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Cultural Systems

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THE POSTLOCAL ERA

Culture of technosystems

Structural change in a non-local environment. When the Finnish provincial cultures evolved, the inhabitants of Häme, Savo and Karelia lived in their communities, adapted to their own geographical environments and created their cultural solutions that functioned under their local natural conditions. Ethnic man built his own village landscape, and the frame of reference of both his social values and religious explanations was the surrounding reality. He spoke his local language, his dialect, analyzed his environment using local concepts and terms, attached narratives to places or people in his locality. Culture consisted of shared events, weddings and funerals of villagers or relatives. Self-sufficient local communities adapted even alien influences to their living conditions, and created the various ethnic cultures and cultural landscapes that have existed on Earth.

Finland is also a country that exemplifies the birth of a local-technological industrial culture. The old iron works, sawmills and, at the end of the 1800s, the papermills were built at rapids, and a local community, an industrial village, grew around the factory. The factory owner built his manor house residence and workers' housing in the village, established schools, had fields cleared and farmed in order to keep the factory community self-sufficient; many industrial establishments even had their own currency. Right up to the Second World War, the factory communities were local in many ways. The factory maintained kindergartens, schools, sports clubs, healthcare, the services provided today by a modern welfare state. In rural areas, the thinking was village-centered for a long time. The entrepreneurs of the time wanted to set up their businesses in their own village or at least in their own parish. Every village of any size had its own dairy, sawmill, brick factory, metal works or some other local production plant. The villages built village schools, they had a post office, a bank and other services, the villages established their own farmers' associations, youth associations, workers' associations, civil guards, who built their village halls in voluntary working parties, set up study groups and organized shows and dances where the villagers themselves provided the entertainment. The essential feature was the ideology of local independence and self-sufficiency: a person belonged in the village and it was assumed that he would spend his life in his own locality. When the great structural change began and a society designed to depend on road traffic evolved in the countryside, the whole operational environment of the villages became non-local. The village communities and their economy, the whole old village-level industry stopped working; the village dairies have disappeared, leaving only two international dairy groups; village shops have closed down,

village schools have almost all been abandoned. Centralization is now threatening the municipal system, and if this development continues, nothing will remain of the old local social structures.

The great structural change, the demise of locality, began after the Second World War, when the technological environment and cultural resources of Finland also became *delocal*. The living environment of cultures is no longer the geographical location where people live, but international economic and scientific-technological development. Since the times of the Atlas, the actual environment of Finns has become delocalized, and the delocalization is continuing. The effective cultural environment is becoming one without location, *postlocal* (global, universal, planetarial). The basic element of the delocal cultural system is no longer the local community, but the *technosystem*. Almost all areas of human life are operated by their economic, social and cultural technomachinery that produces the scientific-technological knowledge and future of its field. The concept of a technosystem is here defined as a technological-economic-social organization governing some area of culture and creating its own cultural environment. It may be an environmental-technological entity that exploits certain natural resources or produces certain technological products, but areas such as healthcare, science, art and the media also form their own technosystems. The culture is produced by the actors of the technosystems, *meritocrats*, professional or learned people who have received external training and education, and whose status is based on their merit in some organization. Modern man belongs primarily in some technosystem that forms the framework of his life and provides him with opportunities for the future. People are united by the technosystem of a certain production sector, not their place of residence or social class.

The structural change also extends to cultural values, world views and ideologies. The ethic of common good is no longer sustained by communality or Christianity, but a religionized idea of development. Belief in development has become an ideology comparable to religion, directing the functioning of technosystems and defining the relationship of society to its environment, including the surrounding nature. Belief in development provides fundamental, self-evident answers to the question of the hierarchy of cultural values and goals, the highest rationality. Like religions, the cult of development has its own myths and rites, and its scientific-technological doctrine of salvation, which justifies the taking control by technosystems of their whole environment, the universe and human life. The cultural law of the postlocal world is *centralization*. In the eschatology of the belief in development, the goal is an imagined scientific-technological perfection, a perfect society and culture. The environment of the future is already in sight. The destination of scientific-technological development is *finalization*, a global, universally functioning standardized culture, where man and nature are totally under the control of technosystems.

Delocal culture. The delocal cultural system evolved with the great structural change that began after the Second World War, also called the industrial revolution, when western society became industrialized and urbanized, or modernized in development jargon. The Finns, in common with the majority of the world's nations, has made the transition to a (1) delocal culture, the real effective environment of which lies outside local communities. The cultural (2) resources are non-local: international knowledge and technology, international raw materials. The technological basis of modern development has been above all utilization of fossil fuels and mechanical technology (the engine), and serial production (the conveyor belt) based on them. The new technology has completely transformed the modes of production, the cultural environment and people's ways of life, the nature of work, use of time and the rhythm of life. Human life has become delocal. Industrial production is a process that splits into thousands of different work stages, job descriptions and occupations, and that must roll day and night, regardless of the changing seasons or the religious calendar. The rhythm of life has become differentiated into periods directed externally, times of work and leisure; earning one's living is not a way of life but a career, and work is no

longer done at home in the house, with the family, but in the workplace, outside the living environment. The (3) 'community' of a delocal culture is the nation state, it is designed to be the citizens' own collective enterprise with a common national economy, with the results of its work, the national product, shared among the members of the state community. The idea of the Nordic welfare state has been that the state takes care of its citizens' lives: education, healthcare, and if necessary, also their livelihood. The national (4) economy has been forced to adapt to competition between countries, to create the cultural answers that function in an international, delocal environment. The state culture has become an all-pervading organization: its elements are (5) centralized economic, social and cultural organizations, corporations, unions, in other words technosystems that produce the culture of the various spheres of life, consumer goods, government, civic services, education of new generations, science, art and entertainment. Centers are the structures of modern Finland: central corporations, central offices and central organizations; municipal centers, service centers, sports centers and cultural centers. Organizations have replaced village communities, local economy and ethnic institutions. Development governed by meritocracy – community planning, construction planning, food and clothing industries have displaced local building customs, culinary tradition and ethnic dress, universal language has displaced dialects, the entertainment industry has displaced folklore. The provinces of the people of Häme, the Savonians and Karelians have become delocalized and integrated as part of a general centralized state culture and scientific-technological meritocracy. The diversity of delocal (6) culture consists of variations of intra-technosystem imitation, commercial fashions, trends, brands. Cultural provision must adapt to consumer expectations and serve even man's most primitive needs. If ethnic differences still exist, they originate from the era of locality, when culture adapted to the surrounding natural environment.

After the disintegration of local communities, the moral values of (7) agrarian cultures, their whole ethical basis, has lost its significance. The ethics of neighborliness and humanity: respect of the parents, helping one's neighbors, good manners, which in local cultures were considered to maintain the community spirit and a dignified human life, have turned into counter-structures of a modern, urban society. The concepts of honor, shame and conscience have become secularized with Christianity; the use of alcohol and other intoxicants increases constantly; the sexual revolution of the 1960s and 1970s transformed the ideas of chastity, the ideals of sexual behavior. Girls of the new free generation have embraced sexual equality, using alcohol and other drugs and seeking sexual experiences in the same way as boys of the same age. In a delocal living environment, (8) the social institutions of local communities have stopped functioning and disappear. Communal weddings, funerals and other village festivals, young people's village dances, have stopped; ordinary people's lifestage rites have become privatized and commercialized. Especially in cities, marriage has turned into an increasingly brief relationship. Viewed from the perspective of cultural anthropology, the prevalent way of life in the western countries is actually already an absence of sexual norms, promiscuity, and a kind of serial polygamy characterized by sequential marriages or partnerships, or casual relationships.

The nation state is (9) an education society, where the raising, socialization and enculturation of the young has become organizational people-production. The ideal of child-rearing is not a good villager but an achiever, a meritocrat, who assimilates the knowledge and skills produced by technosystems and does well in a production organization of his own field. The meritocracy takes possession of its citizens from birth; measures, classifies and adapts into international expectations. In nation states, (10) national technosystems also produce the culture; it is nationalized science, art and entertainment, externally directed experiences, economic and social manipulation, influencing the consciousness and thinking of others. Folk culture, new folklore, is commercial consciousness industry produced by the professional achievers of the sector, consciousness technicians and mind engineers. With the development of enter-

tainment technology, young people's village dances and evening sittings have swollen to become mass events of mammoth proportions, rock concerts; music, the songs, new folklore have become common broadcasting of world radio and world television, a common consciousness industry of the world's peoples. A villager who lived in a self-sufficient, self-made environment has become a consumer for whom techno-machineries produce cultural instruments, services and experiences. Culture is consumption, production of goods and consciousness industry; living standards and entertainment.

The translocal, commercial cultural environment has spawned (11) a hegemony of freedom that has permeated the whole society from child-rearing to manners; the intrinsic values of culture are the citizens' freedom, independence, democracy, individuality. The young grow up into a 'free world', modern art, literature, films, the entire western consciousness industry lives off moral freedom: sex, pornography and violence – from the viewpoint of local cultures the western mass culture positively competes in selling hedonism and decadence, selfishness, evil and degeneration. The neo-liberal, commercial consciousness industry has made objects of ridicule of the human ideals of local communities, and molded the new models of 'free', 'individual', 'rebellious' mass human beings. In local cultures, (12) a person had obligations towards others, the social ethics of a delocal nation state define the rights: citizen's, human and individual rights. Obligations have been replaced by individual rights: they give everyone the right and obligation to fulfil their own goals, careers, to utilize their potential.

The (13) village religions of agrarian cultures have become secularized, they have become modern technosystems in their own field, providers of religious services and religious entertainment. An increasing number of neo-religions have appeared alongside them, offering otherworldly experiences, mysticism, therapy, supernatural phenomena, things that science cannot explain. The reality and future of western culture is directed by (14) a hegemony of faith in development: the doctrine of scientific-technological salvation and the eschatology of perfect development, a belief that science and technology will save the Earth and resolve all the problems of mankind. Man is a species that has made man a god. True culture is control of the environment, maximal exploitation of natural resources, development of society; subsistence, self-determination and locality are counter-forces of true culture, anti-development. The (15) hierarchy of village communities has been superseded by national achievers and elite classes; national heroes-figures, 'great men' of various fields, around whom clusters the national worship of development, history and culture. Western society has made worship of the person the core and driving force of the entire culture.

In the hierarchy of modern nations, Finland is one of the world's wealthiest and technologically most advanced welfare states, where the state takes care of its citizens and culture. Finland is one of the model countries in the field of education, with every young person having the right to free studies; the country has proportionally the highest number of universities and highly educated people, and the majority of Finns in employment have a higher professional or vocational qualification. As growth, development and life have become more complex, social problems have also increased. The citizens are cared for by a growing body of professional helpers, doctors, therapists, counsellors; the technomachinery produces more and more life management, identities, doctrines of child-rearing and teaching, marriage, family and sex counselling. Postlocal (16) man is no longer able to cope in his environment without the guidance and care of the omnipresent technomachinery.

The national welfare state is now under threat from global commercial culture, the world system. Finland's postlocalization began in the 1990s, when 'capital was freed' and international investors were given the right to freely acquire Finnish companies. Within a few years, a large proportion of Finnish industry, national economy or national wealth, was taken over by transnational corporations or international capital. At the same time, state-owned industrial production and also many service organizations were

adapted to their international competitive environment: they were privatized to become public companies or sold to foreign owners. Finland has become a part of the global world economy; as a nation, the country is now centralized in metropolises, it is involved in the European Union, building a new continental state. In the postlocal world of the future, small nation state cultures will evidently degenerate, and all the current cultural structures in Finland will also in their turn cease to function.

Postlocal future. A supreme power of global economy and technology has evolved in the world, a *cultural imperialism*, which standardizes production, the environment and social structures all over the world. If globalization continues, (1) all nations will be forced to adapt to a universal scientific-technological cultural environment in which perfect productivity, know-how and information control prevail or should prevail. The new structural change will be brought about above all by digital technology, allowing control of the planetarial environment, global economy and transcontinental societies. Digital technology is a resource, the control and possession of which has created a new hierarchy on Earth, new elite classes and supreme cultural goals. The future postlocal culture is (2) a structurally uniform world system with 'communities' that are global or planetarial technosystems. They have definitively monopolized the technological control and future of their own sector, and produce everywhere the same cultural instruments, the same scientific-technological civilization and uniform human life. The world economy can no longer be steered by nation states, but their functions are transferred to (3) continental states, or 'world governments' which regulate the operation of technosystems and the mutual competition over the Earth's resources. The centralization of the environment will continue, (4) postlocal people will move into gigapoles that have larger populations and are economically more powerful than small states; they are the new 'global villages'. Outside habitation, (5) the natural environment will be controlled by production and protection machinery, and for world citizens nature is nothing more than virtual experiences, natural history films – digital technology. The inhabitants of metropolises will have no contact throughout their lives with scientifically-technologically recreated production animals or biotechnological food production; the agro-industrial areas and the whole techno-nature will be excluded from the sphere or ordinary people's experience.

The future (6) ecological winners will be world-class people who have received an universal education in their field and can live in their own technosystem in various parts of the world. During the creation of a nation state, centralized educational organizations needed to produce good citizens able to serve their country. In a postlocal world, national civilization will lose its importance; the technosystems will produce international achievers who should be able to cope in multinational mega-organizations, to adapt to the common future of mankind, a limitless competitive environment and total productivity; the demands of working will also be finalized. Postlocal man will live all around the globe, constantly changing his living environment, his ego-culture. Work will consist of projects that are not located anywhere. Consequently, (7) social services must also function all over the world. Planetarial living demands new production, social and service structures; an entirely different technoculture from that in the era of nation states. The life of a world citizen will evidently be increasingly momentary, (8) with his existence and environment dominated by constant change and constant demands for development: human existence will be interpreted as incidental, like the evolution of the universe.

In a postlocal culture, the (9) human ideal is no longer a good citizen, but an achiever who grabs his opportunities and insists on his rights, a consumer focusing on himself to the point of narcissism, an ego-person who has beaten down his fellow men and lives for his own career, in his own techno-world. When permanence and communality – family, school, work and residential communities – are irrevocably lost from a person, what remains is a postlocal individual with no obligations, no fixed commitments, and no

long-term contact with other people either. The (10) moral norms of local cultures, marriage and family disappear irrevocably. Morality, if one should still wish to define it, consists of institutionalized explanations internal to technosystems, public double standards. Global sexual life is casual sexual and relationship experiences, heterosexual, bisexual, homosexual or virtual unions in various parts of the world, but the family, as it was during local cultures, has lost its significance. The (11) procreation of mankind is also taken care of by a technosystem that is in total control of scientific-technological reproduction, producing a new human species. Biotechnology and constant development of man's mental and physical qualities produce top-class humans, required by global competition. Human selective breeding, eugenics or species-hygiene inevitable raise their heads again: postlocal development is led by a compulsion of perfection, man's scientific-technological finalization.

The (12) administrative ideology of a global cultural system is apparently religionized evolutionism and a doctrine of saving the Earth. The development texts are dominated by the scientific-technological salvation of all nations. The morality of high religions is replaced by evolutionary ethics, the ideology of supreme man or a biological doctrine of morality; what is ethically wrong, a sin, is consumption of natural resources in excess of the permitted norms. An individual person's ethical behavior and lifestyle is weighed in relation to nature and development; the relationship with deity is replaced by one with nature and the individual's relationship with his own development. Cultural research is also governed by a biological paradigm, an evolutionist-psychological or species-historical doctrine of evolution man, who is similar everywhere and fulfils the requirements of scientific-technological world control. The cult meritocracy will mysticize nature, the globe, the entire universe as if into a supernatural, effective, functional or living organism, the eternal laws of which govern the oneness of mankind and the future of the Earth. The environment, nature, cultural explanations, and utopias of the future, the whole folklore of the time, will again form a structurally and contentually uniform system.

With the demise of community control, the (13) order of the global culture is maintained by all-pervasive, ubiquitous scientific-technological surveillance. Digital technology is intrinsically a control technology, but in a planetary environment control becomes essential; without it, a world system cannot be created or function. The living environment of local community people knew no locks or iron bars; in Finnish villages the doors were always unlocked. In a postlocal culture, trust between people is lost; criminality, terrorism and insurgent movements also become global. Only total scientific-technological control of society and the environment can create security and prevent the spread of anarchy or normless behavior. In a final culture all eventualities must be technologically secure and predictable.

World computer centers, the world brain, gather, process and store ever more detailed information on people and human environments; technosystems controlling their own sectors archive ever more minutely the data necessary for their functioning, security and future. A citizen's identity, creditworthiness, employment history and future must be accessible in real time all over the globe. Personal surveillance equipment, bio-identifiers, global personal data systems are necessary, they contain the personality of world citizens, and their existence at some point on Earth. Future development consists of the growth of external surveillance technology. Public and private spaces, city centers, residential areas and citizens' homes are protected by recognition and surveillance equipment, security cameras; without his identification code, a person cannot move around even in his daily environment, enter his workplace or his own smart home. The utopias of technological development include automation and robotics that steer everything going on, traffic, consumption, take care of production, caring for the sick and the old, the whole human life. People themselves also collect data on their own lives and persons; various microchips, smart cards, health equipment and safety clothing will constantly monitor people's physical condition and

way of life. Ubiquitous surveillance will replace moral norms and ethics, the conscience becomes the surveillance camera.

The limitless growth and development of future imperia is threatened by the finiteness of the Earth and its natural resources. The global economy is incapable of correcting the system itself, but the world government is limited to controlling the consuming man. Averting the climate change and saving the Earth become an environmental dictatorship, the administrative ideal of which justifies controlling of citizens' consumption, to measure their ecological footprints, to apportion blame and eliminate dissenters, the enemies of nature. Ever since the times of the hunter-gatherers, social control systems have grown and organizatorial force increased. Postlocal culture may apply many times over the 'legitimate violence' employed by centralized nation states in order to maintain ideological discipline and to eliminate those defined as a danger to society by the ruling meritocracy.

Postlocal (14) culture is produced by centralized technomachinery of art, science and entertainment, with their future dictated by their adaptation to the demands of universal development. The consciousness industry concentrates on the experiences of the free world man, on describing, interpreting and directing his limitless life. In cultural terms, most important is to influence the masses: consumers, viewers, to fulfil even the most primitive needs of the human species. The *primitivization* of culture also becomes more complete. Global development culture consists of innovations and technological development marketed by technosystems, standardized mass culture operating in all geographical settings.

If the development continues as it is now, (15) postlocal society will be a total *eminence culture* where only the most prominent is culture. All 'ontological reality', present and past, will be placed in a global hierarchy of development and magnitude, ranked according to visibility. In a planetarial future, national influential figures are replaced by international supreme individuals, global achievers, world heroes figures; all events, media and history are concentrated around them. Global folklore deals with superheros figures, with the life events and heroic deeds of whom mass people can identify and experience the unity of all the world's nations in their media rituals. As the cultural hierarchy becomes increasingly total, polarization becomes more marked and the distance of ordinary people from the centers of power becomes global. The (16) polarity of culture, culture of winners and losers, development and antidevelopment, perfection and primitiveness are mutually complementary. More and more people drop out of the competition and become marginalized; western societies already contain a growing number of those who want to destroy their own lives, their future, who have nothing to live for. Culture operates on the one hand on the strength of personality cults and development worship, on the other of therapy machinery, drugs and control systems. The *sampo* mill of the meritocracy, the Paradise machine, produces endless development and endlessly repairs the results of development both in nature and in human communities.

The growth and technological development of the global economy produces new utopias, Paradise images of the future about the abundance of material life. A rich life consists of acquiring new technological implements, constant buying of cultural experiences, one's own projects and hobbies, worshipping one's body, constantly changing experiences of interpersonal relations, adventuring in the virtual world created by mind engineers. What is real and significant is the culture industry, which is bought all over the world. In the postlocal culture, the same products of the consciousness industry are marketed to everyone, the same global imitation and uniformity of consumption. In such a world, culture no longer consists of the lives of ordinary people, the life of villages or the self-built environment, self-sufficiency or independence. The future utopia of the development meritocracy is a perfect world culture: according to its political doctrine it implements the equal rights of all nations and a global democracy. The growth and development of the new utopia is hindered by everything that is national: the defence of national production, protectionism, the public services of a welfare state, a national army, own national language and

civilization, patriotic ideologies and utopias. When creating the nation state, locality hindered development; in the creation of a global system, the nation state in turn is becoming a memorial of backwardness and stagnation. There is no greater and more creative period than that of building new imperia.

Will national cultures die out?

Globalization of agrarian culture. After the onset of delocalization, local agrarian cultures have disappeared in a few decades. In Finnish agriculture, (1) the first structural change of industrial working techniques began towards the end of the 1800s, when the earliest manufactured implements came into use and the dairy industry was born. Nevertheless, right up to the 1930s, 'horse-drawn' agriculture was based on local energy, farms were unspecialized and for a long time still self-sufficient; the harrowing, mowing and threshing machines just kind of brought improvements to peasant working methods. As industrialization progressed, agriculture as an occupation also began to become delocalized and to move over to cash economy. The landed peasant's fields and forests turned into commercial resources, and the peasant himself became a farmer, a representative of a certain occupational class, who was increasingly forced to adapt to external markets, a state-centered national economy.

A total structural change of agriculture, and of the whole western culture, took place after the Second World War, which marked the beginning of (2) the era of production cultivation; the structural change of that time may be called modernization or the actual scientific-technological revolution. Defined in the terminology of this work, the cultures became delocalized. As a nation state, Finland, too, began to adapt to so-called modern international economic and technological development, the world markets; an environment above societies and increasingly also above states. As a culture, production cultivation is technology, knowledge and skills, produced mostly in external technosystems, industrial planning departments, agricultural research centers, and farmers' trade organizations. Agricultural culture consists of the growth and development of the technosystem of food production; land, animals and even people are 'material' to be improved, from which maximal gain in terms of market economy must be obtained. Finnish agriculture, too, acquired a new development language of meritocracy, used to justify the inevitability of the future, the conveyor belts of livestock, caged battery hens, the whole scientific-technological intensive production.

The survival conditions of industrial agriculture are already totally determined outside locality: the new technology is based on non-local energy, artificial fertilizers, fossil fuels. In the food production technosystem directed by nation states, the farmer became a producer: his farm is a production plant modeled on the industrial production process, the conveyor belt. The survival of farming depended on efficiency and growth of production. The agricultural technosystem develops more and more efficient machines and breeds cereal varieties and cattle that produce maximal yields. The new farm machinery, tractors and combine harvesters changed all the stages of the farm's production process, even the farm buildings had to be rebuilt and redimensioned. In the environment of the agricultural producer, the idea of development defines the rational and the irrational, culture and anti-culture.

In the postlocal world, the environment of the Finnish production farmer has become globalized: he must cope in (3) a worldwide technosystem of agro-industry, within which the structures of production

grow, centralize and become automated. The number of farms has steadily declined in Finland, and current debate questions whether cereal-growing will continue here in the northern reaches of the globe, or whether inland Finland, once settled by swidden farmers, will turn into borealic commercial forest, a field of trees, or taiga. Today, the Finnish farmer tries to find survival strategies within his network of rural entrepreneurs from organic farming, bioenergy production, or some other secondary occupation. As the climate warms, agriculture is likely to continue, but it is facing a new total structural change.

In a global environment, only global structures will succeed. It is likely that traditional family farms will be replaced by digitalized agro-industry. International groups will acquire the arable lands in Finland and transform them into mass production plants where cultivation and cattle husbandry are automated; in agriculture, too, robots will be competing over production. The swidden cultivator, landed peasant, farmer, agricultural producer and rural entrepreneur have all operated in structurally different cultural environments. The ideas of cultivated land, nature, community and a good life of each era have been different. From the perspective of cultural ecology, all the forms of utilizing nature: hunting, swidden cultivation, peasant economy and scientific-technological intensive farming, have been destroyed by the maximization of commercial gain. Agriculture continues to centralize and a boundless competition has begun over the resources of the globe.

What is the finalization of culture? After the state cultures, it seems that continent-wide systems are evolving: continental centers, postlocal global culture, the world brain. The environment is boundless, it is above all locality. Postlocal reality is produced by supertechnology: global communications networks, world computers, robotic systems capable of controlling ever larger entities and human masses. The organizationally efficient scientific-technological culture will finally centralize to become universal. Only global technosystems are still capable of producing new innovations, new environmental technology and everyday culture, folklore of world channels. Only billions are culture.

The environment of technosystems will be analyzed and controlled through numbers, computer software, and even man as an individual is a microchip or a number in the labor, social and consumption statistics and forecasts for the future, of the continental culture. In the new environment, the one to thrive is the postlocal man, the world-class meritocrat, capable of adapting to the uniform, universal demands of his own technosystem, to common know-how. Culture no longer adapts to its local natural environment, rather the contrary: nature and man are forced to adapt to the demands of the technomachinery.

The life experiences of postlocal man are produced by international service technology and structurally uniform experience, consciousness and illusion industry. Man lives increasingly attached to the media environment, telecommunications networks, information rites of sky channels. Local narratives have become world narratives, with heros figures who are top achievers, TV shamans, human gods. The cult meritocracy ceaselessly produces supernatural beings of its own technosystems: supreme human beings, over-people; primordial myths of its own development, technological perfection and utopias of the future. All areas of culture must have their supernatural persons who are worshipped; culture consists of personal rituals that bring commercial success. Shamans and sorcerers have been replaced by consciousness technicians and mind engineers. Folklore comprises the production of the consciousness of humankind, world religions, universal experiences, the boundlessness of the human spirit. Culture is no longer living together, but controlling people; its function is rather to remove the person from his own physical life to a second or third reality, cyberspace, a virtual environment, metaculture.

Global consciousness industry is threatening to replace everyday reality; an ordinary person can identify with an artificial environment, consume technologically ever more perfect mental experiences, therapeutic doctrines and explanations of existence. Cultural richness is production and consumption of

experiences, opportunities of experiencing the future. Man is permitted to entertain himself, to consume more and more liberties, sex, violence, and intoxicants. He learns to construct himself, to practise self-medication, self-religion, self-love. Ethnicity, communality, as well as nature, may be experienced in the media world or in one's own life. Postlocal man is able to transfer from one culture to another at will, from one history to another, to listen to the folk songs of all peoples, to organize different wedding rituals during his lifetime, to provide himself with various ethnic experiences, perfection.

Experience production must grow constantly. In the environment of technosystems, a person's birth-place, domicile and burial ground have lost their significance, the sacred tree of his own kin perhaps exists in some virtual reality. Cultural development is development of consciousness and control technology. Personal consciousness instruments accompany consumers everywhere: the events of the living environment are directed by smart cards, micro- and nanochips; the daily lives of citizens are supervised by the ubiquitous techno-intelligence.

Western meritocracy is already fully adapted to the future and incapable of producing anything other than development. A constantly increasing part of technosystems incessantly takes possession of the future: planning, developing, coordinating, harmonizing and fusing. The end point cannot be anything other than a perfect culture.

What is a final culture, how is it defined? The study of the future is full of utopias of scientific-technological development. Should one now believe that science and technology are capable of resolving all the problems of society, that technosystems will produce the complete human being? Will the culture of the future consist of perfectly planned controlled environments, total consciousness industry? But why talk about the triumph of technology or techno-intelligence? I would rather visualize the nature of the inner power of final culture, its mental reality.

Complete development is (1) *oneness*. Mankind is a oneness, it has one culture and one common development. Each area of life only has one technosystem that maintains its own future. The instruments of culture are produced in automated global information industry, goods industry, service industry and future industrial production networks, only one of which is necessary for each area of life.

Complete culture is (2) *limitless*. As media networks and consciousness industry develop, mankind achieves a limitless unity. Common information networks, the world brain, unite people living in different technosystems; another human being is always present in the consciousness network. Through his personal consciousness instruments, the world citizen is at all times in contact with the cyber space centers of the universe, postlocal reality is boundless visions and media interfaces, cosmic consciousness texts, boundless experience science.

Completeness is (3) *inexhaustible*. It constantly regenerates innovation. Postlocal man is able to endlessly select new contents for his consciousness and life experiences, personal styles, final explanations and interpretations of limitless existence. If he so desires, he can reconstruct his social habitus and communications network, his own subculture; reflect new manhood and womanhood, perfection. The technomachinery produces global level multiethnic experiences for him, more and more new traditions, rites of passage, localities, inexhaustible polyculture.

Will local culture return? Postmodern utopias anticipate that the chain of structural changes will break, the forward-rushing 'western time' would kind of stop, and the ordinary human being would again be able to control his environment and his own life. More and more people are expecting the reign of science and technology to end, that the Internet and other 'free information networks' will give so-called ordinary people the opportunity of opposing the culture of technosystems directed from above and the control by states. Modern science and art have been involved in constructing a state that has taken control of the

whole life of its citizens, even monopolizing human exploitation and violence. As globalization marches on, it is fashionable to condemn the nation state and to believe that with the demise of state cultures we will return to a citizen society, networks of autonomous citizens, new types of ethnic communities, a culture of tribes.(1)

At the same time, nation states will be replaced by a new centralized imagined state community, a continental culture. Simultaneously, technosystems of goods production produce development that is more and more technically complex, but increasingly uniform in terms of cultural structures, centralize the hierarchy of thinking. In all areas of life, an increasingly universal scientific-technological imitation culture of meritocrats is being created, and the ecological winners are taught more and more effectively global technology, common cultural history, the common symbols and goals of the western character, and the common enemies of western culture. In the environment of technosystems, man is increasingly only necessary as a global-level achiever, a continental citizen, and a consumer of global culture.

The present and the future do not juxtapose the modern and the imagined postmodern, but local and non-local culture, local communities and global technosystems; already juxtaposed are the national civilizations of small nations and global control systems of the consciousness of the whole mankind.

In cultural anthropology, optimists believe that national identity will survive. Ethnicity, like kinship, is *primordial*, a deep *belonging* to something, neither can the national memory of states be eradicated. The Finnish people have been united by their destiny over millennia, their own ethnoscape.(2 Ethnic identity would be like a mental construct rooted in the Finnish heritage, which would also survive in individual world views and interpretations, and contextualize in choices such as Finnish TV programs. In the final instance, the imperialism of global consciousness technology would not be capable of destroying national differences. On the other hand, some ethnic idealists hold the view that nations and ethnic groups constantly *reproduce* their own culture and identity, or their *mentality*. Culture has never been monolithic uniformity, but the shared cultural development of peoples and tribes has always had scope for co-existing high- and subcultures; the keywords of ethnic idealists are the meeting of cultures, reciprocity, bipolarity, parallelism. The world is still polycultural and *multiethnic*, global uniformity is *metaculture* that is secondary, external to everyday culture.(3)

Students of modern culture view man as first and foremost a consumer, with a culture that is individual and subjective, with his own life projects, public displays of his own existence, performances, self-interpretations of his autonomic spirit, self-reflection, creation of his own style. The personal world of individuals revolves around their own bodies, and after the demise of communities, the narcissistic ego-man would build his own body, his own image or self-images, reflecting his life history in his own body. The key word would be style, through which international people would express their belonging to some group, perhaps in the future also belonging to some ethnic tribe or nationality. However, the ethnic identity would be situational, like all social communication or cultural exchange.(4)

Modern *intraculturalists* or *ethnomethodologists* argue that what is real is the everyday life of ordinary people, the common daily life dictated by production processes and relationships within society. Cultural diversity, a new identity, is found in the daily lives of different groups of people, in the heroism of the daily life of the Finnish person, in common coping strategies, in producing their own cultural networks. One of the key words is *resistance*; modern metropolises are full of neo-ethnic coping communities, networks that fragment and reorganize the life homogenized by state culture.(5)

And finally: *constructivists* believe that ethnicity still exists in today's commercial world, but it will be consciously created and remodeled like any other market commodity.(6 Ethnic ideas, stereotypes, are necessary in many areas of international trade and culture industry, such as the technosystems of tourism or sport, and continue to be so also in the ethnic politics of minorities or as different nationalities cre-

ate their networks in growing multinational megapoles. Nationality would still be a viable weapon as groups of people compete over the dwindling natural resources of the globe, for ecological space. *Ethnogenesis* will continue! But ethnicity must also adapt to the cultural environment of the time; as a market commodity it exists on par with other cultural phenomena of a fully capitalized world economy. In future maps, the differences between eastern and western Finland may be created in media networks and perhaps even quantified by consumption figures; Finnishness would be an advertising product, a logo or trend, visible in numbers in the statistical comparisons of global culture.

In the final instance, everyday culture is a question of whether consciousness industry can replace the life of an ordinary person, of whether in a global perfect meritocracy, only achievers, perfect people are significant. Will culture serve the same purpose as intoxicants: the destruction of reality? Locality cannot be reborn unless global markets cease to function – with the drying up of global forms of energy – and communities return to live in their own local environment, relying on their real local resources. For the young, their own culture is the one in which they grow, and the heritage of each generation must give way in turn. Perhaps man still wants to live somewhere, in some place or social space, and travel through his lifespan, make his marriage and seek out his own community; to watch and hear for himself how the story is told.

Sarmela 1977b; 1984bc; 1989a; 1991c; 1996ab; 2000; 2004; 2005. This chapter is based on my book 'Structural change into future. Postlocal culture and Finland' (1989a, in Finnish) and my articles 'What is Cultural Imperialism' (1977b) and 'Postlocal Culture' (1991c). The concept 'postlocal' has no connection with the world system theories of economic history: I consider the nature and future of ethnic culture (folk culture) or the everyday culture of an 'ordinary person'. The term 'meritocracy' was coined by Michael Young (1958), mainly as the opposite of a society based on the rule of aristocracy. The term 'consciousness industry': Enzensberger 1974. 1. E.g. Rosenau 1989. Crook – Pakulski – Waters 1992. Tylor – Winqvist 1998. Clifford – Marcus 1986. Clifford 1988. Anderson B. 1983. 2. E.g. Appadurai 1996. Tomlinson, J. 1991. 3. E.g. Featherstone 1990. Robertson 1992. Featherstone – Lash – Robertson 1995. Lash – Friedman 1992. Eriksen 1993. Friedman 1994. Dissanyake – Wilson 1995. 4. E.g. Hebdige 1979. Turner, B. 1984. Tomlinson, A. 1990. Featherstone – Hepworth – Turner 1991. Lash – Urry 1994. Kanter 1995. 5. E.g. Burawoy et. al 1991, in anthropology John and Dean Comaroff. 6. Roosens 1989.

Table 1

CULTURAL SYSTEMS

HUNTING CULTURE

7000 BC–

Living in nature
 - fishing
 - hunting
 - gathering
 Hunting grounds, winter and summer villages
 Hunting rites
 - bear rite
 - seides
 - haltia offerings
 - catch karsikkos
 Shamanism
 - dealing with the soul
 - reincarnation
 - the world on the inverse side of nature
 - cosmic order
 Totemism
 Folklore
 - natural myths
 - astral myths
 - soul journey
 - hunting folklore
 - rock paintings

SWIDDEN CULTURE

1000 BC–

Diverse economy
 - swidden cultivation
 - cattle husbandry
 - fishing, hunting, gathering
 Kinship culture
 - kinship villages
 - extended families
 - kinship weddings
 - kinship funerals
 Ancestral cult
 - ancestors' groves
 - sacrificial trees, sacrificial stones
 - ancestral offerings, memorial events
 Sorcery
 - dealing with forces
 - incantations
 - fertility rites
 - repelling rites
 - healing rites
 - injurious rites
 Cultivation rites
 - calendar rites
 - animal sacrifices
 Poetry in old meter
 - wedding runes
 - men's epic poetry
 - lyricism
 Narration
 - kinship folklore
 - man and natural environment
 - everyday realism

PEASANT CULTURE

AD 1000–

Permanent location
 Local resources
 - permanent fields
 - plow cultivation and cattle husbandry
 - subsistence year, periods of work
 Local communities, local order
 - village community
 - house-centeredness
 - neighborliness
 Community culture
 - village administration
 - local festivals
 - village weddings
 - village funerals
 - voluntary working parties, neighborly help
 - communal hunting (parish hunting officer system)
 Village religion, Christian church
 - churches and chapels
 - Christian calendar
 - Christian rites of passage
 - ethics of fellow-man
 - witch hunts
 Community tradition
 - village festivals, feasting tradition
 - youth culture
 village swings, village dances, village fights
 Community folklore
 - singing in new meter
 - dance music
 - moralistic narration
 - localization
 - local heros figures

ERA OF LOCAL INDUSTRY

1850–

Local environment,
 own municipality, village
 Local energy (rapids, wood)
 Local technology (steam engine)
 Village-centeredness
 - agrarian villages
 - industrial villages
 - church villages, towns
 Class division
 - landed peasantry
 - laborers
 - gentry, aristocracy
 Local development ideology
 - village industry (village dairies,
 mills, sawmills, smithies)
 - village schools, village libraries
 - village stores, post office,
 banks
 - community halls, sports
 grounds
 Local organizations
 - local cooperative activity
 - youth associations
 - farmers' and workers'
 associations
 Local activity
 - evening shows, dances
 - village and parish festivals
 - enlightenment and educational
 work
 - local performers
 - amateur culture (art)

DELOCAL CULTURE ERA

1950–

Centralizing national
 environment
 National economy
 External resources
 - fossil energy
 - mechanical technology
 (combustion and electric
 engine)
 International development
 - scientific-technological know-
 how
 - occupational differentiation
 - meritocracy
 - organizatorial hierarchy
 Technosystems
 - production sectors
 - mass industry
 - conveyor belt technology
 National centralization
 - central government
 - central organizations,
 corporations
 - groups of companies, industrial
 centers
 - municipal centers
 - shopping centers
 - educational centers, cultural
 centers
 Religionized development
 - national development ideology
 - national development ritualism
 - political sociodramas
 - national heros figures
 National culture industry
 - professional culture services
 - media culture (TV)
 - mass events (festivals)

POSTLOCAL CULTURE

Planetarial environment
 Global resources
 Universal knowledge and
 education
 Digital technology
 - automation, robotics
 - space technology (satellites)
 - internet, global networks
 Global production structures
 - universal technosystems
 - global data banks ('world
 brain')
 - scientific-technological control
 of environment and nature
 - international meritocracy
 Transnational centralization
 - continental states
 - global organizations
 - universal groups of companies
 - gigapoles, global migration
 Finalization
 - ideology of perfect
 development
 - scientific-technological security
 society
 - ubiquitous surveillance of
 environment
 - universal salvation ideologies
 Global consciousness industry
 - scientific-technological mind
 control
 - unique audio-visual
 world of symbols
 - representations of world
 culture
 - transnational heros figures
 - global media culture