documentary. The act of making the film was a statement on behalf of the national rock, and thus aimed at canonising the musical genre. I aim at shedding light onto the cultural and social processes taking place in Finland and in wider contexts at the time. Furthermore, I want to add to the study of audio-visual documentary texts of popular music. After the present introduction of the basic research design I proceed in Chapter 2 by presenting brief histories related to developments in the history of Finnish popular music, documentarism and more specifically to music documentary films, and to the conditions in which *Saimaa-ilmiö* was produced. This is a significant chapter for the contextualisation of the film. Chapter 3 presents the main theoretical and methodological concepts and the methodological procedures related to the critical analysis of the discourses. The results of the analysis are presented in the following four chapters. I begin by analysing the film from the documentary perspective, as it forms the basis for the meaning making processes of the film in Chapter 4. The following chapters include the analysis of the film as a communicative event: the articulations of identities from the perspective of rock (Chapter 5) and the Finnishness (Chapter 6). Chapter 7 is a conclusive one, in which the results are summarized and viewed in the light of the order of discourse, that is, on the ways in which the discourses are organized and relate to other relevant discourses.

2 BACKGROUND

2.1 The emerging of Finnish rock

Rock belongs to the vast field of *popular music*, the ontology of which has been discussed and scrutinized since the early 1900. However, both rock and popular music escape fixed definitions. The scholarly interest in popular music has produced a variety of such attempts, as discussed by Richard Middleton (1990, 3-6), who problematizes the grounds of trying to capture the essence of popular music in a fixed category.⁵ He concludes that popular music is a historical and changing phenomenon, which is always in movement (Middleton 1990, 7). We can only reach it as it has been presented in the past, never at the present moment, as the world of music will not stagnate to please our curiosity.

Another, non-generic viewpoint to popular music has been provided by Charles Hamm (1995, 1-40), who has treated popular music as narratives that produce our conceptions of what popular culture is (such as narratives of mass culture, authenticity, youth culture). Much of contemporary popular music focuses on explicating these narratives, still looking for 'other voices'. Popular music can also be defined in different ways by different parties. Its producers, users, professionals, scholars or institutions have different views and motivations on defining it for their purposes. In the web page of Finnish Jazz & Pop Archive (2009) it is stated that popular music is:

“primarily meant for the mass market, as music that is made, stored, distributed and experienced through modern electronic technology and characterized by a diversity of styles and, generally, by strong rhythmical elements.”

The main canon of Anglo-American popular music has long been published in the form of biographies and books of genres and eras, but also in the form of

⁵ I have knowingly left out the definitions by which music can be divided into three categories: art music, folk music and popular music (see for example Tagg 2000 [1979]). The motivation and arguments, on which the division was based, do not apply in today's musical field.

larger projects.⁶ Rock has roots in Anglo-American developments of the rock'n'roll and the other genres of the 1960s, when pop-rock aesthetic split took place in popular music. All the bands featured on *Saimaa-ilmiö* are considered as representatives of Finnish rock, which will be more closely defined in the following section. The film is based on a tour, an established practice of rock, which in this case takes place on a lake and its shores. The concerts are live performances, which are the main activities of a tour, and form one of the grounding practices of rock.

In Finland, like in many other European countries, the 20th century popular music is rooted in the 19th century musical tradition. A significant influence was also American jazz, which arrived in the 1920s. The years between The First and The Second World War were significant for the emergence of what is called *iskelmä* in Finnish. The name of this genre is formed from Finnish words "iskusävelmä" (hit tune). There is also relevance to German national popular music style called *Schlager*, which originates from the word "schlag", hit. *Schlagers* had musical influence on Finnish *iskelmä*, especially the tango style. In the beginning *iskelmä* referred to those songs that had become really popular, 'hits' amongst the great public. Later, *iskelmä* started to signify the most typical form of Finnish popular music, which became an established genre (Gronow et al. 2004.)

Anglo-American rock'n'roll came to live alongside this national style in the 1950s. At the beginning rock did not gain much foothold but it did foreground the first pre-stages of a new type of youth culture. In Finland rock'n'roll was listened to and it was also played by bands, but new songs were hardly written nor produced at all. Dancing was an important function of the music. (Gronow et al. 2004) It was only in the 1960s when Finnish popular music really was divided into two main camps: *iskelmä* and "rock", which included beat music, pop and rock. Still, the rock scene remained relatively small in comparison to *iskelmä*, which had really become the music of the masses.⁷ (Kurkela 2003, 512-513.)

While rock started to break through, a new style, pop, was established from the other musical styles. The British beat invaded Finland, too, in the early 1960s and became the major influence for the local scenes. During the late 1960s also pop music, as opposed to rock, began to take shape as its own musical genre in the mainstream (Shuker 1998, 225-226).

"If during the 1970s the Finnish rock scene had gradually become autonomous, at the same time it started to differentiate internally: the notions of high and low, the

⁶ Such as The Grove Jazz in 1988, Grove Music Online (including popular music), Colin Larkin's The Encyclopedia of Popular Music series since 1992, and The Continuum Encyclopedia of Popular Music of the World (seven volumes since 2003).

⁷ In the early 1960s Finns were inspired by the new guitar bands, like the Shadows, that had a distinctive guitar sound. These songs became great hits and inspired boys to start bands with a typical rock line-up, bands that were formed mainly by Finnish-Swedish school boys. Most live bands touring in Finland at the time came from UK (such as Rolling Stones in 1965) or the other Nordic countries. The first US rock musician performing in Finland was Jimi Hendrix (1967). (Kurkela 2003, 467-470; 522-523.)

aesthetic split between pop and rock, started to signify the differentiation in the field.” (Rautiainen 2005, 48.)

In Finland the softer pop music was performed by *iskelmä* artists, but after the 1970s there were also artists performing solely pop music, such as disco, the repertoire of which consisted mainly of cover songs.

In accordance with the 1960s' revolutionary spirit, a protest song movement emerged in Finland. It culminated in the co-operation of Irwin Goodman (Antti Hammarberg, singer) and Vexi Salmi (lyricist), who focused on the lifestyle and leisure of the common, working class people in a humorous and sometimes even coarse manner. (Liete 2002, 45.) Another important phenomenon at the time was the so-called Underground movement, which was strongly countercultural in the very meaning of the words.⁸ Also the leftist political song movement was strong in the early 1970s, taking its inspiration from politics.

Finnish rock scene strengthened in the late 1960s. This eventually led into the emergence of a genre that we now know as *suomirock*. It took place during a long period of time and included several types of music. The songwriter tradition in Finnish played a great part in this development. However, the rock influence came along with progressive rock, which did gain great emphasis in Finland in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Some bands, such as Wigwam and Tasavallan presidentti (President of the Republic) were recognised even internationally, mainly within the English-speaking world. In the 1970s there was another wave, which was developed largely as a counter reaction to the difficult and complicated progressive rock. This rock'n'roll based straightforward rock was based on three minute songs, which were performed by three-four men playing the basic rock instruments. Most of the songs were sung in English. The best known of these bands is Hurriganes, which paved the way and acted as a model for thousands of teenagers and musicians in Finland at the time.

The Anglo-American folk and hippie movements, with an emphasis on the singer-songwriter based music, entered the Finnish scene in the 1970s. Even though they never grew big, they were important as a ground for the new upcoming styles. Many rock lyricists translated international songs into Finnish and new singer-songwriters entered the scene. Some of the most famous folk- and blues-based musicians were Pekka Streng (folk, psychedelia), Dave Lindholm (root blues), Hector (aka Heikki Harma; folk, David Bowie), Anki Lindqvist (folk, one of the rare women of this genre).

All in all, the Finnish popular music scene underwent great changes in the 1970s. For the music industry it was time of growth. Recordings sold more than

⁸ The members of the movement, who represented many different fields of art and culture, wanted to break established conventions and norms, and presented radical societal critique. Their experimental shows, called happenings, included performances, various kinds of pop art and music with lyrics that had a message to deliver. The main band in this movement was *Suomen Talvisota 1939-40* (Finland's Winter War 1939-40) and many of the lyrics were written by writers Jarkko Laine, Markku Into and M.A.Numminen. (Liete 2002, 44-45.)

ever and music production and publication began to be seen as a profitable business. As a result of this many new small companies emerged, and many of the former employees and artists started their own firms. Also, the big established companies continued building on those areas of music they had produced before (such as *iskelmä*), while the new emerging styles, such as Finnish rock and other marginal styles (choir music, spiritual music) were left for the interest of smaller new companies. Fazer Music (now part of the Time Warner) had been the greatest in overall music production in Finland until the 1970s, holding almost a monopoly. It was not, however, able to follow the trends such as rock and pop, which grew bigger and became profitable parts of the industry. The resulting competition weakened Fazer's position in Finland, which in turn made it easier for the new entrepreneurs to enter the scene. (Hellman 1982, 215.) The early 80s has thus been described as the era of small businesses in Finnish music industry (Hellman 1982, 208). It was due to this growth in the 1970s that rock became a commercially important area in music business; thus the industry changed, too, towards higher professionalism (Hellman 1982, 214-16).

Love Records (Helsinki 1966-1979) was the first recording company for rock and other alternative genres. It played an important role in the development of the Finnish rock scene and released most of the records of the Finnish political song movement and progressive rock. The rock bands had a lot of freedom regarding their music and studio practices and the company supported a variety of bands, without always calculating on their marketing value and success. This led eventually to its downfall in 1979. From the ruins of Love Records rose Johanna (Helsinki), which was also strongly profiled by the producer Atte Blom. Also several other companies, such as Poko Rekords (Tampere) emerged at the time. These were the most important companies contributing to Finnish rock's breakthrough. (Muikku 2001, 208-209.) The final boost for the emergence of Finnish rock was given by the vital punk and new wave, which entered in the late 1970s. Some bands, like the Ramones, performed in Finland in 1977 inspiring many young musicians. (Kurkela 2003, 591.)

The 1970s was also an ideologically active era. There were a variety of social and political movements available: the peace movement, the environmental movement, the leftist movement. It was a time of great unemployment and social problems, which concerned also the young people. The new suburban generation felt that they were neglected by the decision makers and they were not satisfied. In the late 1970s also the rock sung in Finnish started to develop as a genre. The main influences were 1970s rock and punk musics, which reinforced the straightforward attitude towards music and song making. (Mattila 2004, 114-128.)

Punk gained foothold, as internationally famous bands like Sex Pistols and Ramones paved way for new music making. It was rather uncomplicated to form a punk band, and the music was relatively simple to learn to play (compared to progressive rock, for example) and a number of bands emerged

around Finland. The attitude was important, but also the musical features, such as fast tempos and heavy distortion sound were adopted by Finnish punk bands in the late 1970s. The political message, which was continuation to the 1960s and 1970s political song movement and lyric writing tradition, was emphasised in some musicians' music more than others. The societal critique was strong for example in Pelle Miljoona's music. Eppu Normaali was at first considered a punk band. (Kurkela 2005, 594.)

Punk remained as a marginal genre in Finland, but the more mainstream version of this new rock style became to be called the *uusi aalto*, New Wave, was commonly used in Finland at the turn of the 1980s. It differed, however, from the American CBGB club based music.⁹ In Finland the *uusi aalto* started from the British punk leftovers, but soon merged into mainstream rock music.¹⁰ By the early 1980s it had become a broad concept referring not only to punk bands but, in fact, any kinds of 'new' rock bands. It was at this time Hassisen kone entered the scene. By that time the distinction between *iskelmä* and *rock* was institutionalized by magazines, radio programmes, venues, producers and managers and recording labels, and most of the rockers (Heikkinen 2008b, 288).

The emergence of a national rock style that begun to take place was not only typical of Finland: a similar change took place in most European, non-English speaking countries. The new music styles had many names and the lingual formation of the Finnish rock took place just after the mid-1970s and early 1980s. The name formation is related to the question of geographical location of Finnish rock. Helsinki had been the main center of Finnish popular music (rock in particular) production thus far, but in the 1970s bands started to emerge also from other locations. There were humoristic show bands, such as Sleepy Sleepers (Lahti), who also paid attention to the visual aspects of their stage show (Liete 2002, 48). In Tampere there developed a scene which included figures like Juice Leskinen and Mikko Alatalo, who formed Los Coitus Interruptus, aka Coitus Int (Interrupted intercourse) in 1970. The experimental 1970s entered Tampere, as Veltto Virtanen, a performing anarchist, and Alwari Tuohitorvi, one of the very rare Finnish Glam rock bands, came along. The scene became so strong it was named *Manserock* in 1975, 'Manse' being the nickname of Tampere, reflecting the similarities between Tampere and Manchester, which both are large industrial cities in their respective countries. (Liete 2002, 56-57.)

The Finnishness of rock music was highlighted in the new genre labels, such as *härmärock*. This was at first a synonym for any Finnish rock, but started to refer specifically to bands coming from outside Helsinki. "Härmäläinen" (from Härmä), was used as a synonym for a Finn, but it has a redneck (*juntti*) meaning. Härmärock then was the first name for Finnish rock, used until the 1980s. At first Finnish rock was called simply *suomalainen rock* (Finnish rock),

⁹ CBGB (Country, Blue Grass and Blues) is a music club at Bleecker in New York City in 1973. It became a forum for American punk and punk-influenced bands like Ramones, Television, the Patti Smith Group, Blondie and Talking Heads.

¹⁰ Punk did continue as its own genre, but remained rather marginal.

this was commonly used for example by Juice Leskinen in his writings in *Suosikki Magazine*. In 1981 journalist Mikko Montonen used the term *Suomi-rock* in Juice Leskinen's interview in *Suosikki*. (Heikkinen 2008a, 20.) According to a the history of Finnish rock presented in *Jee Jee Jee* (Bruun et al. 2001, 354) in 1980s both, *Suomi-rock* and *suomirock* were used, the latter referring to music closer to melancholic *iskelmä* tradition. Nowadays the name *suomirock* is well-established and used in popular and scholarly literature, magazines, names of notation books, recording series, etc (e.g. in Kurkela 2005).

An important feature of Finnish rock was that the songs were sung in the Finnish language. The native language has played an important role in national popular music.

"A few days ago, I was browsing through old reports of listener surveys conducted by the Finnish Broadcasting Company in the 1950s. I was struck by one of the questions, in which listeners were asked whether it is more important that songs are sung in Finnish or that they are performed well. A significant number of listeners chose the first alternative. This was almost 50 years ago, when the majority of Finns were still living in rural communities and only had six years of school education, and without any foreign language training. Yet even today, Finnish audiences place special emphasis on their mother tongue, and this helps to explain many aspects of the development of Finnish popular music." (Gronow 2004.)

In the 1970s the role of language had become more important. Rauli "Badding" Somerjoki was an artist who performed both rock and *iskelmä*, mostly cover versions sung in Finnish, with translated, or rather, rewritten lyrics by poet and underground activist Jarkko Laine (Liete 2002, 48). Furthermore, it was within the folk and also partially within progressive rock scene where the musicians were creating new music and writing original lyrics in Finnish. In *Finnish rock* songwriters/lyricists began to use the Finnish language in versatile and diverse ways. Indeed, the fact that these lyricists started to use colloquial language, talking about real life and problems, even using expletives, instead of *iskelmä*'s eloquent way of talking about love and life, dramatically changed the way of writing rock lyrics. As a strong extrapolation it could be said that the topics addressed by this new Finnish music dealt with a variety of societal issues and problems and addressed them more directly, whereas the lyrics of *iskelmä* were not as provocative.

In 1981, Finnish rock sold, for the first time, more than *iskelmä* (Lassila 1990). The media recognized the existence of rock, too: in 1980 the Finnish Broadcasting Company YLE started Rockradio. Another change within the industry was the breaking of the Helsinki hegemony. Many other enterprises expanded outside Helsinki. Poko Rekords was grounded in Tampere by Epe Helenius in 1977. It concentrated on punk, rockabilly and rock, which paid off and it became one of the most significant recording companies in the history of Finnish rock. (Konttinen 2004, 28-30.)

Since the breakthrough of Finnish rock, there has been a strong rock scene in Finland, and Finnish rock is still used as a genre name. Yet it nowadays refers to a great variety of bands, artists and styles that are associated to a particular tradition of the 1980s. There have been variations of Finnish rock and

the genre has changed as new international trends have had influence on the sound of Finnish rock bands as well.

2.2 The practice of documenting on film

Saimaa-ilmiö is, first and foremost, a rock documentary. Most often documentaries are presented as opposed to fiction films and these two are regarded as the two main film genres. The borders of fiction and non-fiction are not, however, clear.

“Every film is a documentary. Even the most whimsical of fictions gives evidence of the culture that produced it and reproduces the likeness of the people who perform within it. In fact, we could say that there are two kinds of film: (1) documentaries of wish-fulfillment and (2) documentaries of social representation. Each type tells a story, but stories, or narratives, are of different sort.” (Nichols 2001, 1.)

Both of these film types call the viewer to believe in them, but in the each case the belief is different: “Fiction may be content to suspend *disbelief* (to accept its world as plausible), but non-fiction often wants to instil belief (to accept its world as actual).” (Nichols 2001, 2.)

Documentary film has its roots in the first half of the 20th century. It was, however, only in the latter half of it that it developed into a genre of its own. The history of documentary films can be written in several ways: according to the stylistic phases, the main changes in the film making, or the histories of the directors.¹¹ I will aim at presenting a brief historical account of the main types and modes of documentary film styles, for they are relevant for the analysis of *Saimaa-ilmiö*.

Early documentary films were made by anthropologists and European avant-gardes. They were also used for political purposes in Russia in the beginning of the 20th century. (Ellis & McLane 2006.) The Griersonian tradition, named after its central figure John Grierson, developed in Britain during the 1930s. His films aimed at depicting the reality by filming people’s everyday lives and activities. He employed a social view and linked the films to a broader argument. His intention was to make a strong claim on the real but he also pointed out, that a documentary is always about “creative treatment of actuality” (Winston 1995, 11).

The Griersonian tradition was strong within the Anglo-American documentary film production. It was challenged by *cinéma vérité* aka ‘cinema of truth’, which was created by French film directors in the 1960’s. It was based on filmmakers’ strong role in the process of filmmaking, which was carefully planned ahead. It involved intrusion, provocation of the filmed subjects, as it was believed to create a better outcome of the desired topic. (Ellis & McLane

¹¹ A through history, which accounts for the stylistic changes and the varieties within a variety of countries has been presented by Ellis & McLane (2006).

2006, 217.) There were many similarities with French *new wave* film making, which preceded the *vérité* films. The new wave film theory and the so-called *new documentary* abandoned 'Griersonian tradition' of direct-address and social and political agendas, and started to use techniques of storytelling and continuity editing conventionally associated with fiction films (Bruzzi 2000; Ruoff 1992, 221). Even a documentary is thus a construction and a representation, not a "window into reality".

"Cinéma vérité methods continued to evolve in ever more complicated intertwinings of reality and fiction. The generation of filmmakers who matured in the 1970s strengthened a trend toward blurring the conventional distinctions between documentary, experimental, and fictional films that had existed at least as far back as Vertov's "Kino-Pravda". (Ellis & McLane, 2006 235.)

One important reason for the change was the development of technology and lighter camera devices, which enabled the filmmakers to enter a variety of scenes more easily. The portable cameras and sound devices have affected the whole area of documentary film making ever since.

A related documentary style is called American *vérité* or direct cinema. The movement revolves around the philosophy of being a "reactive" filmmaker. Rather than investigating a subject matter through such documentary techniques as interviews, reconstruction and voiceover, direct cinema simply records events as they unfold naturally and spontaneously – like a fly on the wall- observational documentary style. In these respects it is very different from the French *cinéma vérité* tradition. The directors did not intervene in the filming situations. They let the subjects, the people, direct the film making and the subject matter guide the story. (Ellis & McLane 2006, 217-218.)

The modern documentary film making styles are largely based on these two traditions, *cinéma vérité* and direct cinema. The terms are used as alternatives, even though they refer to different ideologies and ways of filmmaking. The topics of the films since the 1950s onwards have included observational films (realism), autobiographies, open-ended episodic narrative films, as well as private subject matters and personal issues, and everyday lives (e.g. reality-TV) (Nichols 2001; Ruoff 1992, 218-219). Documentary films do not necessarily have a set script or even actors. The film, however, is often cut and structured according to the conventions of drama. The interplay of fact and fiction, authenticity and artistic work is always present. Yet a documentary is viewed as something real, true and authentic.

Documentaries can be divided into several categories. A common classification is based on the modes of representation, in which these are arranged according to their historical appearance: *poetic*, *expository*, *participatory*, *observational*, *reflexive* and *performative* (Nichols 2001, 99). *Poetic documentary* started in the 1920s, and Nichols relates it to *avant-garde*, in which fragments of the world are poetically reassembled. *Expository documentaries* appeared also at the early stage of documentary history. These films represented the world historically by historical stories, often utilizing the voice-over technique, which means that there is an outside narrator, whose voice is "off film" or non-

diegetic. The most well known examples are perhaps those of Nazi Germany by Leni Riefenstahl. From the 1960s on, the *observational documentaries* abandoned commentary and let the camera record the events, using very little or none of voice over or interviews. At around the same time *participatory documentaries* appeared, valuing subjective testimonies and focusing on interviews and interaction with the subjects. Later, in the 1970s and 1980s, independent documentary filmmakers returned to the direct address style. (Nichols 2001, 102-124.)

The recent decades have brought new modes to the documentary field. In the *reflexive documentary* the documentary film makers take a self-critical position and aim at dialogue with the spectators, thus questioning the boundaries and authenticity of documentaries. There has also been a shift of emphasis from the subject of the film to the viewer who experiences the film. This mode aims at challenging the 'truth' value of documentaries and exposing the filmmakers' position as the only constructor(s) of the film. (Bruzzi 2000, 6; Nichols 1991, 57.) The *performative documentaries* question the element of truth by playing with the fictional elements, challenging the non-fictional impossibility of authentic documentary representation. The films include performed elements, such as dramatized situations from reality. (Bruzzi 2000, 153; Nichols 2001, 130-125.) They do not even attempt to be faithful representations of reality, but, instead "[...] herald a different notion of 'truth' that acknowledges the construction and artificiality of even non-fiction film" (Bruzzi 2000, 154), thus endorsing personal experience.

The most recent contribution to the categories of documentary films at the conceptual level is that of *creative documentaries*. These films do take a real-life subject as their starting point but require substantial original writing and set out an author's and/or director's point of view. They aim at artistic expression as well as delivering information (Aaltonen 2006, 150). This mode is not yet presented in the textbooks on documentaries, and yet there are several festivals and awards for creative documentaries (see e.g. International Festival of Audiovisual Programs). However, the mode is listed on the glossary of the UK Media Team (Mediadesk) and in graduate school programmes (Theory and Practice of Creative Documentary Making).

2.3 Documentaries of music

Sounds, including music are important elements in both fiction and non-fiction films. In the following I will briefly look at the music fiction films, after which I will focus on rock documentaries, which are most relevant to the topic in question.

Music became an important part of the communication in the movies, starting from the *Jazz Singer* (1927), listed as the first sound picture. The Tin Pan Alley and Broadway production based Hollywood musicals were produced

since the 1930s. They were built on song performances and dance numbers and were most popular in the 1940s and the 1950s. In Britain the film production was based on Music Hall and musical comedy, respectively. For rock'n'roll the significant film was *The Blackboard Jungle* (1955), which was followed by a series of other Hollywood productions of Elvis Presley movies. In Britain Cliff Richard and Beatles were amongst the first to make movies of their music. The genre of so-called road movies became popular, and one of the most popular examples of this genre is the Hippie era film *Easy Rider* (1969). (Mundy 1999, 53-123; Marcović 2004.)¹²

The role of music in documentaries has varied a great deal. The early documentaries of the 1930s were scored (by famous composers), in the 1960s music of the observational films had to be diegetic, i.e. the sounds were produced by the subjects on-camera. Then, as the sound recording technology developed and the music and images were first merged in the movies, the first rock documentaries emerged in the 1960s, focusing on the new youth countercultures.

The nature of a rock documentary is distinct, as it "brings together the documentary cinema's traditional focus on actuality and the fictional cinema's emphasis on stars and spectacle" (Ruoff 1992, 226). Rock documentaries have also been labelled as rockumentaries. They

"include films and television programmes/series documenting music festivals, concerts, tours, local music scenes, and the history of popular music. Films of music festivals have consolidated the mythic status of events like Woodstock; and the 1970 film was a major box office success. A number of other concert and concert tours films have had a similar but more limited commercial and ideological impact [...]. Such films capture particular moments in 'rock history', while validating particular musical styles & performers." (Shuker 1994, 179.)

Popular music documentaries were first made in the 1960s. Many of the first films focused on one musician or a band, and a tour or a festival. The direct cinema movement influenced rock documentary making, especially the work by many of the American directors such as Albert and David Maysles and D. A. Pennebaker. These directors are emphasizing the role of the filmed subjects and the events. Maysles brothers worked with the Drew Associates, which was a central company in the direct cinema movement. The most important music related films they directed were *The Beatles' First US visit* in 1964 and *Gimme Shelter* of the Rolling Stones in 1970. D.A Pennebaker's films have been, perhaps, the most influential in the history of rock documentaries. *Don't look back* (1967) was based on Bob Dylan's concert tour in Britain in 1965, which has often been titled as the first rock documentary film. A subgenre of concert films was set by *Monterey Pop* (1969), a documentary about the 5-day festival, focusing on the audience as well as performers, *Woodstock* (1970) similarly depicting the 4-four day festival events, and *The Last Waltz* (1978), a Martin Scorsese film of *The*

¹² For a thorough presentation on the history of music on film, also on TV and early video, see Mundy's *Popular Music on Screen* (1999). Marcović (2004) translated from Slovenian to English by Mladen Zagorac.

Band's last concert. (Marković 2004.) The new role of the director affected the documentary films, and the focus was shifted from the entertaining function to artistic aspect, as in creative documentaries. The films did not focus on the audience as before, and the main emphasis was on the band, its music, and touring, in other words, in the creation of rock authenticity. "Rock doesn't have only accompanying role in all these movies, but rather plays an independent and even central role in narration" (Marković 2004).

There was also an opposite strand to the auteur films. From the 1970s on, there was a commercialization movement, as it was discovered that films can be used as a main means of marketing for popular music. Most of these were music videos and other audiovisual productions, but also documentaries of various lengths. There have been a great number of popular music films and documentaries, which don't have a known or promoted director. Often some material from tours, rehearsals, and recording sessions are edited together as a film. There is also a great number of concert depictions (vs. concert films), which are hardly edited at all, the material consisting of a recorded concert performance. Another type worth mentioning is the "Making of"-documentaries, in which the focus is often on the recording and production of a song, recording, video, or even the documentary itself. These types of productions have been made mostly for television and film and they are nowadays often distributed as bonus DVDs on CDs. The topics of music documentaries can also address social issues, focus on certain phenomenon or particular group of people or a particular place.

Rock documentary genre had gained good foothold as it was addressed through parody, which "[...] affectionately spoofs a specific film, type of films, or auteur" (Gehring 1999, 197). It was the main mode of meaning construction in the film *This is Spinal Tap®: A Rockumentary by Martin Di Bergi* (USA) (IMDb/Spinal Tap, 1984), which is a parody about the rock music, musicians, music industry and rock documentary films. The film is made in a documentary style and it makes ridicule of rock music stereotypes by using the documentary genre practices. The emergence of such film is an indication of the establishment of rock documentary as a genre.

The amount of various types of audiovisual presentations of music, or audiovisual media music (Kärjä 2005) has rapidly increased in the era of the new media and the variety of formats is continuously widening: television, DVD's, internet, mobile connections, and so forth.

2.4 Finnish rock films and the production of *Saimaa-ilmio*

In Finland there had not been rock documentary film production before the 1970s. However, many films included music performed by the famous artists. These semi-musical-like movies were produced since the 1930s, and the music included mostly *iskelmä* songs, but later also jazz and rock'n'roll. The *iskelmä*

films were used for promoting and marketing the artists, who gained good media visibility and credibility by featuring in these films, most often as themselves (Juva 1995, 163; Kurkela 2005, 458). Until the late 1960s popular music was frequently used in the Finnish film but there was not such a genre label as *rock film* in use. One example of those music films were the so-called "rillumarei" films, in which the musical pieces were built on the Finnish comedy song tradition. Many of these were produced serially, with the same main characters. The aim of these popular films was to market both, the films and the music.¹³ This has been called the golden era of Finnish film industry, and there were many big production companies, such as the *Suomi-Filmi OY* (Finnish Film Ltd) (Pantti 1995, 78-84).

After the "golden era" of Finnish films was over by the end of the 1950s both the production system and the contents of the films changed radically. In the following decade, the 1960s Finnish film was influenced by the French new wave and the claim for realism (Pantti 1995, 146-149). The film industry was hit by a recession: it had imploded in the late 1950s and 1960s (Pantti 1995, 162) as the production and consumption of the films radically decreased and television replaced the films in the supply of audio-visual entertainment. In the 1970s the difficulties continued. The social realist themes were still taken up in the films. National recession, though not a severe one, resulted in the lack of funding, which caused difficulties for the film makers. At the same time the production dispersed and was left in the hands of small companies.

Despite the difficulties, a new generation of directors and a new way of directing appeared in the end of the 1970s. The topics now included historical topics, even national romantic ones were appreciated, as this was the time of homogeneous national identity in Finland (Pantti 1995, 297). Many new directors, including the Kaurismäki brothers, debuted on the scene. The style of Kaurismäki brothers represents that of the so-called new Documentarism. For example, in *Saimaa-ilmiö* the authors of this narrative film constructed on the basis of the events of the *Tuuliajolla* cruise, as was mentioned earlier.

Rock music was associated with youth and youth problems and these issues were not dealt with in movies. So-called youth movies, with topics relevant especially to teenagers and young adults, were made in the late 1960's and early 1970s, and again in the early 1980's. In 1980 a film *Täältä tullaan elämä* (*Right on, man!* by Tapio Suominen) was a youth film representing quite realistically the life of the urban generation during the punk era in Helsinki, especially from the perspective of the generational gap. It started a new era of films targeted to the younger audience and was followed by a film called *Rokkidiggari* (*Rock'n' Roll Digger*) in 1981. Again, the next year another youth movie came out, *Ajolähtö* (*Gotta run*, 1982). This genre has continued and grown, and music soundtracks nowadays play a great part in most movies, in the Hollywood style.¹⁴

¹³ Antti-Ville Kärjä (2005) has examined the music films of this era.

¹⁴ The English translations of the movie names are according to the information on a Finnish film data base, *Elonet* <<http://www.elonet.fi/>>.

There had been only one semi-rock documentary before *Saimaa-ilmio*. This film, called *Kuumat kundit*, was about the rock band Hurriganes. The film does have a loose-framed story of a young couple, but the main focus is on documenting the band, on and off stage. For some reason it did not get much attention, even though the band was very popular. Consequently, the ratings of the film were low. The documentary production for television was a common practice, and the national broadcasting company YLE does have good archives containing popular music films from the 1970s and 1980s.¹⁵ The full length documentary film production remained exiguous throughout the rest of the 1980s and most of the 1990s, and *Saimaa-ilmio* remained as a curiosity within the genre for a quite a long period of time. In the late 1990s, however, it started to revive and there have been more Finnish documentary films in theatre circulation than ever before (SES 2007). There could be several reasons for this tendency. One is the age of digitalization, which has simplified the equipment for film making and has thus had the effect of increasing film making in general. Another reason could be the increased possibilities to study film and specifically documentary film making in Finland and in other countries. Furthermore, the use of documentary films as marketing tools is a common practice and DVD-films, often the “making of” documentaries accompanying the CDs, have paved way for the increased consumption of other documentary films.

Saimaa-ilmio film is based on the Tuulijolla-cruise, which was initialized by Juice Leskinen. He had been planning a summer cruise for 5 years. (Juntunen 2008, 20.) His desire to get on a steamer might well originate from his youth, as he had been working twice on a log steamer during the summers of 1969 and 1970 (Leskinen 2003, 40-42). At first the Tuulijolla-cruise was supposed to be just a vacation cruise, but the concerts had to be organized in order to meet the costs. In addition to Juice Leskinen’s band Slam there were two other bands, Eppu Normaali and Hassisen kone.

The reason for choosing Eppu Normaali and Hassisen kone to accompany Juice Leskinen’s Slam, is most likely the recording company Poko Rekords. The two former bands were signed on Poko Rekords and Juice had made a Christmas album for the company in the 1980s. Furthermore, there were connections through the recording industry. The founder and director of Poko Rekords, Epe Helenius, took part in the cruise and published the live recording from the cruise. The main organiser of the cruise, Jouko Karppanen, was the agent for the bands. Also the sound manager and recording engineer Mika Sundqvist worked mainly for the bands of Poko Rekords. Eppu Normaali had entered the charts in 1979. Hassisen kone had won the *Rockin SM-kilpailu* (National Rock Contest) in the year 1980. They were recording and popular bands and it was in the interest of the various parties to sell and market these bands.

Another connection between Juice Leskinen and Hassisen kone is through the Saimaa Lake district. The waters were familiar to Juice Leskinen, whose

¹⁵ Now to be seen in *Elävä arkisto* (The Living Archive) in the Internet.

home town Juankoski is situated near Kuopio and the lake, and who had been working on a lumber steamer as a young man. Furthermore, the members of Hassisen kone came from Joensuu, which is located at the northern end of Saimaa and which is one of the towns in the route of the tour.

The cruise was organized by Jukka Kulmala and Jouko Karppanen.¹⁶ Jukka Kulmala was at the time working in the Cultural Affairs for the Student Union of the University of Tampere, thus organizing the gigs at the club hosted by the union. Jouko Karppanen was a concert manager, who sold many bands of the Poko Rekords. Karppanen organized the concerts with the local parties and organised the tour together with the local music associations and clubs. Kulmala was a tour leader and organizer. (Karppanen 2009.) Many other persons and institutions also provided a small part of the cruise organization: Soundi rock magazine paid for the tour posters, Hartwall provided soft drinks, Hertz possibly the car for the transportation of the filming equipment. Soundi magazines involvement was significant as their journalist Juho Juntunen was part of the crew and wrote the *Tuuliajolla* book about the events of the cruise. (Juntunen 2008, 14, 17; end titles of the film.)

The idea of making the film came soon after the decision of the cruise was made. From the beginning the aim was to make a full length film, not just a short film. The deal about the film making was made about two months before the actual cruise by Juice Leskinen and Mika Kaurismäki in the sauna of Hotel Intercontinental in Helsinki, after which Mika discussed it with his brother Aki Kaurismäki. The film was carefully planned and the structure was outlined beforehand. The Kaurismäki brothers contacted the bands and discussed the songs they liked to include in the film. They checked, selected and photographed the locations of the gigs in order to make the plan for the film and to choose the camera angles. (Juntunen 2008, 171.)

There were eight stops and the cruise lasted for eight days, so there was one stop each day.

”The authors did not want to make just a mere recording, but to create an interpretation of the topic and the bands by selecting, interviewing and even by altering some of the situations. They aimed at creating a philosophical level, in a folk sense a ‘spirit’ or a ‘feeling’. (Juntunen 2008, 158.)

Saimaa-ilmiö is a so-called free production. Public funding was not used or even applied for. The costs were covered by various quarters. Jörn Donner productions covered 10%, Suomi Film Ltd granted 250 000 FIM (approximately 42 000 €) for the laboratory production and covered the distribution costs, and the rest was covered by Villealfa Filmproductions Ltd by Kaurismäki brothers. The total budget was about 600 000 FIM (approximately 100 900 €), which was a small amount compared to the 3 million mark average at the time. The bands were given a certain percentage of the ticket sales. (Juntunen 2008, 25.)

¹⁶ In the second print of his book Juntunen (2008, 226) claims that the third organizer was Maria Tarnanen. She did not, however, participate in the first cruise in 1981 (Tarnanen 2009).

The costs we kept low by shooting within a short period of time (8 days), keeping it a documentary film and not using any portable, extra props. Over 60% of the contents were filmed directly at the concert scenes. There were altogether 22 hours of film material and 10 concert recordings. The first raw cut was about 3 hours in length, of which the editor Antti Kari cut the final version which was a bit under 121 minutes. The original filming was made with the tape width of 16 mm, later transformed into a 35 mm theatre version.

It took approximately 5 hours to set up the four cameras and lights and dozens of microphones (up to 70) at the concert scenes. Mika Sundqvist, working for Poko Rekords, was the sound engineer in all the concert recordings, while Pantse Syrjä, the producer and guitarist of Eppu Normaali, took care of mixing duties. The mixing console was transported in the crew bus, which followed the route of the boat along the coast line. Sound recording was not an easy task under the conditions of the tour. Sound engineer Mika Sundqvist recalls that there were many kinds of trouble. In Heinävesi all recordings went down the tube because of the difficult shape of the stage, and none of those recordings could be used for the live album that was put out. They had altogether six reels of music, of which only 10 best quality songs were selected on the final recording. There were other problems as well: the fluctuating power level caused loss in the power lines and problems with earth cables caused buzz and whirl. (Konttinen 2004, 121-123.)

The film making was a collaborative production in many senses. First of all, it had two directors. Aki and Mika Kaurismäki worked together at the early stages of their careers. While Mika Kaurismäki had just graduated from the *Hochschule für Film und Fernsehen* (University of Film and TV) in Munich, Germany, the younger brother Aki was a student of journalism in the University of Tampere. In 1980 they co-wrote a film *Valehtelija* (The Liar), which was directed by Mika as his diploma film for the school. At the time they founded Villealfa Filmproductions, which was to become an essential part of their film making.¹⁷

Saimaa-ilmio was made in collaboration, just as *Valehtelija* the year before. The collaborative idea is, however, broader than the work of the directors. Film making involves a great number of people. In the cinematography there were four people, Lasse Naukkarinen, Timo Salminen, Toni Sulzbeck and Olli Varja. Lasse Naukkarinen has also directed since 1970s and made documentary films since 1980. The film was cut by experienced Antti Kari, whose career had started in 1972 already, and who is a multiskilled film maker. The music recording and editing was the responsibility of Mika Sundqvist and Pantse Syrjä. And the list goes on with assistants, road crew and more.¹⁸

It is evident that there have been several people affecting the final construction of the film, even though the main ideas have been produced by the Kaurismäki brothers. It was especially the editor, Antti Kari, who was in a position to affect the final version of the film. He reduced the over 3 hour film

¹⁷ Mika Kaurismäki's official www-site.

¹⁸ For the full list of film credits see Appendix 1.

into its final form of approximately 121 minutes. The film was released on September 11, 1981 (IMDb/*Saimaa-ilmio*, 2009). Most of this crew has also worked with the Kaurismäki brothers in their later productions. Mika Kaurismäki still continues working with documentary films. The DVD version was published in the spring 2006.

3 THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL BASIS OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this work is to scrutinize the *Saimaa-ilmiö* rock documentary within the socio-cultural framework provided by the Critical Discourse Analysis (from here on referred to as CDA). The aim is to analyse the articulations of identities related particularly to Finnish and rock cultures. The study is based on the following assumptions: the national musical genre Finnish rock was emerging at the turn of the 1980s in Finland; some of the key bands and figures of the genre took part in the *Tuuliajolla* tour; the *Saimaa-ilmiö* film is a constructed representation of rock culture which is brought to a dialogue with various cultural identities related to national, rock and documentary cultures.

In the current work I am relying on Norman Fairclough's account of CDA, which he has based on many prior theories. I have chosen CDA as the main approach in the analysis, because it provides a framework which enables, or rather insists on, the analytical links from the textual analysis to the sociocultural interpretations, while the generic level and discourse practices intermediate between the two. He adopts the concept of *discourse* from a French linguist, Michael Foucault, *intertextuality* from a Bulgarian-French linguist and philosopher, Julia Kristeva (who adopted it from Russian philosopher and semiotician Mikhail Bakhtin), *ideology* from French (Algerian born) Louis Althusser, and *hegemony* from Italian philosopher and political theorist Antonio Gramsci. All these concepts have a long history and have been theorized by several scholars. However, I will focus on their relevance to the analysis within the given framework and their applicability to the current undertaking, the analysis of the *Saimaa-ilmiö* documentary film. Moreover, in the analysis of *identities* and *identity positions* the main scholars are political theorist Chantal Mouffe, and Bronwyn Davies and Rom Harré, who have studied positionings in discourses and narrations. A close concept to identity is *articulation*, which has been mainly theorised by two cultural studies scholars: British Stuart Hall and American Lawrence Grossberg (based on the works of Antonio Gramsci, and Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe).

3.1 Representation, discourse and genre

The analysis of critical discourse analysis relies on the key concepts within cultural studies: *representation*, *discourse* and *genre*. They are features which are essential in the analysis of texts. In this context a cultural text refers to any item of culture which is self-contained, i.e. sustains and mediates meanings as an independent product. Texts are multifunctional, i.e. there are three functions in every text: ideational, interpersonal, and textual.¹⁹ The ideational function refers to *representation*, that is, how the world is presented in the events and relations of the text (systems of knowledge and belief). The interpersonal function means the social relations and identities which are constituted in the texts. Finally, the textual function refers to the construction of the textual contents, i.e. what is presented. (Fairclough 1995, 58.) The texts analyzed should not be restricted only to literary form but to all cultural texts, especially those of media texts (Fairclough 1995, 17).

Stuart Hall (1992, 292-293) draws upon Foucault as he presents the construction of (national) cultural identities as the productions of meanings through symbols and *representation*. Representations are signs and symbols which stand for ideas, concepts, and feelings. They are mediated through language systems, sounds, visual objects, written words, etc. (Hall 1997, 1.) Representation is one of the main concepts in cultural studies as well as in CDA:

“The focus, then, is upon how events, situations, relationships, people, and so forth are represented in texts. A basic assumption is that media texts do not merely ‘mirror realities’ as is sometimes naïvely assumed; they constitute versions of reality in ways which depend on the social positions and interests and objectives of those who produce them. They do so through choices which are made at various levels in the process of producing texts. The analysis of representational processes in a text, therefore, comes down to an account of what choices are made – what is included and what is excluded, what is made explicit or left implicit, what is foregrounded and what is backgrounded, what is thematized and what is unthematized, what process types and categories are drawn upon to represent events, and so on.” (Fairclough 1995, 104.)

Hence, the images do not portray reality in an unbiased way with 100% accuracy, but rather, present ‘versions of reality’ influenced by culture and people’s habitual thoughts and actions, interpreted through cultural ‘knowledge’ (O’Shaughnessy & Stadler 2005). Therefore, representations are constitutive as well: they affect our social lives and practices and have real effects on them (Hall 1997, 3). Most representations are culturally constructed and the more and better we are familiarized with the culture, the wider and deeper possibility we have to understand the meanings created in it. In a continuous process of enculturation we learn abilities to read and understand these texts, which are culturally constructed complex meanings.

¹⁹ Fairclough presents these functions in a slightly different manner in three occasions in *Media Discourse* (1995), pp. 5, 55, and 58.

Discourse is a key concept of CDA. It is here understood in a broad sense, going beyond the strict linguistic 'literal' use, to cover socially produced meanings. This means that the discourses are constitutive of social practices and processes, which are essential in the meaning making process. Discourses help to constitute systems of knowledge and belief, social relationships and social identities. Thereafter a discourse in this context refers to a variety of meaning making processes, which are implemented through a variety of communication or semiotic systems, including auditory (speech, music, sounds) and visual systems. Discourses both implement and reproduce identities through the means of language and other symbolic representation systems.

Saimaa-ilmio consists of audio-visual representations, which are organised into discourses. The discourses are not restricted to spoken language. They are constructed of the meanings created by any auditory or visual means of communication which are represented in the film.

3.2 Identity positions as articulations

Identity can and has been theorized from several viewpoints within a number of disciplines, varying from psychology to sociology to anthropology and cultural studies. Theoretically the question of identity is often divided into two main approaches: one emphasizing the subject and the formation of the self, and the other drawing from the communal aspects of identity, related to age, generation, ethnicity, gender, religion or nation, or place, to mention a few. The two are connected, like two sides of a coin, even though they have a different focus. The personal is always in relation to the social and vice versa. (Hall 1992, 290; Sevänen 2004, 7; Robins 2005, 72-173.) As Simon Frith (2002, 125) has stated concerning identity and music: "Self-identity *is* cultural identity; claims to individual difference depend on audience appreciation, on shared performing and narrative rules."

The difficulty in grasping an understanding about an identity is due to its heterogeneous nature. On the one hand, cultural identities cannot be unified, even though they are often represented as such. There are always a number of variables and differences within a certain identity. Yet there are some features that are interconnected and possibly explained, for example, by a family resemblance. On the other hand, there is always a requirement for symbolic congruency and unification in a group identity. Narratives play a great part in identity construction, as the stories told and retold and acts performed and repeated form the symbolic core of an identity - thus the need for generalizations and stereotypes. Psychology explains this through the subjective and personal need for the creation of integrity and complete self. Identity construction is a continuous process which is never completed. (Hall 1996, 2.)

In the history of the study of identity there has been a shift from a static, unified, originary and essential conception of identity towards a constructive,

performative and anti-essentialist view (Hall 1996, 3; Butler 1990, 140). The main relation in the process of identification is that of the sociological subject or 'us' in relation to significant 'them' (Berger & Luckmann 1979, 151; Crang 1998). The interplay of the self and the other, sameness and difference, form the core idea of the identity construction process; the question is about constant mirroring of these features in the surrounding world.

Within the field of discourse studies the questions related to identity are often discussed in terms of subject positions. As Hall (2001, 80) has stated, "[a]ll discourses construct subject positions, from which alone they make sense". According to the Foucauldian idea of discourse subjects are produced by both, the discourse itself, and the reader or viewer who is creating meanings of the discourse. A subject position is an essential element in the process of creating meanings and being in the world.

"We shall argue that the constitutive force of each discursive practice lies in its provision of subject positions. A subject position incorporates both a conceptual repertoire and a location for persons within the structure of rights for those that use that repertoire. Once having taken up a particular position as one's own, a person inevitably sees the world from the vantage point of that position and in terms of the particular images, metaphors, storylines and concepts which are made relevant within the particular discursive practice in which they are positioned." (Davies & Harré 2001, 262.)

A subject position is produced in a discourse, which places the subjects in (power) relations with many possible subject positions within that discourse. The *identity* of a subject, referring to a complex intersection of discourses and various subject positions, is in a constant flux and it is always only temporarily fixed in a moment (Mouffe 1992, 28). Thereafter identities escape essentialist definitions. Identity is dependent on those relational positions, which are either identified with, or separated from. In the analysis of the sociocultural identities the subject position is discussed in terms of *identity position*, which is considered as a broader category of defining a place for subject(s) within a particular discourse.

The key concept in identity construction is *articulation*. The theorization of articulation has been based on writings of Antonio Gramsci, however, it is further theorized by Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe (Laclau 1977; Laclau & Mouffe 1985). Thereafter it has been developed within cultural studies especially by Stuart Hall (1984; 1992; 1996) and Lawrence Grossberg (1996a). The basic underlying thought is that cultures are constructed through 'shared meanings', even though they may lead into heterogeneous interpretations and understandings. The meanings are not, however, fixed, stable or 'pure'. They are always produced under certain conditions and within a context. It is the role of the researcher to ask, whose voice is heard, where it is heard and what the conditions behind it are.

Articulations are manifested in cultural texts and their representations. The concept of articulation provides with a possibility to analyze sociocultural identities as anti-essential formulations. As Stuart Hall states (Grossberg 1996a, 141):

“An articulation is [...] a form of the connection that can make a unity of two different elements, under certain conditions. It is a linkage which is not necessary, determined, absolute and essential for all time. You have to ask, under which circumstances can a connection be forged or made? So the so-called 'unity' of a discourse is really the articulation of different, distinct elements which can be re-articulated in different ways because they have no necessary 'belongingness'.”

The connection between the two is not always continuous, essential or necessary (Hall 1996, 14). It is also important to consider what the circumstances are in which the elements form this unity and are thus articulated together. It is always a possibility that in another situation they could be articulated in another fashion. (Grossberg 1996a, 141.) Some articulations become largely adapted in cultures, some are marginalized, and some others are rejected: “When the articulative process works well, the pattern of elements that it organizes comes to seem 'natural'; in this form it usually spreads widely through society” (Middleton 1990, 9).

The creation of articulation is complicated and the reasons why certain articulations are more likely or acceptable than others, requires complex analysis of the social.

“The theory of articulation recognizes the complexity of cultural fields. It preserves a relative autonomy for cultural and ideological elements (musical structures and long lyrics, for example) but also insists that those combinatory patterns that are actually constructed do mediate deep, objective patterns in the socio-economic formation, and that the mediation takes place *in struggle*: the classes fight to articulate together constituents of the cultural repertoire in particular ways so that they are organized in terms of principles or sets of values determined by the position and interests of the class in the prevailing mode of production.” (Middleton 1990, 9.)

Articulations are thus in the core of the meaning making process, while identities are constructed by means of articulations (Hall 1996, 3). Articulations are strongly connected to empowering ideologies, which are “enabling them to begin to make some sense of intelligibility of their historical situation, without reducing those forms of intelligibility to their socio-economic or class location or social position” (Hall 1996, 142).

Articulation, the joining of elements, is one element in meaning making process. The terrain of the cultural is a construction and thus not stable. Thereafter, the articulations are also “always capable of being dearticulated and rearticulated” (Grossberg 1996b, 158). The identities are always partially linked to the prior identities, but they are also partially creating something new. In such case the “new” requires unfolding of the prior, possibly strong and hegemonic articulation. The creation of an articulation involves de- and rearticulations.

Furthermore, all cultures, and thus all cultural identities, are shaped in contact with other cultures. The interconnection has been emphasized in the era of so-called globalization, within which the movement and flow of various elements has been theorized in many ways. Globalization has also had an impact on identities (Hall 1992, 300). The hybridity of cultures has increased in the latter half of the 1900s. The concept of *translocality* (Kraidy 2005) provides

with a possibility to address and identify the global flows of concrete cultural products and actions, such as rock music and culture. It offers a possibility for analysing how hybrid cultures in different localities are shaped by mutual interaction, but foregrounds the fact that the local is always intricately involved in relations that are supralocal (Ibid, 154 – 156).

To sum up, in the study of *Saimaa-ilmio* rock documentary the focus is on articulations of sociocultural identities. What kind of identities and more specifically, identity positions are articulated in the discourses of *Saimaa-ilmio*? How these positions are more specifically linked to the articulations of rock and Finnish culture: what is being articulated and how?

3.3 Theoretical-methodological framework: critical discourse analysis

A broader setting for the analysis is provided by CDA, which is a multidisciplinary discourse-analytical practice and not a single school of thought, discipline or paradigm. Rather, it is an umbrella term that covers several related approaches to the analysis of texts related to the social or political. It was at first launched within linguistics and thereafter developed within communications studies for the analysis of media texts by Norman Fairclough. It aims at critical reading of media texts and at an analysis of language and other resources of expression, and the usually implicit power relations embodied in the use of the language.

There are two separate focuses in the analysis of discourses in CDA: *communicative events* and *orders of discourse*. *Communicative events*, which form around media texts such as a newspaper article, live performance or a film, refer to the production, distribution and consumption of a text in a specific cultural context. On the one hand, texts are always connected to prior and present formats and types of texts, and in such a way they reproduce existing meaning making practices. On the other hand, they may not just reinforce the pre-existing, but also produce new meanings.

The *order of discourse* refers to the relations of discourses in a context of communicating a media text. It is constituted by activity types (genres) and discourses. This involves analysis of the positions of the discourses at the level of its particular (discourse) practices and at a larger institutional level. An example would be a particular discourse order within a specific field, such as a local hip-hop scene, which is part of a broader national music culture, or the discourse order of music business which is in relation to the discourses within a field of cultural policy. The two focuses are not exclusive, but rather complementary. (Fairclough 1995, 56.)

The analysis of the communicative event involves analysis of the: (1) Text; (2) Discourse practices; and (3) Sociocultural practices (Figure 1). In the text analysis the focus is on the overall construction and structure of the text, which

is constituted of meaningful units. The discourse practices are related mainly to activity types and intertextuality; this level is a “mediator” between the text and sociocultural practices. The broadest level, that of sociocultural practices, refers to the various contexts: situational contexts, institutional practices, and society and culture.

According to Fairclough (1998, 231) the researcher has to make decisions concerning the focus in the analysis, all the aspects of every dimension do not have to be analyzed in detail, if at all. Further, he states that these dimensions overlap in the process of analysis and the results can be presented in various orders. The text analysis will not be isolated from discursive practices, and the sociocultural practices cannot be analyzed without considering discursive practices and the text – the other two are, in fact, represented in the text.

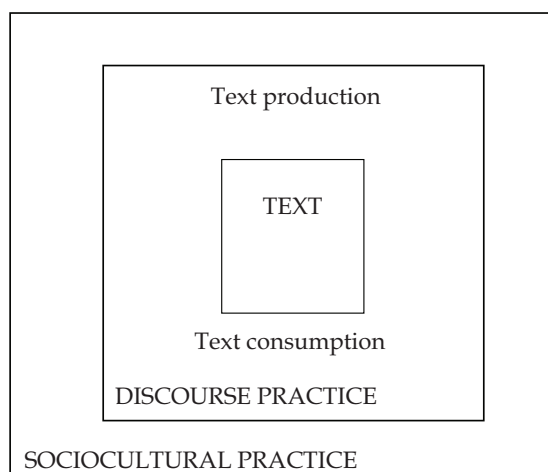


FIGURE 1 Three dimension of Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough 1995, 59).

The *critical* in Fairclough's context refers to the social scientific research tradition, which presumes that in the analysis it is necessary to take (often implicit) ideological assumptions, causalities and power relations into consideration (Fairclough 1995, 75). This view is based on the Foucauldian presupposition that discourses implement power relations, which are not necessarily obvious, and those that are obvious, should be questioned and examined critically (Fairclough 1995, 54).²⁰

²⁰ There are also different schools of CDA; for example, the socio-political discourse analysis represented by van Dijk (1993, 1), which focuses on the connections of discourses, power, dominance, social inequalities and analyst's positions in social relations. On critical linguistics (CL) and CDA, see Wodak (2002).

3.3.1 Film as a multimodal text

Saimaa-ilmiö is an audio-visual media text involving meaning making processes through many modalities. *Multimodality* is connected with the mediation of meanings by different sense modalities: with what we see, hear, smell, touch and taste. Our interrelations with other people are based on meanings transmitted by seeing and hearing, and being visible and audible. In the mediation of cultural texts, printed (books) and spoken word have had a dominant role before. In the late 20th century the emphasis has shifted towards other visual and auditory means of communication, such as movies, music, multimedia, internet, computer and video games. (Williamson 2005.) In the case of audio-visual forms of media texts visuality has been emphasised in the analysis. The position of the auditory sense as a subordinate to the visual sense has been criticized e.g. by a sound study specialist Jonathan Sterne (2003, 14-19), who says that visuality is often linked to intellectuality, whereas hearing is considered to affect emotions.

Almost every act of communication involves more than just one sensory mode. However, in the analysis of texts the *visual* elements have gained a prevalent position in relation to other modes. Multimodality thus calls for the recognition of the variety of meaning making modes, other than words, such as images, music, gestures, and so on (Iedema 2003, 33). Within a film, for example, the meanings are created through both the auditory and the visual modes. The multiplicity of modes in communication has an impact on the analysis of such events or texts.

“We move away from the idea that the different modes in multimodal texts have strictly bounded and framed specialist tasks, as in a film where images may provide the action, sync sounds a sense of realism, music a layer of emotion, and so on, with the editing process supplying the 'integration code', the means from synchronizing the element through a common rhythm (Van Leeuwen, 1985). Instead we move towards a view of multimodality in which common semiotic principles operate in and across different modes, and in which it is therefore quite possible for music to encode action, or images to encode emotion.” (Kress & van Leeuwen 2001, 2.)

This corresponds to Fairclough's idea of the analytical model, according to which the analysis of texts, for example, in the press and on television, including visual and/or auditory elements, needs to be multisemiotic. *Multisemiotics* refers to the involvement of different language systems, and the meanings created through respective grammars. The main issues in the analysis of the media texts are how these modalities work together in order to produce meanings and “how such interactions define different aesthetics for different media” (Fairclough 1995, 58). The meanings in multimodal materials are thus not coded through separate semiotic channels. They are intertwined and the text is thus a construction of their interaction (Thibault 2000, 321; Baldry & Thibault 2005, xv; Kress and van Leeuwen 2001, 2).

The *Saimaa-ilmiö* rock documentary is undoubtedly multimodal: it contains material that is perceived by many sensory modalities that fit into two main types modalities of seeing (images, the visual) and hearing (sounds, the

auditory), and as the film is being watched the act also involves the sense of feeling through experience (physical reactions to the film). Those are the main means of sensory information that is disseminated and received at the process of communication. However, in the analysis of the film, seeing and hearing are the dominant modes, making the analysis bimodal rather than multimodal, which is the term used by the theorists of media communication. Multimodal discourse analysis is particularly interested in complex multilevel signifying practices. Fairclough distinguishes four structural levels in the detailed text analysis of linguistic texts (vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, text structure) in CDA. Furthermore, a piece of music can, like a spoken or written text, be broken down into small elements that are interconnected in a specific way in order to create a specific meaning.

The texts analysed can be very different by nature. For the analysis of language (written or spoken) as a text, Fairclough has suggested an analytical structure. It refers to the qualities and elements of the text. Textual analysis covers the traditional forms of analyzing the text (e.g. linguistic analysis): the vocabulary, the grammar, the cohesion and the overall text structure (Fairclough 1995, 57). Similar and corresponding levels of analysis have been presented in relation to other text types, such as music (Heinonen 2005), analysis of multimodal texts (Baudry & Thibault 2006), and traditional film analysis Bernard (2004) (Table 1).

Even though music does not grammatically or systemically function as language does, the corresponding levels can be identified in music. In the textual analysis within CDA, Heinonen has identified motifs, phrases, sections and overall form. These have each been used in a variety of ways in the analysis of music. The levels of multimodal analysis are based on the audio construction of a multimodal (=audiovisual) text. The analysis of the structure is divided into shots, phases and macrophases. The method has been successfully applied in the analysis of advertisements. Traditional film analysis offers tools for the structural analysis of these audiovisual products. The film can be divided into shots, scenes, Sequences and acts. The same organisation can more or less be applied for both fiction and non-fiction films.

Baudry and Thibault (2006) aim to set out parallel analysis levels for audiovisual material. The units of analysis, especially that of phase, are not as clearly structural units as those of linguistic language and film analysis. Described as "the basic meaning making unit", it is difficult to determine the actual content and length of a phase, as there would appear a great deal of variation. Yet, on the basis of practical analysis, it seems logical that a phase could be close, even parallel, to a scene, which refers to successive shots that form a coherent set of events creating a smallest meaningful unit within the bigger narrative(s). The traditional film analysis concepts are, in fact, based on the analysis of narrative structures, whereas the multimodal analysis is more interested in signification, meaning making by using communication through a variety of senses.

<i>Language Fairclough</i>	<i>Music Heinonen</i>	<i>Multimodal analysis Bauldry & Thibault</i>	<i>Traditional film analysis Bernard</i>	<i>Saimaa-ilmiö analysis</i>
Vocabulary (individual words)	Motifs	Shots (traditional use, a single take)	Shot (a single take, one camera shoot)	(Shot) (a single take, one camera shoot)
Grammar (words combined into clauses and sentences)	Phrases	Phases (basic strategic meaning-making units in a film text)	Scene (consecutive group of shots within a single location)	Scene (consecutive group of shots within a single location)
Cohesion (how clauses and sentences are linked together)	Sections	Macrophases (collection of phases)	Sequence (a collection of shots and scenes that tells a more or less continuous story of an event that is part of the bigger story)	Sequence (a collection of shots)
Text structure (large-scale organizational properties of the text)	Overall form		Act (series of Sequences, dramatic structure, i.e. classic three act structure)	Overall form (large-scale organizational properties of the text)

TABLE 1 Levels of text analysis in language, music, multimodal texts and film (based on Fairclough 1998, 75; Heinonen 2005, 7; Bernard 2004, 42-46; Bauldry & Thibault 2006, 48-49).

The macrophase corresponds to the level of Sequence. It is most often applied in advertisements and other short films, which often equal the length of a Sequence. In traditional film analysis the acts are the 'macro' level units. Most concepts of traditional film analysis can be applied to documentary films, as their basic form and structure are similar enough. Sometimes the scenes and Sequences, however, are not quite as clear in a documentary film as they are in mainstream fiction films. The temporal representation, referentiality to reality and lack of intentionally built settings may blur the limits of these units.

In the analysis of *Saimaa-ilmio* I have chosen to use a mixture of some of the concepts presented above: shots, scenes, sequences and overall form. The textual analysis is restricted by the fact that the film is of a long duration. In the case of larger and longer texts, such as films, the level of analysis does often escape the most detailed micro level analysis, even though a more detailed analysis may be applied into selected examples chosen from larger text. Thereby the analysis of *Saimaa-ilmio* has not been carried out at the level of shots throughout the entire film. The structure presented in Appendix 2 is based on the analysis of scenes, Sequences and overall form. Single shots are analyzed only when this has been pertinent to the particular example under analysis.

3.3.2 Analysis of discourse practices

Discourse practices are the intermediate level between the textual and sociocultural levels, straddling "the division between society and culture on the one hand, and discourse, language and text on the other" (Fairclough 1995, 60).²¹ First, the term refers to the processes and conventions that form the basis of the production and consumption of texts: the institutional processes (processes and routines of production and consumption, i.e. practices involved in the making of a film, viewing it etc.) and the discourse processes (transformations which texts undergo in production and consumption) (Fairclough 1995, 58-59). Second, discourse practices are most importantly constituted of genres and intertextuality.

The issue of *genre* is complex in case of the analysis of *Saimaa-ilmio*. The term can be used in reference to many levels depending on the nature and form of the text. In the film analysis, documentarism, as one particular type of film making, constitutes a genre. Rock documentarism can thus be considered its subgenre. It is also a subgenre of music films, which may be fiction or non-fiction. Furthermore, the music, Finnish rock, can also be discussed in terms of a musical genre, a particular type of music making and the practices involved. However, Fairclough (1995, 76) defines it somewhat differently:

"A genre is a way of using language which corresponds to the nature of the social practice that is being engaged in; a job interview, for instance, is associated with the special way of using language we call 'interview genre'."

²¹ Fairclough (1992) has earlier used the term *discursive practices*, which perhaps better describes the nature of this level of analysis.

In Fairclough's sense *Saimaa-ilmio* consists of several genres, which are used *within* the film and thereby constitute the contents of the film. Moreover, at times it is difficult to make a distinction between discourses and genres.

"I have defined a discourse as a particular way of constructing a particular (domain of) social practice [...]. Discourses are relatively independent of genres, in the sense that, for instance, a technocratic medical discourse might show up in interviews, lectures, news items or textbooks." (Fairclough 1995, 76.)

The concept of genre is muddled as it has many different roles and meanings in the present context. I have chosen to use the term discourse in reference to the *topics* and *contents* of the text. Genre, in Fairclough's sense presented above, will be replaced by an *activity type*. It is also a term used by Fairclough. He has adopted the term from Stephen Levinson (1992, 69), who describes it as:

"a fuzzy category whose focal members are goal-defined, socially constituted, bounded, events with constraints on participants, setting, and so on, but above all on the kinds of allowable contributions. Paradigm examples would be teaching, a job interview, a jural interrogation, a football game, a task in a workshop, a dinner party, and so on."

The fuzziness occurs when there are examples which could be hard to categorize under only one activity type. Fairclough (1995, 77) refuses the concept as a substitute of genre. Instead, he uses it in defining the discourse types, which consist of the activity type, style, mode and voice (Ibid, 76). However, in the analysis of the entire film, which includes a variety of communicative modes, and in which the concept of genre has been in other conventional usage, I will turn to the activity type in order to analyse the events in which the discourses are produced.

The activity types vary in different media according to the purpose, communication format used (text, audio or visual, or audio-visual forms) and the extent of the text. The analysis of a newspaper article enables quite an in-depth analysis of the text, whereas in the analysis of film the details can not be scrutinized with the same exactitude. A *discourse type* is a concept which draws both of the concepts of genre and activity type together.

Language is dialogical and the texts are interrelated in various manners in an *intertextual chain* of communication; they respond to some texts and will form a basis for other ones (Fairclough 1998, 84). The most influential theory of intertextuality has been presented by Julia Kristeva (1980, origins in Bakhtin), who sees the textual space as three-dimensional dialogue between the writer, the reader, and exterior texts. She refers to two axes, a horizontal one, which connects the author and the reader, and a vertical one, which connects the text to other text. (Kristeva 1980, 69.)

In the most common usage, intertextuality refers to the ways in which the texts are linked to other texts. Every text presupposes other texts, which can be absorbed in various ways. In CDA intertextuality refers to the ways the texts may directly assimilate or borrow from other texts. Fairclough distinguishes two types of intertextuality: *manifest* and *constitutive*. In *manifest intertextuality*

texts or their parts are overtly used within a text. *Constitutive intertextuality*, in turn, refers to the more general intertextual relations of texts to conventions, “the configuration of discourse conventions that go into its production” (Fairclough 1998, 104). The latter is close to what Fairclough calls *interdiscursivity*, meaning a reference to a genre or discourse type rather than to a single text(s). That is equivalent to the order of discourse.

The analysis of intertextuality described above is bridging the gap between the text and discourse practice, as the texts are connected with other texts via their generic characteristics and functions. Furthermore, sociocultural analysis provides us with the analysis of power and ideology. The analysis is interpretative rather than descriptive and locates the text within socially conditioned discourse practices and thereafter within culture, and in comparison to textual analysis it is thus more dependent on social and cultural understanding. The intertextual references depend on the genre and discourse type relations and on the analysts’ capability to read identity and understand the references. (Fairclough 1995, 61.) In this sense the analysis is always based on subjectivity, just as any cultural analysis.

3.3.3 Analysis of sociocultural practices

The broadest level in CDA is that of the wider sociocultural context. The social and cultural are expansive, overlapping and intertwined concepts. The cultural includes the ways and forms of human life organised by the beliefs and values of a given group of people. The social, in turn, refers to social relations and actions which define and delimit human life and are organised through various practices, the formality of which varies a great deal. These are overlapping and not easily separable concepts, yet there is a difference in the focus of the two concepts. Cultural studies and cultural musicology in particular are fields within which the main interest of the study is to understand human behaviour on the basis of knowledge acquired within a specific cultural and societal framework. Accordingly, music and any other forms of cultural expression are located within the sociocultural realm. In addition there is a variety of cultural and social practices, including those of politics and economics that influence their production and use. (Kruse 2003, 146.)

The sociocultural level of analysis is divided into *context of immediate situations*, *context of institutional practices* and *wider sociocultural context*. The *immediate situational context*, which includes, for example, the setting in which the text is presented, whether it is a certain type of publication or a product published in a certain context, or the actual story of the events of the text, which are situated in some location. The wider context of institutional practices links the text into some organized establishments beholding certain ideologies and values. In the broadest sense the analysis is dealing with the widest frame of society and culture, and thus with a variety of economic, political and cultural issues. (Fairclough 1995, 287.)

The connection to the analysis of identities is relevant in this particular level of analysis. My main focus is on analyzing articulations of identities as identity positions, as presented earlier in 3.2.

3.3.4 Order of discourse: ideology and hegemony

Fairclough has adopted the concept of the *order of discourse* from Michael Foucault. For Foucault, this implies that a discourse is controlled by certain functions, actions, or rules, which have an effect on the power relations within the discourses. The order of discourse thus refers to the discursive practices of a community. The main focus is on:

“how it is structured in terms of configurations of genres and discourses, and shifts within the order of discourse and in its relationship to other socially adjacent orders of discourse.” (Fairclough 1995, 63.)

In other words, by the order of discourse the analysis can focus on the ways in which the discourses are structured within the text and the power relations between them, and how the discourse “event” is related to other discourses.

The order of discourse works in two ways, internally and externally. The internal relations mean how the discourse is constituted of various genres (here, activity types) and discourses. The external relations refer to the other, socially contiguous discourses, like those that are important for the understanding of the studied case. Furthermore, both the internal and external relations may be either chain or choice relations. Texts never exist in a void: they are always related to certain other texts and affect texts to come. This is called a chain relation. In addition, there are choices involved in the processes related to text production, consumption, construction and selection. They are socially conditioned. (Fairclough 1995, 63-68.)

Analysis of order of discourse is also concerned with the workings of power relations and ideology.²² Ideology can be defined in a number of ways. In the broadest sense it can be referred to as a world view, personal thoughts and ideas of being. On the other hand, it can be referred to as a particular, more or less fixed and often political agenda, which aims at specific objects and ideas. The account of ideology in the present context is situated in between these extremes. Ideologies can be understood as mental frameworks, which are needed in order to make sense of the ways our society works (Hall 1996, 26). Ideology involves beliefs, a constructed ‘truth’ that is shared with a group of people:

“[...] ideologies may be very succinctly defined as the *basis of the social representations shared by members of a group*. This meant that ideologies allow people, as group members, to organize the multitude of social beliefs about what is the case, good or bad, right or wrong, *for them*, and to act accordingly.” (Van Dijk 1998, 8. Original italics.)

²² For a historical clarification on ideology see e.g. *Ideology and Modern Culture* by John S. Thompson (1990).

Ideologies are built on attitudes, values and beliefs, which arise as a result of complex social processes. Within the context of CDA, ideologies have a particular reference to the texts and discourses. As Fairclough (1998, 87) has stated:

“I shall understand ideologies to be significant / constructions of reality (the physical world, social relations, social identities), which are built into various dimensions of the forms/meanings of discursive practices, and which contribute to the production, reproduction or transformation of relations of domination.”

Ideologies are present in structures (orders of discourse) and events (which reproduce and transform their conditioning structures), but can not be ‘read off’ from texts. The ideologies come into effect through interpretations, which can be diverse. Furthermore, the ideologies do not inhere in individual texts, but in the wider social events, to which the texts are linked. (Fairclough 1998, 89.)

Fairclough (1998, 87) makes three claims (based on Althusser and Volosinov) about ideology²³:

- Ideology has a material basis in the social practices of institutions. As a form of social practice, discourse practices are material forms of ideology.
- Ideology ‘interpellates subjects’. It works by constituting people as subjects within the framework of ideology.
- Ideology operates through powerful ‘ideological state apparatuses’, institutional and societal orders of discourse (the societal order of discourse is a condensation of the institutional orders of discourse).

According to Fairclough, ideologies are not merely *mental* structures. They have material existence through practices and institutions, and can thus be submitted to the analysis in the form of cultural texts, for example. Ideologies are presumptions subsumed in discourses. These include values, which manifest in the power relations, and which have an impact on the behaviour of the people. Secondly, it divides people into groups according to dominance, and defines the construction of ‘us’ and ‘other’ (in relation to race, gender, or other social position). This is related to identity construction.

Thirdly, the power relations are organised also at the broader, institutional level. *Hegemony* is a concept based on Antonio Gramsci’s theorization on society’s power relations and dominance, in which power is used and legitimized in a way that those who are subordinate accept it (Gramsci 1971, 2001). The use of power is most often organized, institutionalized, it is based on alliances and it is hierarchic (van Dijk 1993, 255; Fairclough 1998, 91). For Fairclough, hegemony operates through orders of discourse of society and

²³ Fairclough distinguishes himself from Foucault, who rejected Marxist concept of ideology, for he disclaimed the production of "truth". However, the link between Foucault and ideology is created through power and value issues related to Fairclough’s notion of ideology.

institutions such as education, media, business, and the particular political ideologies of the time.

“Ideology is directly and seamlessly connected to the concept of hegemony and power relations. It does not, in this sense, refer to a political doctrine. According to Van Dijk, ideology should be understood widely as a multidisciplinary, cognitive and social system that becomes real through social practices, which both implement and construct power relations. Ideology refers to the aims, interests and values of a certain social group. It also can not be passed as a mere world view – it is the principles on which the world view is build upon that is the most meaningful aspect from the ideology point of view.” (Van Dijk 1998, 4-8.)

Familiarity with dominant discourses, being so omnipresent, can lead to ‘naturalization’ of certain ways of seeing things (Fairclough 1998, 92). This means that we begin to regard a certain state of things as common sense. Once this has been achieved, we no longer question the assumptions which the argument is really based on, and the dominant ideology has become entrenched. This results in the reproduction of knowledge and beliefs, systems of social relations and the identities of social groups. This state can be called the normative state. No discourse is free of ideology or power relations.

3.4 Research design and procedure

My primary material, the *Saimaa-ilmio* rock documentary, is a full length film lasting for two hours and one minute. In the analysis I have first used an original VHS version²⁴ released in the year 1981, and since 2007 a DVD version, which was released in April that year. These two versions are identical; the only bonus on the DVD is a separate photo gallery from the cruise accompanied by three songs (one from each band) as background music.

The main research question is: *What kinds of articulations of Finnishness and rock identities are involved in the discourses of the Saimaa-ilmio rock documentary film?* In the scrutiny of the material I will focus on the following subquestions:

1. What are the activity types and discourses related to Finnishness and rock?
2. How rock culture is authenticated in the discourses?
3. What kind of Finnishness is constructed through the articulations?
4. What kinds of identity positions of Finnishness and rock are articulated in the discourses of *Saimaa-ilmio*?
5. How do the discourses relate to one another and to other discourses (order of discourse)?

The answers to these questions will be looked for by using the above presented Critical Discourse Analysis. It functions as a broad methodological framework, while articulation is the main concept in the analysis of identities.

²⁴ Kindly provided by *Marianne Films*, the production company and rights owner of *Saimaa-ilmio*.

4 SAIMAA-ILMIÖ AS A ROCK DOCUMENTARY

20th century popular music has been tightly interconnected with different media in its production, distribution and consumption. The audio-visual representations became common in the second half of the 20th century and the availability and accessibility of technology has resulted in an increasing number and variety of materials produced.

Documentarism is one of the main modes of audio-visual representations on music. Rock documentary, or a 'rockumentary' as a sub-genre of the documentary, has had an important role in the canonisation of rock. It has also become a significant element in the manifestation and establishment of the aesthetics of genres.

"The various rockumentary forms of popular musical have served a number of economic and ideological functions. While celebrating 'youth' and the mythic status of stars, they also confirm their status as 'the other' for critics of these sounds and their performers. They validate and confirm particular musical styles and historical moments in their history of popular music as a somehow worthy of more 'serious' attention." (Shuker 2001, 180.)

The production of documentaries is wide-ranging. There is a great diversity of different format and length of films made for a variety of media: TV, internet, cinema, etc. Television documentary production in particular has been substantial in many European countries and in the USA. Nowadays, an increasing number of these films are presented through several media, and in a variety of different formats.

Saimaa-ilmio was a film made for the big screen. It is a full length film, which was at first distributed in cinemas. The documentarism is the main genre and rockumentarism the subgenre of the film. It provides, with the framework of the "language" used, the main mode of communication, which affects the production and consumption of the film. In the following Section I will discuss the *Saimaa-ilmio* rock documentary in relation to its production, contents, and the techniques of documentarism used, especially those related to sounds and music.

4.1 Structure and contents of *Saimaa-ilmiö*

Analysing the contents and the overall structure is an essential part of textual analysis according to CDA. The focus is on cohesion, organization and overall structure, as discussed earlier in Subsection 3.3.1 (Fairclough 1995, 57). The formal elements are interconnected with meanings, the changes in the form result in changes in the meanings. The film is constructed and perceived according to the genre conventions, which thereby apply also to its design.

Saimaa-ilmiö consists, as concert or tour films generally do, of music and tour life (“other”). The events take place within two main settings, which are the S/S Heinävesi boat and the concert venues. The analysis of overall design of the film has been mainly carried out at the levels of Sequences and scenes, including the description of the main events and visual and sound structure (Appendix 2). The most important criterion in dividing the film into Sequences were the location (town, lake, venue), and the activities typical to those specific places (concert, interviews, leisure etc). The demarcation is always affected by the bordering scenes and Sequences: what precedes and what follows helps to identify what is in between. The film can be divided into 23 Sequences (Table 2).

■ Boat □ Concert □ Other

<i>Sequences / Phases</i>	
1 Opening: Boat I	2'24
2 Introduction, Concert in Lappeenranta	8'14
3 Boat II	3'15
4 Concert in Mikkeli	10'50
5 Boat III	3'43
6 Visiting Savonlinna	1'07
7 Boat IV	3'28
8 Concert in Kuopio	19'34
9 Boat V	5'14
10 Concert in Heinävesi	4'19
11 Boat VI	1'04
12 Joke telling	1'25
13 Interview of Pantse Syrjä, Joensuu	1'54
14 Concert in Joensuu	2'41
15 Ismo Alanko, Dock Café I	2'26
16 Concert in Joensuu	3'35
17 Visiting Joensuu	3'29
18 Concert in Joensuu	5'22
19 Ismo Alanko, Dock Café II	0'41
20 Boat VII	3'01
21 Concert in Punkaharju	26'52
22 Concert in Joensuu	4'57
23 Outro	1'09
	2'00'44

TABLE 2 Sequences of *Saimaa-ilmiö* film.

The most common activity types are concert performances, interviews, acoustic music playing, and other off-stage activities. The film events are not presented in an entirely chronological order. For example, the concert in Punkaharju (Sequence 20) seems to be ‘misplaced’. It is located in between scenes from Joensuu, even though in the tour the concert preceded Ilosaarirock festival. Such liberties are taken in the construction of the film structure, as the story is built into a fiction film-like narrative. Furthermore, the other events, which take place in between the concerts, could have been cut from any parts of the tour. However, the narration seems to proceed smoothly, and the main story is chronologically structured. The narrative of this film is built on a tour lasting for several days.

Documentary films differ from fiction films in that they have a reality based topic or story which is being presented by using the documentary mode of communication. The structure of many documentary films is quite similar to that of fiction films. However, the similarity is often an approximate one, many follow the structure but do not follow it tightly. (Bernard 2004, 46.)

“[T]here are many ways to create a compelling structural throughline-[...]—in a documentary without going anywhere near dramatic three-act structure. The film still needs to have compelling characters and rising tension, each scene should move the narrative forward, and the film should satisfactorily conclude the story (or mission, essay, journey, etc.) with which it began. But it doesn’t have to do it in three acts.” (Bernard 2004, 46.)

This so-called three act paradigm or the ‘classic’ structure of Hollywood films is the most commonly used or varied film structure. It is based on the Aristotelian model, consisting of a beginning, the middle and an end (Figure 3).²⁵

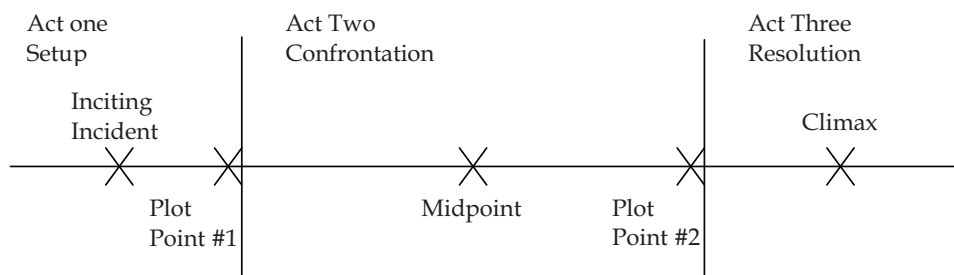


FIGURE 3 The Three-Act Paradigm (Field 2005, 21)

In this three act paradigm the three main acts are usually called setup, confrontation and resolution. These are marked by an inciting incident, which consists of the events which set the action of the story into motion. The plot points refer to “any incident, episode, or event that hooks into the action and spins it around in another direction” (Field 2005, 143).

²⁵ It has been further developed and modified by many film scholars, for example Esslin (1987).

Many documentary films are weak in the creation of the tension, confrontation and resolution. So is *Saimaa-ilmio*, but yet the above marked points of events can be found in its structure. In terms of the above discussion, the dramatic structure in *Saimaa-ilmio* would look roughly like this:

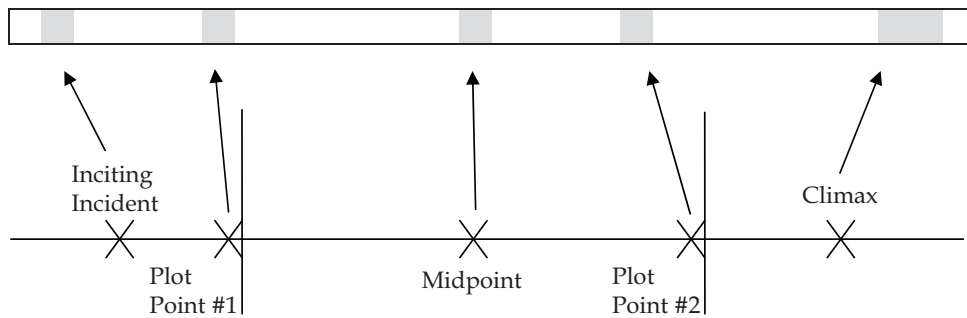


FIGURE 4 The dramatic structure of *Saimaa-ilmio*.

The *inciting incident* setting the story in motion would, in this case, be the first concert. The opening is unusual and perhaps even confusing for a viewer expecting a rock film. It is only the first concert that puts the rock in its place. At *plot point 1* occurs the visit to the Olavinlinna Castle in Savonlinna. The scene is not taking place within the two main settings of the film: the boat or the concert. At the *midpoint* there is a collective concert performance of Eppu Normaali's song *Ringo ja Aku* (Ringo and Aku) in Heinävesi. It is followed by jokes told by a group of people, so called *oravaryhmä* (Team Squirrel) and appearance in a restaurant awarding prizes. *Plot point 2* does not take place within the main settings; Hassisen kone is in Joensuu visiting the rehearsing house, to which they travel by bus. The *climax* is reached in the last song of the tour, a collective performance of the National Anthem of Finland, *Maamme* (Our Land).

Thereafter, from the viewpoint of the 'Three-Act Paradigm', it is possible to build an arc, within which the journey is divided into three parts: going to Joensuu, in Joensuu, and after Joensuu. The first act is based on the alteration of various locations. There is also a clear alteration of boat Sequences and town Sequences, boat Sequences representing the transportation from one town to another. The second act takes entirely place in Joensuu, which is the hometown of Hassisen kone. The duration is much shorter than that of the first act, which is two and a half times longer than the second one. There is a clear structural change at this point of the film: the scene and Sequence structure thickens and Sequences comprise fewer scenes, often just one. Furthermore, there are no boat Sequences in this act, since it is all based on the same town. The last act comprises one boat Sequence and two long concert Sequences (+ outro). It lasts for about one fourth of the film, and returns to the boat/concert theme, yet including much less alteration. The climax of the film is the collective presentation of *Maamme*, which is preceded by a long introduction building expectations towards the performance of this song, all within just one scene.

The contents of the film consist mainly of music performances, which constitute about 78% (approximately 94 min) of the whole. In addition to the concerts (approximately 86 minutes), music is also performed acoustically on the boat. The concert Sequences include live performances and backstage footage. Very little of the audience is shown. This became a typical practice in rock documentaries as the documentary film making changed in the 1970s. The activities on the boat include mainly acoustic music playing, interviews, and joke telling. There are only four short scenes, which take place in other locations than the concerts or the boat. These include visiting Olavinlinna castle in Savonlinna, Team Squirrel prize awards in a restaurant, and visiting the old rehearsing house of Hassisen kone in Joensuu.

There are altogether 33 musical numbers on the film (for the full list see Appendix 3). 26 songs are performed by the bands: Juice Leskinen & Slam performs 8, Eppu Normaali 9 and Hassisen kone 9 songs. In some performances (4) there are only some members of the band, or there are visiting musicians from other bands. The majority of songs, 25, are performed in concerts. The rest of the songs are performed on the boat (5), in Olavinlinna (2) and one song is studio recorded.

The second biggest single event category is that of interviews. They are essential features in documentary films. There are eight (8) interviews, the duration of which is slightly over 12 minutes (Figure 5).

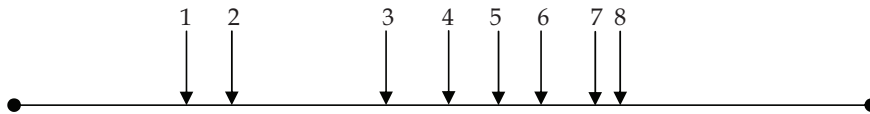


FIGURE 5 The positions of the interviews at the time line of the film.

In most of them (6) we see or hear the interviewer, Aki Kaurismäki, questioning one or more interviewees at the time. The two remaining interviews are both group situations. The first interviews start after approximately the first quarter of the film, and the last one takes place just before the last quarter of the film begins (Figure 6). In between, the density of the interviews increases towards the last one. Altogether the interviews are of a quite short duration.

Four of the interviews take place on the boat, while four others take place in other surroundings. The interviews focus on the lead singers of the bands. Juice Leskinen and Ismo Alanko participate in three interviews, Martti Syrjä in two. The first, as well as the last interview focus on Juice Leskinen, the father figure of the cruise. The three lead singers, Martti Syrjä, Ismo Alanko, and Juice Leskinen, are interviewed together. Ismo Alanko is interviewed also on his own, as well as two other band members from Hassisen kone. In addition, it is significant that the guitarist and producer of Eppu Normaali, Pantse aka Mikko Syrjä is also interviewed personally. It is likely that the film makers thus recognize his central role in the making of the film, specifically the sound track. At the time he was the main and sole producer of Eppu Normaali and had a

significant role in the music making. His role is, in this regard, comparable to that of Juice Leskinen in his band Slam and Ismo Alanko in his band Hassisen kone. He was also the mixer of the concert sound track of the film.

	<i>Participants</i>	<i>Theme</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Duration</i>
1	Juice Leskinen Aki Kaurismäki (interviewer)	How he started his career as a musician.	Boat	1'17
2	Martti Syrjä, Pantse Syrjä, Mikko Saarela, Juha Torvinen & Aku Syrjä (Eppu Normaali)	What is a Fatherland?	Boat	1'25
3	Martti Syrjä, Ismo Alanko & Juice Leskinen Aki Kaurismäki (interviewer)	What is a good gig like?	Boat	2'43
4	Pantse Syrjä Aki Kaurismäki (interviewer)	What Pantse has planned for the summer, how he came about with music, future plans.	Joensuu, Ilosaari-rock	1'38
5	Ismo Alanko Aki Kaurismäki (interviewer)	What is rock'n'roll? What happens when it all goes wrong at a gig?	Dock café	1'05
6	Ismo Alanko, Jussi Kinnunen & Harri Kinnunen	About the old rehearsing location at a single house.	Joensuu, in a house	1'31
7	Ismo Alanko Aki Kaurismäki (interviewer)	"A Fairytale"	Dock café	0'41
8	Juice Leskinen Aki Kaurismäki (interviewer)	When did Safka join Slam?	Boat	1'13

TABLE 3 The interviews in *Saimaa-ilmiö*.²⁶

The interviews can be divided into two groups. Firstly, there are interviews that are more conversational-like, and in which the interviewer Aki Kaurismäki is shown and heard asking questions. Secondly, there are interviews in which the question/topic is given to the interviewee(s), who are having a discussion, while the interviewer is absent.

In addition to music performances and interviews there are a few miscellaneous scenes. These include events relevant to music making, such as setting up or taking down the equipment at the concert scene, and a break at the back stage. There are also humorous scenes, such as joke telling on the boat or awarding made-up, funny prices at the restaurant. In addition, there are a few solemn occasions: a recited poem, a welcoming speech and the last speech of the tour given before the performance of the national anthem.

²⁶ For Finnish transcriptions see Appendix 3.

4.2 Rock documentarism as a genre of *Saimaa-ilmiö*

The main genre of *Saimaa-ilmiö* is documentarism. However, as discussed in Section 2.3, there are many types of documentary films. Thereafter, it is impossible to create an exhaustive list of the specific features of the documentary genre films in general. The differences between, for example, observational and performative documentaries can be great, yet fundamental to the ways of filming and creating the narration. As Nichols (2001, 21) has stated:

“Documentaries adopt no fixed inventory of techniques, address no one set of issues, display no single set of forms or styles. Not all documentaries exhibit a single set of shared characteristics. Documentary film practice is an arena in which things change. Alternative approaches are constantly attempted and then adopted by others or abandoned. Contestation occurs. Prototypical works stand out that other emulate without even being able to copy or imitate entirely. Test cases appear that challenge the conventions defining the boundaries of documentary film practice. They push the limits and sometimes challenge them.”

Within rockumentaries there are also various types. The concert films, which are simply recorded concert depictions, are of very little interest from the documentary point of view. On the other hand, there are films such as biopics and directed and scripted concert films, which are constructed according to the documentary mode, using documentary techniques.

Even though the documentaries may vary a great deal, the nature of the documentaries is agreed upon to a high degree. Documentary films are representations of the world and present a certain world view, often including a persuasive argument (Nichols 2001, 20). They “offer aural and visual likenesses or representations of some part of the historical world. They stand for or represent the views of individuals, groups, and institutions” (Nichols 2001, 5). The events are not depicted as straightforward reality. It is the “[d]ialectical relationship between the event and its representation is the backbone of documentary filmmaking” (Bruzzi 2000, 10). Documentaries aim at authenticity: they aim to persuade, they are to be believed in. *Saimaa-ilmiö* has grounds on real events. The film, even though being reconstructed based on the cruise, aims at presenting one viewpoint, which is formulated in a form of a narrative. It is believed to be reality based and authentic.

The relation of documentaries and some other audio-visual modes of communication to certain aspects of authenticity are presented in the following Table 4.²⁷ Whereas news, pornography and advertisements all have a weak relationship to one or more of these aspects of authenticity, it is the tendency of documentarism to have a strong correlation to them all. In case of *Saimaa-ilmiö* the indexical bond to the historical world is evident. The interrelation between the real and the depiction of the “real” in the documentary mode is in the essence of creating the authenticity and creating an argument. In addition to

²⁷ The table illustrates the differences between these different modes. However, I do not agree with Nichols’ notion about pornography’s strong indexical bond to historical world.

indexicality, the direct address means that the objective treatment of the reality requires addressing the issues, labelling what is at concern. That is why in news the topics are explained, whereas in advertisements the products are described.

	NEWS	PORNO- GRAPHY	ADVERTISING	ROCKUMEN- TARISM
<i>Indexical Bond To Historical World</i>	STRONG (real events)	STRONG ("real" sex)	WEAK (putative claims)	STRONG (real events)
<i>Direct Address Labeling</i>	STRONG (reporters)	WEAK (observation)	STRONG (direct address)	STRONG / varies (direct address)
<i>Subjectivity</i>	WEAK (objective ethic)	STRONG (fantasy)	STRONG (utopian)	STRONG (objective)
<i>Recognition of Specific Social Actors</i>	STRONG (historical figures)	WEAK (actors, body parts)	VARIES (celebrities, stereotypes, actors)	STRONG (personal subjects, i.e. musicians)

TABLE 4 Creating an impression of authenticity (based on Nichols 1991, 163, documentarism added).

Rockumentaries also often include commentary on music making and musicianship. This applies to *Saimaa-ilmio* to a great extent. The musicians talk about playing music, about concerts, and experiences. Mostly these events take place off-stage, which is an important part in the creation of authenticity in a rockumentary film. Some music related commentary is made also on stage.

Both subjectivity and recognition of social actors are strong in rockumentaries, also in *Saimaa-ilmio*. The subjectivity emphasises social action, the relativity and experience of the events, and the sense of human engagement in the historical world (Nichols 1991, 157). All these features are connected with the recognition of specific social actors, which in rockumentaries are usually well known musicians. In *Saimaa-ilmio* the people in the leading roles are musicians who were popular and well known in the Finnish rock scene at the time. Considering the relation of all the above aspects of authenticity presented in Table 4 to *Saimaa-ilmio*, it can be concluded that the film is credibly authenticated.²⁸

Documentarism has also been defined by a variety of features related to the contents, production and reception of films. Ellis & McLane (2006, 1) start

²⁸ Authenticity is also discussed in terms of the main contents of the film, rock music, in further Section 5.2.

their historical review of the history of documentarism by defining documentary films in terms of five aspects:

- 1) Subjects (human feelings, relationships, actions)
- 2) Purposes, viewpoints, or approaches (the filmmaker's view)
- 3) Forms (sights, sounds, structures)
- 4) Production methods and techniques (the ways images are shot, sounds recorded, and the two edited together)
- 5) Experiences offered to the audiences (aesthetic experience, effect on attitudes).

The *Saimaa-ilmiö* rockumentary's subjects concern making music, musicianship and peer group activities. The film is very much about representations of a certain kind of human behaviour and action in specific environments: on-stage and off-stage. The film is the filmmakers' construction of the events of the cruise. There has been a strong tendency to see the Kaurismäki brothers, both of them, as auteurs, the 'authors' of their films. The term 'auteur' refers to the auteur theory, according to which the film is a result of the director's vision and personal artistic expression, including the aims and aesthetic goals (Stam 2000, 83). *Saimaa-ilmiö* was, to a large extent, envisioned by the Kaurismäki brothers. Yet, it is likely that there have been several people affecting the final construction of the film, even though the main ideas have been created by the directors. Especially the editor, Antti Kari, was in a position to influence the final version of the film. He reduced the over 3 hour film into its final form of approximately 121 minutes. Most of this crew had also worked with the Kaurismäki brothers in their prior and later productions.

The forms, especially sights and sounds, are in the main focus of this work and will thus be scrutinised in closer detail in chapters to come. However, the structure of the film is discussed in this occasion. The organisation of many documentary films is quite similar to that of fiction films in the sense that they are based on narration. However, the similarity is often an approximate one; many follow the structure but do not follow it tightly. (Bernard 2004, 46.)

"The form of documentary is mainly determined by subject, purpose, and approach. Usually there is no conventional dramaturgical progression from exposition to complication to discovery to climax to denouement. Documentary forms tend to be functional, varied, and looser than those of short stories, novels, or plays." (Ellis & McLane 2006, 2.)

The story of the film is based on a journey, and it is also narrated as one. It starts from the first concert in Lappeenranta, followed by the beginning of the boat tour. The marker of the first part of the boat trip is the welcoming toast, including a short speech given by Martti Syrjä. The end is also clearly marked in the film. Juice Leskinen starts the last scene, also the last concert, by stating that the tour is over. The majority of the rest of the events are placed in between these two scenes, even though not all in chronological order.

The structure of the film is built on an alteration of the boat scenes and concert scenes. The length of the depicted concerts increases in each one of the three concert Sequences. Around the mid point of the film there are several shorter Sequences, which include a variety of different events. In this phase there are no boat Sequences at all. The last quarter of the film begins by returning to the steamer, which will transport the crew towards the last and the longest continuous concert scene in Punkaharju, the ending being the performance of the national anthem in Joensuu.

The production methods and techniques, referring to the ways images are shot, sounds are recorded, and the two are edited together, are quite typical of documentaries. The recording rig included a few cameras; in concert settings there were four of them, placed at a typical positions, one at the back, two at the sides, and one on stage (also in Juntunen 2008, 173.) The crew and the cameras are shown in only few occasions. In Image 2 the stage camera man, Lasse Naukkarinen, is seen at the right end of the image, filming the drummer of Eppu Normaali.

The film crew recorded the sounds, but the concerts were separately recorded on eight tracks through the mixing console (Juntunen 2008, 175-76).²⁹ The sights and sounds, as well as the experiences of the film offered to the audience will be analysed in detail in the chapters to come.



IMAGE 2 The camera man filming the bands in *Saimaa-ilmio*.

In general the documentary mode of *Saimaa-ilmio* bears resemblances to several film types. There are traits of Cinéma Verité, according to which the directors had an active role in the film making. A rather detailed plan of the structure of the film was planned ahead. It included a list of songs that were to be played. The directors put prepared questions to the interviewees. The interview situations and some other events were set up. The final film, assembled and cut out of over 10 hours of material, is in any case a construction by the film making team and the directors.

On the other hand, there still seems to be the ideal of the ‘passiveness’ of the Direct Cinema as the underlying ideal. The directors were asked to film this

²⁹ The sounds of *Saimaa-ilmio* are analyzed in depth in Section 4.3 that follows.

event, which was a tour of a certain length, embodying the structure of the dramatic arc. They filmed the events, most of which included music. The film makers could not influence the course of the events in the actual concerts, the camera men filmed whatever took place on stage. The backstage life, the leper jokes in the boat, and some other music making events are, or at least seem like unstaged situations, in which the camera is just depicting what is put before the lens. These are also observational features.

All in all, however, Cinéma Verité or Direct Cinema, which is also used nowadays to generally describe “the cinema of truth”, seem deficient as genre labels in the case. The documentary nature of *Saimaa-ilmiö* seems to be better described in terms of Creative Documentarism. The film is a construction of ‘reality’, it is a representation of the events in the cruise. Yet it has a strong narrative structure, which has been thought over and constructed into a whole, into a film. It includes the authors' and directors' point of view and an artistic expression.

4.3 Sound techniques³⁰

Documentary film sound has been neglected in research, even though film music and sound studies had already in the 1990s become established fields of study. The most significant texts for the study of documentary film sounds are those of Bill Nichols³¹, and Jeff Ruoff (1992). Some articles on the topic have been written in the recent decades (Corner 2002; Cipriani & Latini 2008). In Finland this area has been almost unexplored. Jouko Aaltonen, a documentary director himself, wrote a passage on the documentary sound in his dissertation in (2006). Rockumentary sound techniques have been studied even less.³²

Film sound is most often analyzed in terms of a division into diegetic / non-diegetic sounds. The origins of the concept of diegetic date back a long way to the history of the narrative, but in the film studies it was made known by Claudia Gorbman, who defines diegetic sound as belonging to the film events and characters, and the film narrative (1987, 21). It is thus produced within the events of the film.³³ Non-diegetic sound is, thereafter, produced offscreen, it comes from another reality. Gorbman's definition is based on the sound tracks of the fiction films and it has been widely used and discussed within the film music studies.³⁴

³⁰ The sound techniques have been discussed also in Skaniakos (2009b).

³¹ Original in Spanish in *Historia general del cine*, the year of publications not mentioned. Retrieved from: <http://filmsound.org/film-sound-history/documentary.htm>.

³² Sounds have also been addressed in multimodal analysis by Baldry & Thibault (2005) and in sound studies by van Leeuwen (1999). The problem with these approaches is that they focus on a detailed level, and are thus applicable to rather short or small materials, such as songs or advertisements.

³³ This is also-called source music.

³⁴ Anahid Kassabian (2001) has opposed to the diegetic / nondiegetic dichotomy, for it is analytically insufficient and does not describe the use of all the music used in the

The sounds of documentaries usually employ a variety of sound techniques: the voice-over (a narrator's voice), dialogue and interviews, music, any sounds from the worlds in focus (Ruoff 1992, 217). In music and rock documentaries the most important features are live music performances and interviews (Ruoff 1992, 226; Sarchett 1994, 1-2). The concepts of diegetic / non-diegetic are not sufficient in the analysis of documentary films. The 'true' nature of the documentary films demands the use of 'real' sounds, the natural sound spaces, which are often diegetic. Hence the 'diegetic' does not provide with sufficient possibilities for the analysis of the variety of diegetic documentary sounds. However, diegetic and non-diegetic are scrutinized through a studio recorded song, and in relation to the use of silence in *Saimaa-ilmiö*.

The onscreen sound is more usual in documentary films (Chion 1994, 73; Sonnenschein 2001, 153). Based on the analysis of *Saimaa-ilmiö* and my experience on analysing other documentary films (see Section 4.4), I have created a classification for the analysis of documentary sounds (Table 5). The classification has been inspired by Rick Altman's (1987) analysis of Hollywood musicals, in which he coined the terms diegetic track (movie sounds, real), music track (studio recorded, 'dream') and diegetic music (music performed by a character in the film, i.e. sung introduction). However, his division is strongly based on the specific nature of the film musicals, and thereby inapplicable to the documentary films. The categories created are based on the sound space, the ways of recording and processing the sound, as well as the role of the sound. The need for the categorisation emerged in the process of analysing the film, and categories are an important feature in the analysis of the structure of the film.

I have labelled these sound categories as *acousto sound*, *manipulated sound* and *studio recorded sound* (Table 5). *Acousto sound* refers to a natural sound space, including background noise and other sounds from the environment. There seems to be very little or no manipulation, even though there usually is some. This sound space is important for the creation of the sense of reality and authenticity. The listener can place oneself in the place of the camera, hearing what is heard from its position. Musically this track includes mostly acoustic playing and singing. *Manipulated sound*, in turn, refers to a sound which is recorded through more substantial filtering. It has been mixed in the recording situation already. The sound space is more restricted and it is not a real position for any listener in the actual situation. The *studio recorded sound* is a music track, which has been recorded in the studio and produced to its final form, and is used as part of the film sound track. It might be closely related to the events of the film; either to the film characters, the story of the atmosphere, or the emotional feel.

contemporary film well enough. On the other hand, Robynn Stilwell (2007) has defended the concepts by stating that the crossings and deviations of the diegetic and non-diegetic only add to the interest and strengthen the concepts.

	<i>Acousto sound / diegetic</i>	<i>Manipulated sound / diegetic</i>	<i>Studio recorded sounds / diegetic or non-diegetic</i>
<i>Image and sound relation</i>	Logical: the sound source is in the film (onscreen or offscreen), the reference to the events is strong.	Logical: the sound source is in the film (onscreen or offscreen), the reference with the events is strong.	The relation between the sound and the image exists thematically, rhythmically or emotionally.
<i>Sense of reality</i>	Strong bond with the film events.	Strong or moderate degree of sense of reality with the film events.	Not real or real only to some degree, or an emotional bond.
<i>Sound space</i>	Natural sounding sound space. Sounds produced at the location. None or very little filtering.	Restricted sound space, sounds filtered through microphones, a mixing console.	Natural or manipulated sound space, often heavy filtering, possibly other.
<i>Role of music</i>	Acoustic live music.	Concerts, live performances.	So-called underscore or other studio recorded music
<i>Recording</i>	Simultaneous recording of sound and image.	Simultaneous recording of sound and image, but filtering through a mixer.	Recording through a mixer and specific equipment.
<i>Sound processing</i>	Some degree of sound processing.	Mixing at the location and post-production.	Sound processing at the studio.

TABLE 5 Sound categories in documentary films.

The differences between the categories are most clear when concerning the sound and space, and the role of the music. In the following I will analyze the sounds used in *Saimaa-ilmiö* in relation to these sound categories. In addition, I will discuss one case in terms of diegetic and non-diegetic music. Finally I want to scrutinize the use of silence in relation to these categories. As stated earlier in this chapter, the events of *Saimaa-ilmiö* can be placed in two major categories: concert performances and events on the boat. The event categories differ mostly in their use of sound: the concert scenes include mostly manipulated sounds, whereas the boat scenes consist of acousto sounds.

4.3.1 Acousto sound and manipulated sound in *Saimaa-ilmiö*

Saimaa-ilmiö includes mostly manipulated sound and acousto sound. The category of manipulated sounds is greater, as the concert performances comprise three-fourths of the material in the film. The use of the acousto sound

is also significant for the documentary film. The use of natural sounds plays a great part in the authentication of the rockumentary film.

The category of *manipulated sound* refers to the concert performances including the presentations of the songs and other stage speaks. The relation of image and sound is logical; the sounds the spectators hear are produced on screen. Manipulated sounds refer to a track which has undergone pronounced processing and filtering when recorded. The acousto sound is not 'pure' either, but the degree of processing is lower. Manipulated sound is recorded through the mixing console. It is thus first recorded, then filtered through mixing, and edited with other equipment in the post-production process. The concerts were recorded by Mika Sundqvist, and the recordings were post-mixed by Pantse Syrjä (Juntunen 2008, 176).

The concert situations are challenging for the recording of the sound. Most of the locations were either quite vast areas outdoors, or old dance pavilions. The performances of rock music, which is played with electric instruments through amplification, are dependent on the road crew and sound men who make sure that everything is functioning in the actual event. The sound of every instrument is transmitted by recording it with microphone(s), to be controlled with the mixing console. The desired sound and balance is pursued by this control and manipulation.

The soundscape of the manipulated sound is restricted and unreal.

"The gathering of sounds by spatially separated microphones and their reproduction from one point overturned the single focus of acoustic recording. Electrically recorded sound is now a synthesis, which on replaying projects an illusion." (Struthers 1987, 248.)

The sounds are unheard by any of the real persons present at the concert: the musicians do not hear everything that is happening outside the stage, in fact they don't often hear even the music very well. The audience hears the music from the monitors, but the sounds and the balance varies in different parts of the audience. Furthermore, the audience can not hear what is taking place on stage, out of the reach of the microphones. In addition, the spaces of the concert venues are often so vast that the people located at the opposite sides of the area might experience quite different soundscapes. If the recording had been realized amongst the crowd, from the position of a listener, the quality of the music would have been much poorer and the environmental sounds would have been foregrounded. Such recordings are out of the question in a music documentary film, in which the main material consists of live performances of electronically transmitted and amplified music. The aesthetics of the sound is similar to live recordings, which

" [...] should not include extraneous noises, and should be of a consistently clear quality. In order to achieve this, sound recordings are normally 'posed' and undertaken in special places to isolate sound sources from possible interference. Hence, the actuality that the recording seeks to represent is not a real event, but a 'pseudo-event', existing only for recording." (Struthers 1987, 251.)

The recorded music is unable to capture the 'original' sounds. The sounds are always altered in one way or another. On the other hand, people can not hear the sounds in exactly the same way; in addition to the transmitted sound waves there might be physical organic differences, differences in the auditory sense, or other differences in signifying the meanings perceived by the sounds.

The *acousto sound* refers to this sound world where the image and sound are logically related and the sounds are produced in the space that is being depicted. It sounds more 'real'. The control of background noises is weak; sometimes there are interruptions or sudden changes heard on the track, such as the horn of the boat, other people's voices, etc. These are in the very heart of documentarism and play an important role in the creation of authenticity. It is false to say the sounds have not been controlled or filtered at all; the film makers can affect also the recording and environment, even when filming with just one camera and microphone. The point is that the degree of such manipulation is low in acousto track. Speech, either direct address or other dialogue, is an important content in this category. A rockumentary acousto track includes also acoustically played music. Sound and image tracks are usually recorded simultaneously, according to the tradition of the Cinema Verité.

The events in which the acousto sound is used in *Saimaa-ilmio*, are so-called backstage and offstage situations. The only backstage footage is filmed during the Kuopio concert, and it is cut into two scenes. The offstage situations include all other material, which takes place in other than concert stages: interviews, joke telling, and music making on the boat. Most acousto sounds are nonetheless unspontaneously produced. Some events, such as interviews, are set up, even staged by the film makers in order to get the desired outcome. In *Saimaa-ilmio* there was some control over the noises produced in the environments. During the interviews and acoustic playing the musicians were isolated from the other crew in order to quieten the location and situation. The interviewees and their topics were planned ahead by the directors. Even the boat had to be stopped during some of the filming, because the pounding sound of the waves disturbed the sound recording too much (Juntunen 2008, 174). The few spontaneous situations seem to be the joke telling session, and one nightly music playing session on the boat.

4.3.2 The use of studio recorded sounds. Diegetic or not?

In *Saimaa-ilmio* there is one song which is not performed in the film reality. "Tällä tiellä" is a song recorded earlier in the year 1981 by Hassisen kone. It is played in a scene, in which the band is travelling on a bus to visit their old rehearsing location in a single house in Joensuu. These events take place after the mid section of the film. There is a series of Sequences filmed in Joensuu, many of which focus on the Hassisen kone band, which originates from that particular town. There are three band members participating in this scene: Ismo Alanko, Harri Kinnunen and Jussi Kinnunen.

The song is chosen possibly because there is a logical connection to the band, which is being displayed in the scene. The title of the song, 'On this road', is also thematically relevant to the topic of the film and the touring life of the musicians in general. Moreover, the three musicians are physically travelling towards the location on a bus in this scene. They are on the road (Table 6).





<i>Images</i>	<i>Sound structure</i>
	<p>Studio recorded sound: "Tällä tiellä".</p> <p>Acousto sound foregrounded: Ismo Alanko talking on the bus.</p>
	<p>Studio recorded sound.</p> <p>Acousto sound foregrounded: The band members talking in the house.</p>
	<p>Studio recorded sound: the song ends.</p>
	<p>Only acousto sound: leaving the house.</p>

TABLE 6 "Tällä tiellä" in Joensuu, Scenes 36 and 37.

In the first images it can be seen that the band members are talking in the bus, but their sounds are not heard. Neither can any other sounds from the

environment, for example, the motor of the bus, be heard. The sound reality does not seem real. After the first verse of the song is over it is faded down and Ismo Alanko's speech is faded in and foregrounded for a short while. The acousto sound is played over the studio recorded sound. Then again, the acousto sound disappears and the song continues, but only to be faded down again. Now the band is inside the house discussing the meaning of the rehearsing location to the band. After the talk, the song is faded in again. It is played until the end, after which there are only sounds from the environment, acousto sounds, heard. The people are leaving the building.

The songs do not seem alienated from the film for it is played by the band, which is seen on the screen, and the topic fits the events of the scene well. Furthermore, as the acousto sound is dissolved on top of the studio track the 'sterile' song is brought closer to the reality. As illustrated with this example from *Saimaa-ilmio*, rockumentaries do include also studio recorded songs. However, their number is often very modest compared to concert performances. In *Woodstock* (1970), for example, studio recorded songs are used in the beginning and the end of the film, whereas in *The Last Waltz* (1978) studio recorded songs are played in four different occasions in the film.

"Tällä tiellä" provides us also with a good possibility to scrutinize the example with the concepts of diegetic and non-diegetic. Which category does the song represent? It is possible to argue on behalf of both viewpoints. The song could be claimed diegetic based on the thematic connection. It is played by the band depicted in the film and in that particular scene. It could have been possible that the song was performed and recorded in one of the locations shown in the film, such as the rehearsal house, towards which they are travelling as the song begins. In this sense the sound could be called an offscreen diegetic sound. It is used to create the right mood. (Chion 1994, 85.) On the other hand, the song could have been played on the bus radio, in which case the source would have existed in the film realm. Even though we accept that the song is played from a record, the logical link exists. Studio recordings are typical products of the rock bands, even though *Saimaa-ilmio* is not situated in a studio environment. Thereafter,

"[t]he ruptures in the sound track suggest not that strictures for making documentaries were violated, or that audiences were necessarily deceived, but rather that all films are constructions, meaningful assertions about the world made by directors and those with whom they collaborate." (Ruoff 1992, 234.)

The song is a reminder of the other engagements in musicians' lives, those that are not shown in the film.

What are the arguments that work against the diegetic? It is unlikely that the song would have been recorded in the rehearsal house. Judging by the clarity of the sounds it is a studio recording. The sound space of the song is manipulated and idealized; there are no extraneous sounds at all. Furthermore, it would have been impossible to isolate the sounds from the radio from other sounds produced in the environment; the sound track must have been recorded in some other place.

The categorization to either, the diegetic or the non-diegetic sound, is not lucid. Yet the thematic connection with the band ties the song to the film and the structural function of the song seems clear. After the mid part of the film, contrast to the earlier film material is often introduced. This point of the film is called the golden section. Since ancient times it has been known as a mathematically calculated ratio used to create dimensional relationships or proportion the segments of the work. The significant points are A (the beginning), B (the golden section) and the C (the end). (Walser 2001, 1-2.) In the arts its use was believed to create aesthetic pleasure. The scene deviates from the rest, since the location is not along the route of the cruise, and the band members have to take the bus to travel to the house. The difference is highlighted by viewing the travel on the bus and choosing the studio recorded music track.

4.3.3 The role of silence

Saimaa-ilmiö includes also segments in which no music is heard. I am using the concepts of diegetic and non-diegetic silence in order to separate two different types of silences in the film. *Diegetic silence* is part of the film realm and it is a relative concept, referring rather to the lack of sounds than complete non-existence of them. *Non-diegetic silence* refers to a soundtrack without a sound, the absence of a sound track. *Saimaa-ilmiö* includes mainly diegetic silence. It is used mainly in between the scenes in transitions.

The film soundtrack starts with silence. At first there are a couple of seconds of non-diegetic, 'absolute' silence, after which the actual soundtrack begins. The first seconds are visualized by a black screen. The diegetic silence track includes some low stir, which could possibly be the sound of the water lapping. No other sounds are heard. After a scant 20 seconds the pounding sound of the boat is heard and it becomes louder. At the same time the steamer appears on the screen.

Similar diegetic silence is associated mainly with the boat scenes. The scene and Sequence transitions often include this kind of natural quietness. They appear as few-second breaks in between the boat and concert Sequences. The density of their appearance is highest in the first four Sequences. Each time the break shortens a little, decreasing from seven to four seconds. After the first quarter of the film has passed there is a longer transition of 15 seconds, during which the pounding sound of the steamer is heard to transform into stir. Another diegetic silence transition of four seconds follows, after which the density diminishes. The only one left is a pause just before the last quarter of the film is about to begin.

Most of these diegetic silences are recorded separately and cut to the transitions; they do not belong to the preceding or the following sound tracks. In other transitions the sound track of the following scene is often started before the image of the new scene appears, or there are simultaneous direct cuts (see the full structure in Appendix 2). The use of diegetic silence seems to be a soft

way to create pauses in between the boat and concert Sequences. The silences are in the beginning or the end of the boat scenes, thus emphasizing the contrast of the quiet nature to the loud concert events. Moreover, non-diegetic silence would be in greater contrast to the other film material and to the documentary sound world, which usually has a high resemblance to the surrounding film world. Using the diegetic silences is structurally significant. During the first quarter of the film the pauses affirm the division into the boat and concert sections, which alternate. In addition, they affect the tempo and the rhythm of the events, making it rather convivial. Later, when the rhythm is intensified, the diegetic silences do not appear.

Non-diegetic silence is used in the second concert event in Mikkeli, in addition to the first seconds of the entire film. The Sequence begins with the setting up of the concert gear and doing sound check. The sound track is recorded through the mixing table, and it is constructed by an alteration of the silence and sounds recorded by the stage microphones (Table 7).

<i>Sound check</i>	<i>Non-diegetic silence</i>
1'04	
	0'04
0'20	
	0'03
0'03	
	0'01
0'24	
	0'03
0'17	

TABLE 7 The alteration of sound check noise and non-diegetic silence in the beginning of the Mikkeli concert, Scene 9.

The sound check noises include squeaking guitar sound, talking by Ismo Alanko and the amplifier noise created by the feedback. These are interrupted by a few seconds of non-diegetic silence, just as the mixing console is turned off and on in each appearance of the new sound. The non-diegetic silence is connected to the use of technology and highlights the fact that the concert scenes are recorded through a heavier technological device. Diegetic silence is used in the Sequences which employ acousto sounds and are recorded with hand-held equipment.

4.4 *Saimaa-ilmio* in relation to other rockumentaries

Genre is an important element in the analysis of discourse practices and the whole understanding of the text and its wider sociocultural contexts. *Saimaa-ilmio* was analyzed as a rock documentary earlier in this chapter. In this section the scrutiny is focused on the intertextual links between *Saimaa-ilmio* and other rock documentaries. There are several similarities and differences between these films. However, the intertextual links reinforce the belonging to the documentary genre. The film is a combination of genre conventions and practices, which are implemented in the making of *Saimaa-ilmio*, as well as unique solutions chosen by its makers.

Saimaa-ilmio is discussed in relation to three other rockumentaries: *Woodstock* (1970), *The Last Waltz* (1978) and *Festival Express* (2003), in particular. I have chosen the two former ones based on the statements given by the directors, according to whom they were the models in the making of *Saimaa-ilmio*. The third one, *Festival Express*, I chose because its theme is very similar to the Finnish rockumentary at hand: it is a tour film in which the crew is travelling across Canada by train, giving concerts in several locations. It should be stated that the *Festival Express* was released after *Saimaa-ilmio*, and thus the Kaurismäki brothers could not have been influenced by this film. However, the purpose of including it in this analysis is to show that there were similar events depicted in the film at the same time and that the original footage shot in 1970 is based on similar aesthetics.

Woodstock and *The Last Waltz* were released before *Saimaa-ilmio*. The films have been seen as a continuation to the direct cinema tradition (Niemi 2006, 258; Minturn 2005, 51). *Woodstock* is one of the best known rock documentaries, based on the events of the Woodstock festival organised in Bethel, NY, in the summer of love 1969. The film narration is based on the festival events, starting with the preparation of the area and stage building, through the concerts and people's experiences, to the end of the festival. The film was released in 1970 and directed by Michael Wadleigh. The original version lasts for 184 minutes.³⁵ (IMDb/*Woodstock*, 2009.) *The Last Waltz* was directed by Martin Scorsese, who had also been involved in the making of the *Woodstock* film as a camera man. The film is based on the last concert of The Band, given in San Francisco's Winterland Ballroom music venue in 1976. In addition to The Band, there are also guest artists performing at the concert. The film includes mostly music and interviews of the band members. The film was released in 1978 and it lasts for 112 minutes. *Festival Express* tour took place in 1970. The film, which was released after 33 years in 2003, includes original footage from the tour directed by Frank Cvitanovich and shot by Peter Biziou, combined with present day interviews of some of the participants. The 2003 version was directed by Bob Smearon (IMDb/*Festival Express*, 2009). That film lasts for 84 minutes. These

³⁵ The so-called 'director's cut' of the *Woodstock* released in 1994 is a considerably longer version lasting 228 minutes.

three films and *Saimaa-ilmiö* include many similarities, as well as differences, which illustrate some of the common elements but also the diversity within the documentary film mode and its film types.

All films include performances of several bands or musicians. *Festival express* and *Saimaa-ilmiö* are tour films including concerts, whereas *Woodstock* and *The Last Waltz* are concert films, which take place mainly, though not completely, in one setting. Three performances have been shot in a studio environment. The number of musical performances is close: the *Woodstock* includes 25 songs, *The Last Waltz* 26 songs and the *Festival Express* 23 songs. In *Saimaa-ilmiö* there are 32 musical performances, which is more than in the other films. Partly this can be explained by its length: it is longer than *The Last Waltz* and the *Festival Express*. On the other hand, the *Woodstock*, which is the longest film, includes only 25 songs. Most of the songs presented in the films are rock songs written by the bands, but there are also other songs performed: traditional gospel or Negro spiritual songs (*The Last Waltz* 1, *Festival Express* 1, *Woodstock* 1), National anthems (*Woodstock* 1, played partly in two separate occasions, *Saimaa-ilmiö* 1), and other music performances (*The Last Waltz* 1, *Saimaa-ilmiö* 4). The traditional gospel and Negro spiritual songs are close to the roots of rock music, but there are other examples. The second last song of *The Last Waltz* is Greensleeves, which is a traditional English folk song, a ballad originating from the 16th century. It tells the story of a male lover praising his beloved one, who is noble and thus unreachable for him. In *Saimaa-ilmiö* there are two traditional Finnish songs from the 20th century, and two performances, in which the played music is not any particular song. Moreover, both films, *The Last Waltz* and *Saimaa-ilmiö* include concert performances of mixed line-ups.

In *Festival Express* the tour and the time spent in the train plays a great part in the film, just as the boat is the second main setting of the events in *Saimaa-ilmiö*. The material in *The Last Waltz*, *Festival Express* and *Saimaa-ilmiö* concern mainly music, whereas a considerable amount of *Woodstock* is about the people and the festival in general. Thereafter, the *Woodstock* is at least as much about the people as it is about music. Audience is not much shown in the three other films, which are about the bands and their music and the musicianship. Off-stage music making is highlighted in *Saimaa-ilmiö* and *Festival Express*, which both are depicting a tour. Music is played also in the transportation vehicles, even though the train music making in *Festival Express* is more based on jamming, whereas the acoustic songs in *Saimaa-ilmiö* seem to be staged performances.

All these films include basic rockumentary elements, such as interviews. Alcohol and other drug use seem to be represented in all the films as part of the musicianship: they include talk about and use of stimulants, mainly alcohol and cigarettes. In *Festival Express* and *Woodstock* this also involves explicit discourse on narcotics, marihuana and psychedelic drugs. The three non-Finnish films all take place in North America, which was one of the focal points in the development of the 1970s rock music. Visual techniques utilized are different;

split screen is used in both the *Festival Express* and the *Woodstock*, whereas this technique is used in neither *The Last Waltz* nor the *Saimaa-ilmiö*.

The structures of the films vary quite a lot. The basic form in all films is created by the alteration of the music performances and other materials, such as interviews and depicting other off-stage events. The scene rhythms vary a great deal; in *The Last Waltz* there are interviews in between almost every song performance, whereas in *Woodstock* there are much longer footages of other material in between the songs. The structures of *Festival Express* and *Saimaa-ilmiö* are more similar, including successive performances and longer concert footages of several songs and performers. In *Festival Express* the greatest difference comes from the use of present day interviews, which are used to explain what happened and what it meant to people. *The Last Waltz* differs from the other three films in regard to studio performances; it includes three performances filmed in a studio environment. They are placed in between the concert performances.

The chronologies of the events vary. All films are based on events which last for a certain period of time. *Woodstock* and *Festival Express* seem to follow the chronological order. In *Saimaa-ilmiö* there is only one notable change in the chronology, that is, the misplaced Punkaharju concert footage. *The Last Waltz* begins with a reversed order, as the first song in the film is the last song performed in the concert, the encore. Moreover, the three studio recorded performances are deviations from the course of the concert. All these four films were based on events with a set time frame, something starting (a tour, a concert, a festival), taking place, and then ending. These temporal frameworks have been utilised in the creation of the films' narration.

Compared to *Saimaa-ilmiö* there are also some similarities and differences in the details of the films.³⁶ The similarities are few. Both *The Last Waltz* and *Saimaa-ilmiö* begin with a black screen. As in *Saimaa-ilmiö*, the first images of *Woodstock* include depictions of the countryside and cultivated fields. Just like in *Saimaa-ilmiö* these images are also designating the location of the event: it took place on a vast field. In general all four films start with the introduction to the location of the events and the surroundings: the lake and the boat, the field and the stage, the train, and the concert hall.

At an early stage of the film there is an image of red sky as in an explosion, from which the actual concert performances begin. In *Saimaa-ilmiö* the opening is followed by an image of a red sky (sunset), which also precedes the concert introductory Sequence (Image 3).

³⁶ Many of these similarities are discussed in relation to *Saimaa-ilmiö* in Chapters 5 and 6 that follow.



IMAGE 3 The red skies in *Woodstock* (left) and in *Saimaa-ilmiö* (right).

The idea in these few second shots is similar. The sky images in *Woodstock* turn from orange to blue, as the explosion dissipates from the sky. The title of the film, “*Woodstock, 3 days of Peace and Music*” appears on the screen. In *Saimaa-ilmiö* it is the nightly sun set, which has coloured the sky orange and red. The title of the film, “*Saimaa-ilmiö*” appears in the sky. There is music heard in both of these scenes. *Woodstock* starts by the sound of Jimi Hendrix's guitar, and the explosion is seen just after the few notes played of the Star Spangled Banner. After the image of the blue sky the guitar stops and the film moves to an interview. In *Saimaa-ilmiö* the sky appears as the first concert scene starts, and the first song of Juice Leskinen and Slam is heard on the background.

In both these films there is also another interesting curiosity related to the musical performance of two guitarists (Image 4). In *Woodstock* the performance of The Who band begins with still images of the lead guitarist Pete Townshend, as he jumps in the air with his guitar. In *Saimaa-ilmiö* there is a similar shot of the Eppu Normaali's guitarist Juha Torvinen, who jumps in the air together with the lead singer Martti Syrjä. This image of the jump is shown in slow motion, highlighting the event.



IMAGE 4 The slowed down jump shots from the *Woodstock*/Pete Townsend and *Saimaa-ilmio*/Juha Torvinen.

A variety of jumps and other stage performances with the guitar were part of The Who's stage show and Townsend's trademarks. The images of Pete Townshend's jump are shown in a smaller window on the left side of the black screen. Even though the images are not in the order corresponding to the actual jump, the main idea, the performance of the jump with the guitar becomes clear. Each image is accompanied with the gruff and noisy sound of the guitar, which he actually produces in the end of the song.

A similar jump is performed by Juha Torvinen in many occasions in the film. However, it is only in this shot that it is depicted in slow motion. Interestingly, the song performed by Eppu Normaali in the similar jump scene is the only English cover in the entire film. It is, by no coincidence, The Who's "Let's See Action", a song written by Pete Townshend. Jumping is also part of the stage performance of Juha Torvinen and Martti Syrjä, but it seems that the slow motion of the footage was deliberately placed in the context of this particular song. Furthermore, to reinforce the link, the second guitarist Pantse Syrjä is wearing The Who T-shirt in this scene.³⁷

There is also a similar interesting curiosity in *The Last Waltz* and *Saimaailmiö*: they both include recitations of poems. *The Last Waltz* contains two poems recited during the concert. The poems were part of the concert programme and thus material to the film. The first poem after about the 1st quarter of the film is the introduction to the *Canterbury Tales* in the 14th century Chaucerian dialect, performed by an American poet Michael McClure. He recites the first lines, in which the story begins, in spring, and the pilgrims start their journey to look for the martyr that had helped them in trouble. The second poem is a shortened version of the "Loud Prayer"³⁸, which is written and recited by Lawrence Ferlinghetti. It is performed just after the last quarter of the film, in between the songs of Bob Dylan. The poem is an adaptation of the Lord's Prayer, but the Christian contents have been rewritten into a profane form. In *Saimaailmiö* there is only one poem. Juice Leskinen recites a verse of a poem by Lauri Viita right in the beginning of the film.³⁹ As the poems are rather unusual materials in rockumentaries, it is possible that the general idea for including a poem in *Saimaailmiö* was inspired by the recitations in *The Last Waltz*.

National flags are also depicted in these two films. In the first interview scene of the singer Robert Robertson there is the flag of Canada hanging on the wall behind him as he is sitting at the couch. Being a Canadian band this is a

³⁷ There is also another visual intertextual connection. Eppu Normaali has used the visual idea of The Who's gig poster, which included the text "Maximum R&B" in their record Maximum Jee Jee (1979). The title of the record also refers to the poster text. Pantse Syrjä is wearing a T-shirt, in which the poster is printed (Image 13, p. 93).

³⁸ "Our father whose art's in heaven/hollow be thy name/unless things change/ Thy wigdom come and gone/ thy will will be undone/ on earth as it isn't heaven/ Give us this day our daily bread/ at least three times a day/ and forgive us our trespasses/ on love's territory/ for thyne is the wigdom and of power and glory/ oh man." Transcribed from the film.

³⁹ For detailed analysis of the scene, see 6.1.2.

way of signifying the origins of the band. The national flag is depicted in several occasions also in *Saimaa-ilmiö*.⁴⁰

In general in all the films the central content is constructing and reinforcing the authenticity of rock music and the events, even though the stress slightly varies in each film. Highly ideological features are emphasised. All films praise the popularity of the bands and the great concerts. These are celebrated through the documentation of the events as part of rock history. Making of such films is strongly involved in writing the history of the genres, in both the international and national levels. The uplifting and nostalgic spirit is found in all films, but is especially highlighted in *Festival Express*, in which the present day interviews allow for a retrospective voice of nostalgia and eulogy of the great events. Some people, who had been also performing prior to *Woodstock*, explicitly compare these events and claim that the *Festival Express* is better. Furthermore, the late 1960s and early 1970s utopian ideals of the better world of love and peace and rock music were the central themes in *Woodstock* and *Festival Express*.

There are also discourses related to the national identities. *Saimaa-ilmiö* includes numerous articulations of Finnishness, which are discussed in Chapter 5 that follows. In *Woodstock* there are discussions about Americanism, and its change for the better through rock and the 1960s hippie ideology of love, peace and freedom. National symbols are also included. The national flags are seen in *The Last Waltz* and *Saimaa-ilmiö*. National anthems are performed in two films: In *Woodstock* Jimi Hendrix is playing his version of the anthem of the USA, Star Spangled Banner, with his electric guitar, whereas in *Saimaa-ilmiö* the crew is performing the Finnish national anthem *Maamme* (Our Land) on stage in Ilosaarirock festival.

In all four films the atmosphere is joyous and happy. *Saimaa-ilmiö* differs from the rest in respect to humour, which is represented by slightly coarse jokes and mocking about. Some of the musicians are mocking about much more than in the other films. The humour is more explicit and many of the song lyrics are also witty and humorous.

The Kaurismäki brothers have stated that the form of the *Saimaa-ilmiö* is closer to *The Last Waltz*, but in regard to the depiction of the zeitgeist it is closer to *Woodstock* (Juntunen 2008, 178). The structure of the film is more similar to the concert film of The Band's last concert. Moreover, also the documentary techniques of interviews are similar in both films. These differ from *Woodstock*, which is based on the observational, passive way of film making. It also includes interviewing, but the people are talking more freely from their own positions, not answering to given questions. In regard to the zeitgeist: if *Woodstock* was "3 days of peace and music", was *Saimaa-ilmiö* about "8 days of fun and music"?

⁴⁰ For the analysis of the use of flag in *Saimaa-ilmiö*, see Subsection 6.3.1.

4.5 Summary

The discourses in *Saimaa-ilmiö* are constructed by using the documentary mode, which includes a variety of documentary techniques. It is based on narration constructed by its authors, even though the reference to the reality based events remains strong. The text consists of a variety of activity types, depicting the on-stage concerts and off-stage events, such as the backstage situation, interviews of the musicians, and other actions on the tour. These are organised into a whole, which is the film-makers view of the tour. The film is structured loosely to accord with the Three-Act Paradigm and arc of drama.

The film does not imitate just one of the traditional documentary modes. Following the direct cinema tradition most of the concert and some of the off-stage footages are more observational-like, as the film crew does not interrupt the course of the events. On the other hand, the interviews and acoustic music performances seem staged, as the situations are isolated from the other activities on the boat, both visually and sound wise. In this sense the involvement of the directors speaks for the *verité* tradition. However, the mixture of the techniques used in the film and the totality of the film as a construction by its directors is better understood in terms of creative documentary, according to which the authors of the film take liberties in the construction of their work. Yet it must be understood that documentarism is, as any other genre, in constant move and the genres are defined by each and every film being produced. It escapes fixed definitions, yet allows retrospective and reflexive touch in the analysis of the materials.

The discourses consist of images and sounds, of which I focus on the latter. In the analysis of the sound techniques of *Saimaa-ilmiö* I introduced new terminology, in addition to the largely used concepts of diegetic and non-diegetic sounds. Acousto sound seems an essential part of rockumentaries. It consists mostly of acoustic music performances and talk in various forms. The scenes shot and recorded on the location are fundamental in the creation of credibility and authenticity of the film. Manipulated sound is also a significant sound category, as most of the material consists of concert performances. Studio recorded songs are also included in the film sound tracks, even though they constitute only a small part of the totality, yet create variation. The rockumentaries made in the 1960s and 1970s rarely included film score music, unlike the fiction films of that time. In the future this might change. New documentary modes are emerging, and the development of creative documentaries has allowed directors to take more liberties in film making. Thereafter the differences between fiction and non-fiction films will become even more blurred, and the use of underscores enters the documentary film realm (Corner 2002; Stahl 2006, 160).

The film is also analyzed in the genre context, as it is interdiscursively linked to other rockumentaries. In the analysis I have compared *Saimaa-ilmiö* in relation to *Woodstock*, *The Last Waltz* and *Festival Express*. With some differences

in the proportions, all these films focus on music performed live and other action taking place in the event in question. All the films are constructed on the basis of well demarcated occasions and are, in most parts, structurally constructed accordingly. There are even detailed intertextual connections, which have possibly influenced the making of *Saimaa-ilmio*. The atmospheres are joyous and happy, in *Saimaa-ilmio* often even humoristic. At the ideological level, all of these films are celebrating the rock music and its performers, highlighting the popularity of the music in its contexts. The authentication of musical genres through authentic documentaries is a powerful way of constructing the history of rock and the mythical role of the musicians making the music.

5 ROCK CULTURE AS A GENRE

Rock developed primarily within Anglo-American cultures, as discussed earlier in Section 2.1. By the end of the 1970s there were many established practices and ideologies that belonged to rock and pop culture, some being more genre specific than others. “Sex and drugs and rock’n’roll”, the title of the song by Ian Dury and the Blockheads, was adopted as a slogan representing rock culture, even though the song title and chorus were misinterpreted as referring to excess. Dury was trying to make a point about the way of living, which according to the societal norms, was regular and dull. However, the mythical status of the slogan flourished in the late 1960s and the 1970s rock and is still strong. The counter cultural elements of those decades involved, for example, the hippie ideology of peace and love, and drug use. At the turn of the 1980s punk rolled over with a strong attitude and ‘didn’t give a shit’ about the middle class values of the modern societies.

Historically, although rock had developed primarily within Anglo-American cultures⁴¹, it was widely ‘nationalised’ during the late 1970s and early 1980s. By that time many established practices and ideologies had emerged. Musically rock is not a coherent genre. It has numerous subgenres, such as alternative rock, garage rock, gothic rock, hard rock, heavy rock, jazz rock, pop rock, punk rock and soft rock, to mention only a few. What is common is a connection to the same music-historical tradition that culminated in and through rock’n’roll.

“Rock is the broad label for the huge range of styles that have evolved out of rock’n’roll. Rock is often considered to carry more weight than pop, with connotations of greater integrity, sincerity, and authenticity.” (Shuker 1998, 263.)

Rock has always been more than just music. The 1950s musical style was called rock’n’roll, the term *rock* was not established before the 1960s, when it was used to describe new musics that emerged in America and Britain in the mid 1960s.

⁴¹ The history of rock has been constructed around a specific Anglo-American canon, constructed and reinforced in numerous books, for example in Covach (2006).

“Rock can be defined along three dimensions. Sociologically, it is a commercially-produced popular music aimed at an exclusionary youth audience of a type characteristic of late-capitalist societies. Musically, it tends to be highly amplified, with a strong beat and rhythmic patterns commonly considered erotic, and to draw heavily on proto-folk (especially African-American) musical sources from Southern USA. Ideologically, it is associated with an aesthetic programme of ‘authenticity’, developing elements from discourses around folk-revival (‘community’, ‘roots’) and art music (‘originality’, ‘personal expression’, ‘integrity’).” (Middleton 2009.)

As Middleton states above, rock authenticity, which generally applies to most rock subgenres, is best defined by the ideological dimension and can be considered the strongest element in rock. Yet the three dimensions are not exclusive: the aesthetics and authenticity of rock includes also sociological and musical elements. This aesthetic programme of authenticity is grounded in rock journalism and critique and the value of music considered as good.

Authenticity is a term often applied to rock, having connotations with the ‘real’, ‘true’, and ‘genuine’ (Thornton 1996, 26). Pop, instead, is often seen as the opposite, an artifice representing commercial music (Coates 1997, 52). Authenticity is not a mere property of rock, but in the representations concerning popular music and its history it is mostly ascribed to it. Integrity and non-commercial nature are the most commonly asserted element of rock. However, it involves also other features, which are often taken for granted: the artist writes and performs self made material, and the success is gained by working hard, touring a lot and meeting the audiences. All this is necessary to be a good live artist. (Lilliestam 2003, 23.)

“In rock discourse, the term has frequently been used to define a *style* of writing or performing, particularly anything associated with the practices of the singer/songwriter, where attributes of intimacy (just Joni Mitchell and her zither) and immediacy (in the sense of unmediated forms of sound production) tend to connote authenticity.” (Moore 2002, 210-211.)

The process of authentication has been strongly connected with legitimating a genre and its contents. There are musical and non-musical features involved. Musically, authenticity is built on rock'n'roll, blues, folk traditions and performance practices. This is apparent especially in the 1970s rock tradition and the actual development of so-called “rock aesthetics”, which is largely reflected in the subsequent music traditions. There are also other significant elements involved, such as the origins of the musician (roots), clothing, performance, behaviour, etc. Up to a point it involves the idea of an auteur musician, who is the writer, singer, instrumentalist or producer of the music, even though this ideology is much stronger in the creation of art and folk (singer songwriter) music. (Frith 1981, 53.) In other rock subgenres important features are rebelliousness and questioning of social norms (Lilliestam 2003, 42). However, in the scrutiny of authenticity it is important to take the *process of authentication* into account: what is being authenticated, by whom and to whom?

As presented by Middleton’s sociological dimension above, in the beginning rock culture was considered to be music specifically of young people. The *youth culture* in US mainly referred to those socio-economic and cultural

factors which affect the life of adolescents in transition from childhood to adult life and to one's own family. In the 1950s the lifestyle in the western culture changed, and the time and place of work and leisure became separated. The youth started to enjoy the rising living standards of the growing middle class. People could afford to consume the products of the rapidly expanding field of entertainment industries. (Hodkinson 2007, 1-3.) The subjects and audiences in *Saimaa-ilmiö*, as in many other films of the same genre, are mainly young people. The contents can thus be discussed in terms of youth culture. The musicians are mostly young adults around their twenties, and the audience, as it is shown on the film, consists of people of the same age.

Youth cultures have been studied mainly as subcultures and counter cultures. *Subculture* is a term that was largely used and established within the Birmingham school of cultural studies in the 1970s and 1980s. It refers to a smaller group of people, in this case people liking the same type of music, but also often to those having other common denominators, such as class, gender, age, race, etc. (Hebdige 1979, 1-5.) Subcultures have been scrutinized from the perspectives of *double articulation*, *bricolage*, or *homology*. The notion of double articulation was based on an idea that the subculture is linked to both, the (working) class parent culture and the dominant culture (Clarke et al. 1982; Baldwin et al. 2004, 15 & 334). The French word *bricolage* refers to the way elements can be borrowed and adopted from other existing cultures and combined into a new identity and subculture (Hebdige 1979). Here the notion of homology can be elucidated by considering that

“an artefact or object has the ability to reflect, resonate and sum up crucial values, states, and attitudes for the social group involved with it. The artefact or object must consistently serve the group with the meanings, attitudes and certainties it wants, and it must support and return, and substantiate central life meanings. One can understand this partly as communication, but much more profoundly it should be understood as a process of cultural resonance, and concretization of identity”. (Willis 2007, 441.)

The interest lies in understanding why certain icons or signs are chosen to represent one's own subculture, and how they reflect social structures, group interests, and group members' attitudes and feelings (see Willis 1978). Youth subcultures are defined by stylistic features related to dress (demeanor), music, behaviour (ritual) and argot/discourses (Brake 1985, 11-12).

Rock can also be a *counter culture*. By this I refer to the position where a culture is in opposition with the dominant culture. Most often this relates to a group whose values and norms of behaviour run counter to the mainstream culture. One of the earliest accounts of the use of the concept was in Theodore Roszak's book *The Making of a Counter Culture: Reflections on the Technocratic Society and Its Youthful Opposition*, published in 1968. Often the youth reject the cultural standards of their elders, creating a generational gap. Within popular music, counter culture is often related to the 1960s and 1970s, and to the specific groups of beatniks, hippies and punks. These groups took a stance that was opposed to the apparent mainstream view in a variety of societal and political

issues, such as nuclear weapons, Vietnam War, and racial segregation. There is still a strong notion that popular music culture is “a site for resistance and anti-hegemonic practice” (Zuberi 2001, 12). So-called rock mythology does also include many counter cultural elements. It has become the main ideology in this mythical essence of the anti-normative rock image, which has been largely spread by journalists and media all over the world (Lilliestam 2003, 45).

In Finland popular music phenomena have been studied, according to the Anglo-American popular music tradition, as a youth culture, and the related concepts of sub- and counterculture can be applied here, too. (e.g. Söderholm 1987; Ehnroot 1988). Since the 1990s the critique of subcultures has been strong and increasing. In Finland the grounding idea of class culture as the basis of subculture fits poorly to Finnish society, which does not have strong hierarchical class distinctions inherited from the late industrialization and urbanization processes (Hoikkala 1989, 9). Classes exist and have existed, but have been gradually pushed aside by the homogenization process of Finnish culture, leaving less room for expressions addressing the differences between the classes. In the wider context, the nature of subculture has been seen as too static and not corresponding to the real nature of youth cultures. Furthermore, the positions and standing of different cultures have undergone changes, as the cultures have; it is not so clear what culture is ‘sub’ and what is dominant. The power and value relations take new shapes, and the cultures take new and varied positions which are not unified (for critique see Hesmondhalgh 2005 & 2007; Thornton 1995). Youth cultures are increasingly fragmented, ideology and authenticity of subcultures have changed. In addition, some new concepts have been introduced in an attempt to find adequate terms for some social activities. Within popular music these have included especially scenes (Shank 1994; Straw 1991) and tribes (Bennett 1999). On the other hand, it seems sure that the study of subcultures has not come to an end.

Saimaa-ilmiö is a *rock* film, as it is introduced in its title shot. My purpose is to examine what kind of rock it represents and how it is articulated in the film. This is related to the question of rock aesthetics. By aesthetics I refer to the values and appreciation that is given to certain features of elements within a style or a genre. Despite the fact that aesthetics has mostly been discussed within art and so-called high culture, I rely on a basic assumption of ethnomusicology, according to which each cultural form has its own set of aesthetic values, which are created within the genre (production and consumption) and by societal, institutional judgements. It is formed by many processes within the music culture, and it results in concrete ways in music production and consumption: in what is considered to be good or bad, what is in the centre or in the margin, what is high and what is low. Furthermore, the analysis is focused on the discourses related to rock, and to the identity positions and power relations produced in these discourses.

In the analysis I discuss the main practices of rock in the context of *Saimaa-ilmiö*: touring, concerts and live performances, including a variety of related aspects. Furthermore, the analysis covers rock culture’s stylistic features,

involving music, discourses and use of clothing and dress, behaviour and performance, and visual imagery. According to critical discourse analysis I will relate the youth culture represented in this film to Finnish culture and discuss the ways in which the values and power relations are articulated in and through these discourses.

5.1 Being on the road, touring in a boat

Tours and concert performances have been part of general musical practices for hundreds of years. Within popular music the practices were adopted from the early days and reinforced by jazz bands and other early 20th century popular music forms. In rock'n'roll and the subsequent genres it has been a major form of music making. In Finland, which is a vast and sparsely populated country, tours have been important marketing tools. The entertaining Finnish foxtrot orchestra Dallapé started extensive tours on the countryside in the 1930s, which became a model for other popular music bands to come (Jalkanen 2003, 287). The events on *Saimaa-ilmiö* are based on these important activities of popular music: *touring* and *concerts*. The whole concept of the film is based on a tour. Concerts were held along the journey.

The *Saimaa-ilmiö* film is based on the events that took place and were filmed during the *Tuuliajolla* tour. Touring is one of the institutionalised practices typical of popular music and specifically that of rock.

“A tour is a scheduled, consecutive series of concerts in different centres; tours can be of short duration, with a small number of concerts over a period of several weeks, or can be world affairs, lasting for up to two years.” (Shuker 1998, 305.)

There is also a hierarchy of tours. Unknown groups and acts mainly perform at local, small venues, such as pubs and student locales. National tours can also be somewhat localized, but for established bands these are usually more extensive ones. Global tours are executed by the most successful international acts and require a large scale organization and marketing. (Shuker 1998, 306; 2001, 109.)

Tuuliajolla is a small-scale tour if we use the above described range as the criteria. The tour lasted for a week and it was restricted to the regional area of the Saimaa Lake basin, due to the means of transportation. The concise schedule was also based on a financial factor: the boat rent was high. However, the bands were nationally well known and touring within the national scale was part of their normal performing routines.

The tour started with a concert in Lappeenranta, from where the crew travelled to Mikkeli to perform again. From Mikkeli the steamer headed towards Pistohiekka in Puumala and further on to Savonlinna, where the bands had no gigs. The rest of the tour was intensive regarding the concerts. In each town, Kuopio, Heinävesi, Punkaharju and finally Joensuu, they gave a concert.

The week was spent on the boat and performances took place almost nightly in various locations ashore. (Juntunen 2008, 248.)

Tour life can be straining. The concerts are the main events, but there is also a lot of spare time to be spent. According to the film, the main off-stage activity types on the boat were playing acoustic music, telling jokes and drinking. Some of the band members were not always keen to stay on the boat, as there were only few activities available onboard. In his interview (Scene 34) Ismo Alanko is being asked by Aki Kaurismäki whether he is tired, but he claims to be just bored. Some of the musicians had to leave in the middle of the cruise. In *Punkaharju*, where the second last concert of the film is held, the bass player of *Hassisen kone*, Jussi Kinnunen, has left and Pantse Syrjä from *Eppu Normaali* is covering for him. In the beginning of the performance Ismo Alanko leads in by saying:

"A-ha ha haa. Yes. We has this incident a couple of days ago that Jussi Kinnunen got ill and had to go home to get better, but we borrowed this Veijo from Uppo Normaali. Welcome, Veijo."⁴²

Ismo Alanko and Pantse, whose real first name is Veijo, shake hands, and the song begins. There are also other absences among the musicians. In the last performance of the National Anthem in Joensuu, Juice Leskinen states in the beginning of the song that the whole crew is gathered on the stage for the performance, "except Martti (Syrjä) who is in Tampere, and Nevalainen (Mikko) who is drunk".

Through touring and performances bands gain authenticity and credibility (Laing & Shepherd 2003, 567). Tours are also important for the development of bands, and it is an achievement to pull through the tour and perform the gigs successfully. Managing all this is a sign of professionalism. (Shank 1994, 170-171). The three bands touring on the boat have established themselves on the national scale. Juice Leskinen had been performing since the early 1970s and had established his career. *Hassisen kone* had just broken through as they won the Finnish Rock Band of the year contest in 1980 and released their first album in the same year, whereas *Eppu Normaali* had already recorded two LPs by the year 1981. In 1979 *New Wave* entered the Finnish charts, including *Eppu Normaali's Maximum Jee Jee*, and in 1980 among the most successful albums were *Akun tehdas* (*Aku's factory*) by *Eppu Normaali* and *Täältä tullaan Venäjä* (*Here we come, Russia*) by *Hassisen kone*. (Lassila 1990, 53.) Tours' financial aspect is also important. In case of *Tuuliajolla* tour the cruise was primarily aimed to be a vacation for the musicians, but the costs were so high that the concerts had to be organized in order to cover it. Thus it became a tour.

⁴² The original speech by Ismo Alanko: "A-ha ha haa. Joo. Meille sattui tässä sellanen juttu pari päivää sitten että, Kinnusen Jussi sairastu ja se joutu lähtemään kotia paranemaan, mutta me lainattiin tuo Veijo tuosta Uppo Normaalista. Tervetuloa Veijo". He has twisted the name of *Eppu Normaali* into "Uppo" Normaali. The closest translation for uppo is "sunken".

The steamer is an important element in the story of the film and has a central role in the narration. It acts as a symbol for the trip and the tour, a journey, which is one of the most common metaphors of life and a common schema of human thought (Lakoff & Johnson 1980). Travelling through life, moving from the beginning to an end is perhaps the best known allegory, which suits well to the Western linear conception of temporality. The cruise takes the spectators through this tour right from the beginning of the film, as the steamer appears in the first images of the lake and then repeatedly in the alteration of the concert Sequences and boat Sequences.

The journey of the tour can also be discussed in terms of liminal space. Anthropologist Victor Turner (1977, 94) has described liminality as part of rites of passages, which occurs in three phases: separation or detachment from earlier social structure and/or cultural condition, passing through liminal space of ambivalence and ambiguity and marginal, and return back to the expected behavioural patterns and social structures.⁴³ The passage represents a period of ambiguity, a marginal and transitional state. It is described as a journey in and out of certain social status and ways of behaviour. Liminality takes place in between the normative life, breaking social barriers. (Turner 1977, 94-96.) The liminal space is often associated with vacations and travelling, during which these social norms are often broken, even though they are replaced by different norms (Lash & Urry 1994, 235; Selänniemi 1996). The liminality represented in the *Saimaa-ilmiö* film is clearly connected with travelling. In *Saimaa-ilmiö* the boat represents a place into which the members of the crew physically enter. By stepping into the boat they go through separation and detachment from the normative culture and enter another realm, in which the behaviour is liberated from the normative society's rules. According to the film, the main activities on boat were playing acoustic music, drinking, telling jokes and having a good time.

Alcohol consumption is part of the activities on the boat.⁴⁴ Musicianship has been strongly linked to intoxicants since the early 1900s. In between the 1930s and the 1950s many of the jazz musicians were heroine users. The 1960s and 1970s rock musicians used a variety of drugs, but as the knowledge and edification on the dangers of drugs reached the wider public, alcohol became the safer choice. (Aho 2003, 78.) Bohemianism, according to the concept of bohemian based by Henri Murger's novel *Scènes la vie de bohème* (1848), has been used to describe artists life, which often was contradictory with the societal norms. The life of musicians, as well as other artists, has been considered to be bohemian.

"Even at the most small-time level, music-making means working in the world of all those people who don't have to get up in the morning for a nine-to-five business. Bohemianism is musicians' natural ideology: the values of leisure - hedonism and style - are elevated above the conventions and routines of "normal" society; and rock performers subscribe plainly to the traditional romantic opposition of creativity and

⁴³ Turner has developed the concept on the basis of Arnold van Gennep's (1909 [1908]) theory on rites of passage.

⁴⁴ Alcohol use in relation to Finnishness is discussed in Subsection 6.2.2.

production – on one hand, the artistic world of heroic, sensual introspection; on the other hand, the everyday world of work, discipline, materialism, reason. (Frith 1981, 77.)

Representations of heroic bohemians entered the realm of popular culture in the 1960s (Kallioniemi 1995, 33). Especially journalists and media have been active in presenting the 'wild sides' of the rock life, as mythically expressed in the slogan "sex and drugs and rock'n'roll" (Lilliestam 2003, 29). In Finland, musicians, not only those of rock, have been mainly associated with alcohol use.

The idea of drinking and partying was connected with the cruise beforehand. Rock journalist Juho Juntunen, who also drew cartoons, made the official cruise poster. It was printed and paid for by his employer, Soundi Magazine. The poster is black and white and quite plain and distinct (Image 5). The name and date of the cruise are at the top of the image, but the most dominant feature is the boat in the middle of the poster. It is a humorous image of a steamer with a smiling face and outstretched hands showing a peace sign with the fingers. It is sailing on water; Finnish flag is at the bow and an anchor is hanging on the side. However, the boat is loaded with drunken and vomiting rock musicians with instruments and an amplifier.

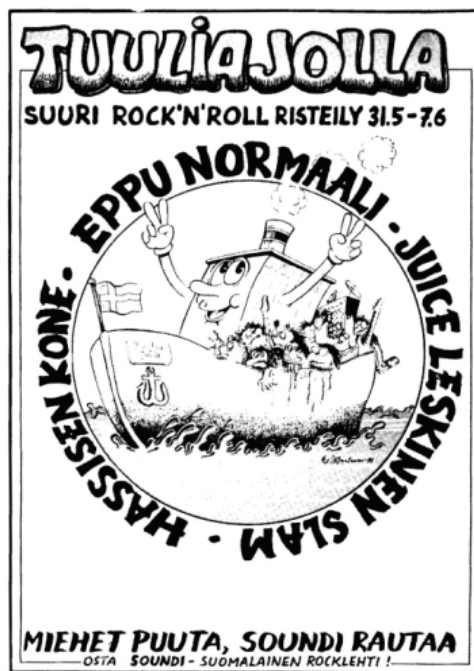


IMAGE 5 The original tour poster drawn by Juho Juntunen (Juntunen 1981).

Having a good time, including drinking, was expected and highlighted in the poster, which was distributed to the concert locations. Because the picture is a caricature, it is thus a stylistic effect to exaggerate the scenario or the idea. The

image does embody three main activities of the tour: travelling on the boat, drinking, and playing music.

Alcohol drinking is one of the main activities in the cruise. Bottles of alcohol are depicted in several boat Sequences. The bottles are either shown empty, lying on the deck, as a hint of a party that has been held on the boat, or as opened and consumed in the cabin, while playing music or when having a discussion (Image 6). In some of the scenes the musicians are clearly intoxicated. Drinking is specifically related to the time spent on the boat. Even though alcohol is part of the film narration and the musicians are depicted under its influence, all alcohol related behaviour is not shown on the film. According to Juntunen (2008, 153) the heaviest drinking has been left out of the film. Even the crew had its limitations: one misbehaving person, 'the lawyer', was thrown out of the bus (transporting the crew to the location of the gig) during the cruise, because the rest of the crew members had reached the limit of their tolerance in respect to his bad drunken behaviour.⁴⁵



IMAGE 6 A Framed image of the table, "Syöksylaskijoita kaikki tyynni".

Marko Aho (2003, 79-80) has suggested three possible reasons for the drinking of the musicians: 1) they have an endogenous compulsion to drink; 2) it is part of the image, an iconic part of the musicianship; and 3) the musicians do not consume drugs, it is an illusion and deviation of the norm, an image created for the audience and especially the media, which feeds from such immoral behaviour. Any of these points could be argued for. Even so, it is unlikely that the musicians would have any stronger endogenous compulsion to drink than other people. The second and third points seem feasible. The image and the ideology of mythical rock life might partly explain their behaviour. Even the musicians themselves might possibly try to live up to these exceptions created by the historical representations of rock, either consciously or unconsciously. Moreover, the smudgy images have been exaggerated by the media in order to gain the wanted effect and response, in the interest of the increasing public's attention and sales.

⁴⁵ Drinking was strongly emphasized in some bands' behaviour and image. For the analysis of *Sleepy Sleepers* and *Eläkeläiset* in relation to drinking see Gronow (2003).

Having a good time was one of the main goals of the cruise. Carnivalism is a concept, which has been widely used, based on Bakhtin's ideas of carnival life in the Middle Ages.

"It could be said (with certain reservations, of course) that a person of the Middle Ages lived, as it were, *two lives*: one that was the *official* life, monolithically serious and gloomy, subjugated to a strict hierarchical order, full of terror, dogmatism, reverence and piety; the other was the *life of the carnival square*, free and unrestricted, full of ambivalent laughter, blasphemy, the profanation of everything sacred, full of debasing and obscenities, familiar contact with everyone and everything. Both these lives were legitimate, but separated by strict temporal boundaries". (Bakhtin 1984, 129-130.)

The idea of carnivalism is similar to the idea of liminal space. The life in a certain limited area enabled freer behaviour compared to the normal life. The revelry was restricted to the market square, in which the participants entered another realm, life under different set of social rules. In the representations of *Saimaa-ilmiö* the rock life could be related to similar experiences. The musicians might have behaved according to accepted norms in their private life, but in the rock circles the carnevalesque elements are related to certain social actors in certain situations. The boat and the tour were places of carnival behaviour, creating a space of liminality.

Humour and resistance against social normativity and authorities seemed to be one of the most important elements in the film.⁴⁶ According to cultural psychology's release theory, humour can help an individual to achieve a degree of freedom from the sociocultural restrictions and norms (Raskin 1985, 38). Humour is part of the film in many ways. There are three joke telling occasions on the boat: at the deck outside and in the dining cabinet as they are having a meal. The stories are told by Team Squirrel, which is named also in the film. The main figure in this group is a hang-around member Alpo "Appo" Hurula, whose laughter is heard in several occasions in the film. It is even mimed by the musicians. At least Juice Leskinen and Pantse Syrjä participate in cracking jokes. All the voices could not be identified.

Some of the witty stories concern a leper, whose falling body parts form the main subject for the jokes. In the Scenes 8 and 30 some men and women are sitting in a half circle at the deck, smoking cigarettes and drinking. Men are telling jokes, many of which are about a leper, but some other jokes refer to people at present or smoking and to Lake Saimaa. *Saimaa* and *Työmies* used to be Finnish cigarette brands and evoked jokes such as: "What did a working man (*työmies*) say to another? Let's light up "*Saimaa*". Jokes are being told again in Scene 16 as the crew is dining. In this occasion the jokes are related to the leper and food, most likely being evoked by the situation involving eating. The content of some jokes is suggestive and sexist, which would have not been acceptable material to be presented in the main media at the time.

Humorous behaviour takes place also in other locations. In Scene 31 the team, now being represented by Appo and Ila Loueranta are awarding prizes in

⁴⁶ For more about the attitude against authors, see Subsection 5.4.1.

a restaurant in Kuopio. “Cones of the month” are given to Pantse Syrjä and “The Skull of the Month” to Juice Leskinen, the top of whose head was bald. In this occasion no jokes are told, but the presentation features Appo’s famous laugh. In Scene 17 Martti Syrjä’s humorous performance at the opera stage in Olavinlinna castle in Savonlinna did cross the boundaries of social norms. He took over the place and its stage, normally a venue for very conventional presentations of classical music. Moreover, a subsequent presentation of “Reggae OK” in the same castle has a humorous, jesting tone.

In another instance Ismo Alanko is telling an absurd story while being interviewed by Aki Kaurismäki. The interview is split into two scenes, 34 and 40, the latter of which is the humorous one (Table 8).

<i>Speaker</i>	<i>Interview</i>
<i>Ismo:</i>	...oh you mean what I didn’t say yesterday.
<i>Aki:</i>	Yes.
<i>Ismo:</i>	It is such poem that, or no it is not a poem it is a fairy tale. It is like that... its name is Pentti Korhonen and Maria Pöllö in the land of the bobble headed men. The characters are Pentti Korhonen, 35, insurance inspector and Maria Pöllö, 47, a mother. It goes like this: “I am a wild boar”, says Pentti. And “I am an owl”, says Maria. And together they went to the dining room.

TABLE 8 Ismo Alanko’s fictional story.

The story is made up by Alanko and it does not make much sense. The fairy tale, as Alanko calls it, is about a middle class, middle-aged couple, who live in a fictive land. The bobble-headed does not most likely refer to anything “real”. The story seems to function as a way to create a (fictive) rupture or disorder in the normative way of living.

The tour included also other events in which the conduct of the crew was in conflict with the normative social behaviour but which were excluded from the film. According to the book by Juho Juntunen (1981, 48-51) one of these events occurred at the early stage of the cruise, as the boat travelled from Lappeenranta to Mikkeli. As they arrived in Mikkeli there was an official delegation (organised by the city of Mikkeli) meeting the crew members, who were unaware of this coming hospitable gesture. Women in national dresses were waiting and became stunned and surprised as a scrum of drunken and badly behaving men stumbled out of the boat, most of them heading straight to the nearest bar or Alko, the national monopolised liqueur store. Epe Helenius, the recording company manager tried to keep at least some control and maintain decent behaviour. In this situation the return to the normative behaviour was impracticable for most of the crew.

All in all it seems that the boat functions as another alternative space for the crew. Perhaps in another tour the boat could have been replaced by a bus, or by some other means of transportation? Even though the liminality is not complete in Turner’s ritual sense, it resembles the transition used to describe the space in relation to travelling experiences. The carnevalistic elements and

humour play an important role in these events. Links between alcohol and humour have long traits also in Finnish culture. Drunkenness and humour are in contrast with the normative life, creating 'another reality', which is often collective and liberating (Knuutila 1984, 9-10).

5.2 Authenticity and live performance

Concerts are usually organized at specific venues and marketed and advertised in advance, the ticket sales being an important source of income. In *Tuuliajolla* tour concerts were needed in order to finance the cruise. While smaller scale concerts often have just one act, the bigger ones include warm-up act(s) and the main act. Tours of this kind have not been very common, but have taken place since the 1960s - the 'package tours' of several bands were important for British Beat (Shuker 1998, 308). In the 1970s' more professional tours, bands began to have road crews and to build shows, which resembled theatrical performances (Pattie 2007, 81). The magnitude was, of course, dependent on the scale of the tour, as well as the genre - the shows of the progressive and glam rock bands included more theatrical elements and bigger stages than those of the bands playing "traditional" rock or punk, for example.

Studio recordings have become the primary materials for rock, and the live performance is most often simulating the recorded versions (Gracyk 1996, 74-77). Even so, the authenticity of rock is very much built through live music (Auslander 1999, 65; Pattie 2007, 21-22). In fact, the value of 'liveliness' in music became more important, as the recording became the primary musical format. This resulted in a growing demand for live performances. Live performance involves two kinds of authenticity: artistic one (as the producer of a unique origin of the sound) and subcultural authenticity (performer representing the community). (Thornton 1996, 26-30.) While in some genres the records deviated more and more from the live performance and included sounds and arrangements that could not be reproduced in a live situation, in rock the replicability has remained an important feature. Live performance is important also from the perspective of the sales and becoming known, and thereafter it is most often seen as a form of promotion (Frith 2002, 136).

Live performance is a social and cultural practice. It includes the costumes, stage movements, speech, stage design, lighting, amplification, props, and of course, music (Buckley & Laing 2003b, 663). It is about communication, interpretation of meanings: rhetoric of gestures, bodily movements and signs (Frith 2002, 205-206). 'Understanding' a performance is dependent on the audience's knowledge and experience of the culture and genre in question. According to Simon Frith (2002, 207), there are two significant aspects of performance: the dual nature of playing live, involving improvisation and note-following, and "framing" the behavioural genre rules applied to both performers and audiences. In concerts, the audience must be able to ascertain

that the band looks authentic (compared to photographs) and sounds 'authentic' (compared to recordings) (Auslander 1999, 78). The mediatized forms of liveliness, such as concert films, have become more important than the live performances themselves (Auslander 1999, 12).

5.2.1 Stage act in the live performances of *Saimaa-ilmio*

Live performances are the main content in *Saimaa-ilmio*. Except for some deviations, the performances in the concert Sequences are very similar throughout the film. The basic style is presented in the first concert scene of the film (Table 18). The first band to perform is Juice Leskinen & Slam who play "Rock'n'roll'n'blues'n'jazz". It is followed by Hassisen kone and "Oikeus on voittanut taas" (Justice has won again) and finally Eppu Normaali: "Myrkkyä" (Poison). All these songs are fast in tempo, setting the rock film in motion.

The title of the first song, performed by Slam, is textually quite a typical rock'n'roll song, as the lyrics do not tell a concise story; more than anything they include humorous phrases and word play, thus expressing the attitude of the musicians. Musically the song is based on a blues pattern, which is extended from 12 to 16 measures, with an added 6-bar chorus, which consists of a 2-bar interlude and a repeated last 4-bar repeated chorus. "Oikeus on voittanut taas" by Hassisen kone is a verse/chorus rock song, which includes a guitar solo based on the verse chord progression. The lyrics are passive-critical: they tell a story of a man who steals and faces imprisonment, hence falling into the wheels of the system, and 'justice is served'. "Myrkkyä", the last song of the Sequence, is a humorous and sarcastically educational song performed by Eppu Normaali. The verses of the lyrics are based on a list of various kinds of deadly substances, poison that people should not consume: cigarettes, alcohol, drugs, fat. The song is musically a straightforward verse/chorus rock'n'roll song.

The band members have almost standard positions on stage according to their instruments. They do not move a lot, even though some movement can be seen. The body movements, such as shaking the head or moving back and forth, follow the rhythm of the music. The singers use their hands and make gestures at times, while the other musicians concentrate on playing (Image 7). The singers' movements are restricted by the microphones, which are on their stands. The drummers are also unable to move, as they have to sit behind the drum kit, just as the keyboardist of the Slam is sitting behind his instrument. However, their playing is very physical and requires a lot of energy. The guitarists and bass guitarists have more space for moving back and forth. Their hands are tied to the instruments, but other bodily movements, such as moving their pelvis back and forth or swaying from side to side, and facial expressions are often seen on the screen.



IMAGE 7 The first live performances in Lappeenranta. At the top: Juice Leskinen & Slam; in the middle: Hassisen kone; and below: Eppu Normaali.

There is also variation in the stage performances of the bands. The musicians of Juice Leskinen & Slam are mostly rather still compared to the others. In the performances by Hassisen kone there is more movement involved, especially Ismo Alanko is swaying and jumping. However, the stage acts of both of the bands are energetic. There is more physical movement in Eppu Normaali's presentation and their performances are often driven with energy and movement. They are seen with sweaty faces and T-shirts during and after the performances. The singer, Martti Syrjä, the guitarist, Juha Torvinen, and guitarist Pantse Syrjä are often jumping on stage, both in the middle of the song and in the end of it (Image 8).

One particular example of a jump by Martti Syrjä and Juha Torvinen has already been discussed in Section 4.4. This slow motion shot of Juha Torvinen and Martti Syrjä jumping at the concert in Punkaharju was compared to the performance of Pete Townsend depicted in the *Woodstock* documentary. The wild and jumpy movements of rock, one special feature of rock, date back to the era of rock'n'roll which included some wild performances of musicians such as Little Richard.

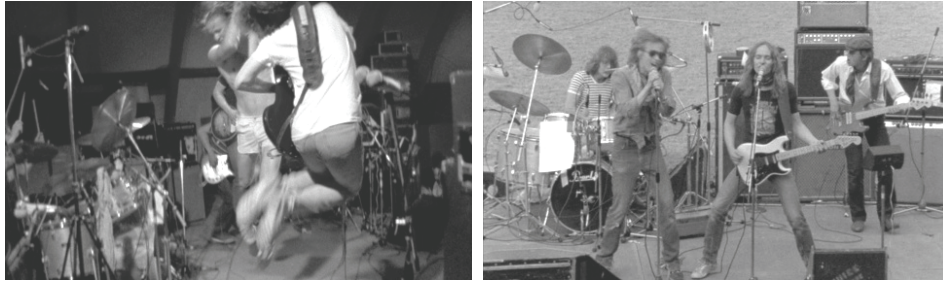


IMAGE 8 Martti Syrjä and Juha Torvinen jumping at the stage (left) and Eppu Normaali on stage in Mikkeli (right).

Many of the other musicians tap their foot, which generates a whole body movement in the rhythm of the music. In the Mikkeli concert (depicted on the right half of Image 8) the bass guitar player, Mikko Nevalainen, and Martti Syrjä are tapping one foot while performing. Pantse Syrjä is often seen in an 'A-shape' posture, while playing the guitar. This is a style often associated with the tough and rough styles of rock, such as hard rock, heavy, new wave and punk. His legs are spread into a shape of letter "A", and the guitar is placed over his crutch.

In many occasions Juice Leskinen, Ismo Alanko and Martti Syrjä are nodding their heads up and down and moving their body with the music. Alanko and Syrjä are also jumping up and down. This so-called pogo dance, in which the performers jump up and down while staying more or less in the same spot, is adopted from punk rock, in which it was a more common movement amongst the audience. (Lamb & Thomas 2009.) There are some people seen as doing pogo movement amidst the crowd in Punkaharju and in Ilosaarirock. Other movements include some gestures from rock'n'roll, which was, in fact, dance music. One example of such movement is swinging the other leg (below the knee) while moving back or forth. The singers are at times mimicking instrument playing, as in playing air guitar.

Dancing is one of the most common practices in popular music. Nonetheless, the form in which it is most generally understood does not appear to be any pertinent part of the rock performance. In the 1970s disco music gained popularity and disco dance was the prevailing popular dance form. This type of dancing was not pertinent to rock; it did not belong to its aesthetics. Rock genre differed from disco by excluding these movements from their performance and audiences. (Straw 2001, 170.)

"Conventions of dance performance are genre-based; they follow a combination of stylized and naturalized movements, of learned and spontaneous responses. [...] Dance is an ideological way of listening: it draws our attention [...] to arguments about its own meaning." (Frith 2002, 223.)

In the history of rock there have been other bodily movements typical to rock culture, such as moshing or slamming, jumping up and down, foot tapping,

hand clapping etc., some of which were seen also in the performances of *Saimaa-ilmio*.

In all performances, musicians interact with each other by visual contact and by making gestures. In some performances, they have also physical contact with other musicians. In the Kuopio concert, Juice Leskinen and Slam are performing a song called "Pilvee".⁴⁷ The performance is, from the beginning, sexually loaded. The song starts with Juice Leskinen sighing the title: "Pilvee..." (dope) to the microphone and making other groans and moans, which resemble sounds of love making as he is petting the microphone. In the beginning of the song there is a reference to Muddy Water's song "Hoochie coochie man" (written by Willie Dixon in 1954), which in itself is a sexual reference. The expression "hoochie coochie" comes from the southern states of America and refers to a sexually provocative dance performed by women, but in a more general sense it refers to a sexually provocative game or foreplay.

The lyrics of the original song include strong sexual references of a man, who was "born with good luck and got mojo". The sexuality is presented also further down the performance. Leskinen goes behind the bass player Loueranta during the guitar solo (Image 9). He grabs the guitarist's hips, fondles them and they both sway from side to side in the rhythm of the bluesy music.



IMAGE 9 Juice Leskinen & Ila Loueranta dancing in "Pilvee".

As Frith (2002, 218) has stated, sexuality is always inscribed in a performance. In this case it is brought into the lyrics, highlighted with the use of the singer's voice and performative body movement. Leskinen is using symbolic body movements, "which have specific (often verbal) meanings that can only be understood by people who know the interpretive rules, the code" (Frith 2002, 217, based on Paul Eckman).

In the acoustic performances there is much less movement. These are performed for the camera, that is, without a live audience. In those performances shot on the boat the musicians are sitting, which restricts their movements. In his performance of opera in the Olavinlinna castle, Martti Syrjä

⁴⁷ The song is musically analysed in Subsection 5.3.1.

is on stage, descending the ladders and making 'opera like' gestures with his body and hands. He is mimicking big movements which caricaturize an opera performance.

The film includes a speciality in regard to the live music: joint performances (Image 10). The line-ups of the bands are sometimes mixed on stage and there are additional musicians playing with the bands. In addition, in several occasions the stage is more or less crowded with most of the musicians. There are extra instrumentalists, but most often the additional musicians are singing together. From most of the concerts, except for the first one in Lappeenranta (introduction) and the last one in Punkaharju, there is at least one joint performance depicted on the film.



IMAGE 10 Joint performances: "Kuopio tanssii ja soi" (Mikkeli), "Pilvee" (Kuopio), "Lainelautaileva lehmänmaha rock'n'roll" (Punkaharju) and "Maamme" (Joensuu).

In these performances the musicians are emphasizing the shared tour and utilizing the possibility of performing song together. Mostly they had toured alone before; normal gigs usually have a local or rather unknown band as a warm-up act. The case of the three popular bands performing together in several successive nights is thus rare. Some of these performances include dancing, as in Mikkeli (Image 10, upper left), where the song "Kuopio tanssii ja soi", an energetic, standard rock song based on the alteration of the I, IV and V chords, was performed. In the two following venues (Kuopio and Punkaharju) the performances mainly consisted of standing and singing together. However, in Kuopio the musicians made a choreography at the end of the song. They squatted down on the floor and jumped up as they shouted the last word of the song together. In the end of the song some musicians go on rampage: Martti

Syrjä, Ismo Alanko, Juha Torvinen and Harri Kinnunen made several jumps on stage.

These joint performances represent the shared aspect of the rock culture. The musicians belong to the same community and foreground their fellowship. Male bonding is typical of rock culture.

"Rock intimacy means friendship rather than sexuality and women are excluded from friendship - even their place in the rock audience is played down. The Great Live Rock Experience is presented as an exclusively male affair, female fans reduced to teeny-boppers, potential groupies." (Frith 1981, 85-86.)

Music offers a sense of inclusion, a rock community, which is significant to the musicians. It can be understood on an ideological level, as an understanding of the musicians' lifestyle, rather than as a personal relationship, even though in the case of *Saimaa-ilmiö* it embodies both sides of the communal idea.

The importance of the musicians playing live music is significant from the perspective of authenticity. As Auslander (1999, 72) points out:

"Rock authenticity is performative, in Judith Butler's sense of that term: rock musicians achieve and maintain their effect on authenticity by continuously citing in their music and performance styles the norms of authenticity for their particular rock subgenre and historical moment, and these norms change along with changes in the prevailing discourse of authenticity."

The live music performances of *Saimaa-ilmiö* are rather loyal to the tradition of rock. The performances seem often spontaneous and improvised, but even so they seemingly always follow the genre rules (Laing 2003, 663).

5.2.2 Venues, organization, audiences, stage design and costumes

In addition to the stage act, the live performances consist of the venues, at which the concerts are held at, of the organisations of the concerts, the audiences, the stage design and the costumes of the musicians. In general a venue is "any place where popular music is performed" (Buckley et al. 2003, 420). The interrelationship with the audience and the venue(s), in which the music is performed are also relevant in the analysis of live performances (Stokes 1994; Shuker 1994). The venues, in which the concerts are performed, form the main frame for the music making activity and connote the meaning of to live music. The performances in *Saimaa-ilmiö* take place in six locations (Table 9). The concerts were performed in different locations. An important aspect in the selection of the venues had been their location along the route of the cruise. The events had been organized by local actors, organized in Elävän musiikin yhdistys (live music associations). The venues had to be big enough to be able to accommodate large audiences.

<i>Town</i>	<i>Venue</i>	<i>Local organizer</i>
Lappeenranta	Summer theatre	Local live music association
Mikkeli	Sports field	Local live music association
Kuopio	Työnkulma social club	Local live music association
Heinävesi	Kermankosken lava, dance pavilion	Sports club
Punkaharju	Huviniemi, dance pavilion	Local live music association
Joensuu	Ilosaarirock festival	Local live music association

TABLE 9 The towns, venues and organizers of the concerts depicted in *Saimaa-ilmio*.

The venues in Lappeenranta and Ilosaarirock festival were outdoors. Roofed stages were built in order to ensure the success of the concerts regardless of weather conditions. The Mikkeli, concert stage was built on a sports field, and it was not covered. In Kuopio, the concert took place in a worker's social club, which provided 'proper' indoor facilities. *Työnkulma* is in the centre of Kuopio and a regular location for musical events. The dance pavilions in Heinävesi and Punkaharju represent the Finnish *iskelmä* and dance culture. They are located in remote districts, near a lake, and provided idyllic summer locations for the film. However, the dance pavilions were technically not ideal performance venues for the rock bands and the recording equipment. Their power feed was not steady and there were problems with the equipment (Konttinen 2004, 121-123). All concerts, except for Ilosaarirock, were independent single events. There were other bands performing as warm-up acts, organised by the locals, but they are totally excluded from the film. The Ilosaarirock festival is the only bigger event, organised as a festival. It included performances of several bands. It also had the biggest crowd of up to 3000 people (Juntunen 2008, 191).

The venues and the physical setting of a place have an effect on the performance. Venues can be divided into two types. Firstly, there are the formal kinds of venues, which are dedicated to music making and where people arrive with the expectation of hearing music. These kinds of venues are characterised with a high degree of rituals and territorialized power. Secondly, there are informal and transitory venues, such as libraries or parks or other public places, which are not meant primarily for performing music (Buckley et al. 2003, 420). The concert venues in *Saimaa-ilmio* are mostly formal ones, dedicated to music or other performances. Except for the sports field, which functioned as a venue in one occasion, they represent the variety of popular music concert venues in Finland well.

The venues were not very big, stadium concerts did not belong to the practices of Finnish bands at the time. Most of the venues were small and audiences were usually counted in hundreds rather than in thousands. Buckley et al. (2003, 424) have stated that "a hard-core rock group with a young, energetic audience would tend to pick an unseated venue in which dancing, stage-diving and moshing [...] and a more physical star-fan relationship can be

accommodated.” Finnish rock was not quite as physical that, but most of the venues were unseated, which allowed a close proximity of the audience, including a good interaction between the musicians and the people. In Lappeenranta and Mikkeli there were seated stands. The people did not approach the bands, even though there would have been a possibility to approach the stage.

The bands toured and played mostly in a variety of music clubs and dance pavilions, which were managed by local organizers, sports clubs or live music associations. The importance of the local activity was, at the time, quite crucial and was in part making the scene so active. The tours took place all around Finland, and most of the gigs were at the periphery, that is, in small towns and locations in countryside. The music making activity had also spread widely and there were numerous concerts and festivals organised in various locations.

As the Finnish rock scene grew in the 1970s there was also a growing need for performance venues. The rock musicians did not yet have many spaces of their own. Therefore they invaded the spaces that had previously been occupied with other music cultures, other musicians and audiences. Dance pavilions offered a wide network of music venues all around Finland. Rock was placed in opposition with *iskelmä*, although both were played in same venues, even during the same night. In the *Tuuliajolla* tour the warm-up acts varied from *iskelmä* (Päivi Kautto-Niemi) and singer song-writer music (Harri Marstio) to pop (Riki Sorsa) and local rock (DC-3, Ydinjäte, etc.) (Juntunen 2008, 248). As stated, these bands never made it to the documentary, as the film concentrated on the three Finnish rock bands. Spaces are contested and there is always the attempt to territorialise certain social space, which again, is linking the space into questions of power and control (Massey 1998, 125-6). This is “deeply bound up with the social production of identities” (Massey 1998, 127).

The occasion of *performing live* is most significant from the perspective of the interaction of the audience and the musicians (Frith 2002, 80; Inglis 2006). This applies in the present case, too, as each concert was attended by a live audience.

“There is excitement and tension at a live performance before and audience, felt both by the performer and, to a lesser extent, by the audience. [...] There may be an element of trade-off between a performer’s technique and his ability to win over and enthrall an audience, but a performer is generally judged to be successful or not, good or bad, by the reaction of an audience.” (Struthers 1987, 252.)

Even though the importance of live performance to the audience is recognised, in *Saimaa-ilmiö* the representations of the depictions of the spectators are sparse.



IMAGE 11 Depictions of audience in *Saimaa-ilmiö*. Above: Mikkeli, middle-left: Heinävesi, middle-right: Kuopio, below, Joensuu.

Most of the shots of the audience during the concerts were captured with the stage camera. In few shots, as in the one from Joensuu (Image 11, bottom right), the crowd is seen from behind, and the middle camera is shooting from a longer distance. The only close-up is from Mikkeli concert Sequence, which starts with the scene on roadies preparing the stage and sound check, including these and other images of the audience sitting at the spectators' stands at the sports field. There is a lot of crowd present in these pictures. This affirms the image of the bands, of being popular and successful. However, the audience seems rather passive. Most of the people are just sitting or standing and listening to the music. The audience is heard clapping and whistling after some of the performances.

The stage design in these concerts is plain. There are no extra props on stage. The design consists of the instruments and amplifiers. There is no indication of designed lighting, although one would have thought that the making of the film would require sufficient lightning for the cameras. No technological devices, other than those required for music making, are in evidence during the performances. The performances include also talking. The "speaks" of the singers present in the concerts are mostly very short

introductions of the songs, or other commentary on the music of the event. The film includes very little of such commentary, some of the song transitions are direct cuts to the music, leaving the speech out.

The costumes, i.e. the way the musicians are dressed, is part of the stage performance. According to *Saimaa-ilmiö* the musicians wore the same clothes on-stage and off-stage. They did not dress-up for the performance. The main style of their costume consists of jeans and a t-shirt or a shirt (Image 12). Some of the musicians wore music related shirts: MSL sound sweatshirt, *Tuuliajolla* tour t-shirts, and shirts of other bands, which were worn by Pantse Syrjä. As it is seen above (Image 12, right) he wore shirts by *The Who* and *Creedence Clearwater Revival*, also known as CCR. Furthermore, in the picture in which he is wearing The Who shirt (Image 12, upper-right), Syrjä is wearing a hair band, which was worn by many famous rock musicians in the 1960s and 1970s, such as Jimi Hendrix in the Woodstock festival.

The more informal T-shirts and sweatshirts are sometimes accompanied by dress shirts, which were worn with or without a suit jacket (Image 12, top left and bottom left).



IMAGE 12 Exemplary images of the dressing of the musicians in *Saimaa-ilmiö*.

The style is still very casual, the upper buttons of the shirt are open, and the overall presence of the musicians is not well groomed. Musicians had badges in

their jackets (Image 12, bottom left) to signal the alternative way to the masculine and official ways of using the suit jacket. Adopting clothes and dress style from its established or official use to popular culture is common. Within subcultural theory re-ordering the clothing and assigning new meanings to it is part of the bricolage, creating the style from a variety of elements, thus creating a new homology (for an example of teds and skinheads, see Middleton 1990, 157-158). Juice Leskinen is using the famous even-striped design shirt by Marimekko. The shirt had become well known as it has been worn by many public figures, such as artists and architects.

In some concerts Martti Syrjä is not wearing any shirt at all. His only garment is the white shorts (Image 12, middle left) and his hairdo is childish and feminine - he has small ponytails on both sides of his head. Part of the dressing is toying with conventional ideas and codes, and the musicians are utilizing this play in *Saimaa-ilmiö*.

5.3 Music

The main activity type in *Saimaa-ilmiö* is concert performances. The bands performing in the film have been discursively labeled as representatives of Finnish rock and later that of the early Finnish rock. As described earlier in this chapter, live music plays an important role in the authentication process of rock. Keightley (2001, 131) has stated that authenticity is not *in* the music, it is of it, in values. However, I find it hard to exclude music itself from the account of authenticity. Music is significant to the authentication of the genre, to its performance (value) and its contexts. This 'interdiscursivity' of musical styles and genres is important in the production of meanings. Music making and song writing are part of the authentication process. Most of the material performed by these bands is written by the band members. Each band has one or more song writers. Juice Leskinen writes both lyrics and music for most of Slam's songs. In case of Hassisen kone, most of the material is written by Ismo Alanko. In Eppu Normaali there are three musical authors: Mikko aka Pantse Syrjä, Martti Syrjä and Mikko Saarela, who was the band's bass player for the first three years before Mikko Nevalainen.

In relation to music there is variation in the songs performed by the bands. The songs played by Eppu Normaali could be described as quite straightforward, fast tempo rock'n'roll based rock songs. In their early years (1979-1980) the band was often referred to as a punk band. The band includes five members: a drummer, a bass player, two guitarists and a lead singer. Many of the songs performed by Hassisen kone are also fast tempo rock songs, but there are also influences from the late 1970s new wave, even progressive rock. The songs include more complex chord and rhythm patterns. Moreover, one of the songs is a slow ballad. The band includes four members, drums, bass, guitar, and a lead singer (also playing guitar in some songs). Songs played by Juice

Leskinen and Slam differ from the others. There are two blues based songs, more pop influence in two songs, of which other one is a ballad. They also include rhythmic variation, and rather complex chord progressions. Slam includes a drummer, a guitarist, a bass player, a keyboardist, and a lead singer (also playing guitar in some songs). It is the only band which includes a keyboardist.

In this chapter my aim is to shed light on the contents of this genre by analyzing representative songs of the music performed in the film. What kind of music is Finnish rock? And how is it articulated in relation to the other musical performances in *Saimaa-ilmiö*? I will also compare the live versions to the original recorded versions of these songs, in order to analyze the variation of musical styles played in the film.

5.3.1 Anglo-American blues tradition in "Pilvee"

"Pilvee" is a song written by Juice Leskinen, and it was recorded on LP *Tauko 1* (Pause 1) in 1978. The song is performed by Slam and two musicians from Eppu Normaali, Juha Torvinen and Pantse Syrjä, who are also playing guitars in this scene. The song lyrics tell a story of a band driving in a vehicle that is stopped by policemen, who request for more dope – for the training of their narcotics dog, as they claim – since their chief had smoked the last lot. The title of the song, "Pilvee" has many meanings. The word is spoken language. The written standard form is "pilveä", being a partitive or accusative case of the word "cloud", depending on the context in which it is used. It also refers to drugs. There are two common Finnish words used for dope: 'pilvee' (meaning high, smoked drug) and 'kama'. There is also a witty wordplay involved, as the Finnish word 'kama' refers to both dope, gear, as in the musical instruments and other equipment and "stuff" in general.

The song structure is based on 16-bar blues, which is an extended version of the standard 12-bar blues. In rock the deviations of the 12-bar structure are common, almost a norm (Lilliestam 1995, 108). Each verse + chorus pair forms a full circle of the pattern (8+8). Blues has been one of the most significant musical styles in the history of rock. Popular music history has been presented mostly as having black Afro-American roots in jazz and blues. Paul Oliver (2009) has described blues to be:

A secular, predominantly black American folk music of the 20th century, which has a history and evolution separate from, but sometimes related to, that of jazz. From obscure and largely undocumented rural American origins, it became the most extensively recorded of all traditional music types. It has been subject to social changes that have affected its character. Since the early 1960s blues has been the most important single influence on the development of Western popular music.

Blues based blues rock became important in the 1960s. The songs were built on blues-pentatonic scale patterns, which were based on a 12-bar scheme or its variations, and played by electronic instrument, of which the guitar was the

most important one. (Dean 2009; Moore 2009.) The blue note, flattened 3rd and 7th, gives blues its typical melodic colour.

The comparison of forms of the live and recorded versions is presented in Table 10. The live performance lasts for almost 7 minutes, whereas the recorded version lasts only for 5'18. The length of the live version is built on a variety of elements.

<i>Time signat.</i>	4/4,							3/4	4/4			
<i>Tempo</i>	~60 bpm											
<i>Form live</i>	Intro	V1	C	V2	C	S	S	Solo	V3	C	----	C
<i>Bars</i>	12	8	8	8	8	8	8	4 (1)	8	6	pause	2
<i>Form record</i>	Riff (g & b)	V1	C	V2	C	S	S		V3	C		
<i>Bars</i>	Upbeat (0,5)	8	8	8	8	8	8		8	8		

TABLE 10 The formal structure of "Pilvee" in *Saimaa-ilmiö* and *Tauko 1* record.

The blues form can be described in terms of verse-chorus structure, in which the first half of the blues chorus (8 bars) is the verse (V) with alternating lyrics, and the latter half (8 bars) is the chorus (C) of the song. The song is based on a typical syncopated bass riff, which gives the song a swinging feeling (Lillestam 1995, 124). The tempo is rather slow, around 60 bpm. The beginning is quiet and slow, as Juice Leskinen begins to sigh the title of the song to the microphone. The bass and guitar accompany his performance as the guitar finally plays the riff (on his count), and the song starts. The basic form of this live version is similar to the one in the recorded version. There are three deviations from it. Firstly, the introduction is prolonged. Secondly, there is a new part added after the solos and before the last verse + chorus pair. And thirdly, there is a long pause before the two last bars of the last chorus. There are two solos consisting of one full chord progression each: a guitar solo by Jari Yliaho and a keyboard solo by Eero Pekkonen aka Safka.

The introduction starts as the film is cut directly into the moment where the sighing has already started (Table 11).

<i>bars</i>	<i>music</i>
-	Leskinen sighing "Pilvee" x 4
4 3	Bass + drums start the beat
4	"I'm a hoochie goochie man, that's what I am, bändi on Juice Leskinen and Slam, [the band is Juice Leskinen and Slam] Everyone is a hoochie goochie man"
1	"yy, kaa, koo" [one, two, three]

TABLE 11 The introduction of "Pilvee".

Leskinen repeats 'pilvee' four times, after which the bass and drums join in and start playing the blues riff to accompany him, which comes in at the end of the third and ends in the first, giving space for the singer. The song includes an allusion to a well known blues song by Muddy Water's "Hoochie Coochie", as discussed in Subsection 5.2.1. Leskinen sings a 4-bar line with a monotonic voice on top of the blues played by the band. After this Leskinen counts the song in and the first verse begins.

The second deviation takes place at the end of the song, just before the last verse. It is an added chorus from "Rullaati"⁴⁸ waltz, which is a old traditional Finnish song from the early 1900s (Äänitearkisto 2009). It was popular among graduate students and their parties, especially on 1st of May. The song had become part of the national ditty repertoire known by a vast majority of the people, also of these musicians' generations. The change happens smoothly as the waltz continues in triple tempo, 4 bars of waltz equalling 4 beats in the original blues tempo. The reference to dope is made also in this part of the song, as Leskinen and the other people singing twist the lyrics of the original song. Instead of the original 'rullaati', they sing 'dullaati', 'dulla' referring to a cannabis joint.

The third deviation is the pause within the last chorus, which is again performed together by the musicians. This performance had been planned in the backstage, which was also heard in the film. The musicians sneak to the stage and squat down on the floor waiting for the moment to scream out the last word 'pilvee'. After continuing for 6 bars the band stops and Juice Leskinen talks to the microphone in one of the Savonian dialects: "And he demanded and he demanded, and he demanded, and he demanded... (guitar, silence). Hang on, let me ask from this advisory committee."⁴⁹ The song continues as the 'visitors' shout "PILVEEEEE" and the band plays the last two bars.

The song at the live situation is sung in the main Savonian dialect. Juice Leskinen comes from this region and the concert takes place in the 'capital' of Savo, in Kuopio. The dialects are not typically used in rock songs.

5.3.2 Skiffle rock in "Syöksylaskijoita kaikki tyynni"

In Sequence 21 Hassisen kone is performing "Syöksylaskijoita kaikki tyynni" (Downhill racers every single one of them) in the boat cabin. All band members are sitting around a table. The song was published on the LP *Täältä tullaan Venäjä*⁵⁰ (Here we come, Russia), which was recorded in June 1980, published in August 1980, and produced by the guitarist of Eppu Normaali, Pantse Syrjä. The song style could be described as a skiffle rock. Skiffle, which was originally entertaining music played at rent parties, the instruments including acoustic guitar, harmonica, kazoo, jug, washtub bass, and washboard or drums. It

⁴⁸ "Rullaati" is a nonsense word and means nothing.

⁴⁹ "Ja se vuati, ja se vuati, ja se vuati, ja se vuati (Guitars playing something, silence). Hetkinen, kysyn tältä neuvoa vaativalta elimeltä."

⁵⁰ In the year 1980, PÄLP 17 POKOCD 39, no 7. Composers: Alanko Ismo, Heiskanen Reijo, Kinnunen Harri, Kinnunen Juha. Lyrics: Ismo Alanko.

developed in the USA during the period of 1930-1950 and had roots in the early US folk and jazz music. The chord progressions were quite simple. After the 1950s there was a skiffle revival, even though it was soon displaced by beat music and rock'n'roll (Shipton 2009). Even then, the skiffle influence has lived in many rock songs.

“Syöksylaskijoita kaikki tyynni” starts as the musicians are heard to count the song in: “Yy, kaa ja yy kaa koo nee” (one, two, and one two three four), after which the first riff of the song is played by the guitars and the bass. The performance follows the structure of the recorded song, which consists of two main parts: verse (V) and chorus (C). The form structure is constructed of the repeated VC unit, in which the verse has changing lyrics and chorus is repeated with unchanging lyrics (Table 12).

	Structure											Tempo bpm	Durat. sec		
<i>Film live</i>	In	V1	C	V2	C	V3	C	Solo (VV) Vocals, bottles	V4	C				185- 193	1'42
	2	8	8	8	8	8	8	18	8	8					
<i>Record</i>	In	V1	C	V2	C	V3	C	Solo(VV) guitar & vocals	V4	C	V5	C	Ou	177	2'14
	2	8	8	8	8	8	8	16	8	8	8	8	1		

TABLE 12 The forms of the recorded and live versions of “Syöksylaskijoita kaikki tyynni”.

Both versions begin with a short introduction (In), but only the recorded version has a very short ending, an outro (Ou). The live version is shorter than the recorded one, omitting one repetition of the verse/chorus structure and the short coda, which is just a repetition of the last two notes of the song. Both versions are played in G-major and the tempi are close, even though the live version is faster. The song presented in the two versions is almost identical and the line-up in both versions is basically similar, even though the studio version is played with electronic instruments and the live version with acoustic ones. In both versions Reijo Heiskanen plays guitar and sings back vocals, Ismo Alanko plays guitar and sings main vocals, Jussi Kinnunen slaps the bass and Harri Kinnunen drums. The main difference in instrumentation is the drumming device: the drum set is in the film replaced by two beer bottles.

NOTE EXAMPLE 1 Instrumentals of the intro and verse of the “Syöksylaskijoita kaikki tyynni”.

The song verse is based on a repeated I-vi-ii-V chord progression, which is carried out within two bars, each chord lasting for two beats.

The lyrics of the verses describe a story of a human being from the moment of birth to death. The “downhill racing” starts straight after the arrival to this world. The second person is used in the lyrics to address the ‘other’. The singer sings in the second person, referring to ‘you’ as the subject of the song. “You are naked, bold, genuine swine, you don’t know anything about us – you are rich”, Alanko sings in the second verse. And in the third he continues: “With all your powers you reach towards the bottom, demonic madness directing your actions, with palms of iron battering you to go down and down again”. This is not a positive view of the humans and as it is typical to the lyrics of Hassisen kone, the critique is directed towards the ‘outside’ culture.

The verse is repeated with very little variation. Also the chorus is played in a similar vein. Especially in the recorded version the rhythm is carefully maintained throughout the song and the articulation is accurate and clear. In the chorus the lyrics consist of the song title, which is repeated twice, once together and once by Ismo Alanko. It is not sung with melody, rather it is spoken.

NOTE EXAMPLE 2 Instrumentals of the chorus in the “Syöksylaskijoita kaikki tyynni”.

The two versions differ on the musical style of the performance. The recorded version is jazzy and the sounds are smooth and clear. The syncopated rhythms are well articulated and the song is so jazzy it is almost too jazzy for a rock band. This emphasises the contrast in what is sung and how it is performed. The neatness of the song creates a connotation to entertaining music, such as guitar swing played by Django Reinhardt. Also the chord progression employed makes references to the earlier decades of the 1950s, the 1960s and the 1970s (see Note example 1). It was used in the doo-wop style in the 1950s, continued in the 1960s Beat music and rock’n’roll songs. It was used in *iskelmä* music in Finland⁵¹, from where it landed to Finnish rock. For example, the first wave Finnish rock band Hurriganes used the chord progression when they recorded “My Only One” (first recorded by Jim and the Beatmakers in 1964), Mikko Alatalo and Juice Leskinen in “Maalaispoika oon” (I’m a countryboy, in 1974) and Juice Leskinen in “Marilyn” (in 1974).

The acoustic version is not as swinging, as the drumming is somewhat different due to the deficiencies of the device. The beer bottles are used mainly for creating some kind of back beat at the background of the solo. The guitar playing style is, however, imitating the style of many swinging *iskelmä* songs. The sound is rough and there is some background noise. The overall performance is that of skiffle style. This is mainly due to the instrumentation, but it is also the chord progression that has been used in many skiffle songs.

The solos are very much alike; both are 16 bars long and are based on the chord progression, of the 4 first bars from the verse: G, Em7, Am7, D7. In the

⁵¹ Many such pieces were recorded for Scandia recording company, which used studio musicians whose style of playing was jazzed up.

recorded version the solo is performed simultaneously by guitar and vocals. The accompaniment consists of a walking bass and a repeated guitar chord riff in a shuffle rhythm. In the film the melody in the solo is just sung without the guitar, and it is accompanied by shouts. The accompaniment includes guitar, a similar guitar chord riff and the back beat rhythm created by clapping of beer bottles.

Playing music acoustically off stage, particularly in the vehicle where the musicians spent most of the travelling time, is an important element in a rock documentary. Even though it is the concerts that form the main substance of such films, it is the backstage and offstage life that brings the documentary elements to the film, thus separating it from plain concert films. Offstage life is important part of the rock culture and the creation of rock authenticity. Musicianship is a lifestyle and music is played in most places. With respect to this scene it is not known whether the musicians played the song spontaneously, or whether they were asked to perform it by the directors.

5.3.3 Rocking in “Jäähyväiset rock’n’rollille”

The third analysed song is “Jäähyväiset rock’n’rollille” by Eppu Normaali. The song was performed in Kuopio, it was composed by Mikko Syrjä and the lyrics were written by Martti Syrjä. The original recording was released on *Akun Tehdas* in 1980.

The song is a fast tempo rock’n’roll style song. The form is based on an alteration of two basic sections, A and B. The B section is not clearly a verse, even though the lyrics are repeated unchanged. It functions as a binary section for the A part. Before every section there is an interlude, which also functions as an introduction of the song. The scale used is a major scale, in which the 7th is diminished, i.e. a Mixolydian mode. As a result the major V chord is replaced by a minor chord. There is one solo, which is played by the guitar. The drummer begins the song by giving the beat. Martti Syrjä is supposed to count the song in, which he forgets, and he has to be reminded of that. He makes a comment on this on the microphone saying “Ou yeah, I was supposed to start this song”. Then he counts the song in and the introduction starts. (Table 13.)

The lyrics of the song are based on the idea that a possible nuclear war would destroy the world (leaving only Ohio), including rock musicians and bands. The topic is very serious but the narration and text style are humorous. There is a reference to Bob Dylan, who “will have to give up the business / will his head be struck by a nuclear bomb” (verse 1). The lyrics refer to the destruction and consequences of such war. The resulting mutations could result in a “player with sixteen fingers”, who would beat Torvinen (referring to the guitarist of Eppu Normaali) (verse 2). The title of the song appears in the end of the second verse: “Goodbye to rock’n’roll / when America is put in focus” (Jäähyväiset rock’n’rollille, kun Amerikka saadaan hollille), referring to America being the main target of the Soviet missiles. There is a word play in this particular phrase. “Jäähyväiset” (goodbye) is articulated “jää-hyväiset”,

which creates a double meaning to the word. “Jää” in this instance means “be left” while “hyväinen” is not a Finnish word, even though it can be understood as meaning “goodish”. The goodish are left behind, as the rock’n’roll is goodbyed.

<i>Chord Sequence</i>	<i>Form</i>	<i>Bars</i>
drumming "Yks, kas, yks kaks kol nel" (one, two, one two three four) :V (I-V)/IV (VII-IV) : 2 X 4 = 8	I / - 2	Intro 10
: I / I / II / IV : 4 x 4	A1	16
:V (I-V)/IV (VII-IV) : 2 X 4 = 8	I / - 2	Interl. 10
: I / I / II / IV : 4 x 4	A2	16
:V (I-V)/IV (VII-IV) : 2 X 4 = 8	I / - 2	Interl. 10
: II / V / II / V / I / IV / V / I : 8 x 2	B	16
: II / V / II / V / I / VI / V / I : / I / - 8 x 2 = 16	Solo 2	18
: I / I / II / IV : 4 x 4	A2	16
: II / V / II / V / I / IV / V / I : 8 x 2	B	16
I -IV / I	Outro	2

TABLE 13 The form and chord progressions of “Jäähvyäiset rock’n’rollille”

There are also direct references to the cold war and the presidents of the USA and the Soviet Union in the B section. The leaders of the superpowers are addressed in the song by their names. “Oh Ronnie, I wish you were fair now / even though you’ve made it to the bomb shelter” refers to Ronald Reagan, who is asked to be decent to not start the war. In the original version of the song Syrjä sings “Jimmy”, referring to Jimmy Carter who was the president at the time the song was written in 1980. At this time a new president had been elected, hence the change. It is followed by an address to the president of the Soviet Union: “And Leonid, how dare you / destroy the electing guitar factories? / Wait a moment, if you’re not in a hurry / that our American tour is over”.

The song is played in fast tempo and Martti Syrjä has difficulties in singing the song lyrics clearly. At times it is hard to hear what he is singing. Moreover, he forgets the lyrics in the second verse and stops singing, while the other musicians are trying to sing and cover for him. During the following

interlude he is making facial gestures and scratching his head, implying that he has a lapse of memory. After the gig, at the backstage, he is saying, how he was hysterically afraid that he would forget all the lyrics, to which Juha Torvinen comments by saying that it was “a shitty gig, bloody hell”. Syrjä does not agree, but they are continuing by analyzing some faults in the playing.

5.3.4 Finnish *iskelmä* and pop music

“Kaunis Veera eli balladi Saimaalta” (Beautiful Veera aka a Ballad from Saimaa) was the first song of the film.⁵² It is sung with accordion accompaniment. The spectator can implicitly assume that the people are on board as they are heard on the audio track. The first verse is performed by Ismo Alanko, the lead singer of *Hassisen kone*, whose rough voice connotes rock music. Each one of the three singers, the other two being Juice Leskinen from *Slam* and Martti Syrjä from *Eppu Normaali*, leads a verse in turn but the chorus is sung together, possibly with the help of some others.

In *Saimaa-ilmio* only certain sections of the original song are performed. These are the best known sections, most notably the first verse and the chorus. The form of the original song is rather complex: A1 B C1 D1 A2 D2 B E D3 F D4 A3 D1 B. It does not follow any standard forms of the early 20th century popular songs such as AABA or forms built on the alteration of A, B and C parts. Part B is a chorus as it is repeated unvaried throughout the song. (Table 14.)

The arrangements are different in the two versions. In the film the song is performed by a male choir vs. female choir and solos. In *Saimaa-ilmio* the chorus (section B) is performed together as a choir, while the other sections are performed by the lead singers of the three bands featured on the film. Some of the lyrics are changed as well (originals shown italicized in parenthesis), which possibly is simply due to not remembering them correctly.

The spectator cannot see who the musicians are, however, the spectators who know what the film is about or know Finnish rock, might recognize the voices. These possible guesses are reaffirmed as the names of the bands appear on the screen in the beginning of the song. Even though this song is not presented as a rock version, it is the style of singing that reveals the nature of the song to the listener. This is not an *iskelmä* style performance, but something else. As the film is a rock film the spectators can be assumed to expect certain kind of music. Even though the song itself is not a rock song it is the style of singing and performing which connotes the rock music.

⁵² For the intertextuality see Subsection 4.2.1

<i>Vocals</i>	<i>Lyrics</i>	<i>Form</i>	<i>Form origin.</i>
<i>Ismo Alanko</i>	Kitkat, kätäkät, (<i>sätkät, sätkät</i>) pitkät matkat, (<i>parrun pätkät</i>) sinisellä Saimaalla seilattiin. Poiijat, jätkät, parrunpätkät, (<i>pitkät, pätkät</i>) kaunista Veeraa me katseltiin.	A	A1
<i>All together</i>	Ja sen tervahöyryn nimi oli Prinsessa Armahda (<i>Armada</i>) Ja me parrulastissa seilattiin noita Saimaan aaltoja.	<i>And the name of the steamer was Princess Armahda. And we sailed loaded with balks on the waves of Lake Saimaa.</i>	B chorus B chorus
<i>Martti Syrjä</i>	Kyllä me poiijat kummasteltiin mikä oli meihin tullu kun joka mies oli kuin järkeä vailla ja kippari pähkähullu.	C	F
<i>Juice Leskinen</i>	Veeraa tanssitti kippari vaan Veeraa hänet vangitsi katseellaan Veera sano kaikille kiitos ei Ja Veera meiltä jätkiltä järjen vei.	D	D2
<i>All together</i>	Ja sen tervehöyryn nimi oli Prinsessa Armahda (<i>Armada</i>) Ja me parrulastissa seilattiin noita Saimaan aaltoja.	B chorus	B chorus

TABLE 14 The version of “Kaunis Veera” performed on the *Saimaa-ilmiö* film.

Scene 41 consists of a one-man performance of a song, “Päivänsäde ja menninkäinen” (A Sunray and A Goblin) played by Safka.⁵³ The music performed on the film is here compared to the version performed by Tapio Rautavaara, which is the version that is the best known among the people. The song is often performed in a similar manner. (Table 15.)

	<i>Tapio Rautavaara</i>	<i>Safka / Saimaa-ilmiö</i>
<i>Instrument</i>	Acoustic guitar	Accordion
<i>Vocals</i>	Yes	No
<i>Form</i>	3 verses	2 verses

TABLE 15 The original and *Saimaa-ilmiö*'s arrangements of “Päivänsäde ja menninkäinen”.

The most widely known performance, by Tapio Rautavaara, was performed with an acoustic guitar while he sang the song as a troubadour. Safka, instead, does not sing, nor does anyone else. In this version there is just the played

⁵³ For the details of the song see Subsection 6.1.3.

melody with an accompaniment. Even though the people on the boat (shown in the images) do surely know the lyrics they do not sing along, but listen to the music. The performance is serious and dedicated to the song.

In the Kuopio concert backstage (Scene 23) Juice Leskinen is making a parody of the pop song "Pidä huolta", which was recorded by Pave Maijanen in 1981 on *Pave's mistakes*. Leskinen is drinking and singing "jätehuolto" (waste management), while the original lyrics in this chorus are, according to the title, phonetically similar: "pidä huolta" (take care). The variation does not seem very respectful in regard to the original song. On the other hand, the humorous attitude and word twisting is part of the tour spirit, and the Savo culture represented by Juice Leskinen. Furthermore, the Sequence in Olavinlinna includes a mockery version of "Reggae OK": Martti Syrjä is singing the song while Ila Loueranta and a roadie are playing birch bark horns as an accompaniment (an image of the scene is presented in Subsection 6.1.3). Again, there is word twisting involved. The performance includes only a verse, the lyrics of which are combined from two different verses in the original song, and a chorus. In the end of the chorus the original line: "And soon you'll say *this beat is for me thanks*" is turned into: "And soon you'll say *this is enough for me thanks*", reversing the meaning of the song. The song was the Finland's Eurovision Song Contest representative the same year, thus providing an explanation to why the song was performed. There is also one other shorter excerpt. In Kuopio Sequence the performance of "Pilvee" includes an allusion from the Finnish ditty song "Rullaati", analysed in detail previously in Subsection 5.2.1.

5.4 Youth culture: counter culture or subculture?

The rock culture articulated in *Saimaa-ilmiö* is mostly that of youth culture. The musicians of the bands are mostly born in the late 1950s or early 1960s, and thereby at the time of the tour they were in their twenties. From the societal point of view, Finnish rock was associated with "the war against apathy" (a punk song by Maukka Perusjätkä). It has also been seen as a response of the suburban or punk generation (those born in 1950-65) to the generation of the transformation (those born in 1940-49), most of which belonged to the baby boomers (Roos 1987; Hoikkala & Roos 2000).

The post rock'n'roll youth culture, freedom, and "non-conservative" way of life were the distinctive elements for this rock era. The corner stones of the '70s, sex and drugs and rock'n'roll, were still valid, though to a lesser degree in the early '80s' Finnish periphery. In *Saimaa Gesture*, the musicians ideologically represent the suburban generation (as opposed to that of transformation) youth of the '70s, even though the majority of them originated from small countryside towns. The ideology, values, and lifestyle are not those of the hegemonic

culture and authorities, instead they emphasize individual freedom, the people and their own beliefs.

5.4.1 It is all about the attitude (towards authorities)

In the film there are many discourses in which the musicians express their attitudes towards authorities. In the discussion of the fatherland by Eppu Normaali, analysed in Subsection 5.2.1, Martti Syrjä, Pantse Syrjä and Juha Torvinen express their anti-military attitudes. Four of the five band members had not served in the military, and the attitude towards the World Wars, especially the Winter War and the Continuation War which were fought against Russia, and the whole military institution was negative.

Juice Leskinen also expresses similar views in two occasions: in relation to a character of a school principal, and the state authorities. The concert Sequence in Kuopio includes two backstage scenes. In the latter one, which ends the Sequence, Juice Leskinen is heard and seen giving an improvisatory speech. He is acting the part of a head teacher of a school who is talking to the pupils at the end of the spring term. Leskinen went to a co-educational school in Kuopio, and the concert in the same town could have triggered some school memories. His emplacement in this scene seems strange. A head teacher would be giving the speech at the cathedra or at a speaker's stand, at least in front of the pupils. Juice is standing facing the wall, very close to it. This resembles the way disobedient pupils were placed in a class room corner as a punishment or in another position facing away from the teacher and other students. At first the camera is filming pointing to the opposite direction and only Leskinen's voice is heard, but soon the camera is turned towards him. The first words are slurred:

"[...] to remind you, that it is not the only important question in my life [...] Everyday we face different important questions, in different situations. We always have only one answer. I would like to emphasize to you that everyone has to find this answer personally. No-one's difficulties are never the same as some other person's difficulties, not even in the same situation, not to mention that the situation is different. But there is always one answer. Dear students. When you now leave the school and step out to your own path of life, I would like to underline to your minds, that there is only one answer. Good summer to you, honorable pupils. I cast my eyes to the heaven...Wishes the headmaster."

The tone of Leskinen's voice is serious as he is giving the speech. The irony is expressed in his words. The "headmaster" is giving advice to the students as they are leaving school. Leskinen repeats three times: "there is only one answer". This is mockery against the normative, "choiceless" life, in which people have no choice. The lifestyle has become constitutionalized, after the process of homogenization of Finnishness and the creation of the prevailing way of life. The phrase "I cast my eyes to the heaven" (Mä silmät luon ylös taivaaseen) is from a Finnish Lutheran hymn with the same title from the 19th century. The schooling in Finland included singing hymns still in the 1980s. This is a direct reference to the school world, as the musicians do not represent religious views in the film.

Juice Leskinen gives another speech in the beginning of the last scene in Joensuu, as the crew is on the stage waiting to perform the Finnish National Anthem. The crew is standing at the stage, Juice Leskinen in the middle at the microphone. He starts the speech (Table 16).

Arvoisa juhkakansa, hyvät kutsuvieraat, valtioneuvoston edustajat, ja muut ääliöt.	Dear guests, dear invited guests, representatives of the Council of State, and other idiots.
Nythän on niin, että tälle hommalle tulee loppu, saatana, slut. (Yleisö huutaa EI!) Varmaan tulee. Me laulamme vielä yhden kappaleen.	The thing is that this business will be over, "kaputt", damn finished. (The crowd is screaming: NO!) For sure it will. One more song, though.

TABLE 16 The speech given by Juice Leskinen at the end of the film.

The beginning of the speech resembles an official address given by politicians or other important representatives in official contexts. Leskinen greets the crowd, but he also refers to invited guests and state's representatives, which hardly are present at a rock festival. Furthermore, in the end he continues: "and other idiots", referring to the authorities with such a disrespectful way. Then he declares that the tour is over and the last song will follow.

The attitudes are expressed also in the songs. The themes of the lyrics include a large variety of topics that deal with non-normative ways of life - drugs or with the bohemian life style, as in "Hunningolla" (In the gutter) by Eppu Normaali, and "Rappiolla" (Decadence) by Hassisen kone. The song can also tell about a hangover ("Delirium Tremens") as does the one by Eppu Normaali, or how cigarettes and alcohol are bad for you ("Myrkkyy" = Poison by Eppu Normaali). The only narcotics related song is ("Pilvee" = Dope by Juice Leskinen & Slam), and even that is a somewhat humoristic story about the police searching a car of a band in the hope of finding dope. This clearly is a comment on the implicit, prevalent idea that every rock musician is a drug user. And the general rock attitude is expressed simply by Juice Leskinen, who sings: "rock'n roll'n blues'n jazz, kiss my ass", and again, "kiss my ass" ("Rock'n roll'n blues'n jazz").

Society is more closely addressed in songs like Eppu Normaali's "Puhtoinen lähiöni" (My squeaky clean suburb), which is a story of middle class, suburban life. Some songs are more directly political, like "Jäähyväiset rock'n'rollille" (Good bye to Rock'n'Roll) by Eppu Normaali, which is a song of how nuclear war may threaten rock'n'roll. Eppu Normaali and Juice Leskinen & Slam often deal with these issues with quite a humoristic manner, whereas the songs of Hassisen kone, mostly written by Ismo Alanko, are often more serious about their agenda. Alanko's lyrics are also harder to interpret because of his poetic style. The lyrics manifest, however, a critical attitude towards individualism and selfishness ("Rajat" = Limits and "Pelkurit" = Cowards), the alleged "greatness" of the justice system ("Oikeus on voittanut taas" = Justice

has been done again), or they just deal with the status in society: "we are scum, there are the others who are rich, and they don't want know about us" ("Syöksylaskijoita kaikki tyynni" = Downhill racers every single one of them).

5.4.2 Critique towards Western capitalist consumer culture

Saimaa-ilmiö includes many articulations related to the Western consumer culture. After the bad economic situation in the early 1970s Finland, the standard of living started to rise towards the end of the 1970s. Household commodities, such as refrigerators, freezers and coffee makers became common. In the 1980s the consumption continued to increase, now in the area of new technological products, such as microwave oven, video recorder and waterbed. (Autio 2001; Laurila 1985, 66; Rothovius 1999, 168; Tennilä 1999, 202-204.)

Consumer goods became addressed in rock lyrics at the turn of the 1980s in punk and new wave music (Autio 2001). One strong articulation is presented in the lyrics of "Muovirusuja omenapuissa" (Plastic Roses on Apple Trees), which is performed by Hassisen kone after visiting the rehearsal location of the band, an old wooden house. The scene starts with music from the gig starting to play while there are images of the band members going into a bus, leaving the house of the previous scene. The duration of the scene is approximately three minutes. The beginning is shot with a camera in the distance by the mixing table, depicting the whole stage, and moving into closer shots as the song progresses. The form is the same and the lyrics have not been altered. Even the solo is identical to the recorded version. The song is of interest since it has strong and statement making lyrics.

The lyrics deal with several themes: superficiality of the people, consumerist culture, and decay of Finnish culture in relation to some specific cultural aspects (Table 17). In the first two verses people are referred to as empty shells that are floating in the swamp of advertisements. The decay of western culture is addressed through a reference to Christianity even, as the Western roads are decorated by garlands of thorns - the most famous one having been carried by Jesus - yet the plurality of these items indicates one Jesus not being powerful enough to save this civilization.

The chorus, which is repeated after every two verses throughout the song, remains always the same, except for a small change in the last, repeated chorus which ends the song. Alanko addresses the song to others by singing "you are..." instead of "we are". This is something other people are, but he and the band are not. Who are the others? The musicians most likely placed themselves outside the main society; they were in the margins, living outside the middle class dream life and commercial youth culture. Apple trees have beautiful spring blossoms which then develop into healthy fruit, and the analogy of being plastic roses in apple trees is absurd. Apple tree is the tree of wisdom, which can be interpreted as another biblical reference, but the roses of plastic will never develop into fruit, they not even belong to the tree. The superficiality is represented by the expressions such as "plastic sentences in children's mouths".

“Muovirusuja omenapuissa” / Plastic roses on apple trees

Empty shells of the people there
 Smiling while floating in the *swamp* of ads
 It is great to be at the ad-garden
 Wonderful to return love with hate.

If anyone starts to look at me eye to eye
 I can see from eyeball to eyeball
 Blind Western roads
 Decorated by garlands of thorns.

CHORUS:
You are plastic roses on apple trees
Plastic sentences in children's mouths
Strange cells in genes
Migraine at the crofters of the divine gardens

Karelian brave heroes are dead
 From maids' ears carved are
 Evil chiefs' ashtrays
 Some were even made into decorative knobs

In the wilds mist floats
 Not emanating resin but a Western whirl
 Look at the old Flaming Red's Ola
 From his punctured eyes pours Coca Cola.

CHORUS

Children of the wild, I say this again and again
 Because of your decay I suffer
 Empty human shells lying on the streets
 Look at the Karelian young heroes

Is America heaven, is God there?
 Is your personality preventing success?
 Countryside falls into tears
 For God has moved into city.

CHORUS

Shrink away from the plastic roses on apple trees
 Plastic sentences on children's mouths
 Strange cells in genes
 Migraine at the crofters of the divine gardens

TABLE 17 The lyrics of “Plastic Roses on Apple Trees” by Ismo Alanko.

From the broader Western context the statement is shifted to a national cultural context. The address is very direct. Alanko refers to the Karelian culture and characters presented in the national epic of Finland, Kalevala, constructed in a written form by Elias Lönnrot: "Karelian brave heroes are dead, from maids' ears carved are the evil chiefs' ashtrays, and some were even made into decorative knobs" (verse 3) and later again: "Children of the wild, I say this again and again, Because of your decay I suffer, Empty human shells lying on the streets, Look at the Karelian young heroes". Furthermore, there has been a deterioration of 'Finnish' culture: "in the wilds mist floats, not emanating resin but a Western whirl, look at the old Flaming Red's Ola, from his punctured eyes pours Coca Cola" (verse 4).

There is also a clear juxtaposition of the good that is natural and bad that is artificial. First of all, Finnish people and Finland are referred to as being 'wild' (Children of the wild, in the wilds), referring to something original, pure and good. This natural has turned into artificial and synthetic. The mist floating in the air is a typical early morning phenomenon in the summer time. This image belongs to the imagery of the natural landscapes of Finland. Now the natural resin, which belongs to the pine trees typical in Finnish forests has turned into something unnatural, 'Western whirl', as he states. Furthermore, here is a reference to a specific literary work. "Tulipunakukan Ola" (Ola from the Flaming Red) is a reference to a book *Laulu tulipunaisesta kukasta* (A song of a flaming red flower) written by Johannes Linnankoski in 1905, in which one of the main characters is a young man called Olavi. There are also two well known film adaptations of the book: one directed by Teuvo Tulio in 1938 and another directed by Mikko Niskanen in 1971 (IMDb/Laulu tulipunaisesta kukasta, 2009). The book is about young man's identity search, his growth story from a lumber jack and a Don Juan to a respectable man and a husband. In the song, Coca Cola is pouring from his punctured eyes.

There are direct statements on the cultural changes. Most of these are targeted at so-called Americanization, which has been described as an imperialist process of valuing and adopting American popular culture over the national, indigenous cultures (Negus 1996, 165). On the other hand the critique is targeted at only a certain kind of culture: the consumer centred, commercial and artificial culture. Rock, as many other youth cultures, were also largely developed in or influenced by America. The musicians wore jeans, which had become an iconic feature of many youth cultures, and were worn amongst the students. In non-Western countries jeans were desired, and thus also became the symbol of Western decadence.

Industrialisation and urbanization, the corner stones of modern culture, have played an important part in the development of the popular consumer culture. At the time the film was made, life in Finland was in the process of transformation. First of all, there were the structural, political and economic changes. Industrialisation took place relatively late in Finland and depopulation of the countryside occurred especially in the '60s and '70s. In the following verse Alanko sings "Countryside falls into tears, for God has moved to the city".

From this point of view the film can be interpreted as a comment on or a critique of this movement and, therefore, the regional politics and authorities. This embraces the rural and vernacular as opposed to urban and developed civilization.

5.4.3 Just for laughs

In addition to the critical attitudes against authorities and consumerism, the film includes a couple of humorous musical articulations. They both are parodies, one about opera, a particular style of classical music, and the other is directed at a specific song performed by a Finnish pop singer, Riki Sorsa.

Both performances take place in the Olavinlinna castle. Sequence 6 begins as the boat is approaching Savonlinna. The town is mainly known for the opera festival which takes place in June every year. The festival is held at the Olavinlinna castle. It consists of two performances: Martti Syrjä mimicking opera at the castle's grand stage, and "Reggae OK" performed by the cannon in the castle.⁵⁴

The first sounds related to this Sequence transform the viewer to the castle, as Martti Syrjä is heard singing in Olavinlinna. His sound has an echo, which refers to a great space. The scene moves inside the castle. The first view of the stage is shot from the far back of space. Martti Syrjä is at the stairs, singing, his upper body uncovered (Image 13, left). There is also a worker fixing something and his back is seen at the lower part of the screen. As Martti Syrjä is climbing down the stairs and enters the stage, the camera follows his movement towards right. We can see that there is the presence of a small audience, some other band members (Ila Loueranta & Eero Pekkonen), a roadie (Soija), and two women who are sitting at the front row and listening to the performance. He mimics and makes fun of opera singing, and it is the acoustics in the sound that inform the listener that the performance is taking place inside the castle. At the end of the performance Syrjä bows and replies "Voilà" (pronounced phonetically as in Finnish [voi-la:]) and the "audience" applauds laughing.



IMAGE 13 Performances in the Olavinlinna castle, Sequence 6.

⁵⁴ The performance of the "opera" was already discussed in Section 6.2 in relation to live performance.

Syrjä is mimicking opera with the gestures and movements he is making on stage, and with his way of singing. In the formation of his voice he is trying to imitate classical singing, but he is making up what he is singing, and there are no lyrics or words in the song. His gestures are very big and dramatic, as is often seen in opera stage. He is making the scene a humorous one, and the "audience" is laughing and clapping to his performance.

The humorous attitude continues in the next scene. The men are performing a version of a song "Reggae OK". The two women are standing by the side, clapping and laughing. The roadie and Ila Loueranta are playing birch bark horns, while Martti Syrjä is singing as they perform a version of *Reggae OK*. The song includes some word twisting, which was already discussed in Subsection 5.3.4. The song had been selected as the Finnish entry to the 1981 Eurovision Song Contest. The song's original performer was Riki Sorsa. The women standing aside laugh and clap their hands.

Both of these performances are humorous. Martti Syrjä is singing and making fun of both opera singing and pop song. They both represent something that is not part of their own rock identity, opera being elitist and *Reggae OK* having been performed by Riki Sorsa, who was not considered a rock singer. Moreover, the song was composed for the Eurovision song contest, which was not very highly regarded by rock crowds. The contrast, which also exists between the opera and a pop song, is blurred as fun is made of them both, and thus both are placed in the same position in relation to their own rock identity.

Furthermore, it is interesting how these scenes are spatially presented. The opera scene, representing upper middle class and high culture, is viewed from a distance. The singing takes place "out there". The stage is vast and this is the only way to shoot it to show it to the viewers. Martti Syrjä is mimicking stereotypical opera manners and gestures. The audience is sitting still as a good opera audience should. Genre practices are known and made use of, even though this knowledge is used for parody in this case.

There is also an invasion of space involved here. The Olavinlinna castle is dedicated to opera, which in Finland is highly regarded as great classical music, composed and performed by Finns. Thus, the Savonlinna opera festival has been a source of national pride. In this scene the band members take over the space and use it for this harmless joke. The second scene at the cannon is shot much closer. Now the men have invaded the space on the top of the cannon and they are performing the song while the women are standing on the side, clapping and laughing. Birch bark horns are not a usual choice and it is not clear where they came from to this scene, but Ila Loueranta and Safka are playing them as Martti Syrjä sings.

5.5 Explicit stories and implicit narratives

The film is built on many narratives, which are constructed at various levels. The film itself is one big narrative, telling a story of the tour and the cruise. In addition, there are many smaller narratives, which are represented by sounds (such as speech and music) and images. By a narrative I refer to a story in a broad sense, i.e. how the particular aspects are represented in the film.⁵⁵

Some of the narratives studied are presented in the form of interviews, which are important elements in any documentary film. Their importance is linked to the creation of authenticity and the 'real' life, often offstage. The following includes discussions concerning rock'n'roll (Ismo Alanko), a good gig (Juice Leskinen, Martti Syrjä, Ismo Alanko), rehearsing (Hassisen kone), and personal musicianship (Juice Leskinen, Safka, Pantse Syrjä). These are the explicit verbal expressions on given topics. In addition, there are more fragmented narratives, created visually and sonically. These had to be gathered and constructed from a variety of scenes throughout the film and are related to roadying and mixing and personal musicianship.

5.5.1 A good gig and "rock'n'roll"

There are two interviews which are linked to the same topic of performing on stage. The first one involves the lead singers of the three bands, as they are put the questions: When is a gig good? Later on Ismo Alanko is being interviewed and asked: What is rock'n'roll? His answer deals mostly with performing on stage.

The interview of the singers is conducted by Aki Kaurismäki. In this occasion the interviewees are the singers of the three bands: Juice Leskinen, Martti Syrjä and Ismo Alanko. They are sitting at the boat, on the floor in a corner. Aki Kaurismäki is not seen, but he is heard to ask a question: what is a good gig? There are soft background noises of the environment, the pounding sound of the boat and people talking, heard at the background. (Table 18.)

They also talk about the meaning of the audience for a good gig as the interview continues. The communication with the audience is an essential element of a gig. Live concert is always a unique situation, in which the musicians have to rise to the occasion. The musicians want to be able to feel the audience, it gives them energy. But they have come up with ways to create an energetic performance regardless the audience's reactions. Even if the audience is not actively showing their feelings they might still be enjoying the concert.

⁵⁵ The concept is thus not referring to the structuralist theory of narratology.

<i>Speaker</i>	<i>Interview</i>
<i>Aki:</i>	When is a gig good?
<i>Juice:</i>	Oh, every now and then.
<i>Martti:</i>	Hmm, whenever there's a good feeling and energy. A good feeling alone is not necessarily enough, but others...
<i>Juice:</i>	I could claim that ten percent of the gigs are really good and then, forty percent pretty good. Then like a ten percent are really really terrible. All bands have them and will always have...
<i>Martti:</i>	That's right. You can't, how do you know whether the gig is good or not if everything is always going ... well...
<i>Ismo:</i>	In a same way.
<i>Martti:</i>	Yes. If it's always the same, then...
<i>Juice:</i>	Well if all gigs are good gigs, then they all are bad gigs.
<i>Martti:</i>	Yes. I remember when last summer, it all started, like, we did onl... just only so many good gigs, that it somehow started to, started to become a routine. I mean like, they were good gigs, they were bloody good gigs, I don't really know how we should have been able to make, to make them any better. But yes, it was disturbing that they were so similar.
<i>Ismo:</i>	Yes. But we have learned to do this so, like, or so, that before there was a point, like we needed to be bloody rough and like energetic and that was the point, that it's a good gig. But now we like have that, we have done so many gig and anyway, the songs have changed and like so, that we can have a bloody good gig, that we just like are and are peaceful and we feel good up there...
<i>Martti:</i>	Yeah.
<i>Ismo:</i>	...and there are like those points, what can be a good gig.
<i>Martti:</i>	Yes, just the same.
<i>Ismo:</i>	...it can like start on different basis a differently good gig.
<i>Martti:</i>	Exactly the same.
<i>Ismo:</i>	...it doesn't need to be, necessarily a rough gig.
<i>Martti:</i>	Exactly the same.
<i>Juice:</i>	Sometimes the energetic feeling comes when you're just able to do the gig...
<i>Martti:</i>	Yeah
<i>Juice:</i>	... because sometimes you're really tired and if your doing three weeks, like non-stop like gigs every day and the last gigs, they can't be such, like rough.
<i>Martti:</i>	Sure.
<i>Ismo:</i>	Yes, but they can be...
<i>Juice:</i>	But they can be quite OK, yeah.
<i>Ismo:</i>	... yes quite just good like because you don't care about it, you've been so much on stage you don't care about being there, just care about the songs.
<i>Martti:</i>	Then there's like really nice to get it over, like if the audience is quiet and you don't get any reflection of the good feeling back to the stage. It takes a lot, somehow, a lot of energy, but then some ways have come up like how to transfer the feel into a new level, in a way that the interaction with the audience is not required. Or this is with us because I've never been good at talking...
<i>Ismo:</i>	Like an audience is...
<i>Martti:</i>	...with the audience.
<i>Ismo:</i>	...audience is in many places, like, they don't know how to show that they have a good feeling in the audience and then a good feeling, and they just sit and...
<i>Martti:</i>	Yeah.
<i>Ismo:</i>	...and when the gig is over they go out and say that "it was a good concert, it was really nice".

TABLE 18 The interview of the lead singers: A good gig.

In Scene 34 Aki Kaurismäki is interviewing Ismo Alanko from Hassisen kone. They are sitting at the café on a dock, the location is not identified in the film. However, the scene is placed within the Joensuu section, in which the focus is on Hassisen kone, as it originates from this town. Both men are seen on the film. The interview starts as Kaurismäki puts a question: what is rock'n'roll? (Table 19).

<i>Speaker</i>	<i>Interview</i>
<i>Aki:</i>	What is rock'n'roll?
<i>Ismo:</i>	We, most... Most of the people seem like to think that it is some kind of show, that we go to the stage and like pretend masquerading something. But it is anyway like that we come, and then we are just ourselves and give all of ourselves, stick our necks out when performing. And like, if we are fucked off, then we will show we are fucked of and try not to act, pretend anything else and... aaa... now I can't remember what I was going to say...
<i>Aki:</i>	Are you tired?
<i>Ismo:</i>	Yes. Well no, but I'm bored.
<i>Aki:</i>	Well what if everything goes wrong at the gig?
<i>Ismo:</i>	Well then, you break your nerves completely. Well then if it is up to anything else but yourself, when the gear falls apart, or the technique fails, or something like this, you get really pissed off about it. But it is fine if you're pissed off and you unravel the feeling on stage and you are there like, then you're not pissed off after the gig. An average gig, like when everything goes basically well, but you don't really have the right feeling, that it gets you much more after the gig
<i>Aki:</i>	And the audience is screaming [...]
<i>Ismo:</i>	Well. Hmm. Well. The audience thinks this is some weird play, in which we play a part in which they have put us in their minds. But in any case we are just living our own lives.

TABLE 19 Ismo Alanko's interview.

The question in itself is significant in relation to rock music. Furthermore, the choice of words bears also a meaning. Kaurismäki asks what rock'n'roll is, not what rock is or what Finnish rock is in particular. This discussion is a typical, authenticating element of a rock documentary, aiming at exposing the ideas of the musicians behind their music.

The main point Ismo Alanko is trying to express here is about genuinity. Alanko is talking in plural, referring also to other musicians (of the band). He claims that they are performing on the stage as themselves, not trying to create themselves a separate role for the audience's sake. They come with the feelings that they have. He expresses the fact that the gig is dependent on many different elements, including the equipment and technology, which can also affect the performance. He is not really addressing the original question regarding rock'n'roll; they do not talk about the music but rather about the performance situation and the musicians' role in it. The creation of personal authenticity is strong; they are real people, genuine and true.

5.5.2 Personal musicianship

In the film there are constructions of narratives related to personalities of some of the musicians, such as Juice Leskinen, Pantse Syrjä and Ismo Alanko. Juice Leskinen is presented as the main figure of the cruise. His appearances take

place in the most important phases of the film, such as the beginning and the end. Slam is the first performer in the film and Juice Leskinen is the first person to be introduced right at the beginning of the first concert scene. In addition, there are two interviews with Leskinen in person, and one where he appears with the other vocalists. Slam is thus the first band to be introduced in the film. Furthermore, there is a passage in which the focus is clearly on this band (in Sequences 8-9). The scenes are at first located in Kuopio, which is close to Juankoski, the hometown of Juice Leskinen and thus his home ground, also the keyboardist Safka is from Juankoski.

The first scene is that of a backstage in Kuopio, in which the members of Eppu Normaali come backstage. Juice Leskinen and the other musicians from Slam also appear on the screen. This is the transition to the next gig, which is by Slam. They perform two songs on stage, which are followed by another backstage scene, in which Leskinen is giving a “rector’s speech”. From Kuopio the film returns to the boat, in which Juice Leskinen and Safka are acoustically performing “Luonas kai olla saan”. This chapter includes the analysis of the two interviews of Juice Leskinen.

The first interview in the film is that of Juice Leskinen (Table 20). The interview takes place in the boat cabin, where he is sitting at the table, smoking a cigarette. The interviewer Aki Kaurismäki is not to be seen, only heard as he states the questions. The interview is recorded in one shot and it is interrupted by the boat whistle. The image is a close up on Juice, shot from the chest above, like a portrait. After the boat whistle we can see Juice Leskinen smoking and perhaps drinking, as a beer bottle neck appears at the lowest part of the image. The topic of the interview concerns the beginning of Leskinen’s career as a musician.

<i>Speaker</i>	<i>Interview</i>
<i>Aki:</i>	Well how did this music stuff begin? Tell us something about it.
<i>Juice:</i>	Well it was that kind of a thing, that I was of course listening at first, in the 60s, and, and then, I thought it was like this, music, pop music, was then, then I thought like perfect art then, pop music was closest to it. Like it reaches people, is easy, beautiful and then I (Boat whistle) waited that someone in Finland would make it but then no-one did and then I thought I will make it. That’s how it started, at first just texts. It started like at first just iskelmä, some other texts. And then, some melodic motifs started to go around in my head and then when, ää, the studies went to hell I thought that I’ve got to do something and then it like became a profession.
<i>Aki</i>	When do you write songs?
<i>Juice</i>	In the morning, in the morning. No, in the afternoon I am like, after two o’clock then I’m hopeless. Then all I can do is Team Squirrel jokes. And they don’t require much. (pause) Heh heh heh...

TABLE 20 Interview of Juice Leskinen.

In the interview Leskinen tells that he was influenced by foreign, most likely Anglo-American pop music in the 1960s. It was listened to in Finland, as in many other countries, on radio. Finnish popular music followed these trends rather slowly and the local rock-pop music making was rather small scale at the time.

He was one of the first song writers making what he calls pop music in Finnish. He also admits having made *iskelmä* lyrics, and a connection to Finnish popular music tradition has been made from the early days of his music making. After writing lyrics he moved into writing songs, as a full time profession. He moved to Tampere in 1970 to study in a language institute, but soon got carried away with music and started his first band, Coitus Int. The fact that he had applied and was accepted to the institute describes his affective affiliation to languages, and as he later expressed in numerous occasions, to the Finnish language.

In the second interview, Aki Kaurismäki is asking Juice Leskinen about the band's keyboardist Safka (Table 21). The interview takes place on the boat.

Speaker	Interview
Aki:	When Safka came along, do you have (mmm)?
Juice:	Safka came in 1975. He came, I didn't know him, he is also from Juankoski, but had moved there after I had left from there. And then we had a roadie who knew Safka well. They played in the same band, called Mannavelli and our current roadie, Timo, played in it, too, this is an inside group. And then I heard this Mannavelli at times of Cointus Int and they were playing some songs by Cointus Int and I figured Safka, ah, this is just the kind of keyboardist that matches my idea of such, great. And then I, when Cointus Int was disrupted, then sent him a message that I'd be interested in cooperation and it turned out that he had similar interests, and then he came along.

TABLE 21 The second interview of Juice Leskinen.

In this interview Juice Leskinen sheds light on the ways he finds new musicians to his bands. In this case the keyboardist Safka was known by friends. Leskinen heard him play and knew he would fit the band. After *Cointus Int* Leskinen's band have always been named Juice Leskinen & "the band", emphasizing his central role as the band leader and songwriter.

Pantse Syrjä is being interviewed in Ilosaarirock, Joensuu. He is sitting on a park bench and answering the questions by Aki Kaurismäki. The first question is not heard, the interview starts directly from Syrjä's reply (Table 22). Pantse Syrjä is explaining what he does in his free time. His leisure activities do not include listening to music, which might be surprising to the audience. He spends his time by reading and fixing the house. Kaurismäki is also asking about his studies. It is common that the musicians are asked about their background and roots. Their study history is not, however, one of the common topics. Intellectualism is not a quality associated with an average rock musician, even though higher education amongst rockers is not uncommon. Syrjä had started his studies at the university, even though the music making has taken over his life. He seems content with the current situation and his life, which includes playing and producing music while making a living out of it. In the end he takes a humorous attitude. The remarks about putting up a chicken farm or growing cauliflower are not in conformance with the rock life. Furthermore, the possible vacancy for an English nobleman underlines his jesting attitude.

<i>Speaker</i>	<i>Interview</i>
<i>Pantse:</i>	When I have free time I just lay back and read books. I listen to music exceedingly little, except for periodically. And... now during the summer I need to repair the house, so that it won't be cold next winter.
<i>Aki:</i>	In Rantala?
<i>Pantse:</i>	Yeah, in Rantala.
<i>Aki:</i>	Have you studied anything since the matriculation?
<i>Pantse:</i>	I went to the university to study theoretical physics for a half a year but then I left. Well actually I dropped out before the first approbatur course was finished, well because, then came these playing things. These are so much more important to me and, I thought that I have only one change to do this in my life, I am "in the books" there and I can go back to study.
<i>Aki:</i>	Are you always going to do that same thing?
<i>Pantse:</i>	I don't know, well this is looking good now, I get to play the bass, too, and well, there is the opportunity to produce, too... and all. There's always something, one can always put up a chicken farm and retrieve in the peaceful countryside. Or grow cauliflower. I've had the profession picked out, as such, for a long time, but there have been so few of the vacant positions of the English noblemen, that I've had to do these menial jobs instead.

TABLE 22 Interview of Pantse Syrjä.

5.5.3 Rehearsing, mixing and roadying

Saimaa-ilmiö includes also representations of offstage activities, such as rehearsing, mixing and roadying. They are articulated through different activity types: interviews, concerts and off-stage scenes before a concert. In the interview, three members of Hassisen kone visit their former rehearsing location and talk about the rehearsing conditions. The interview takes place in a house, and the track is faded in while the song "Tällä tiellä" is faded out, yet heard at the background. (Table 23.)

<i>Speaker</i>	<i>Interview</i>
<i>Ismo:</i>	This house has received everybody's fucking, bad moments...
<i>Jussi:</i>	There was also joy.
<i>Ismo:</i>	Yes, hopefully fun.
<i>Harri:</i>	One of the best rehearsing gaffs we've had, almost.
<i>Ismo:</i>	Yes well we have this rehearsing system that we can't take any place offered by the town, where we can go once a week from six to eight to play. We might not rehearse for two months and then we rehearse a couple of days night and day, and then we don't play again.
<i>Jussi:</i>	Another good thing was that we had good neighbors.
<i>Ismo:</i>	The neighbors told us: keep the windows open so that we can also hear.

TABLE 23 Interview of Hassisen kone at the rehearsing house.

They are standing in the empty house which had been their rehearsal place. It is going to be torn apart, people have written on the walls, also phrases related to their songs. It is a nostalgic moment, in which they are reminiscing the good times they had spend playing in this location, which had provided them with

optimal rehearsing conditions. They also talk about the ways in which they rehearse. Ismo explains that they do not practice very regularly. There are periods during which they play hardly at all, while at other times rehearsing is very intense. They are also referring to the neighbors, who had not minded them playing. Amplified rock music can be loud, and they might have had problems in other places in regard to the people living in the neighborhood.

Mixing and roadying are also essential parts of touring and playing live music, as depicted in the film. Mixing is an essential element of a concert. The bands have a roadying crew and sound technicians, who set the gear up and mix the sounds during the concerts. This crew is shown in few occasions in the film (Image 14).



IMAGE 14 Pictures of mixing in *Saimaa-ilmio*.

First three of these photos are from the Mikkeli concert, which began by a scene in which the gear is set up at the sports field. The last photo is from Joensuu, where the mixing console was placed on stage, and recorded by the stage camera.

Roadying is also an important activity in relation to concerts. Setting up the gear takes hours before the actual concert begins. The roadying events were filmed in Mikkeli and in Heinävesi. Moreover, the crew is seen in some other sections filmed during the concerts. They have to carry the rig to the concert locations and prepare everything for the musicians, who come at first to the sound check and then the actual gig.



IMAGE 15 Pictures of roadying in *Saimaa-ilmio*.

Roadying is mostly depicted in relation to Mikkeli concert, where the set up and sound check are depicted before the concert (top images) and taking down the gear after the concert (middle images). Roadying is also shown shortly before the gig in Punkaharju (lower left image). At few occasions a roadie is seen on stage during a concert (lower right image).

All in all, the images related to roadying and mixing are only a few and concentrate on few scenes. The crew is always there, but their role is to ensure that the musicians, who are in the central role in the concerts, can perform their music.

5.6 Gendered culture

Gender is present in our culture and society. It is also present in the articulations of *Saimaa-ilmio*. Gender identity is constructed through acts and it is thus performative (Butler 1990). Jokinen and Veijola (2001) have described gender as a *habitual practice*, which can be described in terms of female or male

type behaviour. It refers to the ways in which we understand and categorize human behaviour in terms of gender.

Gender has been scrutinized within the fields of popular culture and music studies. At the early stage, popular culture and popular music studies concentrated largely on masculine cultures, especially on working class men (Willis 1978; Hebdige 1979). Furthermore, the male domination of rock has been addressed by many authors (Frith & McRobbie 1990 [1978]; Frith 1981; Walser 1993; Whiteley 1997). The history of rock was, until the 1990s, mainly written as narratives of masculinity, and many styles, including rock'n'roll, rock, heavy rock, punk, were all seen as masculine representations.⁵⁶ As Norma Coates has explained (1997, 52):

“Rock is indeed a technology of gender in that ‘masculinity’ is reinforced and multiplied in its many discursive spaces. However, what is reiterated in and by rock is a particular type of masculinity, one which was ‘fixed’ in the early days of rock’n’roll. Rock masculinity, at least the stereotype which, I assert, is still very much in play discursively and physically, is one in which any trace of the ‘feminine’ is expunged, incorporated or appropriated.”

In the late 1970s Simon Frith and Angela McRobbie (1990, 374) introduced a concept of ‘Cock rock’, by which they refer to “music making in which performance is an explicit, crude, and often aggressive expression of male sexuality”. This has resulted in many material implications. The song lyrics of rock are less about love than they are about sexuality. Most of the bands have been dominated by male musicians, even though the number of female performers has increased since the 1980s. Still, music industry is male run, the management and business people are mostly men (Frith & McRobbie 1990, 319; Cohen 1997, 18; Leonard 2000, 27-28). Masculinity is thus part of the authenticity creation within rock music. The ideology of rock has been strongly gendered and based on the representation of active and physical male, who can freely express their sexuality (Frith & McRobbie 1990, 380). Masculinity and male sexuality are thus also constructed by the performance (Whiteley 1997, 67). As Frith (2002, 218) has stated, body language does always encompass expressions of gender and sexuality.

The representations of rock in *Saimaa-ilmiö* are strikingly masculine. The contents are based on the activities of male rock musicians, who are cruising on a boat with some other fellow men, representing music media and industry, and their girl friends. The women are represented as passive and quiet. They did not have a role or a voice in the narration of the story of the tour. Men are actively playing music, talking, laughing, and having a good time. The women are depicted sitting beside men, watching the concert performances or laughing at their jokes.

Even though the musicians had relationships with these women, the film does not include romantic or sexual acts. The women are neutral bystanders. The only occasion where a female voice is heard is in Kuopio, where a woman

⁵⁶ See Bannister 2006 for further account on the subject.

is heard (not seen) claiming for a bottle she had purchased earlier. Recording her voice was not deliberate. The scene was recorded at the backstage with one camera and one microphone capturing indiscriminately all sounds in the environment. Also at the gigs the roles and social behaviour patterns seem clear. The roadying crew has its duties, groupies and girlfriends are in the audience, musicians are onstage or backstage. The performances of the musicians are mostly energetic and forceful, and thus affirmative to masculine dominance and power. Rock instruments and music technologies have also been associated with gender (Walser 1993; Théberge 1997; Keightley 1996).

In relation to the 1970s 'cock rock' the guitar played a central role. As the 'cock' is an expression for the male genitals, guitar has also been seen as a phallic symbol. "Their bodies are on display [...], mikes and guitars are phallic symbols (or else caressed like female bodies)" (Frith & McRobbie 1990, 374). In *Saimaa-ilmiö*, guitars are the most central instruments on stage and they create an important part of the sound world, too.

"Visually, it was used to accentuate the phallic dimension of the performing male body. Aurally, the volume and distortion generated by the instrument had a similar effect, amplifying the physical presence of the performed." (Waksman 2001, 270.)

The guitar is located over the crutch in this manner by Pantse Syrjä and Juha Torvinen in their performances. Such gestures are "conscious performative choices, rather than symbolically coded revelations of hidden male power" (Pattie 2007, 41). Gender is constructed in these performances, even though not as openly as in the harder rock styles (with tight trousers and chest hair). Not all the performances are openly sexual, but it is always the male bodies that are under the audience's gaze. In the performances there is only one openly sexual act in the performance of "Pilvee" (discussed in Subsection 5.2.1).

The lyrics of the songs do not generally deal with emotions and love. Two songs, in which such desire is expressed in the film, are "Syksyn sävel" and "Luonas kai olla saan", both by Juice Leskinen. "Syksyn sävel" is a pop-ballad, which is the appropriate musical style for the topic of love, a property of the "soft" popular music, not that of rock. "Luonas kai olla saan" is more upbeat with a steady rock comp. They both are in a minor key and the mood is sad, longing. Leskinen defines his music as pop in the interview, and the music written by him and performed by Slam differs somewhat from the music of the other bands. Eppu Normaali and Hassisen kone do not sing about love, as in the love songs. The songs have some gender specific expressions. The lyrics of the song "Herran tähde" express female domination in the relationship: A woman restricts man's life, and the man is stupid enough to allow it because he loves her. The use of words is witty and humorous. The meaning of the title of the song is ambiguous as a result of wordplay. "Herran" means God's or man's, whereas "tähde" means residue or waste, the rest of something. Thus the title could be translated as "God's residue" or "Man's waste". "Tähde", on the other hand, resembles the Finnish word "tähden", which means "for the sake of",

after which the title means “For God’s sake”, also “For the sake of man”, the meaning of which differs from that of the first one.

The lyrics by Hassisen kone are mostly neutral in terms of gender: the songs are addressed to “you” (“sinä”), a word which in the Finnish language is neutral and can thus be addressed to either a male or a female listener. However, in “Rappiolla” (Decadence) Alanko sings about a man sitting in his TV-chair listening to his voice, saying: “You shout to your wife: Bring me some beer, I can’t cope with this soberness”. This is a laconic comment on a middle-aged Finnish man, sitting on a couch, drinking beer and treating his wife as a servant. It seems that the conceptions of the relationships based on the models they have seen are not very happy ones.

The use of alcohol is also part of the male representation of rock. In the early 20th century alcohol played a central part in the lives of many musicians, especially bluesmen.

“Hard drinking male performers were far more likely to be tolerated than hard-drinking women singers, whose incapacitation was often thought to be all the more degrading as it undercut traditional female values and the virtues associated with the mother-nurturer stereotype. The career of rhythm and blues singer Janis Joplin, to give just a high-profile example, illustrates this tendency.” (Buckley & Laing 2003a, 149-150.)

Drinking men belong to the bohemian rock music life and its glamour, part of the authentication of the genre. Leisure and male bonding, together with humour, are also features of the masculine Finnish culture, as discussed in Section 6.2.

The exclusion and silence of women in this masculine culture is overwhelming. Simon Frith (1981, 86-87) has looked for reasons behind the exclusion of women in rock life. First of all, touring and being on the road have been important practices in rock. The ensuing homelessness and loneliness of such life was not considered suitable for women, whose most dominant and important roles in the societies were being wives and mothers. Furthermore, the bohemian rock life, living outside the normative routines of the people was not considered a suitable lifestyle for females. Masculinity is not inherently in the music. It is performatively in the lyrics, in the performance, in the performer, in short, in the culture, which is constructed of values and ideologies, through social and cultural contexts (Cohen 2001, 231). Those values and ideologies have been largely built discursively, in the texts about music. It is the community that matters, and that community is a male one.

As a generalisation it can be said that according to *Saimaa-ilmio* Finnish rock is music of white, heterosexual, and bohemian young men. The masculinity is articulated in relation to many aspects related to rock, but also to Finnishness. Some of the masculine discourses articulate the dominant masculinity, but an alternative discourses are also found, such as opposition to the military, using army shirts in casual contexts and also using suit jackets, often purchased at flea market.

The whole Finnish rock scene was male dominated at the time. Apart from few exceptions, women entered the scene during the 1980s. Nowadays female rock musicians are equally important figures in the Finnish rock genre, even though most of the musicians are still men and the ideology still mostly masculine. The scene or the community is not as exclusive anymore. Moreover, there has always been more than one kind of representation of masculinity or genders within popular music. In some subgenres, such as glam rock, the gender categories were challenged by androgynous men. Since the 1980s the gender representations have included different variations of masculine and a growing number of feminine expressions, performed by both sexes (Pattie 2007, 55). Even so, the gender roles of *Saimaa-ilmiö* are overwhelmingly lopsided. According to the film these bands representing Finnish rock lean heavily on the masculine construction of rock and further contribute to the male dominated discourses on rock culture and its authenticity.

5.7 Summary

In this chapter I have discussed *Saimaa-ilmiö* from the perspective of rock culture and the articulations related to rock identity. The bands playing music on the film are categorized as Finnish rock bands. The concerts and other music making activities constitute the vast majority of the contents of the documentary, which the Kaurismäki brothers called "a rock film". The activity types related to rock can be divided into the following main categories (arranged according to quantity): concert performances, interviews, acoustic music performances, roading, joke telling (having a good time, drinking), backstage, and casual travelling (touring).

The rock related discourses in *Saimaa-ilmiö* are largely similar to those in rock in general. The identities, which are articulated in the above mentioned activity types, reinforce the rock culture. Authenticity has been the main concept in the discussion of rock ideology, which has been considered as the main definer of the rock culture's musical and social aspects. Aesthetics and authenticity of Suomi-rock relies very much on that of traditional rock. The genre aimed at authenticity, which is apparent in the attitude towards productization. Regarding Eppu Normaali, Poko (the record company) "actively tried to affect the public image but, in spite of building an image, the company and the group decided to use regulation of publicity as the main means of marketing" (Muikku 2001, 227). In addition, one characteristic feature of this style was that its pioneers were rock groups that had emerged outside Helsinki. It was no coincidence that most of the important groups came from outside the Kehä III, a national ringroad around Helsinki. The new rock culture was considered "pure," "raw," and "authentic" partly because it originated from 'countryside', that is, came from the geographical periphery. Aesthetic pleasure has much to do with exploration of identities, therefore it is important to look at

the various articulations of identities, both real and fictionalised, related to the genre of Suomi-rock.

Touring and performing live are the most significant practices within most popular music genres. The *Tuuliajolla* tour events are used as the material for creating the narrative of the film, the story of which largely follows the chronological order of the events. The “work” of the musicians takes place in the concerts, where they perform live. The other time spent on the boat is leisure, during which the crew mostly talks, jokes, plays acoustic music and drinks. These features are typical of bohemian musicianship, but resemble also the social transformations described in terms of liminal space and carnivalism. The lifestyle is relaxed, including consumption of alcohol and smoking, and having a good time.

The other both verbal and non-verbal discourses on music revolve around live performances and concerts. There are several interviews in which the topic is related to performing on stage and the relationship with the audience. Most of the film material consists of the footage from the actual live performances. The “liveness” seems central from the perspective of rock authenticity. The studio work hardly enters the discourses at all. The only reference to that side of the music making is the song “Tällä tiellä” by Hassisen kone, which is a studio track accompanying Scene 36. Still, one of the main functions of the tours and the making of other music related products, such as the film, is to increase record sales. Furthermore, from the perspective of the authentication of the recorded music, concerts are an important way of creating credibility and having contact with the audiences. Even though Frith (2002) and Auslander (1999) claim authenticity is created by extramusical factors, I believe it is a manifold construction and involves interaction within ‘the whole package’: the complex relations within the music, its performers, and the contexts in which it is performed, used and produced.

The Kaurismäki brothers present the stage performances of the bands as energetic and active. The stage acts do not consist of rehearsed choreographies, yet there is body movement involved. Foot tapping, body swaying and head nodding are the commonly seen gestures of these musicians. Dancing is also presented as part of the performances, but the style is related to rock’n’roll and rock styles, rather than for example disco, in which dancing was an essential element of the genre. In rock dancing there is a movement with the music, and that movement is more spontaneous, even though not improvisatory. The jumps performed mainly by Juha Torvinen and Martti Syrjä are also pertinent to rock performances and link to the prior performances of rock’n’roll and rock. An important feature in the stage act is the presence of the performers, especially singers, who are situated at the center stage. They perform with an intensity and attitude, it matters that they are there. They are not wooing the audience with extra tricks; the live music is in the center of the performance.

There are also strong articulations of traditional *rock masculinity* in *Saimaailmiö*. Rock culture is heavily gendered. Music making and producing is a *contingent habit* for masculine actors, who function within society’s structures in

specific dispositions (Jokinen et al. 2009). The strong articulations of male gender can be described in terms of hegemonic masculinity, which refers to “how masculinity is involved in the social interaction and organizations of institutions in dominant ways” (Donaldson 1993, 644). According to that hegemony, these ways of dominance appear natural and normal, as they are legitimized and reproduced through social relationships (Connell 1987, 179). Male groups and male bonding are important aspects of rock bands and the peer groups, and the performance style is considered masculine.

The musicianship can also be examined as labour. Musicians’ working hours are mostly irregular and the actual “work”, that is, performing music, takes place mostly during the late night hours. In fact, that is the part of their work that can be viewed by the audience, where songwriting, arranging, rehearsing, fixing or selecting instruments and other gear is the part of the labour not well known or understood by the great public. In *Saimaa-ilmiö* some parts of this side of the work are briefly shown. Juice Leskinen’s first interview deals with his working habits and song writing, and three members of Hassisen kone are discussing the ways of rehearsing, while visiting the rehearsing locations. Moreover, Pantse Syrjä does touch on other areas of music related work, as he talks about his work as a producer. He contains plays in a double role also in the making of the film, being one of the main characters as well as the sound mixer in the post production of the concert performances.

The rock identity articulated through music does not constitute a coherent category. It includes songs of many subgenres of rock, punk, blues rock, skiffle-rock, rock’n’roll, pop ballad etc. Musically the genre is not consistent, but this is also the nature of the Anglo-American based rock style. However, the performance style is quite coherent and engages all the performers. The energetic and genuine presence is important. The attitude for making music is serious and humorous at the same time. Music is played well, but the musicians are also having a good time. The aesthetics of popular music and that of rock has been discussed from many perspectives. The traditional art aesthetics has given way to various discourses; the emphasis is shifting from critiques, journalistic writings, mystification of rock and creating “great narratives” to pleasure and genre related construction of aesthetics. Rock aesthetics has strongly been connected to the subcultural or counter cultural role of music and its sociocultural context (often seen as more important than music).

Finnish rock can also be discussed in terms of youth culture. Sociologically the two seem related. The people belong to the same suburban generation of men, and act within the same subculture of rock. The generational attitude is expressed in talks, songs, and activities. In addition to humour there is also space for critical articulations towards, older generations, authorities and western capitalist consumerist culture, which indicates that rock ideology’s rebellious and counter cultural spirit is still alive. There is a need to create an own space for the identity.

According to discourses in *Saimaa-ilmiö* Finnish rock can be identified as music of white, heterosexual, and bohemian young men.

6 ARTICULATIONS OF FINNISHNESS

National identities are amongst the most studied topics within cultural studies. The whole notion of 'national' is related to cultural modernity and the birth of nation-states in the 19th century. The cultural homogenization processes were carried out through a variety of institutionalized processes, such as the education system. (Hall 1992, 296.) National identities:

"[...] are not things we are born with, but are formed and transformed within and in relation to *representation*. We only know what it is to be 'English' because of the way 'Englishness' has come to be represented, as a set of meanings, by English national culture." (Hall 1992, 292.)

National identities are thus constructed through symbols and representations which people can identify with. Stereotypization and generalization of national identities are ways to foreground certain representations of a nation.

Nations are ideological constructions that come into being through culturally shared meanings (Anderson 1991). Homi Bhabha (1990) and Stuart Hall (1992) have suggested that the idea of nation is a spatial and temporal construction. Doreen Massey (1998, 123) has used concepts of *roots* to *routes* to imply the different ways in which people rework their geographical and spatial constitution.

"They are not closed but open, not ingrown ('pure') products of relative isolation but the outcome of incessant processes of social interaction. Here it is much more difficult to distinguish the local from the global. This is a reworking of the geographical imagination of culture which has been well captured in the formulation, from 'roots' to 'routes'."

Roots refer to the physical foundations and attachments of the culture. Routes, instead, refer to the movement, process of development, and a variety of interconnections between places and spaces. Thereafter, the emphasis is on the *processual* nature of the culture, and it is relevant to discuss the *dynamics* of the place: that is, the interaction between the local(s), regional(s), national, and transnational. The concept of translocality refers to this same phenomenon of

cultural flows and hybridities. Local cultures do not exist without the involvement with the supralocal ones. Furthermore, cultural spaces allow the movement in time, the shifts and transformations in between the past and the present.

The construction of a nation has also textual meanings. The most powerful way to construct national identity is through a narrative. Some narratives emphasize the origins and continuity of the culture, some others the invention of tradition and the roots. Some focus on the foundational myth told in most cultures, or on the primordial folk as the original, pure people. (Hall 1992, 293-295.) The myths of the origin of the nation, which were written into an epic by Elias Lönnrot (a doctor, philologist and botanist) in 1835, have played an important role in the construction of Finnishness. In the late 19th century the emergence of the National Romantic Movement, and the independence struggle that followed in the early 20th century, have largely defined the formation of the national narrative. It has been represented through art, education, history writing, and research. Especially the Karelian folklore culture was valued and reflected in the arts. Several painters depicted the views from Karelia and painted the motifs and subjects from Kalevala epic. Composers used the melodic themes from Kalevala songs in their work and named others according to the most famous Kalevala myths. Also Finnish, being a relatively small language, has been placed in a great role in relation to the nation building in Finland.

In comparison with many other countries Finland's history has been presented rather homogeneously. Its narrative is constructed of repeated elements: colonization by a foreign power (Sweden and Russia) and an ethnically coherent group of people under its rule, autonomy in 1809, own language and culture and a specific, largely Kalevala-based art catalogue representing it, independence in 1917, building the society and life with hard work, sliding into civil war, and finally the construction of the infrastructure and society at large, including urbanization and industrialization processes. This narrative speaks of the development, progress and success of Finland. (Löytty 2004, 97.) There has also been a strong patriotic discourse of Finland, which was built in the 19th century by images and texts. This ideology was passed on within the Finnish educational system until the late 20th century. Furthermore, the homogenized view of the national culture has been constructed in arrears through coherent representations of history and the past. The construction was still very much in process in the mid 1990s. (Knuuttila 1996, 170.)

Finnish people have been relatively well educated, as the compulsory education is nearly as old as the nation state. The literacy rate has thus been high. Printed word has had an important role in the construction of nations and made it possible for the people to form an image for their nation (Anderson 1991, 37-46). Thereafter printed word has had an important role in the nation building. Many books included writings of the 'great Finnish men', such as J.V Snellman, an important figure during the time of Finland's autonomy.⁵⁷ He had

⁵⁷ Publications of the Finnish Literature Society (SKS) has been an important party in this respect, having published a great number of educational material, historically important

a Hegelian outlook and emphasized the spirit and *Geist* (the values and norms of the community) of the nation in his 'one language, one mind' - policy (Pulkkinen 1999, 129).

The nationalistic ideology resulted in a cultural movement called Fennomania. The grounding stones were the ideas of the nation in the history, indigenous population, mythical landscape, and the small language related to some other small European languages. (Pulkkinen 1999, 130-132.) The discourses often involved the people ('kansa'), which refers to the people of the nation, i.e. common people, who were mainly peasants, and distinctively separate from the aristocratic upper class. These projects form the basis for the homogenization process of Finnish culture. In the early 20th century the national ideology became highly politicized; after the independence and the civil war, in which the leftist ideology and socialists, both of whom valued internationalism over nationalistic movements, were defeated, it was the conservative, non-socialist ideology that was rooted in the sacred ideas of the home, religion and fatherland (Hentilä 1999, 91; Pulkkinen 1999, 131).

Within the field of research the issue of nationalism has been discussed in various fields, mainly within the studies of history and different areas of studies of culture. The history, of course, has been written and rewritten several times, depending on the perspectives each time. Yet the concept of 'nationalism' entered the studies relatively late, in 1976 in William Wilson's *Folklore and Nationalism in Modern Finland* (Fewster 2006, 37). Recently there have been more critical attitudes towards the construction of Finnishness. An article collection *Me ja muut* (Us and Others, 1994), addressed different representations of Finnishness in Finland, also in relation to other cultures and identities, and through otherness. In *Suolatut säkeet* (Vitriolic Verses, 1997) Päivi Rantanen presents a critical analysis of a selection of texts which were written between the 17th and 19th centuries, and have had an important role in the discursive formation of the national narrative and the construction of the national identity before the formation of the nation state. In *Post Patria* (Alasuutari & Ruuska 1999) Finnishness was discussed in terms of geopolitics, placing the nation state relative to Europe and the processes of globalization. In *Suomi toisin sanoen* (Finland in other words, 2004) Mikko Lehtonen and other authors question the construction of Finnishness, aiming at creating metatheory for the discussion of Finnishness.

In recent decades various forms of popular culture have also been acknowledged to have a role in the construction of national identities. In cultural studies, as well as in study of popular music, local and national identities have been some of the most studied topics since the 1990s (Stokes 1994; Bennett 2000; Zuberi 2001; Yoffe 2005). As Zuberi (2001, 4) claims, also

"[...] words, music, audio, samples, and video and photographic images in popular music culture contribute to the production of historical knowledge, activating memory and bringing the past into dialogue with the present."

books, such as *Origin words of Finnishness* 1-3 (*Suomalaisuuden synty sanoja* Vol 1. in 1904, Vol 2. in 1909, Vol 3. in 1929), Kalevala and other folklore texts, and national biographies.

Movies and films are also participating in this process. In Finland there is a strong tradition of presenting national identity through audiovisual productions. The nation can be constructed by the contents (history, great men, national characters), local film practices, or popularity (Bacon et al. 2007, 12-13). For example, the canon of the national literature has been filmatised since the 1920s, thus contributing to the construction of the Finnish narrative, and focusing on the specific, commonly addressed events in the history of Finland. (Salmi 1996, 95.)

Saimaa-ilmiö also contributes to the creation of the nation's narrative. It represents Finnishness in many ways: it is a film made by Finns in Finland, the subjects are Finnish and represent the national rock genre, and there are more specific articulations of Finnishness in the contents of the film. I hold on to Homi Bhabha's (1990) idea of *nationness* as "a form of social and textual affiliation", which forms the basis for the analysis of the articulations of identities through the discourses presented in this cultural text.⁵⁸

6.1 The place of the nation

The significance of place in relation to cultural and national identity is recognized within cultural studies (Hall et al. 1996; et al. Stokes 1994). In *Saimaa-ilmiö* the most distinctive locations are that of the cruise, Lake Saimaa and its surroundings, the boat, and the concert venues. In addition to these places the events of the film create and connect to a variety of spaces. Whereas a 'place' refers to a more concrete, physically bound, geographic, demarcated area, 'space' signifies something more abstract, and relates to a three-dimensional quality, or even to something that is "unplaced", not tied into physical boundaries (also virtual). However, the concepts of space and place are interconnected.

Space, with time, is an essential ontological category for human beings. It is through this spatiotemporal dimension that we perceive our being. (Junkala 1999, 20.) As the postmodern society culture and art became fragmentary and unsubstantial, new communication techniques and increasing travelling increased the sense of "placelessness". In English language the term space got new meanings and expressions. The modern understanding of space has been necessary for the development of popular thought and its shaping, but still it remains vague and non measurable. And thus it has many cultural, physiological and political associations. (Berland 2005, 333-334.)

Place is more than merely a physical "place". It becomes significant through human experience, the "sense of place" (Haapala 2000, 41). It is in fact the meanings that are believed to create a 'place', it is something that has become significant to oneself (Haapala 2000, 39). The basic elements of a place are a physical frame, activity at the place, and meanings given to the place

⁵⁸ *Saimaa-ilmiö* in relation to Finnishness has been discussed also in Skaniakos (2007).

(Relph 1976, 47). Space becomes place through human experience. The relationship to a place is personal and it includes or constructs emotions, memories, hopes and fears (Tuan 1977, 8-10). Space, on the other hand, allows one to draw generalizations over several actual physical places, as the 'types of place', e.g. pubs as a space, or recording studios as a space, regardless of the physical location of the 'place'.

Within CDA the text studied is placed in various contexts. At the level of discourse practices the activity types are usually linked to a place. The places and their function, as well as the relations to other texts create spaces. At the sociocultural level the events are 'placed' within the concrete locales of the events, as in the situational context, and in broader terms by the cultural, institutional contexts. It is for the researcher to make the interpretation about whether these places and spaces are meaningful or might become meaningful for the study. *Saimaa-ilmiö* is situated and connected to numerous places and spaces, which are defined and made meaningful within these contexts explicated in CDA. In the following I discuss these in relation to the theoretical framework presented above. The scrutiny includes the physical locations as well as the analysis of the spatial construction.

6.1.1 Finnish landscape

One of the main settings of the film is situated at the most well known lake region of Finland. The Saimaa Lake basin is the best known lake area in Finland, and it is familiar to Finns as well as tourists from a great variety of imageries and narratives. In the construction of Finnishness it has also had a specific role as the most well known scenery in the national imagery. It is thereby loaded with meanings. The articulation of Finnish rock to this particular scenery is a distinct one and deviates from the traditional use. It arouses questions and divergent interpretations regarding the great role of the scenery in *Saimaa-ilmiö*. Thereafter, it is not just the scenery that is important, but rather the specific ways it is used in the film.

The summer landscape of a lake is repeatedly depicted in *Saimaa-ilmiö*. The film begins with an image of the lake. It is faded in from black screen while a pounding sound of the steamer is faded in. In the majority cases the lake images are shown in the boat scenes. These images can be classified into two types of landscapes; the natural and cultural ones. The *natural landscape* is basically an image or a view of natural scenery which has been formed by mainly natural processes. The *cultural landscape* has emerged as a result of both, the natural and human influence. In *Saimaa-ilmiö* the view of the lake, the surrounding green forest and the blue sky are typical natural landscapes in this part of Finland, known as Lake Finland (Järvi-Suomi). Lake Saimaa and the surrounding nature are mostly depicted in this quiet manner throughout the whole film (Table 24).








<i>Images</i>	<i>Descriptions</i>
	Natural landscape. The opening and first landscape image of <i>Saimaa-ilmio</i> , Scene 1.
	Natural landscape, Scene 1.
	Natural landscape after Mikkeli, Scene 14.
	Natural landscape framed by a window, highlighted with the darker light inside, Scene 14.
	Framed landscape image, Scene 26.
	Natural landscape, Scene 26.
	Natural landscape. Last landscape image, Scene 41.

TABLE 24 Selected landscape images in *Saimaa-ilmio*.

These images mediate the nearly untouched, quiet nature. Even though people are often not seen, the human touch is present and shaping the cultural landscape, as the boat, houses or other human made artefacts are shown. When people are depicted in these images they are in sitting or standing positions, tranquil and still. This is a respectful way to present the landscape. The use of the landscape is not strange as such – Finnishness is historically strongly articulated in connection to this *summer* landscape.

Most of Finland’s population has lived in the vicinity of water, mostly lakes, but also rivers and the sea. A lakeside view is also one of the strongest stereotypical images of Finnish nature and landscape. However, the landscape imagery of Finland has not just been “discovered”, it has been constructed in words, drawings and painting, photographs and films (Häyrynen 2002, 42; Häyrynen 2005, 61; Tiitta 2002, 23). Lakeside landscape has been one of the main motifs in these images since the early 19th century, following the continental European nature romanticism. They are also part of the great narrative of Finland as a nation-state, through certain imageries and art depicting these landscapes, which in the late 19th century were often illustrated landscapes from eastern Finland, the provinces of Savo and Karelia (Tiitta 2002, 25). (Palin 1999, 214-223.)

The Saimaa landscapes depicted in the film are part of the most presented ones in this imagery. Three of these 27 national landscapes are located along the route of the cruise: national landscapes no 15 Olavinlinna and Pihlajavesi (No. 15), Punkaharju (No. 16), and Heinävesi route (No. 17). Olavinlinna and Lake Puruvesi are presented also in I.K. Inha’s photographs from the year 1909. These images depicting the Olavinlinna castle, presented in Table 25, are very much alike. The angle is almost identical in three of these pictures depicting the three towers of the castle.


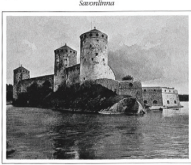


<i>Olavinlinna and Puruvesi</i>			
<i>Saimaa-ilmio</i>	I.K.Inha	National board of Antiquities	National landscape No. 15.
			

TABLE 25 Pictures of Olavinlinna from *Saimaa-ilmio* and by I.K. Inha (1909), National board of Antiquities and National Landscape no. 15 (Putkonen 1993).

In *Saimaa-ilmio* there are very few buildings depicted from outside in the film, and the others are very different from Olavinlinna: in Heinävesi the dance pavilion is shown as musicians are entering the building; a single house, which had been a rehearsing location of Hassisen kone, is shown in Joensuu; and a

restaurant is pictured from the boat as they are gliding by at night. The image of this castle is different. At first the castle is shown as they approach the Savonlinna town, but the image presented in Table 23 is taken from ashore. It is not possible to get this angle from the boat. Two short scenes in the castle follow this image, but the people are not depicted entering or leaving the castle. The still image used resembles a post card view of the castle.

The images in Table 26 are from Punkaharju, the national landscape No. 16. The place has traditionally been depicted through three motifs: the ridge, the road through a narrow inlet, or the surrounding waters. In *Saimaa-ilmio* Punkaharju is not highlighted specifically, but the image used is the one that precedes the concert in Punkaharju, and thus possibly depicts the view from this area. The images from this area are presented as Safka is playing the ballad "Päivänsäde ja menninkäinen" with his accordion at the deck, most of the images in this scene containing the boat and a person or two. In the national catalogue, the view is sublimated and focuses on the known motifs, the ridge and the inlet. *Saimaa-ilmio* contains only images of the lake, depicted from the boat.


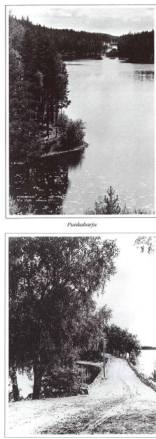

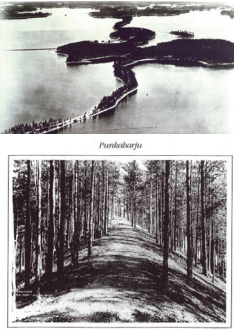
<i>Punkaharju</i>			
<i>Saimaa-ilmio</i>	I.K.Inha	Old colour picture	National landscape No. 16.
		 <p>One of the oldest colour pictures of Finnish landscapes, from "Neljä luonnoihanaa näköalaa Suomesta".</p>	

TABLE 26 Images from Punkaharju from *Saimaa-ilmio* and by I.K. Inha (1988), old colour picture (*Finnish Landscape* 2002) and National Landscape no. 15 (Putkonen 1993).

The route of the cruise did also follow the so-called Heinävesi route (national landscape No. 17), which is not highlighted, perhaps not even shown in the film. There are many canals along this famous route but they are not depicted at all. It is possible that they travelled through this route at night, and it could not be filmed for the lack of sufficient light. An example of such a view is a panoramic

image of the lake (Image 16). In this shot the camera moves towards left showing a wide horizon (Scene 26).



IMAGE 16 A panoramic view of the lake, constructed of three captured still images from the film.

The sounds accompanying the natural and national landscape images such as this panoramic view, are usually sedate. These scenes mostly include either low volume environmental sounds or acoustic music, which create a great contrast to the otherwise 'noisy' and loud rock music and tour life with its people and populated urban spaces and noisy bars and clubs.

In the national literature and imagery the Finnish national identity is closely related to the natural landscape, rather than to a cultural or urban one. The national identity construction became stronger in the early 19th century after Finland gained autonomy under Russian rule. At first there were textual descriptions illustrated with drawings, such as the texts of Johan Ludvig Runeberg (1804-1877), Zacharias Topelius (1818-1898) and Aleksis Kivi (1834-1872). Runeberg described Finnish nature and especially the lake views in his poems. He had a strong influence in the construction of the fatherland in relation to the landscape and its people, as Finland's history was not yet a subject for evoking patriotic feeling. He wrote the poem *Vårt Land* (Our land), in which he describes the land to be that of thousand lakes, in Swedish originally. Many writers used professional artists as illustrators of their books. Runeberg's *Fänrik Ståls sägner* (The Stories of the Lieutenant Stål, 1848/1860) was illustrated by Albert Edelfelt's ink drawings, which presented Finnish nature and landscape (in *Finnish Landscape*, 2002) (Image 17).

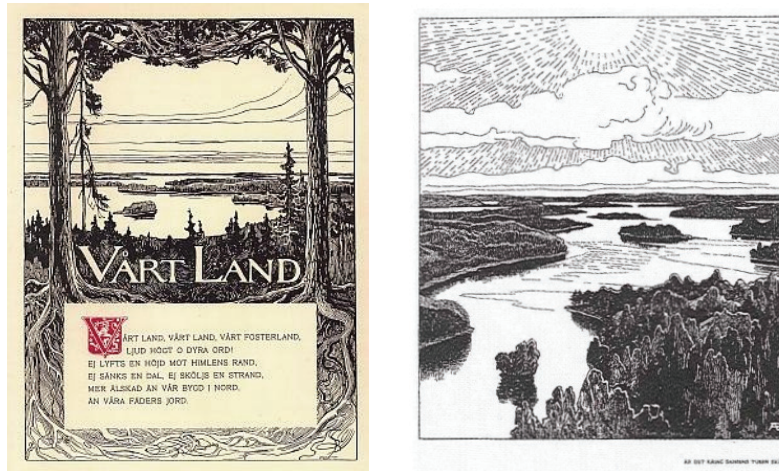


IMAGE 17 Albert Edelfelt's illustrations from *The Stories of Lieutenant Stål*, by Runeberg (1848/1869).

The book begins by the first verse of the poem *Vårt Land*, which became the text of our national anthem.⁵⁹

Topelius' book *Finland framställd i teckningar* (Finland in drawings published as booklets in the years 1845–1852) included 120 lithographic images of Finland made according to works of professional artists. His best known book is, however, *Maamme* (in 1874), which was used in schooling for decades. (Tiitta 2002, 23-24.) The name of the work is identical with the name of Runeberg's poem. As a geographer Topelius aimed at presenting the country, the land of Finland, in the first and largest chapter of the book. He explains and illustrates why and how the fatherland should be respected and loved. (Tiitta 1994, 107-112; Lehtonen 1995, 96; Tiitta 2002, 25.) His nationalistic discourse was built on a dualistic idea of articulating history with progress: that is, the romanticized idea of the natural land and its people with the ideals of liberalistic progress and economic growth. People were mass that needed to be educated, and Topelius aimed at producing greater love for the country in order to have people working harder on its behalf, to create progress. Furthermore, religion played a part in this – the unselfishness typical of Lutheran faith fitted well in this ideology. (Rantanen 1997, 200-205.) The images used by Topelius were canonised. His way of presenting the images in relation to the nationalistic idealism has been retrospectively named as *Topelianism* (Häyrynen 2005, 41).

In a similar vein, the images of Finland and its countryside were constructed through photographs in the late 19th century by a journalist, author and photographer Into Konrad aka I. K. Inha. Publishing houses assigned him to make picture books about Finland. His photos have had a great importance in building the image of Finland, and more specifically its landscapes. He is mostly known for photographing the Viena Karelia (currently part of Russia)

⁵⁹ The poem has altogether 11 verses, of which the first and the last are used as the text for the National Anthem.

and Northern Finland, but in the year 1895 he bicycled around Finland for almost a year in order to photograph images for a book called *Suomi kuvissa* (Finland in Pictures). In these black and white photos he has also pictured a landscape from the Saimaa area. (Häyrynen 2002, 46; Tiitta 2002, 26.)

Runeberg and Topelius inspired many artists to find motifs in national sceneries, and landscapes were popular subjects from 1850s to the 1880s. However, National Romanticism, in which the landscapes were central motifs, flourished in the 1890s. The artists depicted many views from Savo and Karelia. The most well known paintings are from Karelia, from Mount Koli by Eero Järnefelt and from Paanajärvi by Akseli Gallen-Kallela. These were mostly *summer* images of Finnish nature. Views of similar landscapes have thus far been used for a number of various purposes, from marketing to contemporary art, advertisements, parodies, and so forth.

“Landscape imageries [--] are part of those national tools, which are used to create something visible and tangible of the nation. Finnish landscape imagery has turned out to be one of the most efficient constructors of Finnishness.” (Lukkarinen 2004, 39.)⁶⁰

The landscapes have also been exposed to a process of value construction. In addition to the above uses of the landscapes as representations of Finnishness, there is an official, canonized construction of *national landscapes*. The protection of national landscapes has been in the agenda of the EU and the state of Finland since the 1990s. In 1992, as Finland celebrated its 75th Independence Day a group of specialists was assigned to define Finland’s national landscapes, and 27 were selected.⁶¹ (Putkonen 1993.) The Ministry of environment has stated:

“In 1992, 27 national landscapes were designated around Finland, in areas that particularly represent the special natural and cultural features of different regions. These well-known landscapes have great symbolic value and widely recognised significance in cultural and historical terms, or in the popular image of Finland’s natural landscapes. No particular administrative significance was attached to the national landscapes.” (Landscape protection and management, Ministry of the Environment 2009.)

As the Ministry states, the selected ones hold a great symbolic value to Finland and Finns. They also widen the criteria from culturally and historically significant features into popular images.

The canonized Finnish landscapes in *Saimaa-ilmio* are creating strong references to the past uses of the imageries and the Topelian spirit of the land. Natural representations of countries are interesting, as the earth is often described in feminine terms, as in “Mother Earth”. In Finland the country as a land is called *Suomi-neito* (Maiden of Finland). She is often pictured as the map of Finland, which resembles the form of a woman, wearing a dress, holding her

⁶⁰ The original quote: “Maisemakuvastot’ kuuluvat [--] niihin lukuisiin kansallisiin välineisiin, joilla abstraktista kansakunnasta tehdään jotain näkyvää ja kouriintuntuva. Suomalainen maisemakuvasto onkin osoittautunut yhdeksi tehokkaimmista suomalaisuuden rakentajista.”

⁶¹ Furthermore, in 1995 Finnish Government defined 156 nationally valuable landscapes.

both hands high. After the WW II the maiden was no longer complete, as Finland lost Petsamo in the North and parts of Karelia in the South to Russia in the year 1944. The *Maiden of Finland* was used as a metaphor for the loss, in which the forfeited areas were depicted through her amputated body, the missing left arm and a part of the hem (Image 18).

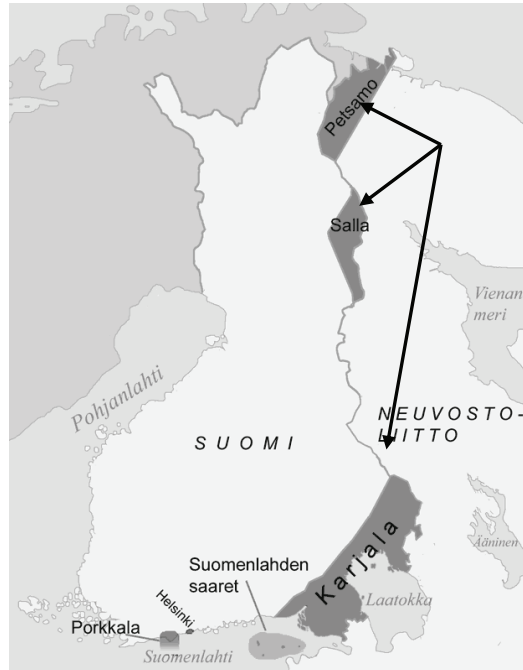


IMAGE 18 The areas Finland yielded up to Soviet Union in 1944 (Pariisin rauha 2010).

Yet the land, as it is governed by the state, is most often discussed in terms of the masculine, the man, who is cultivating and building it, thus being the active and dominant subject. The Olavinlinna castle is one of the most well known and popular historical monument in the catalogue of Finland. Furthermore, it is a defence castle built in order to defeat the enemy and secure the state. Punkaharju ridge, which is not as clearly marked in *Saimaa-ilmio*, is even more popular in the imagery of Finland.

The uses of these landscapes in the film relate to what John Urry (1990, 43-45) has called the *romantic touristic gaze*. The tourists seek characteristic landscapes, which provide them “solitude, privacy and a personal, semi-spiritual relationship with the object of the gaze” (Ibid., 43). In Finland this gaze towards the landscape emerged as the people moved to cities. As a result of this, the countryside became romanticized and an object for nostalgia (Häyrynen 2002, 48). In a similar sense, the musicians and the rest of the crew are ‘tourists’ in these surroundings, some returning to their childhood scenes.

Even though there is a linkage between the images used in *Saimaa-ilmio* and the natural and national landscapes, there are also differences between

these images. In the national landscape scenery, as seen in the pictures and paintings, the view is often presented from the bird's eye view or depicted from the top of a hill. In *Saimaa-ilmiö*, the angle of the view, however, deviates from this official presentation. The perspective is down at the horizontal level from the beginning of the film. This is the down to earth, "people's" gaze. The difference is sufficient enough to break the equivalency with this traditional use, and yet holding on to the function of constructing Finnishness.

The sceneries of Finnish countryside and lakesides are familiar also from the popular discourses within films and music. The landscape views were often used in romantic country movies of the 1940s and 1950s. All kinds of music has been played in the lakeside pavilions and festivals. Landscapes are not entirely strange in Finnish rock culture, either. Many summer rock festivals take place near water, a lake (Ilosaarirock, Joensuu), a river (Provinssirock, Seinäjoki), or the sea (Ruisrock, Turku; Pori Jazz, Pori). In addition, the venues in which the bands regularly performed in the 1970s and the 1980s were dance pavilions, often located at the waterside, as discussed in Chapter 5.2.2.

6.1.2 Two ballads from Lake Saimaa.

The first sound of the film is that of pounding, referring to the sound of the steam boat. The pounding sound gets louder until the visual image changes to an image of the approaching S/S Heinävesi. At that point the accordion starts the introduction to the first song of the film, *Kaunis Veera eli balladi Saimaalta* (Beautiful Veera aka a Ballad from Saimaa). This is an intertextual reference to a song which was originally written by Martti Jurva (music) and Tatu Pekkarinen (lyrics) in 1942.⁶² The song was also used as a title song in a film in 1950, which was scripted by Pekkarinen.⁶³ The original song and the film where it was presented are well known by the Finns. The song is a ballad telling a story of a steamer which was used in log rafting, an important way of transporting logs since the 18th century until the first half of the 20th century (Peltonen 1991). In the original film young gypsy girl Veera is recruited on the boat to make coffee. She's very beautiful and captures the men's attention, only to leave them in the end for a gypsy man.

The song is an intertextual link to the location and the setting of the cruise. The events of the original film take place in the same lake basin as *Saimaa-ilmiö*, and the name is mentioned in both film titles. In a more general level, the reference is to the Finnish vernacular culture of the 1950s, people's culture, and also working culture, as *Kaunis Veera* is about the log rafting culture. The connotations are to the 1950s and to the classic era of Suomi film Ltd., to the national romanticism and more generally to a nostalgic image of Finland (see the Subsection 6.1.3 for a more detailed analysis). The song is not performed in

⁶² They both are important figures in the history of Finnish popular song and were active in music making in the 1920s and 1930s, performing in America in the 1920s. Together, they wrote a number of songs, mostly jenka, polka, foxtrot, waltz, and tango. Jurva played in a famous Finnish orchestra called Dallapé.

⁶³ The film was released on 21st of September, 1950.

its entirety and the sections sung in *Saimaa-ilmio* might well have been chosen based on memory. During the song the images shown on the screen include various shots of the boat deck and water. There are, however, signs of people, such as a shoe and a bottle, and the moving boat implicates the presence of people.

The intertextual reference to this 1950s film is not limited to the song. The whole structure and imagery of the first two scenes in *Saimaa-ilmio* include many similarities with those of the *Kaunis Veera*. As can be seen in Table 27, it seems as if the structure of the opening scenes of *Saimaa-ilmio* were compressed of those of *Kaunis Veera*. In addition to the structure, there are also similar shots and camera angles, and the order in which the shots appear in the two openings. This is not a mere coincidence. The similarities are at the level of ideas, not at the level of precise imitation. There are also alterations. The song is shortened, and the shots are of different length.

<i>Kaunis Veera</i>				<i>Saimaa-ilmio</i>			
1	0'00	Black screen.		1	0'00	Black screen.	
	1'02	Lake image.	Fade in		0'07	Lake image.	Fade in
	1'07	Text: SF esittää elokuvan förevisar (SF presents) + film credits	Appearing		0'14	Text: Villealfa film-productions esittää rock-elokuvan (... presents rockfilm)	Appearing
	2'55	Lake + boat approaching, depicted from above. Coming from right, moving obliquely towards lower left corner.	Direct cut		0'22	Lake + boat approaching, horizontal view. Coming from right, moving obliquely towards lower left corner.	Direct cut
2	3'12	Captain's cabin at the upper deck, depicted from the bow.	Super imp.	2	1'55	Juice Leskinen in the captain's cabin, depicted from left side.	Super imp.

TABLE 27 The comparison of the opening Sequences of *Kaunis Veera* and *Saimaa-ilmio*.

In *Saimaa-ilmio*, the first lake image lasts for 15 seconds while in *Kaunis Veera* it lasts for almost two minutes. The first scene lasts also close to two minutes, but there are a number of images from the boat deck which break the static image of the lake. There are no film credit texts in the beginning of *Saimaa-ilmio*, either, even though the names of the bands are shown in the boat image.

In *Kaunis Veera* the boat appears at 2'55, whereas in *Saimaa-ilmio* it is seen at 0'22. Since the original song is much longer, the audience is provided with the possibility to enjoy the (black and white) lake image while listening to it. In *Saimaa-ilmio* the song starts as the boat is shown approaching, and the boat is shown for a relatively long time, for almost 40 seconds. In *Kaunis Veera* the boat is

shown for only 17 seconds, this including the superimposition of the title text of the film. The second scene is located in both films in the captain's cabin. The transition from the previous scene is carried out in exactly the same way in both films. The video dissolve takes place by superimposing the image of a person in the captain's cabin, even though the angle is not the same. In the audio track, however, the last chords of the song are still heard while the new image is introduced, and the new track follows 3-4 seconds behind the images. (Image 19.)



IMAGE 19 Comparison of the opening images including the first texts in *Kaunis Veera* (left) and *Saimaa-ilmio* (right). The approaching boats in *Kaunis Veera* (left) and *Saimaa-ilmio* (right). images of the captain's cabins in *Kaunis Veera* (left) and *Saimaa-ilmio* (right).

In both of these images from the cabin we can see a man steering the wheel, even though the angles are not the same. In *Kaunis Veera* the sound track continues by another song, *Prinsessa Armada* (Princess Armada), which refers to the name of the vessel. There are also other men on deck during the scene. In *Saimaa-ilmio* Juice Leskinen recites Lauri Viita's poem and he is the only person shown in the second scene. The setting is, however, very similar. Moreover,

there is a curious link between these two films: the director of *Kaunis Veera*, Ville Salminen, is the father of Timo Salminen, who was one of the camera men filming *Saimaa-ilmiö*. There is no documented information about his possible role in creating the similarities, thus it would be speculation to assume so.

Log rafting culture was alive in the first half of the 20th century. It decreased in the process of industrialisation, due to the development of forestry machinery and transportation. The steam boats were typical to the era of rafting and Juice Leskinen had worked on rafting in two summers in his youth, as forestry was the main industry in his home town. The loggers had to travel on a boat for weeks to transport the timber to the wanted destination. There is an analogy here to musicians' lives. The rock musicians had to travel around a lot; they were touring all over Finland. There is a link also to Finnish film culture. In addition, rafting was one of the main topics of the Finnish cinema in the 1950s, produced mainly by Suomi Film LTD. They dealt with the lives of many working men, who were rather isolated from their families and other social life. Yet the issues were often addressed in humorous ways (Pantti 1995, 114.) These films included a fair amount of songs and music. Thereafter, the reference to *Kaunis Veera* right at the beginning of the film is a clear indication to both, the 1950s Suomi film, a "premusical", and to the log rafting culture it represents. In *Saimaa-ilmiö* there aren't logs to be rafted, instead they are transporting and delivering music. Furthermore, this is similar to the roaming gypsy culture. The gypsies are traditionally nomadic people, and some of them were moving around in Finland.

6.1.3 Articulating the past

Despite the homogenization process, Finnish culture has been hierarchically structured. The culture of the gentefolk in the 19th century was different from that of peasants. In the 20th century the disintegration of mass culture into high and low was made after 1920s, as jazz arrived. Despite the increasing ideological gap between art and mass produced culture, the role of entertainment and popular culture was regarded valuable to a some degree, as there were examples of film and music that supported the national values, especially during the WW II. (Rautiainen 2001, 92.) After the 1950s, the strong division between the high, elite culture, and the vernacular culture became more evident within music in some comedy song types (for example, rillumarei, obscene songs, and vulgar *iskelmä*) and in popular films (log rafting, Rillumarei, and other comedy films).

In the music of *Saimaa-ilmiö* there are two intertextual references to the vernacular culture: "Kaunis Veera" (1950), and "Päivänsäde ja menninkäinen" (A Sunray and A Goblin, 1949), of which the former was already discussed in previous Section. "Päivänsäde ja menninkäinen" is a well known ballad. In *Saimaa-ilmiö* it is played by Safka aka Eero Pekkonen, Slam's keyboardist, who performs it with an accordion in Scene 41. The song was written by Reino Helismaa, a famous composer, lyricist and performer of many humorous *kupletti* (couplet or revue) type songs. In the 1950s he was involved with the

Suomi Film's writing scripts for the so-called Rillumarei films, which were humorous and entertaining, made for the Finnish people, including a lot of music and joking, and talking in dialects, for example. These films and songs were a continuation for the prior *kupletti* tradition. "Päivänsäde ja menninkäinen" is not a humorous song. It tells the tragic story of a sun ray (female) and a goblin (male), who would like to share his worldly journey with her, but it is impossible for the sun ray to stay for she would die after the sunset.

The song was originally performed and recorded in 1949 by Tapio Rautavaara, a well known singer and troubadour. The song belongs to the repertoire of the vast majority of the population born before 1980s, as it was included in school music books and thus learned and sung by thousands of pupils every year, and it has often been sung at the various gatherings, e.g. when sitting by the lakeside fires by Finnish waters in a summer night. Tapio Rautavaara performed the song with a guitar, but the accordion is a traditional accompanying instrument of sing-along's and in amateur music making in Finland.

The performance is short, lasting less than two minutes. The scene starts by a close-up of the boat's prow and water. The music is heard before the image of the player follows two seconds after. During this scene there are images shown of the musician himself, other members of the Slam and the lake (Table 28).




<i>Images</i>	<i>Time</i>	<i>Visual</i>	<i>Sound</i>
	1'24'45	The prow cutting water, close-up.	"Natural silence" 4 sec
	1'24'49		Safka sitting at the deck playing accordion.
	1'24'51		
	1'25'11	Lake view, forest, mist above the water.	
	1'25'18	Jari Yliaho leaning on the deck rail, smoking and watching the lake.	
	1'25'44	Juice Leskinen and Ila Loueranta also at the deck rail.	
	1'25'51 1'26'33	Safka.	

TABLE 28 Acoustic performance of "Päivänsäde ja menninkäinen" by Safka, Scene 41.

Safka is shown playing the accordion for approx. 20 seconds, after which there are images of the lake, Jari Yliaho standing at the deck and smoking, and Juice Leskinen and Ila Loueranta. The musicians are serious, preoccupied, and listening to the music. The moment is far away from the noisy concert stage and amplified music scene. Most of the people have disappeared, and there are only members of Juice Leskinen and Slam at the deck. At the end of the scene the camera returns to Safka playing at the deck, the song ends and there is a moment of “natural silence”, just sounds coming from the surroundings, in this case a dog barking and a bird singing for a couple of seconds.

All the seats around Safka are empty; there is only one beer can at the deck accompanying the lonely musician. The atmosphere is peaceful and the mist above the lake implies it is a late night or an early morning shot. This is one of the most tranquil moments on the film. The musician is sitting at the deck alone, playing the song. The water is still, there is no wind in the air. The summer night lake scenery frames the backgrounds, thus being one way of presenting the cultural landscape in the film. These idyllic scenes create contrast to other noisy and loud rock concerts, and party elements, which are seen in some other boat scenes.

Even though “Päivänsäde ja menninkäinen” is a folk song similar to a ballad in this respect, *Saimaa-ilmio* does not include references to Finnish traditional folk culture at large. However, in one occasion (Sequence 18) the musicians are using traditional Finnish instruments, birch bark horns. They are old herding instruments used mainly for signalling to cattle or people. The horn is played like a trumpet, and in *Saimaa-ilmio* they are used as instruments of accompaniment in the performance of “Reggae OK” in the Olavinlinna castle. Two musicians, Martti Syrjä and Ila Loueranta, and a roudie named Soija sit on top of an old cannon, while two women stand by the side and watch the performance (Image 20).



IMAGE 20 Performance of “Reggae OK!” in Olavinlinna, Savonlinna.

Martti Syrjä is singing and the two other men are blowing the horns. It is possible to produce only a small variety of pitch with these instruments, and

the pitch is not very accurate. The horns are blown in order to create a rhythmical backbeat to support the reggae-like feeling to the song. There is no explanation for the origin of the horns in the film: it is possible that they were purchased at the outdoor market, which is located near the dock and the castle in Savonlinna. Their use seems parodical; they are used because they are out of context and funny.

6.1.4 Happiness is... deserted countryside

Whereas the prior examples within the theme of the countryside have been romanticized ones, there is another reference that explicates a different relation. After the golden era of the 1950s the urbanization process hastened in Finland. This resulted in a higher unemployment especially in the countryside and many moved to the cities and even abroad in the hope of better life. This process is linked to *Saimaa-ilmiö*. In the second scene Juice Leskinen is reciting the third verse of Lauri Viita's poem *Onni* (Happiness, Table 29). Viita is one of the most well known poets in Finland and *Onni* was one of the last he wrote shortly before his death in 1965.

Kaita polku kaivolta ovelle nurmettu.	Narrow path from well to door grassed over.
Ikkunan edessä	Before the window
pystyyn kuivunut omenapuu.	a dried-up apple tree.
Reppu naulassa ovenpielessä, siinä linnunpesä.	Bag on a nail by the door, a bird's nest there.
Kun olen kuollut, kun olen kuollut.	When I am dead, when I am dead.
Kesä jatkuu.	Summer will continue.
Kesä.	Summer.

TABLE 29 Lauri Viita, *Onni* (Happiness, 1965), third verse. English translation by Philip Binham (published in Binham & Dauenhauer 1978).

The first verse is dedicated to mother, the second to father, and this third one to an abandoned home in countryside. The whole poem is about the family, childhood memories, abandoned home and parents, to whom Viita dedicates the first two verses, as if he were talking to them. This third verse presented in the film is about the remembrance of the childhood home, its loss, and death. It refers to the past life, a place where no one lives anymore. The parents have deceased and the home is deserted. Even so, there is a glimpse of hope and positivity in the end of the third verse. The summer, which will continue after one's death refers to the continuation of the world despite the demise of one individual, life goes on.

Poems are not standard material of rock documentaries. The reasons for selecting this particular poem to be presented at the early stage of the film could be many. There may have been Leskinen's personal reasons involved: Viita was one of his favourite poets. He was a carpenter, who later became a poet

representing the working class. He lived his life in Tampere, which had become also Leskinen's second hometown.⁶⁴ Furthermore, Leskinen was a language enthusiast, having done translation studies at the University of Tampere, and was also known as avid reader, writer and poet himself, even though this side of his artist became more important later in his career. At the time *Onni* was written Leskinen was already a teenager. There is also at least a hint of nostalgia here. Another reason for selecting the poem could be that there is a reference to summer in the last verse, which links to the summer setting of the film. This is an intense performance, during which the camera is focused on a close-up on Juice Leskinen.

Another reason for having a poem recited in this documentary could be cinematic and is also found in another rock documentary, namely the *Last Waltz* (1976, for further explanation see Section 4.4). The film had been greatly liked by Kaurismäki brothers, and it includes two recitations: an extract from the introduction of the *Canterbury tales* presented in Chaucerian dialect, and "Loud Prayer" recited and written by Lawrence Ferlinghetti. This poem in *The Last Waltz*, which Kaurismäki brothers had seen, could have provided them with the idea of having a poem recited in *Saimaa-ilmio*.

The poem refers to a certain process in Finnish society. In the 1960s, when Viita wrote the poem, there were a growing number of uninhabited homes around the countryside. As the older generations passed away, their houses remained empty, their children often moving to more central locations. Desertion of countryside was a phenomenon familiar to the generations of the musicians as well as to Kaurismäki brothers. Furthermore, the topic has been dealt with in several ways in Finnish culture, literature, music, films, and it is part of the 'great narrative' of the (post)modern nation.

The 'emptiness' of the countryside is articulated also in the way the landscape is presented in the film (as already discussed in Subchapter 6.1.1). The absence of the people in the lakeside view refers to the scene as an untouched natural resource. Furthermore, it would have been possible for the film makers to choose more images of the towns and people, for example when the steamer arrived in the dock, but those kinds of images have been almost completely excluded from the film.

Musically the countryside has traditionally been linked with *iskelmä*, which is part of the Finnish shared memory scenery (Bagh & Hakasalo 1986, 8-9). Dance pavilions as concert venues represent the broader change in Finnish society. The history of these locations as pair dancing venues dates back to the beginning of the 1900s. In the 1920s and the 1930s they remained popular, but dancing was forbidden at the time of the WW II. However, a golden time in the 1950s followed and continued to the 1960s. (Nurmela 2005, 61-53.) In the 1960s there was at least one pavilion in every municipality. In the 1970s the improving transportation and road network made it possible for people to

⁶⁴ Some years later Leskinen wrote a song "Lauri Viidan muistomerkki" (Memorial of Lauri Viita, recorded by Grand Slam in 1988) as an homage to Viita.

travel further to a particular venue, and smaller pavilions went down. (Yli-Jokipii 1999, 241–245.)

The golden time continued throughout most of the 1970s. As the *iskelmä* music was played less in the dance pavilions, these venues provided an opportunity for other kinds of popular music performers, also for Finnish rock bands (Yli-Jokipii 1999, 245). Since the 1970s there were also concerts of rock and pop artists in these pavilions. This was a practice adopted by most bands in Finland. By the end of the decade this was a standard practice and a norm, rather than exception. This change in the dance pavilion culture is well described in Ismo Alanko's speech preceding a song called "Tanssi hurmaa" (dance has its spell) in Punkaharju pavilion:

"And now we dance... it is nowadays this, no one comes to these pavilions to dance anymore, everybody comes to stand and ogle this kind of , äh, yeah, this kind of blokes."

The musicians had experienced this change personally, as they toured around Finland, playing mostly in dance pavilions. The rock concerts were often organized by sports or youth social clubs, who also owned club houses and pavilions, but also by live music associations, which started to emerge in the late 1970s. Two concerts presented in *Saimaa-ilmio* are performed in a dance pavilion.

6.1.5 The Importance of the language

One of the most signifying markers of Finnish rock was the Finnish language. The genre is the first national style in which the vast majority of the songs were sung in one's own language. Popular music had, of course, been sung in Finnish prior to Finnish rock, but the importance of the language is related to the role of rock as youth culture. The language of national *iskelmä* and its subgenres was always Finnish, but that was entertainment music aimed at wide audiences. In the early 20th century, *iskelmä* was listened to by a majority of population, whereas the Anglo-American influenced genres were mostly considered as youth music. In *iskelmä* the lyrics were mostly about love and life, without a critical or political stand. There were some other kinds of popular music, in which the lyricists made song writing into something more than putting words to music. They made the lyrics into poetry, creating personal and identifiable styles. The most well known figures in such word mastery were Reino Helismaa (1950s and 1960s), and Juha Vainio and Vexi Salmi (1960s and 1970s). (Kurkela 2003, 387-390; 503-508.)

This tradition of Finnish lyric writing started to articulate with the incoming influences in the late 1960s. In relation to Anglo-American genres, at first there were singer-songwriters making folk songs and translating cover songs into Finnish. The significance of the language became highlighted by the fact that most rock/pop music of the 1960s, such as progressive rock and rock'n'roll based rock, were mostly sung in Finnish. Also Swedish speaking

Finns, such as Dave Lindholm, chose Finnish as the language of their lyrics. In the late 1960s and especially the 1970s the Finnish music became a mixture of many traditions and new lyricists entered the scene, including figures such as Heikki Harma aka Hector and Juice Leskinen. By the late 1970s the number of bands increased, and there were numerous bands playing rock in Finnish. This was one of the grounds for the emergence of Finnish rock. The bands in *Saimaa-ilmio* were considered to be important constructors of the genre. Juice Leskinen, who had started his career in the early 1970s, was seen as an important figure in renewing the Finnish lyric writing tradition. The majority of the lyrics of Hassisen kone were written by Ismo Alanko, whereas the lyrics of Eppu Normaali were written mostly by Mikko Saarela, but also by Mikko and Martti Syrjä. *Saimaa-ilmio* represents the language change well. All songs performed in the film, except for one, are sung in Finnish.

The use of the Finnish language was significant, but there is also the variation in the use of languages that becomes articulated in *Saimaa-ilmio* in a variety of ways. As the population of Finland was just under five million, the residential density was also sparse. Most areas of Finland were regarded as regional and divided into many provinces, based on the old tribal partition (Kirkinen 1996, 43-44). Yet, part of the nation building process was to aim at creating an uniform Finnish culture and harmonious nation, in which the people would have the same basic values, i.e., a strong national identity which would unite the people. As we know, a completely unified culture is an unachievable goal, as there are always articulations and connections to a variety of identities. The question was rather of the representations and constructions of Finnishness through the institutionalized instruments, such as the education system, the church and media.

In Finland regional cultures, which have been based on tribal communities, have never ceased to exist. Provincial cultures have been strong and diverse in Finland and many of the provincial cultures are highly stereotyped. The roots of the national identities are also provincial (Kirkinen 1996, 48). The base for the main, official culture was adopted from Häme, a province north from the Helsinki area, while the 'otherness' was represented through the province of Savo, at the heart of the Lake area in Finland, and Karelia, which is located along the eastern boarder of Finland (Siikala 1997).

In Finnish there are a number of different forms of language. The official, grammatically correct form is called written standard language. However, it is not spoken by the majority of people, who use the spoken standard language, which is close to the written one, but not as formal. In addition there are a number of traditional dialects based on geographical locations, and a slang, which is mostly spoken in Helsinki. The standard languages are used in the official communication. The dialect of Häme is not a very strong and it is close to the standard language, which became the main language. It was the language used in schooling since the turn of the 1900, as part of the nation building process (Laitinen 1993).

Most of the members of the bands in question came from the provinces from around Rovaniemi and Kemi in Northern Finland, to Ruovesi, Virrat and Ylöjärvi near Tampere, and eastern Finland. Even so, the bands were most often associated with certain provincial locations, which were in fact those mentioned above. Hassisen kone was introduced as a band from Joensuu in Karelia, as all the band members were residents of the town at the time, even though not all native-born. Eppu Normaali was strongly associated to Tampere in Häme, as Martti, Pantse and Aku Syrjä came from Ylöjärvi, a small town near Tampere. Juice Leskinen and Slam was also associated with Tampere because Leskinen lived and had started his career as a musician there. Furthermore, three other Slam members came from small towns around the Tampere area (Image 21).



IMAGE 21 The locations of Juankoski and Joensuu in the map of Finland.

Juice Leskinen was also associated with Savo, as he originally came from that province. He utilized his origins and the Savo dialect in his songs and performances, which is also seen and heard in some occasions in the film. The most notable example, in which the dialect is used in public, is the Kuopio concert, in which Juice Leskinen sings an entire song *Pilvee* in the Savo dialect. This is his home ground and he is pointing it out by using a common language with the people in the audience.

The ways of using the dialects in the film are humorous, which is a feature often associated with the Savo culture. Its most well known feature is word play: indefinite responses and euphemisms. The word play is often carried out by humour and a twinkle in one's eyes (Virtanen 1996, 66). Also Karelian people are stereotyped for their easy-going and joyous nature, whereas Häme folks are often described as bovine and quiet. The nature and atmosphere of the film is linked to the eastern provinces and the jovial attitudes found in these culture. Furthermore, the film and its location connect the cruise and the film physically to the Eastern provinces, as the Lake Saimaa reaches from Savo to Karelia.

Despite the alleged joyous nature of Karelian people, the symbolic Karelia, as the source of Finnish tradition and canonized cultural history, has become the area of the 'otherness'; it is considered as a more official and serious venue to look at the Finnishness. It has had a changing position in relation to Finnishness, alternating from Russian identity, to the origin of the mythical Finnish culture. (Harle & Moisio 2000, 105-117.) In various ways it has provided a mirror to the construction of the homogeneous Finnishness. In addition to the counter cultural rock attitude, Ismo Alanko's Karelian origin might also partly explain the stronger and straightforward critique expressed in his lyrics. The musicians do not speak in the eastern dialect in the film, even though there is a noticeable dialect intonation in their speech.

Häme dialect is also represented in the film. Tampere idioms are used by Martti Syrjä and Jari Yliaho. In the third scene of the film Martti Syrjä is giving a welcoming speech to the crew members in the cabin of the boat. He uses Tampere dialect, which is not very strong, but some words are clearly identifiable (veretään = vedetään). He uses the dialect also later in the interviews and concert speeches. The same dialect is used by Jari Yliaho (tierät = tiedät) as he is talking with Ila Loueranta in the cabin at night as they are playing music.

What does the use of the dialects signify? In documentary films the variation in the ways people speak is usual, as the unscripted talk is personal. People use dialects and regional accents, and they are seen as markers of truth and reality. (Ruoff 1992, 222.) Earlier, the provincial dialects were not uttered by rock musicians, who spoke or imitated the Helsinki area way of talking, including youth culture idioms. Instead, the common dialects have been used within everyday popular culture and especially in the vulgar popular culture, e.g. in log rafting and Rillumarei films. In *Saimaa-ilmio* these are, again, references towards the lower popular culture representation of the past decades. Despite the fact that the dialects are used in some parts of the film, most of the language use in the film does not imply provinciality. Most of the spoken and sung text could be classified as standard language, even though the dialect intonation is at times distinguishable from the speech. This is also a result of the Finnish cultural unification project. Dialects were not used in schools, and all class room communication was to be implemented in standard language. This was a strict policy especially in the 1950s and 1960s. Thereafter, at some level the standard language use is most likely a result of the education. An example is the event in Kuopio, in which Juice Leskinen is pretending to be a school principal giving a speech to the pupils at the end of the school year. Even though the content of the speech is ironical, he uses standard language and the pronunciation is distinct and clear.

At some points the use of formal standard language seems, however, excessive or too articulate. This can be interpreted as a counter cultural feature. In Finland there are examples of such discourse shift in the 1960s underground culture. M. A. Numminen, a well known author, musician and intellectual, who studied languages and dialects, purposely stopped using Helsinki dialect in his

speech at his early teens, as he states in an interview (Otsamo 2009). It is a question of a calculated way of taking over the cultural status and power which are embedded in the language use in the official contexts. It can also be a mocking or ironizing gesture, used in an underground happening, or any other “inappropriate” context.

6.2 The gendered land

Finnishness and its discourses are heavily gendered. The stereotypical ideas of soft and caring mother earth, in opposition to the dominant and powerful masculine state are present in the descriptions of Finnishness. Even in the landscape tradition men were traditionally presented as active subjects and spectators, while women were passive objects (Häyrynen 2002, 48). The Finnish representation of the mother earth, the *Maiden of Finland* has been depicted in various ways, in connection with the map of Finland’s borders. She is often depicted wearing a national costume, her blond hair plaited. The female figure represents the country, the terrain. The physical land is represented by this passive feminine.

In the film the discourses concerning Finland are mostly masculine. In *Saimaa-ilmiö* the masculinity is connected with the state and power, including the defence forces of the state and the wars. Furthermore, all the main characters of the film, i.e. the musician’s, are male. The few females onboard are not seen as active in the film, they are bystanders and shown very little. Most of the materials (songs, poems) presented in the film, by the band members or any other authors, have been created by men. Both film and music making were strongly masculine professions at the time.

In the following, two specific articulations of masculine Finnishness will be discussed in closer detail. The first theme concerns the discourse about the country as the land of fathers, expressed in a discussion about ‘Fatherland’ by Eppu Normaali and in some other cases. The second theme covers the discourses related to Finnishness and male alcohol (ab)use.

6.2.1 Under the yoke of the Eastern neighbour

After the first quarter of the film the members of Eppu Normaali are depicted sitting in the boat cabin and discussing the given topic of ‘fatherland’ (Sequence 21). The voice of Martti Syrjä is heard before the people are actually seen sitting in the boat. The scene is shot with two cameras: one of them is facing towards Martti and Pantse Syrjä and the other one towards Aku Syrjä, Mikko Saarela and Juha Torvinen. There are beer bottles and coffee cups at the table and Pantse Syrjä is smoking a cigarette. Martti Syrjä and Juha Torvinen are holding acoustic guitars, but they are not playing in this occasion. Instead, they are having a discussion about fatherland (*isänmaa*) (Table 30). The topic is most

likely given to them by Aki Kaurismäki. He is not seen in the scene. However, earlier in the film there is another scene, which was shot at the same occasion. This is confirmed by the observation that the people are sitting in the same positions and wearing same clothes. In that other scene one can see Aki Kaurismäki sitting at the end of the table.

<i>Speaker</i>	<i>Interview</i>
<i>Someone:</i>	Well. Does anyone have cigarettes...
<i>Pantse:</i>	About the fatherland.
<i>Juha:</i>	More about the fatherland...
<i>Pantse:</i>	(acting drunk) More about the fatherland, boys... Martti you tell about the fatherland.
<i>Martti:</i>	Fatherland is....
<i>Pantse:</i>	We defend it with our spirit and blood (henkeen ja vereen).
<i>Martti:</i>	...it is an important thing for all of us Finns, and. I can tell you right now that I didn't serve in the military... serving in the army is...
<i>Juha:</i>	Vaari is the only one who's served.
<i>Vaari:</i>	I was in the Finnish navy.
<i>Martti:</i>	Going to the army is a thing...
<i>Vaari:</i>	I'm a sailor.
<i>Martti:</i>	... that it is not an easy task. It is namely so that a person, if he has been able to resist the adhesive and strengthening grip of the system, well the army will make men out of the boys. Army makes the independent, and well, the people capable of developing, well, into stupid, order taking idiots. So this is becoming a man from a boy. That's why I have stayed
<i>Pantse:</i>	I was reading from the Finland's Slot Machine Association ⁶⁵ book where they toss the money and there was this (together) Boys to Men
<i>Someone:</i>	Can't believe it...
<i>Pantse:</i>	Pantse: ...and Metal to the Boarder RY (laughing together)
<i>Juha:</i>	Juha: Greeting to the Military District, ars(e)... (cut)

TABLE 30 Discussion about the fatherland by Eppu Normaali.

The discussion begins ploddingly. The band members are not too keen to start the discussion and they give the turn to Martti Syrjä, who begins talking using Tampere accent. They start slowly and there are pauses in between the speech. This reinforces the assumption that the topic is given to them and not something they would discuss spontaneously. They don't really go in depth analysing it.

Despite the reluctance to ponder over the topic, there are three themes that unfold in this discussion: the war and the veterans, the military service and one's personal experiences of it, and relations to Russia. In the beginning there is a reaction towards war and the men of older generation, who have fought in the war. In the beginning the guitarist, Pantse (Mikko Syrjä) imitates the way

⁶⁵ *Raha-automaatti yhdistys*, RAY, which has the monopoly of slot machines in Finland and supports many public and charitable associations.

the men, especially those who were in the war, talk about the fatherland when they are drunk. "Some more on the fatherland, boys", he says. Interestingly, the talk about the fatherland turns immediately into a discussion about the defence forces and even war. Pantse continues ironically saying that regarding the fatherland, it is defended with blood, referring to fighting and to giving one's own life for the country, as many of their fathers or grandfathers had done.

The wars which they refer to are not just any wars. For this generation it means the two world wars in which the greatest enemy of Finland was Soviet Union. Finland was, until 1917, ruled by Sweden and Russia. Even since the independence, the relations with those countries, and later with the European Union have played a great part in positioning Finland and Finnishness around the world (Harle & Moisio 2000, 177-210). For decades Finland was part of the Eastern Sphere of Soviet Union's buffer states that covered its border in the Eastern Europe (Hentilä 1999, 87-89). The 'place' of nationness is always constructed in relation to other nations, through interrelation (Massey 1998, 122), and the 'nation space' is always on a relational scale to other nations and transnational cultures. The position of Finland has most often been discussed in relation to Russia and Sweden, the two neighbouring countries.

The discussion proceeds into their personal lives. Martti Syrjä leads the discussion into military, in which most of the band members have not served. Most of these musicians have barely passed the age of compulsory enrolment, but four out of five have not served their service. Only Mikko Nevalainen aka Vaari is an ex-sailor, having served in the naval forces. The most common grounds to get an exemption are health reasons, either physical or mental ones. Exemptions were strongly against the norm in the 1980s, even though the alternative, so-called non-military civil service has been available since 1931.⁶⁶ In regard to the prevailing attitudes these musicians were not good men, for they were not aiming at defending their country at all. At the time this was quite unexceptional. Civil service was not a real option and could, for example, result in problems finding employment in Finland. One needed to apply for release from the military service in order to perform civil service, and the permission was not always granted.

The singer, Martti Syrjä, continues the discussion. He comments that army turns independent and potentially good people into stupid idiots. The aim of the whole institution is to create men out of boys. That is why he has chosen to stay at the "boy level". They oppose the state authority and power in regard to military service and the ideology of the fatherland according to which all good Finnish men want to protect their country with their lives. This, of course, had been a sanctified topic in Finland after both World Wars, which had been crucial for the independence and well-being of the country and its people.

⁶⁶ The person was called before a board, which included a judge, an officer, a representative from social ministry, a priest and a psychiatrist. The board determined whether the person could serve the non-military service. It was also possible to get an exemption for a serious reason, such as a physical or mental health problem.

The relations to Russia are emphasised in the end, as there is a comment on an association they had learned of, called "From Boys to Men". They had also come across an association called "Metal to the Border", referring to Russia and the protection of the enemy. For them this was unbelievable, and they laughed. This discussion well illustrates that the issues are experienced very differently by the different generations.

There are many possible explanations for the antimilitary and antiwar attitudes expressed in this interview. At the time there was an international peace movement. The tension was strong, as the capitalist and communist ideologies were in confrontation. The president of United States, Ronald Reagan, and the head of the Soviet Union, Leonid Brežnev, were the main figures in the cold war and the related nuclear armament, which was seen as a major threat at the time and engendered and awakened peace movements around the world. Finland was, again, in between these worlds and the Soviet threat gained new forms. Many young people and artists were involved in these movements in Finland, and in 1982 there was an event called the Peace Train, which involved travelling in Finland on a train, passing on the message of peace. In another scene from Joensuu Ilosaarirock festival, Pantse Syrjä is wearing a t-shirt with a peace sign on it.

On the other hand, military activities were not typical of the 1960s and 1970s rock culture, quite the opposite. In addition to the peace and love focus within the hippie movement, rock musicians tended to be against the war and killing. It also affected their appearances - merely the fact that one should cut his hair short in the army did not suit many musicians. In addition to these two explanations it is also possible that Finland's recent history, which had been so war centred, had become a burden that the young generations did not want to perpetrate anymore. The war discourse had been very homogenous for most of the century's decades: the veterans were heroes who saved the country from the yoke of Russia and fought for the independence, and the country was built by hard work. The older generations who had lived the war times and the poverty that followed did not understand the younger generations that had other priorities in their lives. It also seems that the stories and attitudes of the veterans, often possibly recounted with the accompaniment of some alcoholic drinks, had left a mark on this generation and with time became part of the generational gap [i.e., incomprehension of the issues of importance between generations].

In the Mikkeli concert scene, which precedes the scene currently analyzed, there are two references to the army and the military. Firstly, there are army men shown in the audience (Image 22). The cameras depict the audience before the concert. The sounds consist of sound check noises and silence. There are many army men sitting in the uncovered part of this sports field. There is a garrison in Mikkeli, and it is possible these men are on evening leave, as they have not been able to change into the civil clothes. In these images they are just sitting and waiting for the music to start, nothing is happening yet. It is interesting that these servicemen have been chosen to be shown in the film,

where the audience is all in all shown very little. Furthermore, the image on the left has an interesting disposition. It would have been possible to frame the image to the audience sitting on the chairs. Instead, the people, all wearing blue and white clothes, are also shown in the picture. The contrast to the grey army uniform is strong and effective.



IMAGE 22 The army men depicted before the Mikkeli concert.

Further references to the military forces are created by the musician's outfits. Two musicians were wearing army shirts as civilian, non-military persons (Image 23). A musician from Slam, Safka is wearing an army shirt in the second concert scene in Mikkeli. Juice Leskinen wears this shirt later, in Punkaharju Concert, which is the last concert scene before the Finale in Ilosaarirock. These are khaki shirts, which both have the U.S. army air force insignia on their sleeves. In Safka's shirt the rank is that of Sergeant Major while Juice Leskinen's insignia is that of Senior Airman (US Insignia 2009). It is possible that these were purchased in Finland, as there were outlets selling military dresses by mail.

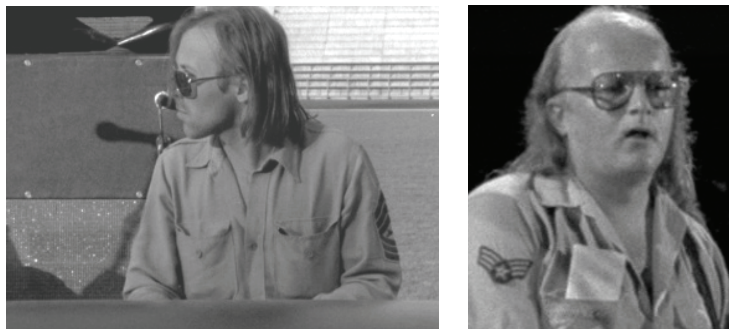


IMAGE 23 Safka and Juice Leskinen wearing army shirts.

What do these army shirts articulate in relation to Finnishness and the military? It is possible that this is only a question of fashion. As it was common in the subcultures (see Subchapter 5.2.2), the shirts are used in a new context to break the military narrative by taking the clothes into a new context and giving them

an antimilitary meaning. In this case the articulation is supported by the knowledge that neither of these musicians in question had served in the army.

Another pronouncedly gendered articulation of the nation is related to an instrument. Juice Leskinen is playing his custom made guitar, which is of the shape of Finland (Sequence 37, Image 24). Guitar, especially electric guitar has traditionally been considered as a masculine instrument (Bayton 1997, 270). In relation to this idea the articulation of the Finland shape guitar could be interpreted as a contribution to the masculine construction of Finnishness. The state is also a represented as a masculine.



IMAGE 24 Left: Juice Leskinen and his Finland shape guitar, Sequence 44. Middle: Juice Leskinen's guitar in Sibelius Museum Exhibition.⁶⁷ Right: A map of Finland.

On the other hand the country shape is often represented by the *Maiden of Finland*, the feminine Mother Earth. Furthermore, Leskinen has stated that the guitar's borderlines were made to trace the area in which Finnish language is used, not the state of Finland (Rinne 2002, 151). He was not particularly loyal to the state of Finland, but wanted to pay attention to the language areas instead. In reality the shape of the guitar seems to be based on the state borders of Finland, it is not built according to the language borders. Finnish is spoken also in Russian Karelia, whereas in Lapland and along the coast for example, there are areas in which Finland is not the mother tongue.

Another gendered articulation takes place at the very end of the film. The masculine nature of the nation is represented also in the National Anthem sung in the last scene of the film. The last line of the first verse in Finnish is "land precious, of our fathers" (original in Swedish: *än våra fäders jord* / in Finnish: *maa kallis isien*). Fatherland is a concept that was grounded at the time of nationalism. The lyrics of the song were also written at the time. This is the last line heard on the film.

⁶⁷ Photo by Marjut Mutanen, used with her permission.

6.2.2 The drunken Finnish men

The ways of consuming alcohol are culturally and socially shaped (Ahlström 1998, 20). In *Saimaa-ilmio* alcohol use is depicted in numerous occasions and it forms a significant part of the narration and is related to several discourses. Alcohol has played great part in Finnish life, rituals and festivities for centuries. In the early days the people prepared mead, brewed bear and later distilled spirits. (Apo 2001, 21-22.) Distillation of spirits became common in the area of the united Sweden-Finland during the late Middle Ages, first in the 1400s in the area today known as Sweden, and later in the 1500s in the area of Finland (Mäntylä 1985, 15).

In the recent history of Finland the alcohol use can be divided into three phases according to the alcohol politics and its results: 1) *Liquor head and the prohibitory law*: The time from the late 1800 until the end of the prohibitory liquor law in 1932; 2) *Moral temperance movement*: The time of instructed alcohol use and moral movement until the 1960s; and 3) *Beer joints*: The time of liberation of beer after the late 1960's. (Peltonen 2006a, 7-13.) During the first phase in the early 20th century Finns were given a specific ethnic role in relation to alcohol – they were described as heavy drinkers, who behave badly and act violently when drunk, thus have a 'bad' head, i.e. tolerance for alcohol (Peltonen 1997, 64). The main substance consumed was hard moonshine, which was distilled all over the Finland. The idea of a 'specific head for spirits' or a 'liquor head' (*viinapäähä*) was constructed as a result of the sobriety campaign in the early 1900s, which led into a prohibitory liquor law (during the years of 1919 – 1932). As sobriety became the new ideal, there was a need to explain the bad drunken behaviour of the Finns, and the 'liquor head' provided a reason. Furthermore, the late 19th century romanticized and uplifted image of the folk, the rural and working people, was broken down and the upper class (*sivistyneistö*) became disappointed in the feral and hard drinking peasants. (Peltonen 1997, 64.)

After the prohibitory law the liquor trade was retained as a state monopoly. Alcohol was sold only at the stores of the Alko Corporation. The variety of alcohol supply increased and spread around Finland. In the second phase, especially after the WW II there was a strong moral temperance movement (*ryhtiliike*), which was targeted at the manly heavy drinking habits. It became a popular movement and most of the campaigns were executed mostly by civic organizations. One of the greatest motivators behind this propaganda was the Olympic Games that were held in Helsinki in the year 1952. There was a great fear that drunken Finns would give a bad impression to a great number of tourists visiting Finland and would also create a negative image of the people living here. (Peltonen 2002, 78-94.)

The third phase begun as the beer sales were released to the retail trade and bars in the year of 1969, thus allowing anyone to get a selling permit for a beer joint. The growth of the market focused mainly on the countryside, where there had been only a small number of bars before, and the rural districts were

invaded by medium strength beer selling in local bars. The consumption of beer increased to almost sixfold from the year 1962 until the year 1980 (Table 31). In *Saimaa-ilmiö*, alcohol plays a role both in the images and sounds and the behaviour of the people. Alcohol is part of the narration right from the beginning of the film.

	<i>Milk</i>	<i>Coffee</i>	<i>Water</i>	<i>Beer</i>	<i>Wine</i>	<i>Spirits</i>
1938	286	136	7	5,7	0,5	2,6
1962	277	176	13	9,0	1,7	3,7
1980	250	144	9	56,6	2,4	7,4
2000	154	111	11	78,4	7,6	5,0

TABLE 31 Consumption of selected drinks in Finland in 1938, 1962, 1980 and 2000, as litres per capita (Peltonen 2006b, 436. My translation).⁶⁸

There are numerous images in which drinking is depicted (Image 26). In the very first Sequence there is one empty bottle depicted on the deck while “Kaunis Veera” is being sung (upper left image). In addition to the bottle, there is a shoe and an empty plastic bag on the floor. There are not any people in this image. The artefacts do, however, imply human presence, just as the empty bottle implies that it has been emptied by someone.

The first scene is followed by a concert in Mikkeli. Drinking is not part of the concerts scenes, even though there are a few odd bottles seen on stage. The consumption takes place at the boat where most of the leisure time is spent. In Sequence 6 people are gathered in the cabin for a toast, as Martti Syrjä is giving a humorous welcoming speech. However, at this point the crew seems quite sober and the crew members are behaving rather well. People are smiling and seemingly happy. Toasting is a festive gesture, yet not particularly a Finnish one. People are holding glasses filled with a substance which looks like white wine.

In Sequence 7 the members of Eppu Normaali are sitting around a table in the cabin. In this Sequence they play parts of the song “Viimeinen funk”, and tell a few jokes.⁶⁹ There are numerous beer bottles at the table, empty and full ones. The members of the band are under the influence but do not seem highly intoxicated, except for Pantse Syrjä, whose speech reveals that he is drunk. The beer drinking in this scene is related to the general increase in beer consumption described earlier. These musicians, most having been born in the late 1950s,⁷⁰ belong to the generation that grew up at the time of the liberated alcohol policies and the beer culture.

⁶⁸ “Milk” refers to all liquid dairy products, “water” only to bottled water, and “Spirits” to all alcoholic drinks that are stronger than wine (Peltonen 2006b, 436).

⁶⁹ The events of the subsequent Scene 21 were filmed at this same occasion.

⁷⁰ Martti was born in 1959, Aku Syrjä in 1959, Juha Torvinen in 1957, Pantse Syrjä in 1957, and Mikko Nevalainen in 1952.



An empty bottle on the deck,
Sequence 1.



Welcoming toast at the steamer,
Sequence 6.



Beer bottles, Eppu Normaali playing
and talking at the cabin, Sequence 7



Leper jokes at the deck, Sequence 8.



Empty bottles at the deck, Sequence
20.



Bottles at the backstage in Kuopio,
Sequence 23.



Bottles of vermouth. Juice Leskinen
& Safka in the cabin: Sequence 26.



Restaurant in Kuopio, Sequence 31.

TABLE 32 Images of Alcohol in *Saimaa-ilmiö*.

Leper jokes form one part of the film contents. They are performed by the so-called Team Squirrel, which comprises of a few musicians and some other male crew members. In two occasions these jokes are told at the boat deck, and in these Sequences some of the present people are drinking beer. Empty bottles

are shown again in Sequence 20, the main content of which is an acoustic performance of Hassisen kone. There is a short shot of the deck and a pile of empty bottles. At this point one-fourth of the film has passed, and the number of emptied bottles has increased a great deal. Furthermore, in between the state acts in Kuopio concert there are two Sequences from the backstage settings. In both Sequences people are seen drinking beverages, also alcohol, and there are bottles, beer and vermouth, standing on top of things. Based on the images these are the two most popular drinks consumed on the cruise. In the next image, No. 7, Juice Leskinen and Safka are performing a song in the cabin and there are glasses and two partly consumed vermouth bottles at the table. The musicians are passing the time by drinking and performing music.

Restaurants or bars are not typical locations of the events of *Saimaa-ilmiö*. Only a short Sequence, No. 31, is located at a restaurant in Kuopio. The place is called *Peräniemen Kasino* (Casino of Peräniemi). It is an old villa, where the crew was having an after party and jam session following the Kuopio concert. The main content of the Sequence consists of the awarding of prizes by the Team Squirrel. However, in between and after the nomination of the two prizes there are only a couple very short shots of the restaurant hall. People, at least some of whom are crew members, are sitting at the tables that are covered by numerous glasses and bottles. These shots appear almost as twinkles and do not have a great significance on the formation of the narration.

There are also other verbal statements related to alcohol and drinking. One is made by Martti Syrjä at the concert in Mikkeli, as he presents Eppu Normaali's song: "Hura huh hah hey and a bottle of rum! The result is often hangover. The next song tells about this thing. It is called Delirium Tremens."⁷¹ The lyrics of the song describe the terrible delusional state after a heavy drinking period, 'the nights of the lizards'. The story is not admiring drinking.⁷² It says rather the opposite, describing the horrors of the consequences of drinking. Furthermore, a female voice is heard only in one scene, in the Kuopio backstage Sequence 25. She shouts: "I have bought it, my God, there in the Väinölänniemi...".⁷³ My interpretation is that she is claiming a bottle she had purchased earlier. She is not shown in the picture, as the camera focuses on the members of the bands.

There are also some other Sequences, where people are seen under the influence. In Scene 14 the guitarist of Slam, Jari Yliaho, is drunk as he is playing guitar with Ila Louerenta. The shot is taken in the night as the light is dim. They are playing chords with the guitars and exchanging some words about the chords. It can be understood from his speech that the level of his intoxication is high. The rest of his behaviour does not give his condition away; he is sitting, and being tranquil, relaxed.

⁷¹ "Hura huh hah hei ja rommia pullo! Tuloksena on usein krapula. Seuraava laulu kertoo tästä asiasta. Se on nimeltään Delirium Tremens."

⁷² There are several references to drug use in the song lyrics. Those were discussed in Section 5.4.

⁷³ "Minä oon ostanut herrajumala sen siellä Väinölänniemessä".

The above examples show that alcohol is a part of the film story. How does it relate to the Finnish identity and what kind of Finnish identity? The articulation of Finnish summer, lake, men and alcohol is not a new one. There are several such representations in Finnish culture, both in real life and in art and culture. Finnish people spend a lot of leisure time by the lakesides, in a summer cabin, camping area or public places. The number of Finns that drown every year as a result of boating drunk is high. The lakeside dance pavilions have been typical places in which men drank spirits from their own bottles and caused often trouble. The alcohol was not sold at these venues because of the license policies until the 1980s.

Drinking has also been part of the bohemian artists' image in Finland, alike in many other countries. The image of the many 'national' writers, painters and composers as alcoholics, among them Aleksis Kivi, Gallen-Kallela and Sibelius, has been constructed through the history. This also fits in to the bohemian image of the artists, as well as the mythical drinking culture of the Finns. The artists are often depicted as drinkers, which emphasizes their humanity and fallibility, providing them with these features of mortal, "normal" people. In the 20th century, alcohol was often presented as a provider of manly power in Finnish *iskelmä* star culture (Aho 2003, 225). In *Saimaa-ilmio* the musicians are drinking and depicted drunk, but only in few occasions. The alcohol seems to be an essential part of the cruise, which is also meant to be a summer trip in the heart of the Finnish Lake District.

Saimaa-ilmio does not diverge from the film tradition, for example. Yet the public appearance with alcohol and under the influence of it is a relatively new phenomenon in Finland. It was only at the time of the 1960s cultural radicalism that the leftist and underground movement activists and some other artists started to appear publicly intoxicated. Their intoxication differed from the early 20th century hard drinking and badly behaving Finnish men: it was carnivalistic celebration in which alcohol was presented as a source of creativity (Hosiaisuusluoma 2007; Koski-Jännes 1983a & b). Artists were under the influence in seminars, concerts and happenings. Public drinking was, at large, a condemnable action, but in time it became an acceptable feature related to the great artists. Today it is known that at least Juice Leskinen, Martti Syrjä and Aki Kaurismäki were known as drinkers. Especially Leskinen and Kaurismäki have been open and public with their drinking and smoking habits. Leskinen died in the year 2006 of illnesses related to long and extensive alcohol use.

An interesting fact is that alcohol is depicted as a part of the cruise but its use is pictured as being relatively moderate. In most boat Sequences there are bottles or drinks in the images. These events are still nice and entertaining; no one is fighting or raging. The alcohol use represented in *Saimaa-ilmio* articulates mostly with humorous situations. According to Satu Apo (2001, 278), comic drinking and entertaining alcohol behaviour forms one of the five representation types of Finnish drinking. Drunken people are seen as clowns, fools, as amusing figures. Laughing at the drunks has been a popular pastime in Finland for centuries (Ibid., 378-379). Alcohol consumption on screen has been

depicted as a behaviour which is a prerogative of men. There are two types of representations: aggressive and humorous. The tradition of the humorous drinking has roots in the early filmatised novels, such as *Nummisuutarit*, *Seitsemän veljestä* and *Tuntematon sotilas* (Knuuttila 1984, 9), but it was continued in the Rillumarei films of the 1950s, as it was associated with the “jätkä” aka lumber jack culture (Falk & Sulkunen 1980; Niiniluoto 2004). The drinking in this cruise fits well with this continuum.

6.3 The national symbols of Finland

The articulations of Finnishness include also national symbols of Finland. A modern nation bears many emblems which signify the existence of state. The visual, verbal or iconic representations are symbolic signs for nations, their people and history. Symbols carry and mediate values, attitudes, ideals, myths and beliefs. They instigate and reproduce patriotism and nationalistic spirit, and are often used in festive occasions and celebrations. Symbols are used as collective symbols in communities to create and strengthen the unity. (Halonen & Aho 2005, 7-8.)

The national symbols used in festivities in Finland have been the national anthem, nation's history, national landscape, national literature, and the flag (Nieminen 2006, 18-20, 134-135). *Saimaa-ilmio* includes representations of the two most powerful symbols of a nation: the flag and the national anthem. Finnish flags are seen in several scenes. First of all it is a garment of the steamer, the flagpole being placed in the bow of the boat. In addition to this, the flag is emblazoned on Juice Leskinen's breast pocket in the last scene in the Ilosaarirock festival. It is also in this last scene that the crew performs the national anthem of Finland, *Oi maamme* (Our land). This is the last song in the film.

6.3.1 A blue cross on a white background

Even though Finland gained autonomy in the year of 1809 and independence in 1917, the nation did not have its own flag before 1918 when the Finnish parliament accepted one. Until then Finland used flags of Russia and Sweden, and its own a coat of arms, a yellow and red lion. The flag ratified in 1918 is a blue cross on a white background, and it was designed by Eero Snellman and Bruno Tuukkanen. (History of the Finnish flag 2009.) The colours of the flag, blue and white, had been considered as national colours in most parts of Finland for a long period of time. Blue had been one of the basic colours in the provincial coat of arms. White colour represented the right wing regime of the time, which had recently subdued the 'red tyranny'. (Kajanti 1997, 221.) Furthermore, the blue was related to water as early as in the first statute issued in 1918, in which the colour is referred to as 'sea blue' (Kajanti 1997, 223).

The blue and white image has been pictured in many poems, such as L. Onerva's "Suomenlippu" ("Finnish flag" 1917) and V.A. Koskenniemi's "Lippulaulu" (Flag Song, 1918), which was also used as song lyrics. The theme was also addressed in folk songs, such as "Taivas on sininen ja valkoinen" (The sky is blue and white). In 1972 the flag colours were given a nature related representation in an *iskelmä* song written by Jukka Kuoppamäki (Table 33).

Sininen on taivas, siniset on silmänsä sen	Blue is the sky, blue are those eyes
Siniset on järvet	Blue are the lakes
Sinisyyttä heijastaen	Reflecting the shades of blue
Valkoinen on hanki	White is the snowdrift
Valkoiset on yöt kesien	White are the summer nights
Valkoiset on pilvet	White are the clouds
Lampaat nuo taivaan sinisen	Those sheep of the blue sky.

TABLE 33 "Sininen ja valkoinen", lyrics of the chorus (my translation).

Furthermore, in the last line of the second verse the independence is associated with the flag colours: Blue and white are the colours of freedom (*Sininen ja valkoinen ovat värit vapauden*).

As in most countries, the official uses of the flag are regulated by the authorities in Finland.

"The days on which the Finnish flag is flown are divided into days on which it must be flown from public buildings by law and those when flying the flag is an established custom. Private persons, associations and companies are also free to fly the Finnish flag on other days. The flag can be displayed as a sign of respect or mourning or to celebrate a special occasion." (Flying the Finnish Flag 2009.)

In addition to the public flagging days it is possible to fly the flag in other private or public occasions. The most established form of unofficial flagging is related to sporting events, in which the flags function as the signifiers of the nationalities of the participants, and identify the nationalities of the winners.

In *Saimaa-ilmiö*, flags are shown in two contexts: in the boat and in the breast pocket of Juice Leskinen (Table 34). Flags are often used on boats, even when sailing in domestic waters. In *Saimaa-ilmiö* the boat flags are seen in many scenes. The flag on the boat is presented against the blue sky in lake scenery. This image fits well to the national imagery of Finland and the description of the flag colours expressed in many poems and songs. The film makers have chosen some close-up shots of the boat, in which the flag is seen clearly at the bow of the steamer. These images seem festive and celebratory.



The first image of the S/S Heinävesi, Sequence 1.



Leper jokes 1, Sequence 8.



Leper jokes 1, close-up, Sequence 8.



Joensuu, Juice Leskinen with a flag in his breast pocket, Sequence 48.

TABLE 34 The appearances of Finnish flags in *Saimaa-ilmio*.

In the last scene of the film the crew is standing at the Ilosaarirock festival outdoor stage. Juice Leskinen is the central figure, standing in the middle, conducting the events and the performance. A small flag is emblazoned on his breast pocket, which is a very unofficial and casual way of using it. The flag is small, a so-called hand flag. Yet it is placed on the breast pocket of his shirt, so that the audience and the spectators of the film can see it. The articulation is more interesting, knowing that they are performing the national anthem of Finland. The flag is represented in connection with the other one of the strongest symbols of any modern nation.

6.3.2 Our land

The last scene of the film takes place at the Ilosaarirock festival in Joensuu. It consists of the speech given by Juice Leskinen and the actual performance of the National Anthem. These events are at their correct chronological position: "Maamme" (Our land) was the last song performed during the tour and thus the last song of the film (Table 35). At the beginning of this scene, most of the band members and other crew are standing on stage in rows, ready for the final performance. Juice Leskinen is the master of ceremonies and at the centre of the stage with a microphone. There are almost three minutes of waiting before the actual performance of the anthem, which raises tension and creates expectation for the song, before Leskinen gives the speech (at 1'54'54), in which he says that

the “this business will be over, “kaputt”, damn finished.”⁷⁴ After these words people are waiting on the stage and Leskinen continues to tell stories to the audience. “[...] The entire Tuuliajolla tour is gathered here on stage, except for Martti [Syrjä], who is in Tampere, and [Mikko] Nevalainen, who is drunk [...].”⁷⁵ Leskinen and the others are also trying to lure a tour member and journalist Juho Juntunen to the stage from the audience without a success.

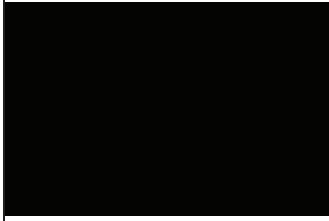


<i>Image</i>	<i>Time</i>	<i>Visual</i>	<i>Sound</i>
	1'54'38	Black screen	
	1'54'43	Drummer, close-up. Juice. Musicians on stage. Juice Leskinen raises his hands as a sign for the beginning of the song.	Drumming, tambourine, Juice talking. Keyboard intro & drums
	1'57'20 2'00'01	Zooming on the people at the stage. Juice Leskinen. Leaving the stage Black screen, end titles.	Performing the song. Prolonged ending. Audience clapping, whistling.

TABLE 35 The performance of “Maamme” in the last scene of *Saimaa-ilmio*.

Finally Leskinen signals to the others by raising his hands; the song is about to start. They all quieten down and the keyboardist plays the first chords of the song (1'57'16). The singer joins in, prolonging the first note and syllable of the song (*Oi* = *Oh*). The song is performed with correct lyrics and with an accompaniment by the band, which consists of musicians from all the bands. The line-up includes the guitarist Jari Yliaho (Slam) who plays the melody, the bass player Jussi Kinnunen (Hassisen kone), the keyboardist Safka (Slam) and the drummer Vesa Sytelä (Slam). Yet the performance is not a rock arrangement. The most dominant elements are the guitars that are playing the melody and the drumming that is rather loyal to the traditional and mostly played

⁷⁴ A more detailed analysis of this particular speech is found in Subsection 5.4.1, in which the analysis concerns the attitudes against authorities.

⁷⁵ “[...] Koko Tuuliajolla-kiertue kokoontuu tänne lavalle, paitsi Martti [Syrjä], joka on Tampereella, ja [Mikko] Nevalainen, joka on juovuksissa.[...]”

orchestral version by Jean Sibelius. Juice Leskinen leads the song. They sing the first verse, and the end of the performance is the prolonged, *ad lib* part. The last note is sung an octave higher by Leskinen and the musicians are banging their instruments to highlight the climax of the film, this time according to rock style.

The poem is all about describing the nature and landscape of the country. To use it for nationalistic purposes, the poem was translated into Finnish and named “Maamme” (Table 36).⁷⁶

Oi maamme, Suomi, synnyinmaa,	Our land, our land, our fatherland,
Soi sana kultainen.	Sound loud, O name of worth!
Ei laaksoa ei kukkulaa,	No mount that meets the heaven's band.
Ei vettä rantaa rakkaampaa	No hidden vale, no wavewashed strand.
Kuin kotimaa tää pohjoinen	Is loved, as is our native North.
Maa kallis isien.	Our own forefathers' earth.

TABLE 36 The first verse of the Finnish national anthem “Maamme” (Our Land, translation by Clement Burbank Shaw).

The crowd is applauding and screaming. Leskinen shouts “Kippis!” (Cheers), and the crowd continues. Once the song is over, the picture turns into a black screen, with credit texts, but we can still hear the crowd tapping, clapping and whistling, wanting more. The end titles appear and the noise from the crowd is reduced into a pounding and tamping sound of the hands and feet of the people wanting more. This resembles the beginning of the film, which started by the pounding sound of the steamer. Now the steamer sounds can no longer be of use, since the cruise is over. However, by using this sound they can create a connection to the beginning, thus closing the circle.

There are several obvious symbols of Finnishness in this scene. The song and its role are known by all Finns. There is also a visual clue, as there is a Finnish flag emblazoned on the jacket of the singer Juice Leskinen. The choice of the song was not random. Juice Leskinen ended his performances with “Maamme”. He adopted the practice from the Finland’s national broadcasting company *YLE*, which used to end the transmission of each day with this National Anthem. This could have been expected by anyone who had been at Slam’s gigs before, or knew about this practice.

National Anthems do not belong to the standard rock repertoire. However, as for their strong symbolic meaning, they are inviting targets for articulations of anti-hegemonic or anti-authority expressions. The most well known performance of the USA National Anthem is most likely the “Star Spangled Banner”, performed, for example, in the Monterey festival by Jimi Hendrix in 1967. His performance was unprecedented, as he played the melody as a solo, extending it to an even wilder solo. Another famous reference has been made by Sex Pistols, whose anarchic piece “God Save the Queen” is mocking the

⁷⁶ In Finnish language “maamme” has multiple meanings: our country, nation, earth, land, soil etc.

National Anthem of the United Kingdom and using the title in the punk song's chorus. The performance of "Maamme" is different. The song is given just a slight rock articulation in the music; it is mostly performed according to the formal, accustomed way. However, there are expressions of joy and rejoicing involved, especially in the end where the musicians start to rev up, as the performance and the whole tour is over. People from older generations could interpret the use of the anthem as a sacrilege and would not accept the articulation of rock culture and the hegemonic Finnish culture, whereas the younger generation embracing popular culture and music could be empowered by this articulation.⁷⁷ And yet, the musicians are not mocking Finnishness, their way of performing the anthem is not negative or aggressive. One could say that it is the opposite. It is just the context that deviates from the customary (national celebrations, international contests, etc.). The message is clear, they are worthy of singing the song, and the event is as ceremonious as any other national event. The fact that they had survived the whole week on the cruise is regarded as an equal triumph with the official celebrations and thus meaningful for the participants themselves. In this respect, this 'victory' gig could be equated to a success in a sporting event or other festive national occasion in which people participate in their leisure time, for entertainment. People in sporting events (such as ice hockey, for example) may possibly be under the influence of alcohol while celebrating the event and while singing the National Anthem.

In *Saimaa-ilmio* the national symbols are presented in a very significant section of the film: it is the last scene, the resolution of the film. It is the "Maamme" hymn, which will be resounding in spectators' ears after watching the film. It seems apparent that the aim of the film has been to strengthen the role of Finnish rock as a *national* rock genre. Juice Leskinen is standing in the middle of the stage in Ilosaarirock as the central figure to the present Finnish rock nation.

6.4 Summary

The construction of national identity of Finnish people has been a centuries long project. The basic aim has always been to create a desired kind of national identity, the ideal varying from time to time. (Harle & Moisio 2000, 55.) The identities even in the late 20th century were still strongly connected with the so-called Topelian ideals, even though ruptures and new articulations began to take place, as seen also in *Saimaa-ilmio*. It has been only during the late 1900s

⁷⁷ In the Parliament elections in 2007 the national anthem, Our Land, was used in radio advertisements in order to encourage people to vote. The advertisements included a variety of different 'articulations of Finnishness': the song was sung by a variety of people, also from minorities, and it was arranged according to the styles from a variety of genres, including those of popular music. (Vaalitiedotuskampanja 2007.) This aroused a lot of public discussion on the 'right' ways of using the national anthem.

that products of popular culture have been lifted amongst cultural texts that are normally the ones acceptable in this construction and effectively shifting it towards heterogeneity (Lehtonen et al. 2004; Salmi & Kallioniemi 2000).

Who is producing the representations and articulations of Finnishness in *Saimaa-ilmiö*? On the one hand, the bands and their members are creating meanings through their music, behaviour, and speech. On the other hand, *Saimaa-ilmiö* is a film which has been constructed by a group of people, who have had the position and authority to record the chosen moments of the cruise and create an outcome of the chosen material. More than anything, the film is thus a construction of its authors.

Finnishness is articulated and dearticulated in *Saimaa-ilmiö* in multiple ways. Some of them are more affirmative. There is a romantic and nostalgic treatment of the lakeside images, which are extensively used. There are clear articulations to the imagery, of the national landscape tradition. The national landscape is depicted as an almost untouched, natural space, according to the tradition. The role of the countryside is connected with the way the film sees the nation as the space of the common people. However, there are articulations which implement struggle. The state and its authorities are not seen in a positive light.

There are articulations in relation to the other representations of Finnish culture in music and film, in the form of intertextuality. Finnishness is gendered and links to the traditions and histories of its people. National symbols are also represented. Even though there are articulations supporting some of the past ideals of the "right" Finnishness and the history of Finland, the "home, religion and the fatherland" ideology is not embraced. Finnishness is not treated with disrespect, but the past ideals are not entirely supported either. Some pre-existing aspects of Finnish culture are clearly dearticulated in the discourses, or rearticulated within an alternative context.

The dominant discourse established in the cultural homogenization project was carried until the 1970's and 1980s. Even so, the Finnish people have never had one unified culture. Sakari Heikkinen (1996) has studied the 1950s culture in Finland and cultural struggle in Finland. At the time there was a great dispute over the limits and boundaries of the acceptability of culture. Some of the new cultural products, such as the *Rillumarei* movies, contested the ideas of culture and art, and became highly popular. Heikkinen has sketched out the valuation of various cultural fields in Finland (Table 37).

The low, popular peoples' culture was not a novelty at the time. There was a tradition of, for example, comic humour, including, e.g., folk and entertaining *kupletti* songs. They were seen as entertaining mass cultural products that threatened the ideal of the homogeneous culture, which should have included festive rather than everyday culture. Furthermore, the "low popular" has treated high culture with a humorously critical attitude, just as was done in *Rillumarei* and director Spede Pasanen's films, for example. Thereafter, these popular culture commodities scuttled many of these ideals and lowered the "taste" of the nation (Heikkinen 1996, 328). The same process continued in the

1960s' and 1970s' Cultural Revolution, as the boundaries and limits of Finnish cultural life were questioned by authors, and, for example, by avant garde and underground movements, even though they remained rather marginal by size and centred in the main cities.

	<i>Festive</i>	<i>Everyday</i>		
<i>High culture</i>	ELITE ART - opera - symphony concerts - theater - art exhibitions	- literature - a valued radio programme		
<i>Popular culture</i>	"REFINED" VERNACULAR CULTURE - arranged folk music - folk dance - Kalevala	- variety show (iltamat)	- movies - entertaining music	Popular
		- obscene songs	- <i>Rillumarei</i>	Vulgar
	Non-commercial, "real"	Commercial, "artificial"		

TABLE 37 The value chart of Finnish culture (Heikkinen 1996, 329. My translation).⁷⁸

In relation to the cultural fields presented above in Table 37, *Saimaa-ilmiö* can be located in the field of popular culture, balancing between mostly the popular and partly vulgar expressions. The values and ideologies articulated in the discourses are produced in relation to the cultural history of Finland. The film includes references to the past decades, starting from the 1940s. In the discourses there are references to the WW II and the men of the war generation. The articulations are not conformant with the prior cultural meanings, they dearticulated, opposed the idea of war. More responsive references are made in relation to features of the 1950s culture, which seems to have been embraced in the *Saimaa-ilmiö*. The whole cruise on a steamer is a reference to the log rafting culture, represented in numerous popular culture movies in the 1950s. Furthermore, there are two intertextual references to the 1950s: performances of "Kaunis Veera" and "Päivänsäde ja menninkäinen". "Kaunis Veera", a title song from a log rafting movie, was entertaining music, whereas "Päivänsäde ja menninkäinen" is a song that was sung in get-togethers. They both were thus popular, but not in the bottom category, which includes the most vulgar popular expressions, including obscene use of language and the most despised products of popular culture.

⁷⁸ All aspects presented in the table do not match with a satisfactory description of the categories, for example, literature could be placed on all these squares, depending on the type of literature in question. However, it does illustrate the main idea of the segmentation of Finnish culture.

Yet the uses of these songs in *Saimaa-ilmio* arouse many interpretations. On the one hand, the film is about popular culture and thus located in the same field of culture as the film and the songs are. On the other hand, the songs were first and foremost peoples' culture, widely known and accepted pieces of culture, whereas rock music was still youth music and not liked by most of the older generations in Finland. Yet, the film as an 'authentic' documentary can be seen as an attempt to raise the value of the music and rock culture in general. By creating connections through these articulations of established forms of Finnish culture, the film and its contents is taking a place as a continuation of the Finnish popular music and culture.

The vernacular discourses to which *Saimaa-ilmio* links to, are embracing rather than dismissive, sneering or despising. In the early 1980s, when *Saimaa-ilmio* came on screen, the value of the 1950s culture had been elevated due to nostalgia and changes in the cultural sphere in Finland. The Cultural Revolution of the 1960s led into changes in values, radicalism and rise of new types of culture. Thereafter, in the 1970s and 1980s an interest towards these low cultures emerged and their values were restored. This is also the way the matter is treated in *Saimaa-ilmio*. The references to the 1960s and 1970s cultures are articulated in speech and behaviour. Juice Leskinen's recitation of Lauri Viita's poem's third verse from 1965 is an explicit intertextual reference to the decade. This particular verse of the poem reflects societal issues, such as depopulation of the countryside, which occurred especially in the 1960s and 1970s. The urbanisation process took place relatively late in Finland. From this point of view the film can be interpreted as a comment on or a critique of this process and, thereafter, a comment on the regional politics and authorities.

Saimaa-ilmio deals with numerous discourses that articulate the margins and the differences between urban and rural cultures. The tension is created by the urban image and nature of popular culture, which emerged as a result of the industrialization and urbanization processes (Kallioniemi & Salmi 1995, 27). In highly agrarian societies, such as Finland, popular culture and music is mixed into the forms of vernacular tradition. Even though the crew members represent the suburban generation (those born in 1950-65, Roos 1987), most of them had, either personally or through their parents, roots at the provinces and the countryside. The articulations with the lakeside landscapes and vernacular culture create a tension related to societal changes. Finland had traditionally been a predominantly agrarian country. Regional politics and late industrialisation caused a mass movement to the southern Finland during the 1960s and the 1970s, and thus deepened the gap between rural and urban Finland. The politics and articulations of local identities can be seen as a reaction of, or against this movement.

The urban/rural juxtaposition was still acute in the early 1980s. Even though the urbanization was well advanced in the Finnish society in the 1980s, the mental change, "spiritual urbanization", as it has been called by Laura Kolbe (1996, 131), took place relatively slowly. Furthermore, the Finnish agrarian culture has been perceived as authentic, and thus idealised in the areas

of arts and culture and also, to some extent, in research (Apo 1996, 176). *Saimaa-ilmio* embraces the rural, vernacular as opposed to urban and developed civilization. This implements the structural shift from Helsinki, which previously was the center of popular music production and consumption, to other parts of Finland. The whole economic life had undergone great changes. Agriculture was in crisis and farmers had severe problems; farms were forced to close, there was unemployment and misery. The wretched life and position of the small farmers has been dealt in some songs by these bands, but none of these songs are included in this film. The image of Finland and Finnish countryside has been kept positive and good, keeping alive a certain kind of nostalgic image of Finland. In addition, the place and location of the lake scene is significant. The whole tour, including gigs in six places (mostly small towns), took place in the area of Lake Saimaa. This refers to a rural, rather than an urban environment, part of their roots; they all come from the 'periphery', even though some of them lived in cities at the time.

Despite the complexity of the life in the countryside and its treatment in Finnish culture, it is evident that the related representations are first and foremost related to discourses of the Finnishness. As mentioned in the discussion about the relation to the 1950s culture, the film seems to embrace a certain kind of pre-industrialised society and Finnishness. The rural culture is seen first and foremost as people's culture. The aim is to connect with the popular and link its roots in the many forms of older forms of Finnish popular culture. It is also the location at the heart of the lake area and the roots that link the film to the vernacular culture. The use of dialects is also a clear connector to the provincial cultures. The connection is also articulated through the film media. In the first half of the 20th century it was seen as a popular form of culture, as an entertainment for workers and common people (Salmi 1996, 91). Even though there have been many genres using other forms of expression, the country and working people have often been the subjects of the films at all times. Furthermore, these subjects have been linked with specific provincial cultures. In the post WW II popular culture most of the representations have concerned the eastern and northern provinces, Savo, Karelia and Lapland, the two of which are also articulated in *Saimaa-ilmio*. Interestingly, the canonized national landscapes and their representation in art depicted mostly sceneries from the same provinces, especially from Eastern Finland.

There has been a very similar development in the history of Icelandic rock. According to musicologist Nicola Dibben, Icelandic popular music style developed in the late 1970s in association with the British punk movement. The music was represented in a rock documentary *Rokk í Reykjavík* (Rock in Reykjavík), which was made at around the same time with *Saimaa-ilmio*, in 1981-2. It was directed "by Iceland's now most renowned director, Frðirík Þor Fríðriksson" (Dibben 2009, 133), just as *Saimaa-ilmio* was directed by Kaurismäki brothers, nowadays the most well known Finnish film makers. Dibben writes that the national landscapes have been of significance in the

audio-visual representations of Icelandic popular music throughout the years (Ibid., 135). She writes:

“Aligning the nation with land, and with the natural features of that landscape, is one means by which the nations construct themselves as given by nature rather than defined politically” (Dibben 2009, 135).

Furthermore, similarly to *Saimaa-ilmiö*, the videos also often deal with the contrast between the country and the city, the rural and urban life in Iceland, and the rural life is often treated nostalgically. It also represents the past, whereas “urban” represents the present. In a similar vein, *Saimaa-ilmiö* seems to embrace the pre-industrialized Finland and Finnishness through the references to the past cultures. These similarities are interesting, as the histories of both countries have common features: they were colonized by foreign states and gained independence rather late (Finland 1917, Iceland 1944), and both countries have a unique language and small population, which is sparsely located mostly in small towns around the country.

Finnishness is also gendered in *Saimaa-ilmiö* in many ways. Most of the articulations are masculine. The characters of the film are male and the behaviour includes many representations of masculinity. The male behaviour and specifically the alcohol use in the film relates to two discourses. Firstly, the tradition of drinking men, especially combined with the summer vacation has been part of the Finnish tradition, and is thus not a surprising element in the film. In addition, drinking has been depicted in Finnish films, but the representations have changed in time. The earlier representations of male drunkenness were mostly mythical and affirming stereotypes (Falk & Sulkunen 1980, 260-262). Public and continuous drinking entered the cultural scene in the 1960s and 1970s, and made their way to the screen in the films. *Saimaa-ilmiö* is not radical in this sense, even though alcohol is consumed throughout the film. The use shown on the film is mostly moderate.

Male culture is also connected to the discourses in the vernacular culture and *Rillumarei* tradition. These include stories of male communities, characterized by natural ways, openness, directness and equal fellowship. Women were in minor parts. (Lehto-Trapnowski 1996, 147.) The behaviour of men was classified into three categories during morale movement of the 1940s and 1950s: The aristocratic gentleman, the honest and equal yeomen and the fair and straight peasants. The peasant culture, referring to the common people and the largest part of the Finnish population, is of interest here. This fairness, the unpretentious nature of these men, was respected and a concept of “a fair bloke” was created, referring to a man who treats the other person as an equal, is at the same level. This behaviour was extended to concern also women, they were treated the same as a sign of respect. The yeomen and the peasant had not been represented in the film until the 1950s and the *Rillumarei* movies, in which the fair bloke became a hero. (Peltonen 1996, 303-30.)

Saimaa-ilmiö depicts a similar male community, based on equality and straightforwardness in the interaction of male musicians. The values are

connected to fairness and respect, togetherness. The boat is represented as a space for male bonding. This involves shared humour, which is expressed in jokes. Humour was also the main device within the vernacular popular culture. The main characters presenting the songs, and those who were being presented in song lyrics, were happy, carefree lads, who could always cope with their lives (Kurkela 1989, 283). The men in *Saimaa-ilmiö* are also mostly presented in a similar vein, happy chaps, whose tour life consists of drinking, joking and having a good time, and playing music. They have to adjust to a variety of situations and conditions which are not typical of the middle class, or bourgeois lifestyles. Despite the difficulties of being a musician they cope and get by.

The construction of gendered articulations can be discussed in terms of *hegemonic masculinity*.⁷⁹ The grounding elements were expressed in Topelius' *Maamme* book, which was used in schooling until the WW II. However, the ideology has been passed on for decades since. According to this idea of hegemonic masculinity the features of good men include working, activity, hard work, self discipline, stamina, loyalty, approving of war, and also respecting the authorities (Lehtonen 1995, 95-104). In *Saimaa-ilmiö* only few of these features are being similarly articulated. These would include the loyalty to other men, to the peers, which was discussed as male bonding above. Most of the features are dearticulated rather than affirmed. Rock musicians were not depicted as hard working men, and the common conception of the professions was also similar. Their lifestyle is presented as hedonistic rather than disciplined; they articulate an anti-war outlook and disrespect towards the authorities. Mikko Lehtonen (1995, 87) has called this an interruption of the order of hegemonic masculinity. In the post WW II decades the articulations, which were non-conformant with the dominant and normative masculinity, aroused strong reactions. By the 1970s the articulations were not as radical, yet still created a stir. In *Saimaa-ilmiö* the film makers have chosen to construct the film, i.e. articulate Finnishness with features that dearticulated the prior hegemonic views.

There are also other, more ambivalent articulations of gender involved. The landscape, the land and nature of Finland, is depicted as a still and tranquil environment. It represents the passive feminine, which has been traditionally related to the nature. On the other hand, the only active participants in the scene are male, which is, again, in accordance with many of the prior representations of Finnishness. The S/S Heinävesi and the element of water are also seen as feminine elements. The boats have been mainly handled and steered by men, who have referred to their vessels even as lovers. Water is an ancient and mythical element of the female, giving birth to worlds and children through water, rocking the boat as a mother. (Walker 1983, 63-64.)

Another tension is placed between the ideas of the official state and natural country of Finland. In the general discussion the earth is often described in feminine terms, as in mother earth. Yet the land, as it is governed and part of a state, is discussed in terms of the masculine, the man, who is cultivating and

⁷⁹ For hegemonic masculinity in relation to rock see Section 5.6.

building it, being the active and dominant subject. In *Saimaa-ilmiö* there are several different articulations. The Olavinlinna defence castle, which is one of the most well known and popular historical monuments in the catalogue of Finland, is harnessed to humorous performances of an opera and a pop song. The state and the authority is also contradicted and despised in Leskinen's opening speech of the scene, where state representatives are seen equal to idiots. The references to the military are negative, and fatherland is equated with army and war. The relation between the people and the elite had been tense for centuries. *Herraviha*, hatred for the elite and the powers that be (male), was shared by the workers in the 19th and 20th centuries (Ehrnrooth 1992, 472-473). This has been implemented also within popular culture, for example in the music of Irwin Goodman, whose lyrics are vulgar and openly expressive of the ridicule of the powers that be. As Lauri Timonen (2006, 29) has retrospectively concluded in his Aki Kaurismäki film book: "The concept of fatherland comes through twofold: On one hand they are being critical and sarcastic towards the society, military force, police and other authorities, and yet many of the songs written by Leskinen and Syrjä are fixed parts of the mythical Finnishness".⁸⁰

This dual nature labels the reading of the film, as *Saimaa-ilmiö* is chugging ahead in the high and low Finnish waters. The film offers a possibility to position oneself in relation to the traditional Finnish culture, moreover, the lower popular expressions of Finnishness. Such discourses include the articulations of male culture, references to past cultural texts and the nostalgic representation of the countryside. On the other hand, many of the national symbols, unofficial symbols such as the lake landscape, and official such as the Flag and the National Anthem, are taken over and rearticulated within the context of rock culture. It seems that in *Saimaa-ilmiö* there was a strong urge to voice, manifest and articulate those alternative constructions related to the national. The ideologically hegemonic Finnishness is not reinforced and its dominance is dearticulated. However, the official symbols and authorities are rearticulated in positions, which are linked to prior articulations within the low popular culture.

⁸⁰ Original quote: "Isänmaallisuuden käsite tulee läpi kaksijakoisena; toisaalta ollaan kriittisiä ja piikkikäitä, yhteiskuntaa, sotavoimia, poliiseja ja valtaapitäviä kohtaan, ja silti monet Leskisen ja Syrjän veljesten säveltämät kappaleet ovat kiinteä osa myyttisintä suomalaisuutta."

7 DISCOURSING FINNISHNESS AND ROCK

The current undertaking involves an analysis of the Finnish rock documentary film *Saimaa-ilmiö*. The analysis focused on *the articulations of Finnishness and rock identities in the discourses of the Saimaa-ilmiö rock documentary film?* The research questions were: 1) *What are the activity types and discourses related to Finnishness and rock?*; 2) *How rock culture is authenticated in the discourses?*; 3) *What kind of Finnishness is constructed through the articulations?*; 4) *What kinds of identity positions of Finnishness and rock are articulated in the discourses of Saimaa-ilmiö?*; and 5) *How do the discourses relate to one another and to other discourses (order of discourse)?*

The research setting is based on Critical Discourse Analysis. The analysis of the communicative event, the film, focused on documentarism, and discourses and articulations of identities related to rock culture and Finnishness, and was presented accordingly in Chapters 4, 5 and 6. In this final chapter, I proceed to present a brief summary of the previous analyses, after which the results are discussed in broader contexts related to the third research question, in terms of the broader contexts related to analyzed identities. In the end I cast a critical and self reflective glance at the research process and the results of the analysis.

The main genre of the text type in question is documentarism, which sets the grounds for the use of the variety of activity types. The film is based on a rather high degree of truthfulness and authenticity, and is thus also a reality based story. As a documentary, *Saimaa-ilmiö* was constructed according to the creative documentary mode. The film is a construction, which mostly follows the original chronology of the cruise, but not entirely so. The events representing the Tuuliajolla tour have been selected and re-organised into an entity by Kaurismäki brothers. The film has similarities with other documentary modes, other rock documentaries, and includes intertextual links to other films. Kaurismäki brothers thus combine and use features and ideas from many modes and films, and create a film which finds its place in the continuum of rock documentary films. The film employs many documentary techniques, such as direct address, interviews, and music performances typical

of rockumentaries. The sounds in *Saimaa-ilmiö* were analysed in close detail, and the manipulated and acousto sounds formed the two major categories of the sound use in the film. Studio recorded sound was used only on a short example. Documentarism plays an important part in the authentications of the film subjects. Finnish rock is being reinforced and foregrounded by the film, the making of which is an argument in itself.

The activity types take place in particular social situations, which are defined by specific practices. In *Saimaa-ilmiö* the scenes most often consist of one activity type, even though there are few overlaps. The activity types can be divided into the following main categories (arranged according to the quantity): *concert performance, interview, acoustic music performance, landscape, roadying, joke telling, speech, backstage, poem recitation and casual travelling*. Concert performances form the main activity type, and together with the acoustic performances they constitute the vast majority of the film's activities. The interviews are the second largest category. There is some variation within this activity type: some of the interviews are more formal and others are more discussion like. In addition, the rest of the categories appear just in one to three occasions, and they are short of length. The meanings of this audio-visual text are mediated accordingly by auditory and visual modes of communication. Most of these activity types include both sound and vision. The only exception is the category of landscape, which is non-lingual, 'passive' activity type, in the sense that there are no human actors in those scenes. However, they also communicate meanings, even though tacitly. Landscape is also mixed with such activity types such as the acoustic music performances and other activities taking place on the boat.

Rock was articulated in various ways. Most of the activity types involved were related to music making. Many articulations reinforced the Anglo-American based rock culture, its ideology and authenticity. The practices, touring and performing live, which form the main activity type in the film, are important means of authenticating rock music. Here we are talking about a general discourse, including a number of discourses related to music making. It is carried out in many activity types: concerts performances, interviews, acoustic performances, roadying, and backstage, in the images (behaviour, acting, style), talking (words about the music making), and sounds (music and songs). Music is performed on stage and acoustically on the boat. Also the performance style follows the international genre models. In *Saimaa-ilmiö* rock is mostly presented from the musicians' perspective and the audience is in a minor role. Within the genre the musicians, especially the central figures of the bands, were considered to be artists, auteurs of their music. Authenticity was largely based on the fact that the bands performed music they had authored themselves and were able to play live in front of the audience. Finnish rock scooped from the punk ideology, which reinforced its authentication as a "genuine" and "true" rock genre. Other forms of music, such as disco and any other genres centered on records or producers, were despised. The artists were important. (Heikkinen 2008b, 289.)

Also the extra-musical features presented in the film are presented in conformity with the rock ideology. The discourses of rock are also verbal; the film includes a variety of interviews and talks related to rock: music making, band formation, what is the essence of a good gig and being a rock musician. Bohemian life, including drinking and having a good time, is part of the rock mythology. This great narrative has been dominantly masculine, and *Saimaailmiö* does also take part in the construction of the hegemonic rock masculinity. Rock culture was also youth culture. The musicians and people in the film are rather young, and represent the suburban generation in Finland, even though most of the musicians come from the “periphery”, various parts of the Finnish countryside. The way the musicians dress, and their demeanour and argot are conformant with the youth cultural style. It is mostly produced and consumed by young people who belong to the suburban generation, and whose values and meaning are based on the rock ideology rather than on the normative ideals of the Finnish society. The attitude expressed in the lyrics, music and other behaviour implements a counter cultural attitude against authorities and those in position of power.

The discourses related to the Finnishness were manifold. The title *Saimaailmiö* refers to the location of the film events, the most well known Finnish lake region. Through the visual images related to the location and tour, the behaviour and the verbal expressions, Finnishness is linked to the film in several ways. The use of landscape, romanticized images of the countryside, was affirmative with the ways the landscape has been canonized within the construction of Finnishness. The nostalgic references to the vernacular culture, in the form of intertextuality and using the dialect, as well as the location of the cruise in the countryside waterways, are represented in the music (concert and acoustic performances), ways of singing and talking (concert performance and interview), and the images of the landscape. Changes in the Finnish society and culture are addressed verbally in the poem recitation and song lyrics (concert and acoustic performances).

Some articulations were attached to lowbrow Finnish culture. This was carried out through intertextual links to music and films. Humour and a jesting attitude was also a link to the vernacular culture, as well as the ways of using language, especially in dialects. Furthermore, the fact that the music is sung in Finnish is a significant element in the film. The regional and local articulations were highlighted and placed the overall ideological Finnishness to Savo and Karelia, to the location of the cruise. All in all, Finnishness thus strongly links to the vernacular types of culture and their values.

7.1 The order of discourse in Finnish rock

In the following the analysis is thought over in terms of *order of discourse*. As in the previous chapters I have mainly focused in the analysis of the internal

relations, that is, the ways the text is structured in terms of activity types and discourses, I will now turn to the ways the formations of activity types and discourses, i.e. *discourse types*, are related to the socially contiguous discourses (external relations). This level of analysis is closely bound to the construction of identities and ideologies, which can be identified and understood only in the context of social practices. In the analysis of *Saimaa-ilmiö* I looked for articulations of Finnishness and rock and the related discourses. Some of the articulations reinforce the prior articulations, some de- and rearticulate those dominant constructions. However, the articulations of identities can never take place in a void, as Georgina Born (2000, 31-32) has stated concerning the analysis of music cultures:

“There is a need to acknowledge that music can variably both construct new identities and reflect existing ones. Socio-cultural identities are not simply constructed in music; there are “prior” identities that come to be embodied dynamically in musical cultures, which then also form the reproduction of those identities.”

Identities are about meaning making and assigning values to certain aspects or features of cultures. In this sense the concept of identity comes very close to that of ideology, which is also constructed through social practices, and implements and constructs power relations. I will synthesize the analysis of discourses as positioned articulations. The aim is to sketch out identity positions in *Saimaa-ilmiö*.

I have placed the most strongly articulated discourses visually in relation to the two main identity categories of rock and Finnishness in Figure 6. These discourse topics constitute the identity positions represented in *Saimaa-ilmiö*. The analysis focused on discourses of both, rock and Finnishness. The rock related discourses are by no doubt overpowering in the film. The most powerful discourse is that of masculinity, which engages articulations also related to discourses of Finnishness. The most dominant identity position is represented by Finnish men, whose lifestyle is unconventional in comparison to societal norms. Articulations of bohemianism, low popular and vernacular Finnish culture are closely related to one another and thus form a rather strong position, which is related to masculinity. In this part (Figure 6, overlap in the middle), the discourses related to rock and Finnishness articulate in coherence. For women the offered positions are less powerful than the male positions. Women are passive by-standers, girl friends or friends, who followed the men to the cruise.

The film offers also other identity positions. The attitude against authorities and societal norms become most strongly articulated in discourses of rock culture. However, the hatred for the elite and the powers that be is also a feature in low popular Finnish culture, in which politicians and other authorities have been separated from the common people, even despised and disrespected. The articulations of place are mostly related to the vernacular Finnishness, which is also articulated in the rock culture to some extent. The film offers a position for the provincial men, who come from the periphery,

outside the densely populated Helsinki area. In this sense it creates conception of Finnish rock as broadly national phenomenon. Rock musicians do not need come from an urban environment. The position is also strongly Finnish, even though the national symbolic elements are articulated within the rock context, which separates them from the official representations of Finnishness.

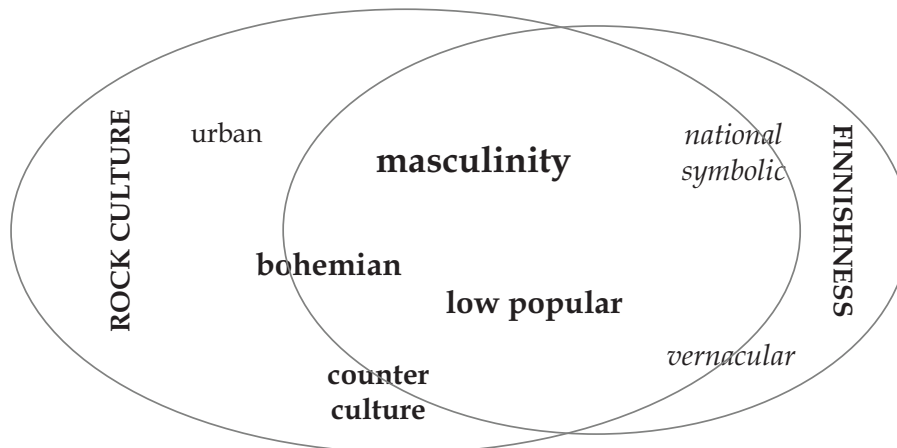


FIGURE 6 The relations of the discourses of rock culture and Finnishness.

The relations of the discourses and the above presented identity positions bring up a question related to the position of the reader. From which perspective the reading has been made? The interpretation of *Saimaa-ilmiö* would have most likely been different in the early 1980s context. At that time the focus of the analysis could have had more emphasis on the discourses concerning youth and counter culture. Rock in the 1970s and 1980s was regarded as youth culture, as the musicians and audiences were mostly young at age. This has changed in time. There is now more diversity in the age groups, as the generations have aged. People of different age are producing and consuming popular music and rock. At the early 1980s music performed in the film was also on top, fresh and popular. On the other hand the counter cultural emphasis would have been stronger. From the perspectives of many other identity positions, such as that of older generations, the film could have been read in various ways, e.g. as an embodiment of despised and inferior rock culture, or just as nonsense, without any value.

As stated at the forepart of the work the reading of the film has been made from today's perspective. This has affected my analysis. The way *Saimaa-ilmiö* is received and understood today is undoubtedly different to than 30 years ago. The film is seen as part of a larger historical phenomenon and it is evaluated in a broader context, as distancing and contextualizing is possible only after some time has passed. Finnish rock, or *suomirock*, has been canonized into a historical formation, in which the bands represented in *Saimaa-ilmiö* possess a major role. An important part of the historical process was the emergence and

establishment of the genre which took place at the time. *Saimaa-ilmiö* has thus a role in the even mythical birth of Finnish rock.

The reasons why Finnishness and masculinity have been given such a great emphasis in my work are found in today's historical and scholarly context. In this work the evaluation of the construction of Finnishness is built in relation to other cultural reading of Finnishness. Most of these deconstructive studies have been done in the recent decades, that is, after the making of *Saimaa-ilmiö*, and they have had an influence in the way I have read the film. The same applies to my reading of masculinity. Judging by studies and research approaches in the fields of Finnish music and cultural studies, the overpowering masculine positions would not have been focused on in the early 1980s. Also the sociocultural gender norms of that time were in accordance with the representations of the film. In today's context the contrast of the gender representations of the film have become more explicit, and the approaches, in which the critical readings have been foregrounded, have focused my attention to the articulations of gender.

In respect to counter cultural readings the historical tendency has been opposite. The film events were seen more radical in the 1980s. Drinking and the tour life were largely in collision with the hegemony of "good Finnishness". In today's context the contrast is not as strong. Various kinds of drug abuse and different lifestyles have become more common and acceptable as the society, its culture and norms have changed. Moreover, punk culture was a strong counter cultural phenomenon at the turn of the 1980s and it aroused great opposition and disregard in many other identity positions. Early Finnish rock was associated with punk and the same counter cultural attitude and recklessness would have appeared different as the contrast to the hegemonic societal values and conventions were far greater than today.

7.2 Finnish rock as national

Rock and Finnishness are the two main identity categories articulated in *Saimaa-ilmiö*. Rock ideology is pervasive. The articulations of rock are straightforward, sympathetic and affirmative to a greater degree, while the discourses concerning Finnishness are not as strong or unified. On the one hand certain conventions of representing the nation or the state are dearticulated. The authorities and institutions are not respected, and the official and normative Finnish culture is refused. On the other hand, the film includes other, mainly non-verbal articulations of Finnishness, which are in conformity with the mainstream Finnish culture. The masculinity is represented by the alcohol use and humour by vulgar jokes. In the past these have been associated with and represented as part of the Finnish lower, vernacular culture. The masculinity does also have an opposite side: there are many articulations that are contradictory with the armed forces and war, which have played an essential

part in the construction and history of both masculinity and the state of Finland. The relation to the state seems contradictory: as the state is strongly opposed, the use of the flag and national anthem seem more ambivalent. These symbols are not made fun of, but the way they are used is not entirely solemn or sacrosanct, either. There is a joyful jubilation amongst the crowd as they are performing the national anthem. The tour is over and they are celebrating the moment, which becomes even more evoking because of the piece of music sung.

However, the need to seek for an alternative space within Finnish culture through rock results in an ideological packet, in which rock and certain elements of Finnish culture are articulated in conformance, creating a strong ideological construction of Finnish rock. The most important articulations of Finnishness are related to the vernacular and "low popular" Finnishness. Despite the possible dichotomies related to the rural national and urban rock, the other, conformant articulations create a stronger meaning and thus become dominant elements in the film. The strong national articulation of "rock" takes forms which do not entirely correspond with its Anglo-American paragon. Nonetheless, the articulations are in such accordance that the meanings mediated through the sounds and images are not impugned. Even the "official" symbols of the nation become harnessed into the alternative articulation of the subcultural and counter cultural rock ideology. Here we should, nevertheless, remember that the presentation of the national anthem in the end of the film has models in the history of rock. Other rock musicians have performed internationally well known versions of national anthems. Moreover, Juice Leskinen had ended his gigs by performing the Finnish national anthem for years before *Saimaa-ilmiö*. Even in this regard the musicians were not breaking rules, but linking to practices that had emerged within rock culture.

The representations of landscape images are consistent with many of the prior articulations of Finnishness. However, when articulated with rock, the meanings are rearticulated. The homogenization process of the Finnish culture is ruptured, as the articulations connect the landscape use to the subculture and counter culture of rock, which represents an ideology opposite to the normative ways of life.

One important feature in the construction of rock reflecting the Finnishness felt and appreciated by the fans is the language. Finnish lyrics were important and many of the song writers of Finnish rock, including Juice Leskinen, Ismo Alanko and Martti Syrjä, have been seen as continuation of Finnish lyricists' tradition dating back to *iskelmä* and other popular song traditions. As rock became acculturated into the national culture the meaning and role of language became even more important. As Tarja Rautiainen (2005, 48) has stated: "The lyrics were the foundation for rock auteurism in Finland and for "Suomi rock". The expressiveness of the singer's voice and the instrumental backing were incorporated into a new kind of poetry". This is confirmed in *Saimaa-ilmiö*. Most of the song lyrics are written by the singers themselves, and there is a strong presence of personal expression and auteurism involved.

As concluded earlier, the music played by the bands in *Saimaa-ilmio* has been discursively labelled in Finnish as *suomirock*. This formation of rock gained a status as a national articulation, which was largely due to the fact that it was sung in Finnish – a language that is spoken in a country called Finland. In this respect the rise and triumph of Finnish rock can be considered to strengthen the national identity, at least for certain groups of Finnish people. In this sense the transnational, Anglo-American rooted culture can be seen as a hybrid reinforcing local and national cultures (e.g. Hall 1992; Kärjä 2005). *Saimaa-ilmio* participates in constructing this coalescence, as the discourses are strongly intertwined.

According to the bands' repertoires presented in the film it can be concluded that their music consists of many various styles. The genre of Finnish rock utilises music from several subgenres, such as rock'n'roll, blues, skiffle etc. On the other hand, such crossing of musical boundaries has been one of the musical features of rock. "More than being a unified genre, rock is a result of articulations between texts (both musical and non-musical), contexts, and cultural practices in a certain time and place" (Rautiainen 2005, 42). This has also been typical of other national articulations of rock.

"Britpop was never, in any sense, a *movement* with common artistic aims. Nor can Britpop usefully be thought of as a musical *genre*: a distinctive set of conventions for musical production and consumption never crystallized around the word. [...] Britpop is best understood, instead, as a *discourse*: a group of utterances and statements that have a significant role in organizing understanding of the social realm." (Hesmondhalgh 2001, 276.)

The arguments related to the genre are, of course, dependent on the ways in which a genre is defined. The situation with Finnish rock is somewhat similar, even though the modes of production and consumption were rather coherent. The discursive construction of Finnish rock has been strong. The very term *suomirock* coincided approximately with the time *Saimaa-ilmio* was released. The film has thus participated in this discursive construction process and played a part in its establishment. If a genre is understood as a construction of discourses, which it in most cases largely is, *suomirock* is a national genre of rock.

7.3 Finnish rock as an attitude

Even though a great number of articulations of rock culture and homogenous Finnishness were in congruence, *Saimaa-ilmiö* also includes elements by which rock culture is being distinguished from the homogenous and normative Finnish culture. Finnish culture was based on the project of homogeneous normativity, which could be described as hegemonic culture. In rock ideology there was the countercultural element against this homogenous view, an alternative space for other articulations.

The counter cultural attitude was part of the early rock culture. In *Saimaa-ilmiö* this is seen as a critique, even resistance to the normative society and culture. Part of the counter cultural attitude is disrespect for authorities. It has foundations in the vernacular popular culture, within which the hatred for the ruling men (*herranviha*) and dislike for authorities have been expressed. This aspect is strengthened by the counter cultural aspects of rock, by which the opposition towards authorities has taken many forms. Rock is presented according to the established rock ideology, which spread to other countries through different routes, mainly from the Anglo-American base. The authentication process involved the verification of the main rock practices, with the focus on the concerts and live performances. The strong auteuristic role of the musicians was emphasized and foregrounded by different activity types, emphasizing the "truth" value of the film, and the musical genre.

Attitudes towards authorities and institutions are expressed in music lyrics (concert performances and acoustic music performances), discussions about the nation as a fatherland (interviews), and in other talks (speeches). The position of resistance is constructed performatively by way of behaving in the Olavinlinna castle (acoustic music performances), which is traditionally a forum for high culture performances, especially that of opera. Also dressing is one of the ways in which the attitude is articulated: the use of military shirts within the rock context does reverse the original and intentional meaning of these pieces of clothing. Moreover, suit jackets, which are most often used in semi-formal or formal situations, are in casual use in the film.

The discourses in *Saimaa-ilmiö* represent the changes in Finnish society and culture in many ways. Rock, containing elements of resistance and opposition, is used to point out some of the areas in Finnish culture, which are considered problematic from the rock culture point of view. Societal inequalities, consumption culture, the misuse of authoritarian power, urbanization, Americanization of Finnish culture, and the normativity that excludes alternative cultures are questioned and presented in the multiple discourses in the film. They are spoken out against in the songs and pointed out through the behaviour of the musicians.

Ilkka Heiskanen and Ritva Michell (1985, 383) have described "a new culture of order": the young people uniting within a youth culture, creating an oppositional front. It is thus easier to question the authoritarian rules and

regulations. In Finland popular culture was largely identified as a youth culture till the 1990s. This affirmed its subcultural and countercultural status, opposed to the high culture. The values of rock youth culture clashed with those coming from the older generations. The class also mattered. Most of the young people who considered themselves to belong to a subculture came from lower middle class or working class families. The countercultural forms had their basis in working class cultures. (Heiskanen ja Mitchell 1985, 313.)

The suburban generation was seen as holding the power of changing the class structure in Finland. The great changes in the society in the 1960s led to the rising of the middle class. In this situation the young people became detached from the cultures they were brought up in, chose a youth culture which was often relaxed and having fun. By doing so they paved way for a new middle class which exists alongside with the traditional high and middle class. (Heiskanen & Mitchell 1985, 385.)

The counter cultural attitude is not just an expression of aggression or resistance against the society. Rock has, in Lawrence Grossberg's (1992) terms, affective power, which empowers people to take positions related to dominance and power. "Individuals manifest their existence, belonging, and values that they want to invest in the social world" (Rautiainen 2005, 42). Youth cultures, such as rock at the time, provided the people with cultural formations, endorsing an alternative ideology. The counter cultural position of Finnish rock aroused many negative and appalling reactions amongst the normative Finnish culture. *Saimaa-ilmiö* was received in different ways. Representatives of normative culture did not recognize its value, but within the rock culture it was regarded as the first "real" Finnish rock film. Radio was a popular medium for the expressions of public opinion at the time. Popular music had been broadcasted in Finland by the *YLE* for decades, but there was an increase in 1963, when its policies changed. A programme on rock, *Rockradio*, started in 1980, broadcasting music and edited programmes up to 11 hours per week at its peak (Kemppainen 2010, 33 & 41). This caused stir also within the staff of *YLE*. Maija Dahlgren, a host of a radio programme, received and read a letter concerning rock music in her programme (Dahlgren 1981).

Dear editor,

I'm concerned about youth music. What is this distortion of music, and what purpose is it for? I am a middle aged man and I have kids growing up in my family. I have not paid any attention to this matter before, since I'm a busy man at my work, as I suppose most of us are, but this summer I have been building a house and the radio has been open from the morning until the night, and I've really had a chance to listen to it.

And I'm terrified. What kind of screaming and tearing down all values is this music that is being played in the radio? There are these almost two hour sets every other day and the late night shows. And not all the young people even want to listen to rock music, namely the matured and smarter youth. Possibly, for many it goes in from one ear and comes out from the other, this harsh conversion, that is done in the speaks between the songs. But there always is some uncritical younger youth, for whom this acts as brainwash. And when repeated effectively enough, it entices these kids away from all constructive values and beautiful way of life.

In the end he quotes lyrics from Hassisen kone song "Rappiolla" (Decayed) as an example of this horrible youth culture. The thoughts expressed by this middle aged family man towards rock music seem appalled. He sees rock as a threat which will destroy the youth. The attack against the values of the societal norms and dominant culture are evoking strong reactions and attitudes amongst the people representing those groups of people.

7.4 Finnish rock as a contiguous masculine habit

Masculinity in its different forms encompasses many aspects of rock and Finnishness. The dominance of male power in the representations and discourses of the film is striking. Rock culture is very much based on masculine contiguous habits, as stated earlier in Chapter 5. Furthermore, alcohol use, humour and male bonding are all elements of masculine habits in both rock culture and Finnish culture. Dominant masculinity and its manifestations create the strongest link between the two identities.

Rock musicianship has largely been constructed on these masculine elements and they have been emphasized in the construction of the history of rock. *Saimaa-ilmiö* affirms this rock ideology and brings it to the national context of Finnish rock. Finnishness, in this respect, is also affirmative. Drinking, humorous behaviour, and male bonding have been represented in relation to the lower forms of Finnish culture, especially its vernacular forms. By this I refer to people's everyday lives and culture, which existed alongside the official construction of Finnishness. The articulation of rock into this type of Finnish culture does substantiate and reinforce the ideology in both directions. Rock does correspond with some aspects of Finnish culture.

Male bonding, creating a community and enjoying the time together are the most dominant features of the cruise, typical of the Finnish *jätkä* (bloke) as well as to the male musicianship. The authentication of the rock genre through masculinity engenders an ideological entity, which affirms and reconstructs the masculinity in rock. Humour and having a good time are significant elements in *Saimaa-ilmiö*. Even most of the solemn issues are presented in the context of having fun. Serious messages can be larded with a jesting attitude. Important elements of the musicianship and the tour life are having a good time and enjoying the company. Alcohol plays a great part in the leisure activities, even though music is not performed when drunk. An important element of the group formation is the strong articulation of masculinity, in relation to both Finnishness and rock.

There are also ways in which rock foregrounds new articulations in relation to the traditional masculine Finnishness. The attitudes concerning working and traditional male duties, such as serving and fighting for the country, are dearticulated and thus not represented in normative ways. The musicians are not presented as working men. They do not have regular

working hours, and their line of occupation was largely not real work. While artists in other fields were granted the freedom attached to creative labour, the rock musicians were a bunch of young, idle chaps, who refused to serve in the military forces and lived against the normative, homogenized rules of the society. In this sense the hegemonic rock masculinity is dominant, and the articulation is disrupting the Finnish construction of “proper” masculinity, linking to the working class, leftist, and low popular Finnish culture. Finnish rock is mainly constructed within youth culture, in which the actors are young, white, heterosexual men.

7.5 Finnish rock as place

The identities articulated in *Saimaa-ilmiö* are connected to a variety of places and spaces in several ways. The significance of these geographical and spatial constructions is relevant to numerous aspects of the film, i.e. the location of the cruise, the musicians, the events of the film, and to also to many references to the regional, national and transnational elements, and the dynamics of these places. The roots and routes of Finnishness are articulated to rock culture partly in new and unexpected ways. Musically there are connections to the past through old songs that are performed in the boat and lake environment. The journey on the boat is almost like a time travel, allowing movement back and forth in time through intertextuality.

In *Saimaa-ilmiö* there are also many articulations of physical places. From the Anglo-American perspective Finland is in a periphery, a small country in northern Europe. The music industry and marketing were scant and amateurish, especially within rock music (Kaskinen 1989, 90-91). However, the rise of national articulations of rock in the early 1980s opened up new possibilities to merge the music into locally meaningful forms. From this perspective it is interesting how rock is articulated with the vernacular Finnishness. Rock has, at large, been considered as city culture, at least in those urban Anglo-American contexts within which it developed. In *Saimaa-ilmiö* rock is articulated to those exact forms of Finnish culture, which are in conformity with rock culture and ideology: the honest and straightforward lower class male culture. These were seen as the true, peoples’ culture, which appeals to the masses. This is significant in the relation to the authentication of Finnish culture.

The turn to the rural and vernacular also incorporates a political agenda. The regional development and late industrialisation of Finland had caused a mass movement to the southern, urban Finland during the 1960s and the 1970s, and thus deepened the existing gap between rural and urban Finland. The regional Finnishness relates especially to two eastern provinces of Finland, Savo and Karelia, which are mostly used as the Others. This *othering* is also an articulation, which is conformant with the position of rock culture in Finland. As Antti-Ville Kärjä (2005, 187) has stated, it is interesting that the “eastern

Finland” is the furthest compass point from the West, which represents both, the “modern” and the “decadent”, as opposed to the ambivalent East. This position of Finland between the two cultural spaces has had a great role in the establishment of national rock, as Rautiainen (2005, 43–44) has described the scene in the 1960s:

“because Finland is situated between the East and West from the point of view of cultural history, our traditional popular music has developed by adopting influences from both sides. Thus the mother tongue of Finnish popular music has been the dance tune, schlager, blended with elements from Russian waltz romances and European salon music, and slight influences from Afro-American music. The early days of acculturation of rock'n'roll in Finland continued this line of development: the adaptation of rock through the domestic tradition was a natural choice.”

Finnish rock represents an example of the ways supralocal cultures can be nationally shaped, thus becoming specifically meaningful to a certain group of people. The resemblance with the Anglo-American roots is strong, yet there are articulations which link the genre also to the local culture. In *Saimaa-ilmiö* these links are strong.

Despite the tendency towards the West, American culture is not only idolized. In *Saimaa-ilmiö* there are statements against Americanization in the sense of commercialization and mass culture.⁸¹ The opposition is directed only towards these specific aspects of American culture. Commercialism and superficiality are thus features that were not in conformity with the rock ideology. Finnishness, as Kärjä states (2005, 188), can be considered as what he calls a borderline identity. It has been shaped by the position at the (imaginary) cultural map between the “east” and “west”. This is also politically coloured position. On one hand, the articulations of *Saimaa-ilmiö* can be seen as a continuation of the Finnish leftist ideology, in which the working-class culture formed the ideal that was romanticized in the 1960s, and the Anglo-American consumer culture was seen as a threat to national cultures. This ideology and cultural space has lived in Finland in various contexts. On the other hand, and despite the critique towards these aspects of Americanism, “West” seems like a desirable choice in *Saimaa-ilmiö*. The commentary concerning East is reduced to the cynical remarks about the fictitious “Metal to the border” project, which was referred to in relation to the World Wars. Rock is dominantly from the “West”: it is, to a high degree, also American based culture.

The articulations of the countryside and rural people’s culture are romanticized. The roots of the musicians and many articulations in the film create routes to the countryside and rural life. There are numerous intertextual references to the past decades (songs, a poem, images, shots, discussion), the 1940s (II World War, song “Päivänsäde ja menninkäinen”), the 1950s (song “Kaunis Veera”), and the 1960s (poem “Onni”). The use of the landscape and the reinforcement of the nature by silencing those images link the film to the mythical landscapes of the Finnish lakesides.

⁸¹ Similar elements also in Britpop, against Europeanization and Americanization of British culture (Hesmondhalgh 2001, 275).

The rural urban dichotomy has been strongly related to music cultures in Finland. Still in the 1960s rock had been more urban, and most people in the rural areas listened to old dance music, especially tango. "Rock modernization" took place from the late 1960s on. New ways of mediating youth cultures played an important role in this process, especially new radio programmes and magazines. Rock culture became more accessible and public. (Rautiainen 2005, 44-45.) At the same time Finnish society changed and shifted from an agrarian society into an industrialized one, and the gap between rural and urban cultures became narrower within popular culture. Yet from the societal point of view it can be concluded that the articulations in *Saimaa-ilmiö* do not bring Finnish rock to the urban industrial environment, or even further to the post industrial city, which has been the route for many forms of culture in the recent decades. Instead, it is taking it back to the preindustrial, romanticised and nostalgic countryside. This is related to the role of the directors, especially that of Aki Kaurismäki, whose work is often placed in an urban setting, but also includes statements of the Finnish society and longing for the Finnish countryside. He has stated the romantic ideal of the good old times, as in this interview:

"My first memories are from the years 1950-1960: I belong to the last generation that remembers the old agricultural Finland. Those were better times: there was no television and people were still able to talk to each other." (Kyösola 2007, 175-176.)

He is longing for the lost past, specific kind of Finnish culture, which he prefers. There is a myth of the "ephemeral people", who have or will cease to exist.

7.6 Finnish rock as an institution

By the early 1980s popular culture had not reached accepted institutionalized status of value in Finnish society. It was part of the lower popular cultural forms, which were not officially recognized. However, popularity was still guaranteed. At the turn of the 1980s Finnish rock sold more than ever and the bands featured in *Saimaa-ilmiö* were at the top of their careers. The Finnish rock scene had reached autonomy during the 1970s and the division onto pop and rock was emerging (Rautiainen 2005, 48). Also the boundaries between the categories of 'high' and 'low' started to be dispelled. The supply of radio programmes and stations widened (Alasuutari ja Ruuska 1999, 143). The development within other media resulted in a broader availability of music related materials. Institutional changes followed.

The history of Finnish rock has largely been written after the 1980s. It is based on a variety of materials of the culture, as much as lived memories of the authors and audiences. Rock journalism and audio and audiovisual representations of rock have had an important part in this process. *Saimaa-ilmiö* is a unique film in this respect. As a rockumentary it embodies an alleged truth

value of documentary films – they can possibly have a great role in a construction of such public memory. Within Finnish rock the film was received as authentic. Asko Alanen (1981, 53) wrote in *Soundi* magazine:

“Saimaa-ilmiö is homage to Finnish rock and its fans. [...] I do not only recommend the film, I regard it to all readers of Soundi magazine as a necessary document and significant piece of evidence of the vital power of rock. Saimaa-ilmiö says more about that than thousand Soundi pages.”

The position of the film within the Finnish popular music and rock has become stronger over the years. In 1997 journalist Ilkka Mattila wrote in *Helsingin Sanomat* (the biggest Finnish daily newspaper) an article titled: Finnish rock was born in a cruise. He equals the *Tuuliajolla* cruise as the moment of the symbolic birth of Finnish rock. The popularity of the film, which today has an increased nostalgic value, has not ceased, as it was released on DVD in the spring of 2007. Even today *Saimaa-ilmiö* is producing the story of the Finnish rock.

A great role in the canonization of Finnish rock and *Saimaa-ilmiö* has been played by its directors, the Kaurismäki brothers. *Saimaa-ilmiö* does take up many of those themes that are seen in the later fiction films directed by Aki Kaurismäki, such as the nostalgia of the past. Mika Kaurismäki has been more interested in the documentary film making: he has directed several documentary films on music since *Saimaa-ilmiö*. In the autumn 2009 he was working on two music documentaries, one about a Finnish artist, Vesa-Matti Loiri, and another one about a South African singer and civil rights activist, now deceased Miriam Makeba. Many of Mika Kaurismäki's films have been international projects on foreign music cultures.

The bands and their musicians have also had a great role in the history of Finnish rock. During the 1990s the genre shifted from the marginal to the mainstream. The canon of Finnish rock became established and Juice Leskinen, who had several line-ups during his career, was one of those appreciated long term rock musicians. The two other bands of *Saimaa-ilmiö*, Eppu Normaali and Hassisen kone, have also been granted canonized positions amongst the first and foremost bands within the genre of Finnish rock. In the poll organised by *Ilta-Sanomat*, a Finnish tabloid newspaper, in 2008, Finns were asked to vote for the best Finnish lyricist. The first position was occupied by Juice Leskinen. The four following positions were possessed by writers known mainly for writing *iskelmä* lyrics, but Martti Syrjä was voted as the sixth and Ismo Alanko as the eighth best lyric writer in Finland.

7.7 Evaluation of the research process and future scenarios

At last I now turn to evaluate the implemented research design and the research process (self-reflection). I will discuss some critical aspects of the theoretical

approaches and framework of the study and, as the final conclusion I will present some thoughts concerning future studies related to this topic.

It is hard to remember what the first research plan of this doctoral dissertation contained. The research process has been a true learning process. This final product is a result of developing the skills of thinking and analyzing, acquiring new information, but also having a great number of collegial discussion. The topic has been narrowed down, the theoretical approaches have varied, and the focus has changed. However, *Saimaa-ilmio* has been the central material of analysis since the beginning of the process. Critical discourse analysis came along at an early stage of the process. One of the main methodological questions in qualitative studies is related to the ways of making interpretations. CDA provided me with a systematic means to place the links between the analyzed texts and its wider contexts. Furthermore, it seemed ideal for the analysis of audio-visual texts, allowing choice making in relation to the text specific analysis.

CDA has also been heavily criticized within the academia before and during my research process. Partly this is a result of the different schools, which have developed CDA with different emphasis. There are also many possible ways of applying the method, and the analyst has to make the decisions concerning the details and stress placed on different aspects and levels of the analysis. Some applications have been more orthodox than others. Furthermore, some of the critique in relation to the analysis of discourses concerns the political and economic aspects, which the analysis is said to fail to address enough. However, I do believe that within CDA it is possible to choose even such a specific perspective and to analyze those aspects related to that particular view point.

I have studied the discourses related to Finnishness and rock culture, but was my study really critical? As I wrote earlier in chapter 3.3, the critical in Fairclough's (1995, 75) terms means that in the analysis one will take (often implicit) ideological assumptions, causalities and power relations into consideration. This has been my aim and the people for whose examination the study will be submitted will have to exercise their power in order to judge the successfulness of this work also in this perspective.

Another subject for discussion is the research material. I have chosen to analyze the film first and foremost as a media text, and delimited the analysis of the media material produced at the time the film was released. CDA does not require systematic analysis of such material. The main focus has been in reading and understanding the discourses from the current perspective, not that of the past. I have analyzed how the sociocultural meanings are constructed, and interpreted them through today's scholarly understanding of these cultures. Having used material from the early 1980s would have allowed me to draw more detailed conclusions on the reception of the film, as well as on the societal attitudes towards the film. By doing so, the study would have constructed a historically emphasized interpretation of the film's role in Finnish culture.

Another commentary could concern the reading of the researcher, as I have already contemplated in Section 7.1. The result of the analysis depends on the position of the researcher. In qualitative research the dilemma is often presented in terms of subjectivity. The studies are constructed on the basis of interpretations, which are always subjective to some degree. The results and emphasis could vary depending on the researcher and the viewpoints and methods that have been chosen for the study. However, I believe that the well based research design and description of the analysis process, combined to a reflective contemplation of the study will make it possible for the reader to understand the grounds for the results on the study.

Within the broader academic discussion my dissertation is related to two types of critique: that of cultural studies in general, and that of identity research. Cultural study has been strongly criticized of losing touch with the “reality” (Toynbee 2007). Approaching culture as representations and discourses can lead to a relativist account, according to which any analysis will be “true” and “right”, depending on the perspective of the subjects in question. The interpretation will thus fail to say anything about the state of things, the values or appropriations, the conditions, any of the “social”. However, I believe that the representations can have manifest information concerning the changes in the culture and society. At best they subject the changes to the critical analysis of the power relations, which underlie the processes of creating and using those representations within a social realm. Furthermore, CDA provides a framework which forces the analyst to interpret the texts in the context of culture and society.

The identity critique is aimed at the use of the concept in a great variety of different studies, subjects and contexts. Identity is used to connote several different views:

“‘Identity’ is no more than a common name for many different and distinct processes that need to be explained. Wrapping all these diverse forms of action, event, actors under a single expression can only generate more misunderstandings and will not help us in any way to explain the extraordinary social change that has been taking place in a last few decades.” (Malešević 2006, 36.)

Malešević continues with a critique towards the notions of ‘ethnic’ and ‘national’ identities: can the concept be used in the analysis to unravel something relevant of such constructions? She suggests that the concept of identity should be replaced by ideology. The group identity in relation to nation or an ethnic group does falsely imply any “personal sense of belonging or generates social action” (Ibid., 47). The use of ideology as a more agency and content oriented model would, instead, provide with more pertinent ways to study the constructions of shared values and thoughts, which have implications on peoples’ lives (Ibid., 80).

I agree with Malešević in many ways. The concept of identity is in many cases vague and seems to have very little practical implications for analysis. What do we study when analyzing identities? We are looking at the people and the things they represent, i.e. their values, actions, constructed meanings in a

specific context. Even though identity has become regarded as anti-essentialist, the concept escapes the real life representations and articulations in the actual analysis. Identity positions are more relational, they highlight the temporality and linkage to other positions. The question is not just of some features or elements of identities which are put together, the importance is on the relation and power dynamics between the identified positions.

The fact that I have chosen to concentrate on identity positions at a more general level has also overshadowed some individual people and their personal subject positions in the analysis. Alcohol consumption and joke telling provide with good examples of such a rupture. Based on the film I have concluded that part of the masculine habits related to rock and Finnish culture were drinking and telling humorous jokes. It is entirely possible that the film includes musicians who would oppose to such behaviour. In addition, some of the articulations of identities are stronger than others, depending on the prior articulations, and the ways they are articulated in the film. The nature of the articulation, whether an act is performed by the "self", or acted out and expressed with a voice of "other", can vary. For example, the contents of Juice Leskinen's presentation of rector's speech in Kuopio are not spoken by himself as an individual, instead, he is speaking in rector's voice. The importance is not in what is being said, but the actual saying, the performative act in that situation. In addition the importance of the act is created through the way he performs. The activities in question, that is, performing and storytelling themselves, are part of the identity. Furthermore, the identities are articulated in one particular film, *Saimaa-ilmio*. Thereafter they apply neither to all contexts of Finnish rock, nor at all times.

The analysis of *Saimaa-ilmio* has revealed several notions in relation to possibilities of further study. Firstly, the research on rock documentaries is one of the neglected areas in the growing field of film and media studies, particularly those related to music and sound (Evans 2009). Secondly, the analysis of documentary sound is almost non-existent. Audio-visuality and the sounds in audio-visual texts are being increasingly scrutinized within several fields of studies. However, the sound in documentary films needs more attention, especially theoretical contribution. Thirdly, from the local perspective, the Finnish music documentary production is almost a virginal study field. The documentary production has strongly increased after the 1990s, both in the national and international scales. This has not yet had an effect amongst the academic interests. It seems that there is a vast material basis for the study of music related documentaries. There is, in fact, an embarrassment of riches in regard to the subjects, topics, perspectives, theoretical and methodological accounts within this line of study. Thereby it will also be a fruitful, attractive and stimulating sphere of study, which provides work for years to come.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX 1 The film credits of *Saimaa-ilmio*

From International Movie DataBase (IMDb / *Saimaa-ilmio* 2009) & *Saimaa-ilmio* end titles. My translation.

Directors	Aki Kaurismäki & Mika Kaurismäki
Produced by	Aki Kaurismäki & Mika Kaurismäki
Production company	Villealfa Filmproductions Oy
Film length (metres)	3495 m
Film negative format (mm/video inches)	16 mm
Cinematographic process	Super 16
Aspect ratio	1.66 : 1
Release Date	11 September 1981 (Finland) more
Genre	Documentary Music
Original Music	Hassisen kone, Eppu Normaali, Juice Leskinen
Cinematography	Lasse Naukkarinen, Timo Salminen, Toni Sulzbeck, Olli Varja
Film Editing by	Antti Kari
Sound Department	Veikko Aaltonen & Mikael Sievers (sound) Mika Sundqvist (sound engineer, concert sound) Mal Studio
Music Department	Pantse Syrjä (music mixer)
Editing Assistent	Marjatta Niiranen
Organisation, Still Images	Pauli Pentti
Kuvaussihteeri	Tellervo Savela
Camera assistants	Ville Mäkelä, Heikki Ortamo
Camera aid	Jukka Hirvikangas
Mixing	Filmmixarna ab / Sverige, Kjell Westman
Laboratory	Suomi-filmi oy
Tuuliajolla '81 Tour	Jouko Karppanen Jukka Kulmala
Rouding	Arska, Aslak, kaponen, kari, mela, Repa, soija ja timo
Transportation	Antti Pakarinen ja miehistö (S/S Heinävesi)
Kitchen	Anneli Kaipainen ja keittiöhenkilökunta (S/S Heinävesi)
Thanks to	Jörn Donner Productions, Epe Helenius / Poko Rekords, Atte Blom / Johanna, Hartwall oy, Hertz autovuokraamo, Seppo Kahilainen, oravaryhmä

APPENDIX 2 The sequence and scene structure of *Saimaa-ilmiö*

Sequences	Scenes	Time	Event Description	Visual	Sound
1 Opening, Boat I	1	0'00		Black screen.	Silence
		0'07	Introducing the scene: lake.	Lake image, fade in.	Break – diegetic silence.
		0'18	Text: “villealfa filmproductions esittää rockelokuvan”	Text appears.	First sound, pounding, fade in.
		0'23	Boat depicted approaching.	Lake & boat	Accordion starts.
		1'03	Song “Kaunis Veera”. Text: juice leskinen slam * hassisen kone * eppu normaali Boat.	Text appears.	First singing verse starts. Singing the song.
		1'01	In the boat, the empty deck. Song ends.	In the boat, deck, superimposition.	
	2	1'54	Images of Juice Leskinen reciting a poem by Lauri Viita in captain’s cabin.	Juice Leskinen in the boat, captain’s cabin.	Juice reciting, natural sound space.
	2'17		Camera slides left, showing a lake view through the cabin window.	Diegetic silence - 7 sec.	
2 Introduction, Concert Lappeenranta	3	2'24	First concert.	Superimposition, red sky, title.	Music starts, drums.
		2'40	Juice Leskinen & Slam on stage. “Rock’n’roll’n’blues’n’jazz” Texts: band members’ names.	Band on stage. Directs cuts within the scene, images of the bands. Texts appearing superimposed.	Direct cuts from a band to another. Live recorded music track.
	4	05'20	Hassisen kone on stage. Texts: band members’ names.	Band on stage.	
	5	08'04	Eppu Normaali on stage. Texts: band members’ names.	Band on stage.	
	3 Boat I	6	10'38	Get together, welcoming speech by Martti Syrjä.	Boat outside image.
10'44			Inside the boat.		Break – diegetic silence 5 sec.
10'48			Boat going away, at night.		Talking, natural sound space.
7		11'35	Boat approaching, morning.	Break – diegetic silence 4 sec.	

		11'39			Music, acoustically played, natural sound space.
		11'47	Cabin, Eppu Normaali playing acoustically "Viimeinen Funk".	Inside the boat.	
	8	12'50	Leper jokes I, at the deck.	At the deck.	Direct cut, jokes. Natural sound space.
		13'26	Juice Leskinen standing in the middle, starting. Appo, Juice.	Boat depicted from outside, many shots.	
4 Concert	9	13'53	Setting up the gear at the concert location in Mikkeli.	Short shots taken at the scene. Setting up the gear. Band members. Audience.	Silence 4 sec.
		13'58			Sound check noises.
		14'17			Silence 5 sec.
		14'21			Sound check, roadies testing, squeaking noise.
		14'24			Silence 1-2 sec.
		14'25	Hassisen kone preparing for the concert.		Sound check, testing instruments.
		14'49			Silence 3 sec
		14'52			Sound check.
	15'09	Silence 6 sec			
	10	15'15 15'16	Hassisen ksone on stage.	Image of the drummer. Band. Direct cuts from a song to another.	Music starts. Live recorded music track. Direct cuts from a song to another.
	11	19'20	Eppu Normaali on stage.	Band on stage.	Short speak in, Martti Syrjä.
	12	21'46	Performing together.	On Stage.	Fade in clapping and whistling.
		24'26			
13	24'29	Roadies taking down the equipment. Empty sports field.	Superimposition, image of the empty sports field, roadies packing the gear. Zoom out.	Fade out	
5 Boat II, at night	14	24'43	Lake & boat.	Lake from within the boat, then moving inside the boat.	Sound of an acoustic guitar.
		24'59		Yliaho ja Loueranta playing acoustic guitar in the boat.	Also harmonica, drumming with hands.
		25'31		Two figures smoking at the deck.	
		25'39		Another lake view, restaurant and its neon lights.	Guitar fade out - harmonica fade in.
	25'44		Only harmonica melody.		

		25'52		In the cabin, company sitting at the table, silhouette figures.	Harmonica fade out (1 sec overlap)
	15	26'02	Juice Leskinen's interview.	Direct cut.	Aki Kaurismäki asks, Juice Leskinen answers, interview.
		26'39		Juice Leskinen sitting in the boat.	Boat whistle, 2 seconds.
		27'06		Boat depicted from outside.	Juice Leskinen continues talking.
		27'19		Fade in Leskinen's image.	Laughing "Appo laugh" at the end.
	16	27'41	Leper jokes II. Dining in the boat cabin.	Zoom in through the cabin door, below.	Direct cut. Telling jokes, laughing.
6 Visiting Savonlinna	17	28'26	Going to Olavinlinna castle.	Olavinlinna from the moving boat.	Laughing continues.
		28'29		Still image of the castle.	Martti Syrjä singing opera.
		28'39	In Olavinlinna, "opera" performance by Martti Syrjä.	Mocking about in Olavinlinna castle, Martti Syrjä singing 'opera' on stage.	Obscure sounds, singing. Clapping and laughing.
		29'00		Zoom out 1, zoom out 2.	Fast fade in harmonica, clapping.
	18	29'04	On top of a cannon: Reggae OK (1980's Eurovision song contest song).	Zoom in.	Martti Syrjä singing, Ila Loueranta & "roudari" playing birch bark horns. Two girls standing aside.
7 Boat III	19	29'33	Leaving Savonlinna with the boat.	Canal, gate.	Fast crossfading to sounds of the boat and the water.
		29'43		Boat leaving, canal.	
		29'51			Music starts on top of the previous track.
	20	29'56	Hassisen kone playing Syöksylaskijoita kaikki tyynni (Downhill racers one and all) at the boat. Ismo Alanko, Jussi & Harri Kinnunen.	The band in the cabin, viewing the band, the lake from shot from within the boat. Various shots from the scene, musicians playing.	1 verse starts: acoustic guitars & a bass, singing. The "boat & water" track is tuned down, but it continues as Chorus
		30'36		Lake	2. Verse starts
		30'48		Captain walking.	Chorus Solo
		30'53		Compass.	
		30'55		Captain steering the wheel.	
30'59	Boat chains, picture slides to lake (depicted from the boat).				

	21	31'09	Eppu Normaali: Discussion about "the fatherland".	Bottles on the deck.		
		31'11		Band again: Ismo - Jussi & Harri	End of the solo, transition.	
		31'27			3. verse - end.	
		31'31		Boat from outside	Pounding sound.	
		31'39			Talking begins, crossfade.	
		31'40		Pantse and Martti Syrjä sitting in the cabin table.	Taking, natural sound.	
		32'01		Vaari & Juha, sitting on the other side of the table.		
		32'08		Martti & Pantse Syrjä.		
32'56	Vaari ja Juha.					
Concert Kuopio ⁸	22	33'01	Eppu Normaali on Stage, "Herran tähteet", "Jäähyväiset rock'n'rollille".	Eppu Normaali on stage. Direct cuts within the scene.	Short intro by Martti. First song.	
		35'29			Directly second song.	
		38'24		Camera towards the audience (6 secs).	End of the song, thanks, applauds.	
	23	38'30	Backstage	Performers come backstage.	Talking, planning a joined performance.	
	24	40'45	Juice Leskinen & Slam on stage: "Outoon valoon".	Mixing table.	Juice's intro.	
		40'55		Juice & Slam on stage.	"Outoon valoon", Jari Yliaho sings. Applauds.	
		43'59	"Pilvee".	Mixer & a roudie from behind.	Juice starts "Pilvee", bass & drums.	
		44'02		A roudie eating.		
		44'04		Safka keyboard player.		
		44'08		Juice & Slam on stage, Juice on focus.		
		48'29				
	48'36	Ismo appears on the stage, others too. Singing the end together.	"I'm a hootchy gootchy man..., that's who I am..." "Rullaati rullaati..."			
	25	50'52	Backstage, general ado, Juice Leskinen's monologue as a rector.	Band members at the backstage room. Close up to Juice Leskinen's back.	Talking, laughing. Juice Leskinen's monologue.	
IV	9	26	52'35	Lake & boat.	Lake image, camera is sliding in the	Guitar, acoustic music, singing.

			Juice Leskinen & Safka playing acoustically on the boat: "Luonas kai olla saan".	horizon.	Pounding sound.
		53'02		Safka & Juice Leskinen playing acoustic guitars in the cabin table.	
		53'22		Boat & lake, camera slides towards the water.	
		53'35		Martti Syrjä is smoking, close up.	
		53'43		Lake through a staircase in the boat, someone passes by.	
		53'52		Pantse standing at the deck watching the lake.	
		54'02		Boat side and lake (from the other side) someone standing at the deck, camera moving towards the boat.	
		54'13		In the boat, Ismo & a woman sitting at the table, daylight.	
		54'17		Deck, empty chairs, Juha Torvinen comes out of the cabin to smoke at the deck, walks away.	
		54'31		Juice & Safka at the cabin again.	
	27	54'58	Interview on the boat: singers Juice Leskinen, Ismo Alanko ja Martti Syrjä.	Juice (left), Ismo & Martti sitting inside the boat.	Aki Kaurismäki asking a question: "When is a gig good?" Juice, Martti and Ismo answer.
		57'41		Boat depicted from outside, people at the deck, arriving to the next location.	
10 Concert Heinävesi	28	57'49	Outside the Heinävesi concert location, before the gig, rouding.	Ismo and Pantse Syrjä walking towards the gig locations with guitars.	Some clicking sound, possibly from setting up the equipment.
		57'55			
		58'02		Outside the location, roudies at work, musicians sitting.	
	29	58'10	At the gig Eppu Normaali & others: "Ringo ja Aku"	Close up to drums. Stage	Hitting of the drumsticks, song begins. Playing the song.
1'00'33		Camera from the back of the stage towards the audience.			

		1'00'36	"Lainelautaileva lehmänmaha rock'n'roll"	Depicting stage again. Martti starts to sing.	
11 Boat V	30	1'02'08	Boat deck, leper jokes III.	Appo (left), Juice, roudie, Pantse, a woman sitting at the deck, smoking & telling jokes.	Telling jokes, laughing.
12 Team Squirrel	31	1'03'12	"Kuukauden kävyt" At a bar, Team Squirrel awarding members of the cruise with prizes.	Yliorava, Ila-orava, Anssi-orava ja huruorava at stage in a restaurant.	Appo talking to the microphone, delivering prizes "cones of the month" and "The skull of the month".
13 Interview Pantse Syrjä	32	1'04'37	Interview Pantse Syrjä, guitarist of Eppu Normaali.	Pantse Syrjä sitting on a bench at the festival area, also Aki Kaurismäki's back is seen, as he's the interviewer.	Aki Kaurismäki asking questions, Pantse Syrjä answering. Interview is interrupted when someone is shouting to the microphone at the stage. Then continues.
		1'05'02		Festival area, beside the water, people. Pictured from distance.	
		1'05'05		Pantse close up.	
		1'05'42		Picturing people standing at the festival area.	
		1'05'47		Pantse & Aki (as in the beginning).	
		1'06'15		3 birch trees and the lake and slides left towards an image of the festival arena depicted across the lake.	
14 Concert Joensuu	33	1'06'31	Eppu Normaali: Ripa Rapa (cannot be translated, nonsense).	Pantse Syrjä at the center playing guitar. Stage from further back, necks of the audience. Aku Syrjä, drummer. Martti & Pantse Syrjä & bass player. Close up to Martti Syrjä (verse). Also from the back of the stage towards the audience (shortly).	Music starts directly. Verse. Applauds, short.

15 Interview Ismo Alanko	34	1'09'12	Interview Ismo Alanko of Hassisen kone	Close up of Ismo sitting in a café at the peer somewhere. The boat is seen at the back.	Aki Kaurismäki asks: What is rock'n'roll? Ismo Alanko answers.
		1'09'22		Close up to Aki Kaurismäki.	
		1'09'25		Back to Ismo Alanko.	
		1'10'14		Back to Aki Kaurismäki.	
		1'10'17		Back to Ismo Alanko	
16 Concert Joensuu	35	1'11'38	Hassisen kone on stage at Ilosaarirock: "Medley"	Ismo Alanko & band at the stage. Direct cuts within the scene.	Short intro by Ismo Alanko. Performing the song.
		1'15'11			Crossfadeing, new track, "Tällä tiellä" (On this road) by Hassisen kone, recorded version, nondiegetic.
17 Visiting Joensuu	36	1'15'13	On the bus, going to the rehearsal location in Joensuu (hometown).	Ismo Alanko, Jussi & Harri Kinnunen sitting at the front area of a bus.	Ismo talking in the bus, played over the music track.
		1'16'03			Fade out
	37	1'16'18	In the rehearsal house.	Inside the house, an empty room, wall writings, camera sliding 360 degrees around the room.	Music track.
		1'16'59			Another overdub, talking in the house.
		1'17'49			Fading out the interview track, music up.
		1'17'50			
		1'18'10			
		1'18'12			House depicted from outside at distance.
1'18'40		Music played at the gig.			
18 Concert in Joensuu	38	1'18'42	Hassisen kone on stage at Ilosaarirock: "Muovirusuja omenapuissa" (Plastic Roses on Apple Trees).	The stage depicted far from the mixing table. Closer shots.	
		39		1'21'42	Hassisen kone: "Pelkurit" (Cowards)

19 Interview	40	1'24'04	Interview Ismo Alanko, he tells a fictional story.	Ismo Alanko (front) Aki Kaurismäki (back) sitting in the café table, same as in Alanko's previous interview.	Ismo tells a story.
	20 Boat VI	41	1'24'45	Boat Safka plays the accordion, old song: "Päivänsäde ja menninkäinen" (A Sunshine and a Goblin).	The prow cutting water, a close up shot.
1'24'49		Safka sitting at the deck playing accordion, lake behind.	Accordion		
1'24'51					
1'25'11					Lake view, forest, early morning or late night, mist above the water.
1'25'18					Jari Yliaho at the deck, leaning on the rail, smoking and watching the lake.
1'25'44					Juice Leskinen and Ila Loueranta also at the deck rail.
1'25'51					Safka
42				1'26'33	II Interview of Juice Leskinen.
21 Concert Punkaharju	43	1'27'46	Gig in Punkaharju.	Juice Leskinen, Ila Loeranta, the band playing.	Juice's short introduction, music.
		1'31'27	Juice Leskinen & Slam: "Syksyn sävel".		Direct cut: Introducing the new song (cut is a very subtle one), viewer might see this as continuous diegetic track).
	44	1'31'29	Juice Leskinen & Slam: "Myrkytyksen oireet" (Symptoms of toxication).	Juice talking at the stage. The stage depicted from the far end of the room. Stage close ups, etc.	Short intro by Juice, music.
		1'32'01			Introduction of the next song
	45	1'36'15	Juice Leskinen & Slam: "Skitsofreniaa" (Schizophrenia)	Band on stage.	
	46	1'40'06	Hassisen kone: "Odotat" (You await)	Band on stage.	Introduction by Ismo Alanko, explaining the change of the bass player (Veijo). In the end "thank you", audience clapping, shouting.
1'43'34		Hassisen kone: "Tanssin hurmaa" (Dance Spell)	Band on stage.	Ismo Alanko introduction.	

	47	1'46'44	Eppu Normaali: "Puhtoinen lähiöni" (My cleansed suburb)	Band on stage.	Music.
		1'49'25	Eppu Normaali: "Let's see action" (the only cover song and English song in the whole film by The Who).	Band on stage. Slow motion jump in the end (4 sec)	Music. Audience screaming, clapping, whistling.
22 Final performance in Joensuu	48	1'54'38	National Anthem "Maamme" (Our Land) - Finale.	Black screen	Sytelä drumming, tambourine, Juice talking. ----- Performing the song.
		1'54'43		Drummer of HK, close up. Musicians on stage	
		1'57'20	All together on the stage, preparation, a speech by Juice Leskinen, then all together.	Zoom in to the stage, blurred image.	
23 Outro	49	1'59'35	Outro	Black screen. End titles.	Clapping, whistling, yelling, screaming. Pounding sound of the tamping feet.
		2'00'39		Black screen	Silence
		2'00'44			

APPENDIX 3 Musical numbers in the film in a chronological order

	<i>Song</i>	<i>Performer</i>
1	Kaunis Veera	A group of musicians (not seen)
2	Rock'n roll'n blues'n jazz	Juice Leskinen & Slam
3	Oikeus on voittanut taas	Hassisen kone
4	Myrkkyä	Eppu Normaali
5	Viimeinen funk	Eppu Normaali
6	Rajat	Hassisen kone
7	Delium Tremens	Eppu Normaali
8	Kuopio tanssii ja soi	A mixture of musicians from all bands.
9	Playing guitar and harmonica at the boat	(Not seen)
10	Mimicking opera	Martti Syrjä
11	Reggae OK	Martti Syrjä, Ila Loueranta, Safka
12	Syöksylaskijoita kaikki tyynni	Hassisen kone
13	Herran tähde	Eppu Normaali
14	Jäähyväiset rock'n'rollille	Eppu Normaali
15	Outoon valoon	Juice Leskinen & Slam
16	Pilivee	Juice Leskinen & Slam + other musicians
17	Luonas ka olla saan	Juice Leskinen and Safka
18	Ringo ja Aku	Eppu Normaali
19	Lainelautaileva lehmänmaha rock'n'roll	Eppu Normaali
20	Ripa Rapa	Eppu Normaali
21	Medley (Rappiolla/Syytön/Jumalat jalassa/Iloisesti Hammondilla/Rappiolla)	Hassisen kone
22	Tällä tiellä (studio recorded soundtrack)	Hassisen kone
23	Muovirusuja omenapuissa	Hassisen kone
24	Pelkurit	Hassisen kone
25	Päivänsäde ja menninkäinen	Safka (accordion)
26	Syksyn sävel	Juice Leskinen & Slam
27	Myrkytyksen oireet	Juice Leskinen & Slam
28	Skitsofreniaa	Juice Leskinen & Slam
29	Odotat	Hassisen kone
30	Tanssin hurmaa	Hassisen kone
31	Puhtoinen lähiöni	Eppu Normaali
32	Let's see action (The Who)	Eppu Normaali
33	Maamme	Most of the musicians and crew members

APPENDIX 4 Finnish transcriptions of the interviews in *Saimaa-ilmio*

Transliterations by Terhi Skaniakos and Markku Nivalainen.

Interview 1. Juice Leskinen, Sequence 15.

Aki: Mitenkäs tää lähti alkujaan(?) tää musiikkitouhu? Kerropas siitä jotain.

Juice: Se oli tota semmonen juttu, et mää tietysti kuuntelin ekaks sillon kuuskytluvulla ja, ja tota mun mielest se oli niinku semmonen tää, musiikki, pop-musiikki, kuuskytluvulla, just semmonen taidemuoto joka oli niinku lähellä sitä kuvaa, joka mulla niinkun oli, niinkun mä kuvittelin että täydellinen taide, niin, pop-musiikki oli lähinnä sitä. Se saavuttaa paljon ihmisiä, on helppoa, kaunista ja sit mä (tauko: pilli viheltää) odotin, et Suomessa joku tekee sitä, ja ku kukaa ei tehny nii sit mää aattelin, et mää rupeen tekeen. Sit se lähti, niinku liikkeel, ensin tehti tollee tekstejä vain. Se alko niinku sillai et ensin niinku tavallisii iskelmii, jotai muunlaisii tekstejä. Ja tota, sit vähitelle rupes niinku tommosia melodia-aiheitaki pyöriin päässä ja sit kun, öö, opiskeluaikana opiskelut meni sitte päin helvettii ni mä aattelin et jotainhan täss on tehtävä ja sit siit tuli niinku ammatti.

Aki: No millos sä kirjotat biisejä?

Juice: Aamulla, aamulla. Ei, iltapäivällä mä oon niinku jostain kahdesta eteenpäin, niin, ihan toivoton tapaus. Silloin ei onnistu kun noi oravaryhmän vitsit. Ja nehän nyt ei paljoa vaadi. Heh heh heh (leikkaus)

Interview 2. Pantse Syrjä, Martti Syrjä, Juha Torvinen, Mikko Saarela, Sequence 21.

(Tampereen aksentilla...)

Joku: Niin. Olikos sitä tupakkaa jollain...

Pantse: Isänmaasta.

Juha: Vielä siitä isänmaasta...

Pantse: Vielä siitä isänmaasta pojat (korostetun juopuneesti). Martti kerro sää isänmaasta.

Martti: Isänmaa on....

Pantse: Sitä me puolustamme henkeen ja vereen.

Martti: ... tärkeä asia kaikille meille suomalaisille, ja. Voin kertoa sellaisen asian että, en itse ainakaan mennyt armeijaan...armeijaan meno...

Juha: Vaari on ainut joka on käynyt armeijan.

Vaari: Olen ollut Suomen merivoimissa

Martti: Armeijaan meno se on kuulkaa sellainen juttu...

Vaari: Olen merimies.

Martti: ... että siitä ei hevillä selviä. Se on nimittäin sellainen asia, että tuo ihminen, jos se on niin kun siihen asti pystynyt vastustamaan systeemin tarttuvaa, voimistuvaa otetta, niin armeijasta kyllä koulutetaan pojista miehiä. Armeijassa koulutetaan itsenäisistä ja, ja, totanoinniin kehittymiskykyisistä ihmisistä, niin, typeriä, käskyihin uskovia idiootteja. Eli tämä on niin kuin pojista mieheksi siirtyminen. Sen takia olen aina pysynyt tällä poika-asteella.

Pantse: Mä luin Raha-automaattiyhdistyksen kirjasta mihin noita varoja syydetään ja, siellä oli sellainen "Pojista miehiä RY" (yhteen ääneen)

Joku: Uskomatonta...

Pantse: ...Ja Rautaa rajalle ry. (yhteistä naurua)

Juha: Terveisiä vaan sotilaspiiriin, persii... (leikkaus)

Pantse = Mikko Syrjä

Juha = Juha Torvinen

Vaari = Mikko Saarela

Interview 3. Martti Syrjä, Ismo Alanko and Juice Leskinen, Sequence 27.

Aki: Milloinkas keikka on hyvä?

Juice: Ää, aika ajoin.

Martti: Hmm, aina silloin kun on hyvä fiilis ja energiaa. Pelkkä hyvä fiilis ei aina välttämättä riitä, mut toisten...

Juice: Vois kenties väittää et keikoista kymmene prosenttia on tosi hyviä ja sit niinku, nelkyt prosenttia on aika hyviä. Sit joku kymmene prosenttia on iha huanoja. Niit on kaikil bändeillä ja aina tulee(?)...

Martti: Niin on. Eihän sitä, mistäs sitä tietää onko keikka hyvä vai huono, jos on aina menee ihan...hyvin...

Ismo: Samalla tavalla.

Martti: Niin, jos aina menee samalla lailla, niin...

Juice: No jos kaikki keikat on hyviä keikkoja, niin silloinhan kaikki on huonoja keikkoja.

Martti: Niin. Mää muistan viime kesänä ainakin niin alko, alko niinku, me tehti pelniin paljon pelkästään hyviä keikkoja, että alko niinku jotenki, niinku, se alko menee tosi rutiiniks. Siis sillai, et ne oli hyviä keikkoja, ne oli helvetin hyviä keikkoja, mä en oikein tiedä miten me ois pystytty tekee, pystytty tekee parempia niistä. Mutta niin, se häiritti, että ne oli niin samanlaisia.

Ismo: Niin. Mutta me ollaan opittu tekemään niinku, tai sillee, että ennen oli vaan sellanen piste, että kun piti olla aina helvetin rajuja tai sillee energisiä ja oli vaan niinku tänne tämmönen piste, että tääl on hyvä keikka. Mutta nyt meillä on niinku sellanen, me on tehty niin paljon keikkoja ja muutenki, meill o biisit muuttunu ja kaikki sillee niin, että meillä voi olla sellanenkin helvetin hyvä keikka, että me vaan ollaan niinku ja ollaan rauhallisia ja meillä on hyvä olla siellä lavalla...

Martti: Joo.

Ismo: ...ja on niinku sellasia erilaisia pisteitä, että mikä voi olla hyvä keikka...

Martti: Joo, just sama.

Ismo: ...se voi lähtee niinku ihan erilaisista lähtökohdista eritavalla hyvä keikka...

Martti: Aivan sama.

Ismo: ...ei tartte olla niin, välttämättä raju keikka.

Martti: Aivan sama.

Juice: Joskus tulee semmonen energinen fiilis jo siitä, että ylipäänsä jaksaa tehdä sen keikan...

Martti: Niin...

Juice: ...koska joskus on tosi väsynyt ja jos sä heität jonkun kolmen viikkoa, niinku yhtä soittoa niinku keikkaa joka päivä ja ne viimeset keikat, niin, ei voi takuulla olla semmosia, sillai rajuja.

Martti: Joo.

Ismo: Nii. Mut ne voi olla...

Juice: Mut ne voi olla ihan hyvii, nii-i.

Ismo: ...kyl just muuten hyvii et sen takii et ei välitä siitä, on niin paljon ollu lavalla ettei välitä siitä et on lavalla, välittää vaan niistä biiseistä.

Martti: Sitten on jotenkin miellyttävää voittaa niinkun se, jos yleisö on hiljaa, ja sieltä ei sitä kautta ei saa minkääläistä heijastumaa niinku hyvästä fiiliksestä takasin lavalle. Se vaatii hirveesti niinku, jotenki, vaatis niinku hirveesti energiaa, mut sitten on muutamia keinoja tullu keksittyä ja keksittyä mitenkä niinku siirtää se eri tasolle se fiilis, ettei enää välttämättä vaadikaan sitä semmosta kanssakäymistä yleisön kanssa jos. Tai ainakin meillä, mä en oo koskaan ollu hyvä puhumaan...

Ismo: Niinku yleisö on..

Martti: ...yleisön kanssa.

Ismo: ...yleisö on sellasta sitä paitsi monessa paikas, et ne ei niinku osaa näyttää sitä jos niillä on hyvä olla siellä katsomossa ja sit hyvä fiilis ja, ne vaan istuu ja...

Martti: Nii.

Ismo: ...sit kun keikka loppuu niin ne taputtaa takasi. Sit ne menee ulos ja sanoo et "oli hyvä konsertti, oikein oli mukavaa".

Interview 4. Pantse Syrjä, Sequence 32.

Pantse: Vapaa aikana mä enimmäkseen lorvin ja luen kirjoja. Kuuntelen oikeestaan perin vähän musiikkia paitsi, kausittain. Ja... nyt pitäis kesän aikana nin tehdä remonttia talossa, että ensi talvena tarkenis.

Aki: Rantalassa?

Pantse: Joo nimenomaan Rantalassa.

Aki: Ootkos sä mitään opiskellut sitten lakituksen jälkeen?

Pantse: Kävin mä yliopistossa opiskelemassa teoreettista fysiikkaa puoli vuotta ja lähdin sitten pois. Tai oikeestaan jäi opinnot sitten kesken ensimmäistä approbaturkurssia, niin tota sen takia, että tuli nää...soittohommat. Nää oli kuitenkin mulle paljon tärkeempiä ja...mä ajattelin että tätä mä ehdin tehdä vaan kerran elämässäni, että sinne mä jäin kirjoille ja voin tulla uuestaan sitte lukemaan.

(lavalta kuuluu äänentoiston kautta ääni, leikkaus haastattelussa)

Aki: Meinaaksä niinku ikäs tehdä touta samaa?

Pantse: Emmä tiä, kyllähän tässä nyt tulevaisuus näyttää turvatulta, kun pääsee noita basistin hommiakin tossa tekemään ja tuota, onhan toi tuottajan leipäpuukin olemassa ja...ja ton tommosta. Kyllä sitä aina jotain keksii, sitä voi aina vaikka perustaa kanalan ja vetäytyä ihan kokonaan maaseudun rauhaan. Tai viljelee kukkakaalia. Sinänsä ois kyllä ollu, niin, toi ammatti ollu valittuna jo pitkän aikaa, mutta kun noita englantilaisia vapaita aatelismiehen paikkoja on nykyään niin harvassa, että mä on joutunut tekemään vähän tämmösiä hanttihommia.

Interview 5. Ismo Alanko, Sequence 34.

Aki: Mitä on rock'n'roll?

Ismo: Joo, suuri...Suuri osa yleisöstä tuntuu niinku luulevan, että se on jotakin sellasta show'ta, että me mennään sinne lavalle ja esitetään niinku joku semmonen show, että

me esitetään jotakin. Mut se on kuitenkin sit se on niinku sitä että tullaan, ja ollaan vaan niinku oma itemme ja sitä lyö ittensä tiskiinkin siinä esityksessä. Ja tota, et jos vituttaa niin näyttää sen, että vituttaa, ettei yritä näytellä mitään, esittää mitään juttua ja...äää...nyt mää en muista enää mitään mitä mun piti puhua...

Aki: Väsyttääkö?

Ismo: Joo. Tai ei väsyttä, mut kyllästyttää.

Aki: Mitäs sitten kun menee kaikki pieleen keikalla?

Ismo: No sitte, siinä menee hermot täysin. Niinku just jos se riippuu jostakin muusta kuin itestä, ku kamat leviää, tai tekniikka pettää, tai jotakin tollasta noin, niin sitä tulee niinku armoton vitutus sitte siitä. Mut ei se mitään jos vituttaa ja purkaa sen vitutuksen siellä lavalla ja on siellä niinku on, niin ei se keikan jälkeen sitten vituta. Sellanen keskiverto tasapaksu keikka, niinku että menee kaikki periaatteessa hyvin, muttei kuitenkaan oo sitä oikeeta fiilistä, niin sellanen ottaa päähän paljon enemmän keikan jälkeen.

Aki: Ja yleisö huutaa räppiä (???)

Ismo: Niin. Hm. Niin. Yleisö luulee että tää on tosiaan joku ihmeellinen näytelmä, missä me esitetään sitä osaa mitä ne, mihin ne on mielessään meidät asettanut. Kuitenkin me vaan eletään omaa elämäämme.

Interview 6. Ismo Alanko, Jussi ja Harri Kinnunen, Sequence 37.

Ismo: Tää on saanu vastaanottaa tää talo kaikkien ihmisten vitutukset, huonot hetket [päälle, Jussi: mahtuuhan myös iloa]. Joo, toivottavasti hauskaa.

Harri: parhaita harjittelukämppejä mitä meillä on ollu melekeinpä.

Ismo: Niinku meillä on sellanen systeemi harjotella että meille ei käy mikään sellane kaupungin järjestämä tila, jossa saa käydä kerran viikossa tiistaina kuuesta kaheksaan soittamassa. Me ollaan parikuukautta harjottelematta kokonaan ja sit harjotellaan muutama päivä yötä päivää, sitten taas ei soiteta.

Jussi: Tässä oli vielä se hyvä puoli että tässä oli vielä hyvät naapuritki.

Ismo: Naapurit sano, että pitääkää ikkunat auki, että se kuuluu heillekin. (pois)

Interview 7. Ismo Alanko, Sequence 40.

Ismo: ...ai se mitä eilen jäi lausumatta.

Aki: Niin.

Ismo: Se on sellanen runo että, tai ei se oo runo ku se on satu. Se on sellanen että...sen nimi on Pentti Korhonen ja Maria Pöllö tupsupäisten miesten maassa. Henkilöt on niin Pentti Korhonen, 35, vakuutustarkastaja ja Maria Pöllö, 47, äiti. Sit se menee näin että: "Minä olen villisika" sanoi Pentti. Ja "Minä olen pöllö", Maria lausui. Ja he poistuivat yhdessä ruokasaliin.

Interview 8. Juice Leskinen, Sequence 42.

Aki: Missä vaiheessa Safka tuli mukaan, onks sul...?

Juice: Safkahan tuli vasta seiskytviis. Se tuli sillon, mä en tuntenu sitä, se on Juankoskelta kans, mut se oli muuttanu Juankoskelle sen jälkeen kun mä olin jo

lähteny sielt veks. Ja tota meil oli roudarina silloin yks jätkä, joka tunki Safkan oikeen hyvin. Ne soitti samassa bändissä, jonka nimi oli Mannavelli ja meidän nykyinen roudarikin, Timo, soitti siinä myös, siis tää on sisäpiiri. Ja tota mä kuulin tätä Mannavelliä joskus silloin Coitus Intin aikoina ja ne soitti jotain Coitus Intin biisejä ja mä niinkun sen Safkan keksin, et ahaa, toi on just semmonen kosketinsoittaja kun, joka vastaa niinkun mun kuvaa semmosesta, hienosta. Sit mä, kun Coitus Int hajos, niin mä lähetin sille viestiä, et mä olisin kiinnostunut tekeen yhteistyötä sen kans ja osoittautui, että hänellä myös on samansuuntaisia intressejä ja, sit se tuli bändiin.

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