

RURAL AND URBAN ENCOUNTERS IN REIJO KELA'S CHOREOGRAPHIES *ILMARI'S PLOUGHED FIELD* AND *CITYMAN*

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Since the early 1980s, the solo performances of Reijo Kela (b. 1952) have brought original perspectives to Finnish dance, particularly in terms of how he wanted to dance in close proximity to the spectator and how the lines between art-forms were blurred. In his first large-scale site-specific works, *Ilmari's Ploughed Field* (*Ilmarin kynnös*, 1988) and *Cityman* (1989), he dealt with the relationship between dance, site, and changing Finnish society. They occurred in the heart of rural and urban life: one, in an abandoned field in Suomussalmi Eastern Finland and the other, in the busiest shopping area of the capital. In my article I examine how and what kind of ideas of countryside and city Kela's work manifest. What kind of cultural images they represent? And how they were received at the time of their premiere? The theoretical approach includes Rosalyn Deutsche's ideas of assimilative space and disturbance of space.

Keywords: Reijo Kela, site-specific art, dance analysis, mass migration, periphery, centre, city culture

Focusing on Reijo Kela's two major site-specific works, the article discusses the rural and urban encounters that were present in them.¹ First, after introducing Kela's career and working methods, I will move on to discuss what kind of cultural images concerning the periphery and the centre the performances produced and how they reflected changes in Finnish society. The theoretical perspective taken in this article uses Rosalyn Deutsche's (in Kwon 2012) ideas about site-specific art - and how it can relate to its environment.

The main sources for my analysis of Kela's works are two TV-programs that were made by

the Finnish Broadcasting Company, Yleisradio.² For a Finnish dance researcher it is an exceptional opportunity to have recordings from performances done in the 1980s. However, especially in the case of the *Cityman*, a traditional dance analysis regarding the level of a single movement is impossible, since the performance lasted for a week, and the TV-program could only show parts of it. Therefore, the content is discussed more through the meanings of the performance place and reception. The recording of *Ilmari's Ploughed Field* was made during a performance in Suomussalmi in 1990, two years after the

premiere. However, comparing the TV-program with the premiere reviews and other texts reveal that the events took place in a similar way.

FROM SUOMUSSALMI TO NEW YORK AND BACK

Dancer-choreographer Reijo Kela was born in 1952 in a rural county called Suomussalmi in Eastern Finland near the Russian border. An active gymnast as a young boy, he did not start dancing until the age of 18 after moving to work as a laboratory assistant in the capital Helsinki. He gained traditional training in modern and jazz dance techniques through studying with Finnish and visiting international teachers, and performed in Helsinki with a dance company formed in the Studio of Modern Dance (in Finnish *Modernin tanssin studio*).³ At the end of the 1970s, he also studied in New York on two long periods at the Merce Cunningham's studio. Cunningham's influences in movement language, use of chance method, and ideas of space were especially to be seen in Kela's first choreographies called *Soolo 12:een (Solo to 12, 1977)* ja *Tanssia n. 20 minuuttia (Dance for appr. 20 minutes, 1978)*.⁴

What combines Cunningham and Kela is the idea that in dance, space is all around the dancer and the audience, not only something frontal for audiences to watch on stage. In Cunningham's works the space was decentralized, spatial perspective was constantly changing, and this concerned the performers as well as spectators.⁵ Every point of space was equally important and one can dance in any place. This relation to space was significantly different than the previous modern dance choreographers, such as Doris Humphrey, with emotional and thematic values connected to certain points on stage.⁶ Cunningham's Company undertook some performances at public places (so called *Events*), but that meant moving and combining earlier stage works to new surroundings, while Kela performed his unique works inspired by the conditions of the actual site where the performance took place.⁷

Even if in the early stage of Kela's career there were strong influences from Cunningham, which

he himself acknowledged later on, he started to work in a very different way. During the 1980s, many of his performances happened in close contact with the audience and reflected events in Finnish society. Cunningham's work, instead, realised Clement Greenberg's definition of modernism in art by focusing on the essence of the art form and establishing distance from the audience and the world outside.⁸ Hence, rather than external, stylistic similarities in their work, what connects Kela and Cunningham is more a questioning spirit.⁹ Kela has said that dancing is a problem he tries to solve.¹⁰

During his career, Kela worked as a freelancer outside dance institutions creating and performing mainly solo dances. Inspired by loft performances in New York, he founded his own studio space called the Dance Gallery (*Tanssigalleria, 1978-2002*) through which he explored his preoccupation with the immediate or intimate dance experience with the audience.¹¹ In Finnish he used his own term *lähitanssi* ("immediate dance" / "close dance"), appearing in his newspaper interviews during the eighties. His own open studio space allowed him to carry out his own ideas freely, and he often used only natural light and as little props and sets as possible.¹²

During the 1980s, the dancer's direct contact with the audience became a very important theme in Kela's work. Solos, such as *Dance for you (1983)*, were based on a strong, personal contact with the spectator. This solo performance was performed for one person at a time, and the dance depended on which chair the audience member chose. In addition, another level of personal contact between choreographer and audience was added to this piece in that Kela had prepared all the 12 different chairs himself. About this connection, Kela has stated the following:

"I do not perform on the theatre stage, but in a space where the audience is all around. I aim for openness and sincerity. The eye contact with the audience is important - I do not enjoy dancing to a black hole. Dancing on a stage is like a lecture, while the immediate dance



Pictured in their summer clothes in 2008, The Silent People was part of Reijo Kela's performance *Ilmari's Ploughed Field* (1988). Local people still change the clothes for the figures twice a year. Photo: Aino Kukkonen

[*lähitanssi*] is like a conversation."¹³

Similarly, the most famous American postmodern dance group, Judson Dance Theater, had changed the atmosphere of a performance situation a couple of decades earlier. In their performance, the performer's humanity and corporeality could be shown. Instead of viewing dancers from a distance, there was a living, talking, breathing, and sweating real person in front of you, who was looking right at you.¹⁴

In Kela's way of working, there were some similarities to the principals of American postmodern dance. For example, different performing locations, rejection of frontal design, close interrelation with the audience, an institutional critique as well as the presence of the everyday, and pedestrianism, which means

movements like walking, running, and sitting.

However, Kela was not only interested in exploring the human body and movement in space. There was also a strong will to touch the spectators' emotions and in his performances he did not abandon the use of props, or technical virtuosity like many postmodern dance makers did. This is a very different approach in comparison to Yvonne Rainer in her famous "No Manifesto" (1965), been considered a central text for postmodern dance. In this text she says no to emotions, virtuosity, and illusions among other things, and it exemplifies her ideas about dance at that time.¹⁵

In common with Judson Church's work, even though Kela was not a member of the active Finnish performance art groups during the 1980s,

one can see the crossings of borders between the art forms. His work could as easily be discussed in the context of performance art or site-specific art as in a dance context. His stress on the uniqueness of the performance event, of duration, real actions and real materials is similar to that of performance art.¹⁶ I have suggested previously (Kukkonen 2014) that the biggest difference is that, while performance art focuses on the concrete happening of things, in Kela's works in the 1980s, a fictional level was present, a strong will to tell something.¹⁷ Furthermore, the movement vocabulary, the presence of a strong traditional dance technique in his work as well as the reception of his work, defines him as a dancer-choreographer. In addition, in his own public statements that have appeared in newspapers, it is evident that he sees himself foremost as a dancer and never mentions himself as a performance artist. Since the 1990s, often together with a musician, he has created works based on improvisation in different locations. They usually happen in natural environments placing him within the realms of site-specific dance work.

ILMARI'S PLOUGHED FIELD

Ilmari's Ploughed Field (Ilmarin kynnös) was Kela's first large-scale site-specific solo work. It happened in an abandoned field and barns in his childhood home region, Suomussalmi in June 1988. The County had invited him as a guest artist and *Ilmari's Ploughed Field* was performed four times as part of a dance festival, organized for the first time. The name has echoes in Finnish cultural history, where there is a figure in the national epic *Kalevala*, Seppo Ilmarinen, who has to plough a field full of snakes in order to get a bride. There is also a famous painting (1916) and a fresco (1928) at the National Museum of Finland by Akseli Gallén-Kallela about the subject.

Kela worked in Suomussalmi for almost three months. During that time, he created the choreography and prepared the environment for the performance. For example, he moved the barns and built two hundred ghost-like figures,

which he called *The Silent People* that became part of the performance. Kela's original idea was to have all the unemployed of the County (in 1988 about 1000 persons) standing in the field as silent people. Since that was not possible, he built figures that were made of wooden crosses and had peat heads.¹⁸ The figures were made in co-operation with the local people and they were given the local's own old clothes. They still continue to dress the figures as the outfits are changed twice a year, once in winter, once in summer.

Ilmari's Ploughed Field begins when a violinist plays Pablo de Sarasate's *Gypsy Airs* next to an old barn while Kela sits on the roof. His dancing is full of speed and celebration – straight lines of arms and gaze looking up, reflecting optimism and joy. Occasionally he takes a few trepak steps and folk dance jumps, slapping his arms at his feet. He also balances and makes forward rolls on the roof. After landing, he chases the audience swearing and starts to build horse like figures from very thin wooden sticks. Then, he pushes them, swinging and yelling his horses to canter.

This is followed by scything movements, but suddenly there is a noise from guns and he runs away. There are explosions while Kela is jumping up from the bushes. The events move to another barn where one of the walls is filled with old televisions. In some of them, the glass is replaced with hay, which Kela pushes away. Now the televisions show "a program" of his body. His movements comment ironically on the talk coming from a tape, where the old local men discuss the employment situation in Suomussalmi and other things like the component factory and regional aid.

Kela disappears again and rises suddenly from a tunnel that leads to the third barn. There, the audience stands behind the barbed wire fence that makes a circle separating them from the performer. Kela is dancing an angry and aggressive dance with clods in his hand accompanied by percussion music. The swearing and threatening atmosphere emphasizes his lonely and raging struggle. At the very end, he steps out of the circle while the assisting, local young men

drag empty boats across the field, after which they jump in to cars and drive south leaving Kela alone in the field among *The Silent People*.

During the 1960s, experimental dance embraced the everyday, the leftover material that was omitted from traditional modern dance.¹⁹ Ilmari's *Ploughed Field* also includes everyday movement. In this case it meant that running is real, not a "stage run" as in a dance performance. The audience did not see a distanced dancer's body doing abstract movements on an empty, dark stage, but a real person in a real place – a person who is about to fall from the roof of a barn. Here is the connection to performance art with the commitment to real actions and real risks and real materials. Overall, Ilmari's *Ploughed Field* included technical dance movements such as big jumps. The field was open, the sky was the roof, so in this scale the movements also needed to be big.

Although Ilmari's *Ploughed Field* lasted about 45 minutes, it included several different time levels and themes that were in close relation to the place, its history and its people. The performance place, the Lassila field, had historical importance

as a battlefield in December 1939 during the Winter War (1939-1940) between Finland and the Soviet Union. The reviews included many lengthy descriptions about the War including the actual number of casualties. In one review, the Lassila field was called the "field of glory".²⁰ It was also referred to as the "bloody field".²¹ This shows how the discourse of the Winter War was strongly present almost fifty years later. The actual field itself was about 1 kilometre long and 150 metres wide, very common looking, like any other abandoned field in Eastern Finland.

The field is an everyday place of work. It is also a symbol of life and continuity and in the countryside, a field provides a farmer's income.²² Lassila field was also one of the so-called package fields. From the end of the 1960s, the Finnish state started to cut down on the overproduction of farming products. The state paid farmers for not using their fields, usually a deal being made for three years inclusive of all the fields.²³ This radically decreased the number of small farms that were built after the wars, especially in remote areas like Suomussalmi.

The ending of Ilmari's *Ploughed Field* is quite



The beginning of Ilmari's *Ploughed Field* in Suomussalmi in summer 1990.
Photo: Seppo Louhi, Union for Rural Culture and Education.

simple, but it comments in a concrete and moving way on the masses moving from the countryside to the big cities and abroad in the 1960s and 70s. In several reviews the mass migration was also mentioned. The structural change of Finnish society accompanying this migration was most severe in the peripheral regions such as Suomussalmi. During Kela's childhood, its population was at its highest level. In the early 1970s, the decrease of population was very intense with people from rural areas moving to the cities in the south of Finland, and especially to Sweden.²⁴ The performance also commented critically on the current state of Suomussalmi, particularly through talk of employment and local subsidies by showing Kela's naked bottom on the TV screens – it implied that the performer was one of them, a person from Suomussalmi.

Hence *The Silent People* could be the unemployed, people who stayed after mass migration or maybe ghosts of the people who died during the Winter War. It was still in the 1980s typical in the Suomussalmi region that the young women left more often than the men did, so marriages decreased and the amount of mama's boys grew.²⁵ In my analysis, *The Silent People* also manifests a dream of finding a mate and living ones whole life in a relationship in one's home region as one's parents did. I visited Suomussalmi some years ago and saw that the figures still stood there, silent and strong, in their scarves and their caps in the field. *Ilmari's Ploughed Field* evoked traditional, Finnish rural (male) values such as lonely, hard work and persistence.²⁶ The ideas of war, threat, and physical struggle were evoked by Kela's dance and the special effects. The reception emphasized especially the remembering of the past of the performance place instead of the current reading. I wonder if the reception today would still see the Winter War as strongly as at the end of the 1980s, or would it be connected to violence and war in general?

How did Kela encounter the audience during this performance? *Ilmari's Ploughed Field* was sold out and there was room for about 200 people in the field.²⁷ As in many site-specific works the audience was not passive, neutrally staying put in

one place. Not only did they have their own experiences and knowledge about this place – the audience could also move with the performance and feel it through their own bodies.²⁸ In *Ilmari's Ploughed Field*, the audience walked in the field between three barns: sometimes Kela chased them around with a long, wooden stick in order to move them in the right direction. For local people, the field was a safe and familiar place even though many of them saw modern dance for the first time. Among the audience, there were also children and old people, and the TV-program shows strong emotional reactions such as laughter and sorrow. Some locals even assisted in the performance.

Later on, *The Silent People* became the region's pride and it still exists. Now, there are about 1000 figures, which have been moved to another field close to the highway in Suomussalmi. Interestingly, *The Silent People* has continued as an installation outside the dance performance for example in Helsinki 1994, Moscow 2003 and in Kent 2007.²⁹ The living of *The Silent People* in different forms and places could be described as the special relationship of a place and the art work described by art historian Miwon Kwon (2002). The relationship is not based on stability, but is constantly changing.³⁰ Still, the disappearance of Kela's dance becomes concrete, because the installation can continue its existence.

The above shows that the main themes of *Ilmari's Ploughed Field* reflected the transformation process of a small agrarian community. The very positive reception showed that it produced identifiable images, not only for local people, but also for Finns at large. Therefore, I suggest that it can be perceived as assimilative site-specificity, to borrow Rosalyn Deutsche's term. Here, the art work is geared towards harmony, unity, and integration into its environment.³¹ Deutsche uses the separation between assimilative and interruptive art, but sees disturbance of space rather than coherence as a main feature of site-specific art.³² In Kela's case, his site-specific dance performance produced cohesion in the community. Although it handled delicate historical issues, it did not work against its surroundings.

CITYMAN

In 1989, Kela wrote in his diary how he did not like the current developments in the world.³³ During the 1980s, Finland was in an unseen economic boom: money, body, and consumption were discourses that became present especially in the capital Helsinki.

Kela's *Cityman*³⁴ could be perceived as a counter work to Ilmari's *Ploughed Field*. It took place at the Kaivopiha square in downtown Helsinki in May 1989. As in *Ilmari's Ploughed Field*, Kela wanted to build the performance himself. This time, it meant designing and constructing a 4 x 4 meter plexi-glass cube that was placed in Kaivopiha. In the cube, he lived a cityman's life and danced for a week. His dancing alone, and with the visiting seven female dancers, was based on improvisation and was strongly affected by the visiting musician, because he was in the same small cube with the performers and they threw impulses to each other.³⁵

Interestingly, it became a major media event of the week with no advertising beforehand. Kela's daily schedule for the cityman was as follows: from 8 am to 10 pm dancing to radio shows, bubble baths, eating and other activities, from 10 pm to 4 am musician and a visiting female dancer, from 4 am to 8 am rest. Occasionally loud speakers repeated the cityman's slogan in Kela's voice in English: "I'm the cityman. I am the best. Everyone would like to have my body! I'm the cityman. My body is the best. Everyone would like make love with me! I am the cityman. I am rich! I am the super power!"³⁶

What kind of cultural images did the performance produce about city life? As in London, or other big cities, yuppies were topical in Finland at that time. According to professor Laura Kolbe, in Finland, there had been a culture in which it was preferable that the wealthy did not differ much in appearance, but now it was suddenly acceptable to show that you had money. Nevertheless, the yuppies were a very small minority in Helsinki.³⁷

According to sociologist Pasi Mäenpää, the new city and consumption culture in Helsinki was produced by a loosening of restrictions: the

amount of restaurants grew rapidly, they could build terraces and cafes and were given licences to serve alcohol – the ideal was a European style of social life. The atmosphere was quite different from that of a couple of decades earlier, when you had to buy a sandwich along with your drink, or to wear a tie in order to get in to a restaurant. In addition, a new, even playful, public culture made its appearance during the 1980s, which made the city a livelier place with bachelor or bachelorette parties, university freshman parties, flea markets, graffiti and city festivals.³⁸

During the 1980s, Helsinki also had its first clubs that could be open until morning and this first club culture generation saw the cityman sleeping in his cube while going home in the morning.³⁹ The appearance and behavior of the cityman also revealed so-called success: he was wearing fancy suits, drinking champagne, and there was hide on the floor. The cityman lived his life at a fast tempo: a new woman visited every night.

In the 1980s, the body became more public and you had to work for it. Dance researcher Christy Adair argues that people are encouraged to struggle for successful bodies, because according to images that increases power and performance in work and in finding a partner.⁴⁰ In the 1980s, aerobics, solariums, and gym activities became popular hobbies for everyone; even Jane Fonda visited Finland promoting her videos. Just a few months after the performance of the *Cityman*, one of the biggest tabloids, *Ilta-lehti*, introduced readers to ways of using the gym and how to exercise different muscles in a series called *Reikan bodykoulu* (*Reikka's Body School*).⁴¹ At the very same time, a journalist from the leftist newspaper, *Kansan Uutiset*, visited an aerobics class:

"Now everyone goes to the gym to do aerobics. Some even think that this is a so called yuppie sport. That there are mannequins dressed in the latest fashion just hanging out in front of the mirror thinking only about their own bodies and nothing else."⁴²

Instead of yuppies or mannequins, the journalist found ordinary female office workers who just

wanted to have a better condition.

The text above still shows how topical body and yuppie discourses were in 1989. Ideas about the body adding to your personal value were also present in the cityman's words. For example, when he says that everyone wants his body and it is the best. He also calls himself a super power, which can be interpreted as an echo from the soon to end Cold War and the rearmament that accelerated during Ronald Reagan's presidency (1981-1989). Furthermore, the constant repeat of the cityman's slogan is connected to advertising. In 1980s Finland, the nature of advertisements changed and the money and volume in different medias increased notably.⁴³

Even if the egoism, body obsession, advertising, and the Cold War were powerfully present in the cityman's mantra, the actual performance during the week showed all kinds of, sometimes surprising, situations and emotions the cityman went through.⁴⁴ The element of unpredictability was also evident, since Kela also used the music of local live radio programs to dance to. A new phenomenon in the 1980s was the founding of local, commercial radio stations such as Radio City.

How did the *Cityman* encounter its audience? The Kaivopihä square was one of the busiest shopping areas in Helsinki, about 80 000 people passing through it per day. According to the TV-program and the newspapers, the people held their distance from the *Cityman* during the day, but in the evenings and nights they engaged in a closer contact with Kela, sometimes even aggressively. For example, at the beginning of the week someone threw beer bottles and even wanted to set the cityman's house on fire. But the *Cityman* was also very much admired: people made contact through the glass by touching it, brought him flowers and even danced for him.⁴⁵

In Rosalyn Deutsche's terms, the *Cityman* was a critical invention, a disruption, aiming to disturb the normal order and every day life of the place and succeed in it. After the week as a cityman, Kela expressed criticism towards the conventional process of theatrical performance: he wanted to perform for free and without advertising

beforehand, and to bring the performance to the people rather than people to the performance.⁴⁶ As a performance, the *Cityman* crossed the line between performance and private life. He presented the question: Who was performing and who was the audience? The plexi-glass windows of *Cityman's* house operated like mirrors. He was dancing for the city, but the city and its people were also dancing for him, as was seen on the TV-program.

As a performer, Kela was interested in the people who did not dare to look at the *Cityman*; he wondered if they had lost their ability to react.⁴⁷ In sociology, the city is seen as a place for random encounters.⁴⁸ But a big city, a metropolis, is a crowded place full of stimuli, and in order to survive you have to learn to ignore some of it as George Simmel has already observed in the early 20th century in his classic writings about life in the modern city.⁴⁹

Interestingly, the *Cityman* made a comeback in May 2006, when a young dancer, Panu Varstala, performed his own version called *Cityman II* as part of his bachelor degree at the Theatre Academy Dance Department (Helsinki). With Kela's help, he built the same plastic cube and set it up in the very same place as in the 1989 version. Like Kela, he lived and danced the cityman's life for a week, but the movement material was Varstala's own and he decided what the cityman would do.

In *Tanssi*-magazine, Varstala said that there was a big difference in reception between the two performances. *Cityman II* did not draw the same attention as it did in the 1980s: instead of thousands of people, only some of his friends and colleagues actively kept track of the performance during the week. The cultural climate and behaviour had changed radically in time - people lived their lives publicly, celebrated openly, and the city had become a living room for them, while in the 1980s, Helsinki city centre was more of a place to run errands.⁵⁰ Since the 80s, social media has also changed the relationship between private and public life. The performance of bodies, personal images, and private lives happen now on the Web or in reality TV-series.

CONCLUSIONS

The solo performances of Reijo Kela brought original perspectives to Finnish dance, particularly in terms of how he incorporated the actual place in his work. In Ilmari's *Ploughed Field* (1988) and *Cityman* (1989), he continued his interest in personally confronting the spectators. Even though they were both large-scale performances, they also told the story of one person's experiences of the changes in Finnish society.

According to Mäenpää, what differentiates Finland from other West European countries is that Finland went through an urbanisation process quite late and very fast from the 1960s onwards. According to a long-lived idea, the way of living in the countryside was more 'genuine' and better than in the urban environment. Enforced by the idea that Finns have a special bond with nature and the forest, urbanisation was seen as something suspicious. However, this opposition between the city and the country began to fade as late as in the 1980s.⁵¹ Ilmari's *Ploughed Field* (1988) and *Cityman* (1989) addressed the relations that existed between dance, site and a changing Finnish life. Although a clear line is still drawn between the life in the country and in the

city, the first is seen as preferable.

The relationship between the performance, places and their audiences were quite different in the two performances discussed above. As suggested earlier, Ilmari's *Ploughed Field* worked towards expressing cohesion in society and created a positive atmosphere in the community and continued with the installation, *The Silent People*. The work was a product of Suomussalmi County. It included the local people in the building process and handled local issues of the past and present. *The Cityman*, on the other hand, was a more disruptive experience; it tried to stop the people passing by and attempted to shake up their lives. It offered a mirror to the yuppie life that was emerging also in Finland at the end of the 1980s. Unfortunately, the yuppies were probably the ones who did not stop by to experience the event. Nevertheless, Kela and his cube became a phenomenon.

These works prove the pertinence of the Dutch architect Aldo van Eyck's contention: "Whatever space and time mean, place and occasion mean more. For space in the image of man is place, and time in the image of man is occasion."⁵²



Reijo Kela is enjoying his bubble bath in downtown Helsinki during *Cityman* in 1989.
Photo: Jari Tertti, Union for Rural Culture and Education.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. This article is based on my previous research (Aino Kukkonen, *Postmoderni liikkeessä - tulkintoja 1980-luvun suomalaisesta tanssista*. PhD dissertation, Theatre Research, University of Helsinki, 2014), in which I examined how postmodernism was present in the works of three central Finnish contemporary choreographers in the 1980s, namely Reijo Kela, Jorma Uotinen and Sanna Kekäläinen. In my research, I found that Reijo Kela's works feature several themes linked to certain ideas of American postmodern dance of the 1960s and 70s, and through dance analysis and reception analysis I handled the possibilities site-specific dance can offer instead of modernist neutral space.
2. Ilmarin kynnös, YLE TV 1, Teatteritoimitus 1990, directed by Titta Karakorpi. *Cityman - Reijo Kela Helsingin Perunatorilla*, YLE TV 1 Teatteritoimitus 1991, directed by Titta Karakorpi.
3. Tiina Suhonen, "Reijo Kela – tanssia silmästä silmään," *Hetken kannattelijä. Ainutkertaisia tanssihetkiä Reijo Kelan kanssa*, Hannele Jyrkkä, ed. Maahenki, Helsinki 2008, pp. 23–24.
4. Suhonen, op. cit. p. 33; Kukkonen op.cit., pp. 70–71.
5. Janet Lansdale, "Intertextual Narratives in Dance Analysis," *Decentering Dancing Texts. The Challenge of Interpreting Dances*. Lansdale, ed., Palgrave MacMillan, Basingstoke 2008, pp. 3–4.
6. Roger Copeland, *Merce Cunningham: The Modernizing of Modern Dance*. Routledge, New York 2004, pp. 178–180.
7. Kukkonen, op.cit., p. 75-76.
8. Kukkonen, op.cit., p. 72.
9. Jack Anderson, *Art without boundaries*. University of Iowa Press, Iowa, 1997, p. 276; Suhonen 2008, op.cit., p. 28.
10. Jalo Heikkinen, "Oman saran kyntäjä," *Tanssi ja tavallinen ihminen*, Suomussalmen kulttuurilautakunta, Suomussalmi 1988, p. 67.
11. Kukkonen, op.cit., p. 58.
12. Aino Kukkonen, "Reijo Kela. A Contre-courant" *Les Pas du Nord - huit chorégraphes finlandais*, Aino Kukkonen, ed. Tanssin Tiedotuskeskus, Helsinki 2004, p. 11.
13. Psi (pseudonym) "Suomussalmelta Raatikoon. Reijo Kela tanssii työkseen ja ilokseen." *Kainuun Sanomat* 21.2.1979. Author's translation..
14. Ramsay Burt, *Judson Dance Theater. Performative traces*. Routledge, London and New York, 2006 p. 13.
15. According to Burt, the focus of the Judson Church performances was on the materiality of a dancing body and also on a new kind of presence of the performer. In a traditional modern dance performance, the dancer's glazed eyes try to conceal the robotic focusing on the performance as Trisha Brown described the situation. (Ibid.)
15. Yvonne Rainer, *The Drama Review*, 1965 10, 2:178.
16. Helena Erkkilä, *Ruumiinkuvia! Kuvataiteen keskusarkisto*, Helsinki 2008, 15; Marilyn Arsem: *Manifesto – THIS is performance art – written by Marilyn Arsem* <https://www.facebook.com/notes/joakim-stampe/manifesto-this-is-performance-art-written-by-marilyn-arsem/10150159437662760/> [accessed 15 January 2016]
17. However, this narrative dimension was different from, for example, Dance Theatre Raatikko's works that had a dance-theatrical mode: their choreographies based often on literature and were created in close relation to the composition. Kela's work also differs greatly from other Finnish choreographers in the 1980s, such as internationally known Jorma Uotinen, who created abstract, modern dance visions in Helsinki City Theatre Dance Company.
18. Heikkinen op.cit., p.77; Hilka Eklund, "Ennen tanssia. Setä tanssii... Tanssin jälkeen," *Sosialidemokraatti* 9.8.1988; Irma Vienola-Lindfors, "Suomussalmella räjähteli jälleen. Rohkeaa ja monipuolista tanssia itärajan tuntumassa," *Helsingin Sanomat* 9.8.1988.
19. Elisabeth Demspter, "The Choreography of the Pedestrian," *Performance Journal* 2008 Vol. 13, No 1, March, 24. Cunningham had used so-called everyday movements in his works as early as in 1953. Copeland op. cit. p. 231.
20. Hilka Eklund, "Ennen tanssia. Setä tanssii... Tanssin jälkeen," *Sosialidemokraatti* 9.8.1988.
21. Jalo Heikkinen, "Suomussalmen paras mainosmies. Kiehtovaa yhteistyötä ja luovaa hulluutta 18 vuotta," *Hetken kannattelijä. Ainutkertaisia tanssihetkiä Reijo Kelan kanssa*, Hannele Jyrkkä, ed., Maahenki, Helsinki 2008, p. 76.
22. Suhonen op.cit., p. 39.
23. Matti Huurre & Oiva Turpeinen, *Leipä luonnosta. Suomussalmen historian kymmenen vuosituhatta*. Otava, Helsinki 1992, pp. 272–273.
24. Ibid., pp. 253–254 and p. 261.
25. Ibid., p. 256.

26. Kukkonen op.cit., 86–88.
27. Ibid., p. 84.
28. Victoria Hunter, "Embodying the Site: The Here and Now in Site-Specific Dance Performance," *New Theatre Quarterly*, 21:4, November 2005, pp. 377–378.
29. Heikkinen op.cit., p. 88–91; 104–115;
<http://www.heipeople.com/> [visited 15 September 2015]. When Kainuu region was presented in the capital Helsinki 1994, *The Silent People* were put up during the night as a surprise in the stairs of the main Cathedral. In the same summer, it appeared again as part of a dance performance, when Reijo Kela and folk musician Heikki Laitinen and other dancers did a work called *Jalonhaarassa rantojen raukat – Ämmänkoskessa Kauniit ja rohkeat (The Bold and the Beautiful at the Wretches of the Shore)*. *Silent People* appeared again in Moscow 2003. The new, award-winning version of them was made in Kent by Kela in 2007, and it was called *Hei People*.
30. Miwon Kwon, *One place after another. Site-specific art and locational identity*, MIT Press, 2002 p. 24.
31. Rosalyn Deutsche in Kwon, op.cit., p. 170.
32. Kwon, op.cit., p. 73 and note 3.
33. Reijo Kela, "Aineksia," *Tanssin tekijät*, Hannele Jyrkkä ed., Like, Helsinki 2005, p. 114.
34. When I write about the performance, I use the italics (*Cityman*), while Kela's fictional character is called *cityman*.
35. Kukkonen 2014, 90; *Cityman - Reijo Kela Helsingin Perunatorilla*, YLE TV 1 Teatteritoimitus 1991.
36. Reijo Kela, op. cit., p. 114.
37. Laura Kolbe ja kaupungistuva Suomi. Jupit. Yle Elävä arkisto 3: Urbanismi 19.10.2009.
http://yle.fi/elavaarkisto/artikkelit/laura_kolbe_ja_kaupungistuva_suomi_42370.html#media=42375 [accessed 15 January 2016]
38. Pasi Mäenpää, "Kansalaisesta kuluttajaksi," *Suomen kulttuurihistoria 4: Koti, kylä, kaupunki*, Kirsi Saarikangas, Pasi Mäenpää & Minna Sarantola-Weiss, eds., Tammi, Helsinki 2004, pp. 298–301.
39. *Cityman ennen ja nyt*, TV-program, YLE 2007.
40. Christy Adair, *Women and Dance. Sylphs and Sirens*, Macmillan, Basingstoke 1994, p. 54.
41. Keijo Reiman, "Reikan Bodykoulu osa 3. Selkä ja käden eri lihakset," *Iltalehti* 21.9.1989.
42. Marja-Liisa, Kieksi, "Vatsa sisään, purista pakarat. Moni nainen viettää ruokatuntinsa aerobic-salilla," *Kansan Uutiset* 22.9.1989. boldings original, author's translation.
43. Visa Heinonen & Hannu Konttinen, *Nyt uutta Suomessa! Suomalaisen mainonnan historia*. Mainostajien liitto, Helsinki 2001, p. 242.
44. *Cityman - Reijo Kela Helsingin Perunatorilla*, YLE TV 1 Teatteritoimitus 1991, directed by Titta Karakorpi.
45. Auli Räsänen, "Reijo Kelan ympäristötanssikokeilu," *Uusi Suomi* 21.5.1989; Leena-Maija Rossi, "Supermiehen citymaraton Kaivopihalla. Reijo Kelan teos tunkeutuu kaupunkilaisten arkeen," *Helsingin Sanomat* 22.5.1989; Tuula Kärki "Suomussalmelta Perunatorin Citymaniksi. Reijo Kelan elämän tanssi," *Kansan Uutiset Viikkolehti* 3.6.1989.
46. Jouko Jokinen, "Miltä nyt tuntuu, Reijo Kela?" *Helsingin Sanomat* 27.5.1989; Hanna Isosaari "Cityman Reijo Kela lopetti viikon urakkansa voittajana," *Iltalehti* 28.5.1989; Tuula Kärki, "Suomussalmelta Perunatorin Citymaniksi. Reijo Kelan elämän tanssi," *Kansan Uutiset Viikkolehti* 3.6.1989.; Virve Sutinen, "Illuusiota reaaliaika. Normiyhteiskunta ei tarjoa yllätyksiä," *Teatteri* 5/1990, p. 4.
47. Päivi Rajamäki, "Reijo Kelalle alttiuksia settuminen on elämäntapa," *Aamulehti* 4.6.1989; "Kärki," *Viikkolehti* 3.6.1989.
48. Doreen Massey, *Samanaikainen tila* Vastapaino, Tampere 2008, 183; Georg Simmel, *Suurkaupunki ja moderni elämä*. Kirjoituksia vuosilta 1895–1917. Gaudeamus, Helsinki 2006 p. 42.
49. Simmel, op.cit., p. 42.
50. Raisa Rauhamaa, "Cityman vuosimallia 1989 ja 2006," *Tanssi* 3/2006, pp. 23–24.
51. Mäenpää op.cit., pp. 295–296.
52. Quoted in Victoria Hunter "Experiencing Space. The Implications for Site-specific Dance Performance" *Contemporary Choreography. A Critical Reader*. Jo Butterworth & Liesbeth Wildschut, eds., Routledge, London 2009, p. 403.

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(<http://tieteentermipankki.fi/wiki/Termipankki:Etusivu/en>).