and applications, is excellent, however. The multi-disciplinary research team with its anthropological element can show, for the first time in Finland, not only how people are using the technology, but also explain why some people use it, while others do not, and what kind of power structures new technologies create.

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TIINA SUOPAJÄRVI, Ph.D.
RESEARCH FELLOW
CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF OULU
tiina.suopajarvi@oulu.fi

DESIGNING FINNISH MEN
TAKING FOUCAULT A LITTLE FURTHER?

• TAINA KINNUNEN •

The MOPO project at the University of Oulu is a multidisciplinary project concerning the physical fitness of conscription-aged men. The aims are to 1) study daily activities, such as physical training, eating and sleeping habits and use of social media and mobile technology; and 2) develop ICT-based interactive methods (games, activity monitors and models) to help encourage physical activity in young men. The academic collaborating disciplines are sports medicine, medical technology, electrical and information engineering, information studies and cultural anthropology. Genetics will contribute to the project during a later phase. Other partners are companies manufacturing sports technology and video games, and the Finnish Defence Forces.

The background of the study lies in the fact that, due to physical and mental problems, the percentage of those interrupting their military service is around 20 per cent in the whole country and 30 per cent in the Oulu region. In the past thirteen years the average weight of recruits entering military service has increased by approximately six kilos, which horrifies the defence forces; since independence, the condition of the Finnish nation has been equated with the physical fitness of men (and women) entering the army. The MOPO research and interventions are designed to be performed in two phases. At call-up, the conscripts fill in questionnaires and undergo measurements investigating their habitual physical activity levels. In addition, aerobic and muscle fitness, body composition and anthropometry are measured. The men are then randomly assigned to a physical activity intervention group or a control group, and after testing the tailored programme they will be measured again.

How can we understand this novel situation where Finnish army recruits are being offered technological tools to stay fit and healthy? Drawing inspiration from classical Foucauldian ideas (e.g. Foucault 1977) about the modern 'docile' body, I approach the question by considering the body as a 'design project' situated between medicine, engineering and aesthetics, under private, communal and cultural control. I argue that the MOPO project, and the interventions it will make into young men's bodies and life-style habits, introduces an ultimate form of the technologized body and, as such, probably a very Finnish body. In the Finnish cultural sphere, through technology, the objectified body shows itself as a profoundly social construct.

In welfare countries, lifestyles are characterized by efforts to prevent illnesses, fattening and marks of ageing. From childhood to old age, one is encouraged to follow scientific diets, keep-fit programs and beauty procedures to stay healthy and attractive. A constantly widening array of medical body-enhancement technology ranging from cosmetic surgery and dentistry to anti-aging and sports drugs are used to make us 'feel even better than well' (Elliott 2003). Yet this medicalization of the inner and outer body inevitably produces more and more defaults, deformities and abnormalities, which in turn need to be cured. The internet offers limitless health and medical service information and support groups for anonymous users. In Finland where privacy in general is highly valued, and open individual concern for one's appearance or other 'vain' preoccupations around cultivating a better body are still a source of shame (Kinnunen 2010), these digital forums are important arenas of social sharing.

The scenario is uncannily reminiscent of Michel Foucault's notion of invisible modern power aimed at bodies. It is a power of a socially shared knowledge of 'normal' bodies which infiltrates the individual's lived body. The result is a docile body that is constantly subjected, used, transformed and improved. On the other hand, the idea of the designed body is equated with the value of individuality and playful identity construction. The postmodern era has been a success story of voluntary body modification from bodybuilding to techniques of modern primitivism such as tattooing and piercing. Consumers of medical body-enhancement technology often aim to feel more 'like themselves', thus following the cult of the 'authentic' self. Despite its seeming autonomy, the modified body can be interpreted to be deeply social. A kind of postmodern tribalism is actually tightly tied with bodily styles and interests created by mainstream and sub-cultural celebrities. The idea is perhaps best known from the texts of the French sociologist Michel Maffesoli (1996) who

stated over twenty years ago that the scrutiny, care and performance of bodies has become the core of sociality in our times. Postmodern sociality is based on Dionysian being-together, in free-time activities in particular, which often centre on bodily interests.

The tension between the (pessimistic) vision of the objectified body and (optimistic) view of joyful being together is precisely what is being exemplified in the case of the MOPO project. Let me return to the ethnography of the army recruits. I was observing one measurement occasion and the vision was quite harsh, let's say very Foucauldian. Young men moved in lines from one measuring point to another, submitting to a process of classification and evaluation. Some were gazing about suspiciously or timidly, while others seemed either self-confident and calm, or irritated. And yet I would like to argue that the whole picture is not quite so brutal. The technological application being produced will be developed together with users of different activity groups to meet a variety of needs. The platform will combine several modules, such as video games, health information packs, physical activity instructions and facilities for the measurement of physical activity and performance and mobile communications. The aim is to promote both individual and social modes of these activities so that participants are encouraged to take care of themselves in groups and offer support to each other according to their individual will and needs.

The project is an example of new adoptions of computer-based medicine which, at first sight, seem to represent a form of Panopticon for the cyber-technological era (see Brown and Adams 2007: 56). Pervasive healthcare technology enables twenty-four-hour body monitoring based on the data gathered on bodily functions by seamless sensory networks. It is already eagerly applied in the 'home hospitalisation' of elderly people, for example, where it independently helps to detect changes in their health. Overall, 'telemedicine' (Saldanha 2003) has already been remarkably successful in replacing face-to-face interaction between the patient and the doctor, while haptics (technologies of touch) enable encounters via video screens.

New technologies mould structures of economy. In Finland, the future of the whole country's economy rests heavily on developing new communication and pervasive technologies. New technologies reconstruct the knowledge and the very materiality of the human body and reorder senses and understanding of bodily presence in time and place. In healthcare, the cyber-technologized body shows itself ever more clearly as an object of private and communal twenty-four-hour surveillance. Communication technologies are used to affect and control life habits and social patterns, as the discussed project with young men exemplifies. Thus, body enhancement and keep-fit technologies comprise a fast growing branch of industry which is resetting the criteria for the normal body and good life. The techno-body ethos seems to be the air we Finns breathe and appears to have become an irreversible reality. New technologies create new forms of economy, sensescapes, interaction, sociality and even solidarity, while social communication occurs more and more through IC-technologies.

This also puts Foucault's statement in a new light. I guess that he could never have imagined how aptly his vision of the Panopticon with self-surveying individuals would be realized through bio-technological design projects.

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TAINA KINNUNEN, Ph.D.
ACTING PROFESSOR
CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF OULU
taina.kinnunen@oulu.fi

DIGITIZED MOURNING
VIRTUAL MEMORIALS AND SERVICES IN THE INTERNET

• ANNA HAVERINEN •

Perceptions of the afterlife, and ways of treating the dead and honouring the memory of the deceased, are unique in every culture, but all cultures have ways of expressing such concepts and experiences, with funeral services and mourning periods with specific their dress and social codes only a few aspects of this. In Western society, death rituals changed dramatically over the twentieth century. It has even been argued that this has led to a 'utopia' where sorrow and mourning are considered almost weaknesses and where it is possible to reach adulthood without having to face death and loss. Some researchers claim that this is a result of industrialization and urbanization, lack of communality, and the rise of individualism and an ideal of efficiency (Ariés 1974, 1991; Pentikäinen 1990). Meanwhile modern technology, specifically virtual technology, has made possible new variations on old mourning rituals and created new ways to express honour, give condolences and share experiences. Here I want to look at some of these changes, examining in particular their likely impact on mourning in Finland, known for its enthusiastic adoption of technological innovation in everyday life.

In the twenty-first century the Internet has taken a permanent place in social and cultural interactions, commerce, and in accessing and distributing information (e.g. Boellstorff 2008). Faster and cheaper broadband services and comprehensive virtual technology (mobile phones, wireless networks and portable computers) have also helped the virtual world to take its place in (global) communication cultures, including practices