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Our Northern-Finnish Wild Berries

– An ethnographic study of wild berry picking culture in
Kemijärvi

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Abstract

Finnish forests and swamps are bulging wild berries but only a fraction is picked each year. Finland is a remarkable source and exporter of wild berries and to meet the increasing commercial wild berry demand, foreign migrant wild berry pickers were introduced into Finland in mid-2000. The change has been challenging for the Kemijärvi native wild berry pickers and the phenomenon of migrant pickers has raised numerous social and ecological concerns among natives.

The aim of this thesis was to conduct an ethnographic study to understand the wild berry picking culture from Kemijärvi natives' perspective. This thesis examines natives wild berry pickers' lifeworld and the reasons for creating and maintaining the interest towards wild berry picking. This research also aim to understand how native wild berry pickers see the declining interest towards wild berry picking and how they experience the phenomenon of migrant wild berry pickers.

The research shows that the wild berries are closely related to natives' lifecycle and the kinship formation affects to the creation of interest towards wild berry picking culture. The wild berry picking field has an impact on natives' perception of the world and reality creating differences in the perception of social responsibility. The migrant pickers are perceived as diligent workers but in the confrontation on the swamps and forest, their position in the wild picking society are seen less worthy and picking areas are causing conflicts. The study concludes that the long tradition, inherited culture, and the natives' position in the field enforce and strengthen the tendency to see wild berries and picking positively.

The experiences of the participants in this study provide important pointers to some of the driving forces behind their perceptions and opinions.

Keywords: Kemijärvi, wild berry, picking, migrant, field, habitus, social capital, doxa.

Table of contents

1 Introduction	6
2 Research Problem	8
2.1 Delimitations.....	9
3 Aim and Research Questions	10
3.1 Research Questions	10
4 Method	11
4.1 Research Design and Reflections about the Methodology.....	11
5 Theory	14
6 Empirical Data and Analysis	16
6.1 Wild Berries in Natives' Life Cycle	16
6.2 The Creation of Native Wild Berry Picking Kinship.....	17
6.3 Established Groups and Newcomers	19
6.4 Rationalizing the Disparity	20
6.5 The Meaning of the Place.....	21
6.6 The Meaning of the Wild Berries.....	21
6.7 Social Responsibility	22
6.8 Norms and Ethics.....	23
7 Discussion.....	25
7.1 Factors Creating Individual and Social Perceptions, Behavior and Interest toward Wild Berry Picking.....	25
7.1.1 Perception of Declining Interest toward Wild Berry Picking.....	26
7.2 Experiencing the Phenomenon of Migrant Wild Berry Pickers	27
8 Conclusion	29
References.....	30

1 Introduction

Wild berries have been an important part of Finnish identity throughout the history (Bardone & Pungas-Kohv, 2015; Nilsen, 2005) and today Finland is a remarkable source and exporter of wild berries. (Hedberg, 2013; La Mela, 2013). Wild berry picking and utilization has a long tradition in Kemijärvi [a municipality of 7,766 inhabitants (Statistics Finland, 03/2017) located in Southern-Lapland, Finland] where it is a popular summertime activity regardless of the age. (Manninen & Peltola, 2013). The Northern-Finnish wild berries have almost a heroic status in Kemijärvi; they are seen as a healthy and clean product providing nutrition for both private persons and berry industry. But moreover, wild berries have an economical significance as additional income for households which collect berries for sale in rural Finland. (Manninen & Peltola, 2013; Turtiainen & Nuutinen, 2012). The wild berry picking in general is dwindling in Kemijärvi where the amount of retirees grows rapidly while working-age population is decreasing (Suomen Kuntaliitto, 03/2017; Pouta et al, 2006) and mainly the elderly pick the wild berries for commercial use.

People of all nationalities have the right to enjoy the Finnish countryside freely under the traditional Finnish legal concept known as everyman's right with the responsibility to respect nature, other people and property. (Metsähallitus, 2017). Wild berry picking is based on the Finnish everyman's right but not every Finnish person pick the berries. (Pouta et al, 2006; La Mela, 2014). Finnish forests and swamps are bulging with berries every year but only a fraction of them are being picked. To increase the amount of wild berries picked, foreign migrant wild berry pickers were introduced into Finland in 2005 to meet the increasing wild berry demand, and nowadays commercial wild berry picking relies on migratory labour in Finland. (Manninen & Peltola, 2013).

This change has not been painless for the Kemijärvi native wild berry pickers and the phenomenon of migrant pickers has raised numerous social and ecological concerns among them. From ecological point of view, the migrant workers are perceived as a threat to the environment and wild berry quota for their intense berry picking manners which has raised concern over sustainability of wild berry picking. The social concerns focus on the migrant pickers' behavior and deficiency of knowledge of the locals' social order. This appear as lack of reverence and knowledge towards the geographical and cultural boundaries and cause frustration among native wild berry pickers in Kemijärvi.

The seasonal labor for commercial picking is imported by Northern-Finnish companies within berry industry. Those companies have signed a letter of intent with the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment and the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, which was created to improve and equalize practices related to migrant wild berry picking workers. Importing companies indent to inform and guide migrant wild berry pickers concerning e.g. ways of working, permissions and responsibilities, everyman's right and distance to the habitation. (Ministry of Employment and the Economy, 2013; Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment and the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, 2016). Kemijärvi native wild berry pickers criticize that the companies are not fulfilling their part of the agreement, and the migrant workers for disruption.

Internet is full of conversations and opinions on diverse topics around wild berry picking in whole Finland. A pseudonym's 'Nelikenttäanalyysi paikallaan' (2013) comment on newspaper Kaleva's chat page "Finland is able to brand things to foreigners but a simple a thing as berry-picking is not one of those things we can brand to ourselves" describes well the slow descent of interest to wild berry picking. Jouko Kantola expressed his opinion in the newspaper interview where he couldn't understand why the arrival of migrant berry pickers is perceived negatively and continued: "It is the Finnish enviousness. You don't bother to trouble yourself to pick, so no-one else should be allowed either." (Airola, 2015).

Without the manpower in the form of migrant pickers, the amount of collected berries would not be sufficient to meet the requirements of berry product industry. The idea that the berry product companies would need to import wild berries from abroad to meet the industry's demands, or invite migrant labour to Kemijärvi, is a paradox when there is more than 5,5 million inhabitants in Finland whence 7,766 of them live in Kemijärvi. (Statistics Finland, 03/2017).

Albeit present-day wild berry resources exceed their utilization in Finland (Manninen & Peltola, 2013), strong public debate on dispute between native and migrant wild berry pickers clearly indicates the need for closer examination of the issues behind the conflict. The dispute between Finnish and migrant wild berry pickers is a nationwide conflict but this study is limited only on Kemijärvi area.

2 Research Problem

The on-going conflict between the Kemijärvi native wild berry pickers, the migrant wild berry pickers and the companies importing the manpower is not only creating friction between the stakeholders but is getting a lot of nationwide media attention. If the dispute in wild berry picking is prolonged, it may disturb the future of the berry products industry both by reducing the amount of berries picked for commercial use, and by staining the Finnish wild berry reputation in the world.

Hereby it is reasonable to investigate what are the reasons encouraging active Kemijärvi native wild berry pickers for picking and maintaining the interest, not concentration on accessibility, but instead on their social ideology of berry picking culture. This study will look into the world of Kemijärvi native wild berry pickers to try to understand how wild berries and berry picking is interpreted and understood within their societies. This will also shed light on the process of creating meaning to the wild berries and picking activity and discuss ways these meanings intertwine with their paradigm.

Some studies in the past have had emphasis on narratives and factors affecting participation in wild berry picking (La Mela, 2014; Kangas & Markkanen, 2001; Pouta, et al, 2006). There has been attention in the communication literature on the mapping the problems, functionality and clarification of everyman's right as response to developing a foundation and support the dialogue methodology and skills around everyman's rights (Viljanen & Rautiainen, 2007; Bergeå et al, 2013). Such scholarship addresses matters of participation, generational differences, lifestyle, everyman's right and dialogue process but, to date, has said little about the value and importance of wild berry picking from the pickers' perspective.

Scholars such as Nilsen (2005) suggest for the factors maintaining the cloudberries valued and limited, touching the epistemology of cloudberry, whereas social relations and power spatialities of migrant berry pickers have been in the focus of the Hedberg's (2013) research that cover the berry industry. Bardone & Pungas-Kohv (2015) have had their focus on the ethnological research of wild berries' historical importance. However, these approaches do not provide answers per se for the underlying reasons for creating and maintaining the interest towards wild berry picking.

Bergeå et al claims that a working dialogue aims to help participants to understand more about other's and own's both conflicting as well as overlapping perspectives and issues. In a dialogue, it is important that as many perspectives on an issue as possible are included, the more perspectives involved, the richer picture of the problem it is possible to gain. (Bergeå et al, 2013). Individuals subjectively interpret their world and consequently act upon their interpretations. (Weber, 2009). It is plausible that Kemijärvi native wild berry pickers' interpretation of the environment is affected by the wild berry picking culture, and therefore differ from those who do not pick. The assumption is that their meanings regarding wild berry culture are socially constructed and influence on their agency. To be able to establish a dialogue between the conflict stakeholders, it is valuable to study the ethnography of

Kemijärvi native wild berry pickers and how they create meaning and rationalize their wild berry picking culture and Northern-Finnish wild berries.

2.1 Delimitations

This is a Kemijärvi native wild berry picker case study; hence this research concentrates only on Kemijärvi area and native wild berry pickers' perspectives of wild berry picking, wild berries and the conflict. This research does not consider other stakeholders' perspectives. Nor does this study cover the topic of everyman's right or conflict management. The focus is on wild berries such as cloudberry and blueberry growing in Kemijärvi region and only on the Finnish people living in Kemijärvi area who are identifying themselves as recreational or professional berry pickers. Due to the delimitations, the results will not be suitable to generalize how other conflict stakeholders work, act, construct their reality or build their identity. An ethnographic study was conducted in January 2017 and interviewed and observed only the Kemijärvi native wild berry pickers' activities on site. This is not a full analysis of the culture of the people but will rather try to identify how the culture influences partly on native wild berry pickers.

3 Aim and Research Questions

The purpose of this thesis is to develop understanding of what motivates native wild berry pickers to pick wild berries and how they rationalize their experience. This study also aims to understand the reasons for creating and maintaining the interest towards wild berry picking viewing that in natives' lifeworld, from their perspective.

The assumption is that native wild berry pickers' interpretation of the world is affected by the wild berry picking culture, and therefore differ from migrant wild berry pickers' perception and from those who do not pick. Hereby it is reasonable to investigate how native wild berry pickers frame the declining interest towards wild berry picking and how they experience the migrant wild berry pickers.

This study focus entirely on Kemijärvi native wild berry pickers' culture and perspectives. This research does not aim to solve the conflict, but does aim to provide richer picture of Kemijärvi natives' perspective towards wild berry picking and Northern-Finnish wild berries and issues that can be underlying causes for conflict. This outcome can be used in later studies to study the conflict stakeholders' both conflicting as well as overlapping perspectives to establish a working dialogue.

3.1 Research Questions

- 1) What factors create individual and social perceptions, behavior and interest towards wild berry picking?
- 2) How the native wild berry pickers experience the phenomenon of migrant wild berry pickers?

4 Method

4.1 Research Design and Reflections about the Methodology

In order to gain a real-life vision of Kemijärvi native wild berry pickers' lifeworld and to answer to the research questions, this study centers around collecting information from Kemijärvi inhabitants who pick wild berries as an extra job, hobby and/or recreational lifestyle. Kemijärvi was chosen because I, the researcher, have visited the city several times and have got to know a few natives during the years. I have had several conversations in the past with the native wild berry pickers about issues and concerns presented in this research earlier and wanted to familiarize with their world to understand their perspectives.

I lived those two fieldwork weeks with one of the natives and participated in this person's everyday activities following the person almost everywhere; to the grocery store, walks and public gatherings. Those occasions were a perfect opportunity to meet and talk with other Kemijärvi residents who either do or do not pick wild berries. Because of the existing connections, I was welcomed as 'a friend of my friend' and as "a marginal native" (van Maanen 2011, p. 2) rather than an anonymous researcher from the university. This resulted in an equal partnership between me and the people I met, and I was able to de-mystify my research and minimize the power differences between us.

To develop an understanding of locals' life on the set, I had to balance between two roles; as a participant, and as an observer who can describe the experience with a measure. (Hoey, 2014). The existing connections and familiarity of the Northern-Finnish culture, enabled me to participate and integrate into interviewees' society. I was not there to pick berries so I didn't form a threat in the form of the rival. I knew that, to some extent, I would be able to establish equal partnerships that could be used to gain information of the culture, relations, customs, values and practices. I knew also that people won't reveal their berry places and knew that prying that was a taboo. However, as I was not a native, it was easier for me to maintain and remember my role as a researcher.

An ethnographic understanding is developed through several data sources (Hoey, 2014) and I generated primary data by interviews, participation and observation. The fieldwork was conducted in Kemijärvi in January 2017 to study the actors in their own cultural contexts and social structures. I used participant observation to develop an understanding of how it is like being a Kemijärvi native wild berry picker and what it is like to live in a setting. Obviously, the time of the year restricted me to participate in wild berry picking, but it enabled me to participate in other activities and social events. I participated in Kemijärvi natives' (not only wild berry pickers) activities as much as possible, when suitable for them, to gain understanding of their daily lives.

I chose to conduct a qualitative research which seeks to understand and interpret the process of meaning to describe the wild berry phenomena in Kemijärvi real-life context (Silverman, 2014) with an ethnographic approach. I used ethnography to study and represent a culture

with the aim to provide a detailed, in-depth portrayal of Kemijärvi native wild berry pickers' life and practices. (van Maanen, 2011; Hoey, 2014). I applied emic perspective what could be described as the "insider's point of view" (Hoey, 2014) to gain understanding of the Kemijärvi natives' wild berry picking culture. Instead of enforcing the meanings and categories from existing models, the emphasis is on allowing them to emerge from the ethnographic encounter. (Hoey, 2014). I used inductive approach for moving from specific observations towards detecting patterns and regularities, forming broader generalizations and conclusions. The inductive approach provides an usable systematic set of procedures for analyzing qualitative data that can produce reliable and valid findings with allowing research findings to emerge from the frequent, dominant, or significant themes inherent in raw data, without the restraints imposed by structured methodologies. (Thomas, 2016).

I interviewed 8 native persons and all communication took place in my native language, Finnish. The persons were chosen for the interviews using three criterions: (1) they must be Finnish who (2) live in Kemijärvi area and (3) pick wild berries more or less frequently. The interviewees were born in or near by Kemijärvi between late 1930's and early 1990's. I have divided them into two (2) groups to study and analyze the differences based on the age and the retiree status vs. working-life age, and how the difference affect to their perspectives regarding wild berry picking culture. The older generation constitute of people who were born between 1930's and 1940's and the younger generation consist of persons who were born between late 1970's and early 1990's. All the actors in the older generation were retirees whereas all the actors in the younger generations were still employed. Some of the older generation actors had grown up children and grandchildren, where the younger generation had none or only small children under 13 years.

First interviewee was my acquaintance and via that person I achieved to make five more connections. Three of those I knew in beforehand and two I had never met. Rest of two interviewees I reached by walking into local grocery store, that I knew buy wild berries during the berry season, and asked if someone from the staff would be interested to share their story with me. I didn't know those persons in beforehand.

I conducted both individual and focus-group interviews. The interviews were unstructured with informal conversation where questions emerged from the context with the aim to hear berry pickers' own stories, histories and narratives. This method enables the interviewee talk freely and share their personal story and key details based on their interest. (Hoey, 2014).

There were also many opportunities to talk freely with interviewees and other people outside of the interview arrangements to learn casually about their lives. Many times when the actual interviews were over, those interviewees would start talking about wild berries and berry picking again spontaneously. I carried my mobile phone with me everywhere so I could quickly start recording in those cases. Wild berries was a very dear topic for the most people and they enjoyed taking about it.

However, as a backup plan if a person wouldn't have been very talkative, I had pre-selected topics and questions. Those question were never needed as all the participants were happy to

share their stories. I started always the interview by asking the person to tell how old were they when they started picking wild berries. This was an opening that led to various narratives that the person itself could decide how and what to tell.

All field notes, experiences and observations were typed up and all interviews were recorded during the fieldwork. All the data, empirical evidence and transcriptions were transcribed and analyzed qualitatively in February and March 2017. Sentences for further analysis were selected based on the themes, categorization, motivation and challenges. It was an iterative process where I went back and forth with the data and my themes. This iterative process was leading me toward the interpretations and categorizations that I made. (Hoey, 2014). I divided themes into three categories: 1) meaning and framing 2) kinship and socialization and 3) social responsibility and ethics. Once the data interpretation and categorization was finished, I translated them into English and applied the theories during the March and April months.

The choice between different methods depend on what one is trying to find out. (Silverman, 2014). I chose a hermeneutical strategy to deeply understand the humane apprehension. (Bryman, 2012). From the themes and categories, I moved towards analytic induction to pursuit a universal explanations of wild berry picking phenomena by seeking the coherent collection of data to help me to explain the found phenomena and to answer my research questions. (Bryman, 2012).

My stay was highly instructive but from an ethnographic perspective, there were some methodological risks that needed to be considered in this specific case. First of all, as Alvesson argues, it is generally assumed that people want to give a good impression of themselves and their institutions with which they identify and represent, which concerned also my research interview settings. (Alvesson, 2003). Secondly, I was inevitably affected by my background and pre-understandings from my own experiences since this type of fieldwork is not only my attempt to create a blueprint of their lives in the sense of facts, but also to interpret and describe wild berry pickers' lifeworld, a concept originating from phenomenology. (Jackson, 2013). The fact that I knew four of the respondents and was familiar with the topic in beforehand, could form a third challenge; my interpretation and perspective of the world can affect the results (Bryman, 2012) forming a risk that I might miss or leave out some information because I would take it for granted.

Being aware of these risks, I took several steps to mitigate them. I made several efforts to attempt to set aside my pre-understandings and was very careful not to lead the interviewees under our discussions. The risk of people wanting to give a good impression of themselves and their institutions is not easy to eliminate at the interview situation, but I let them choose their own topic of interest and concentrated on the language on the transcriptions. I acknowledge that my role can have an impact on the outcome; what information I keep and what will discard, depends on my perspectives and background. Also, I can misinterpret or misjudge the results. (Wallace & Wray, 2011). The techniques such as recording the observations and separating my experimental observations from the conclusions I draw can minimize the bias.

5 Theory

In this section I present the outline of the Field theory including central concepts of Agent, Habitus, Doxa and Social Capital, which I consider vital to understanding the ensemble of construction of Kemijärvi native wild berry pickers ethnography and to answer to the research questions.

With the theory of Field, I aim to explain parts of the society where a wild berry picking community can be seen as a field. Field meaning in this study all Kemijärvi area wild berry pickers, divided into native sub-group and migrant sub-group. A field can be described as a process of differentiation into semiautonomous and specialized spheres of action where the relations of power structure agent's action. (Benson & Neveu, 2005). Thus, the Kemijärvi wild berry picking Field is a system of social positions where agents are located and interact with others within specific rules. (Bourdieu, 1986; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). This approach helps me to understand how and why the native wild berry pickers are able or limited to exercise their culture. The theory also helps me to explain the formation of the field and the dynamics between wild berry picking agents and group of agents.

I use social constructivism as a way to view the field and ask what agents are doing in the field and what is the point with it. (Hacking, 1999). Social constructionism view the development of shared realities and meanings. (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Everyman's right, for example, is socially constructed idea. For the natives in the wild berry field, the agreement is real, but may not represent the same for the agents outside Finnish wild berry picking fields.

Littlejohn & Foss define agency as an individual capacity to act, make choices or cause change. The person who acts or causes change in the wild berry field is called an agent. To act and claim a position in the wild berry picking field, an agent must have agency to do so. (Littlejohn & Foss, 2009). However, the lack of agency, or limited agency, creates friction and is reason for the diminishing interest towards picking and creating conflict between Kemijärvi wild berry pickers and other stakeholders.

An agent can consider to be free agent but is anyhow structured of one's past and present circumstances such as family upbringing and deeply ingrained habits, skills, and dispositions possessed due to life experience. Therefore habitus can be seen as 'a way of being', in other words, the agents ways of acting, feeling, thinking and being. Habitus is a sum of how an agent is influenced by her history and how that history affects to the choices agent makes in the present circumstances. Therefore a habitus is a result of many events in the past that have shaped the agent. (Grenfell, 2012).

The agent is facing a variety of choices all the time and the chosen path is determined by the position in the social field as well as the agent's history and the available options. Therefore the habitus is not fixed or a state of ongoing change, but rather evolving from the agent's history and choices. Habitus is a collection of agents past, present and future but also between the social and individual as well as structure and agency and can therefore contribute and

shape the perspectives and interpretation towards wild berry picking and the conflict in Kemijärvi. (Grenfell, 2012).

The position an agent claims on a field, creates Doxa. Doxa refers to shared and unquestioned opinions and perceptions within field which determine behavior and attitudes of an agent. (Grenfell, 2012). As such, the self-evident rules of the wild berry picking game, such as norms, traditions and everyman's right, sets the limits on social mobility within the social field. (Bourdieu, 1977, 1986; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

Just like a native wild berry picker knows the code of conduct without consciously thinking about it, their habitus allows them successfully act in their social environments. The native wild berry picking agents have been exposed and have adopted doxa, 'the rules of the game', from the early age and have hence cultivated them into the unspoken opinions and perceptions, which the native pickers call 'gentlemen's rules'. Those ingrained perceptions are not natural, but culturally developed. Agents will not become consciously aware of the habitus and doxa until finding themselves in an alien environment. (Bourdieu, 1977, 1986; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Grenfell, 2012).

Social capital exists and functions in relation to field and agents use it to alter rules that favors them the most. Social capital expresses a relationship network that can consist of relatives, family members, friends and other contacts in the wild berry picking field. Social capital is used from one to multiple social networks both creating and reducing trust and reciprocity among the agents within the field. (Bourdieu, 1977, 1986; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). The agents are constantly striving to acquire social capital over other agents with expectancy of returns in the form of personal advantage and agency.

According to Bourdieu social capital is an individual or group access to a network of mutual recognition (Bourdieu, 1977, 1986). This kind of relationship capital has been acquired during the agents growing up. In contrast to Bourdieu, Putnam claims that ethnic diversity weakens the social capital and impair trust in between different ethnicity groups but also within in-groups. (2007). He claims that people are withdrawing from their societies and become more passive, and at the present, the ethnic diversity tend to reduce social solidarity and social capital in the native wild berry picking sub-field. However, in the long run migrant wild berry pickers are likely to have important economic benefits for berry industry. (Putnam, 2007).

Bourdieu and Wacquant claim that the agent aim to alter the rules of the game for their own benefit, and the struggle occurs when the other agents do not agree the attempt to change. (Bourdieu, 1977, 1986; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). The Letter of Intent is widely interpreted by the agents to benefit their agency. The agents between the native and migrant sub-groups in the Kemijärvi wild berry picking field are constantly struggling over the validity of their opinions and interpretation.

6 Empirical Data and Analysis

In this chapter I presents the empirical data and the analysis of the material. This chapter is based on the emerged themes from the data that I divided into three categories: 1) meaning and framing 2) kinship and socialization and 3) social responsibility and ethics. Those categories are converted and written in the story format to describe the outcome and the lifeworld of the native wild berry pickers.

The meaning of the wild berries is related to different stages in natives' life cycle in the wild berry picking field. However, the meanings of how the picking activity is seen and what wild berries represent, have a subtle difference in characteristic between the generations. Therefore it is rational to compare both younger and older native generations' motivations against each other but also towards migrant wild berry pickers. The outcomes are described from the Kemijärvi locals' perspectives.

In this study I interviewed native people who had picked wild berries whole their lives. The wild berry culture is inherited via families, and individuals' social network is constituted mainly of close relatives in various ages and generations. Income or gender didn't play a part among these interviewees, but all participate. Berries are picked at first hand for own consumption and secondary for sale. The health benefit is the essential motivator for wild berry consumption.

6.1 Wild Berries in Natives' Life Cycle

Children grow into wild berry picking culture via their families and they are taken into woods and swamps when they are babies or infants. The children experience the wild berry picking positive as a picnic, and enjoyable and joint family time. The wild berries are associated to play and when it is shared with a family, wild berry picking becomes a social outing that bonds and unites the families.

When the children reach teenage, the picking undergo a transformation from play to a mean to earn money. From the parents' perspective that is perceived as a way to teach work ethics and wise expenditure. Many of the interviewees told that either they or their children had earned their first watch or mobile phone through wild berry picking.

In the early adulthood the value of the money decreases and the picking activity alongside with the wild berries begin to represent a healthy lifestyle. The wild berries are an important source of vitamins and minerals and some of the interviewees mentioned that sometimes wild berries are used as replacement for medicine.

As the natives gain retirement age, the economical aspect is appreciated slightly more again as the incomes diminish. The elderly are picking the wild berries for sale and some of the interviewees told that they have been able to make trips to abroad with the earned money.

Money is not the most important factor, but a nice motivating side effect of the berry picking alongside with exercise, health benefits, and social interactions.

6.2 The Creation of Native Wild Berry Picking Kinship

How the natives develop their habitus and become a part of the wild berry picking field, can be understood by approaching the subject by viewing the kinship creation and composition. The wild berries often grow in challenging terrain (swamps and forests) and the threat of getting lost, getting injured or encounter with wild animals, encourage people to pick berries in pairs or in small groups. However, this is not the reason for forming the wild berry picking groups, but the group formation is instead a social process learned from the childhood, applying to both younger and older generations. The teams very often consists of kinship formed by family members or close blood relatives. In both the older and younger generation cases the wild berry picking was learned from home at early age when the parents or older siblings took the small children with them to pick the wild berries as soon as they could walk. Even the babies would come along in their baby sling.

The conceptions associated to the wild berry picking in the childhood have commonality in both of the generations. The concepts such as social interaction, sense of community, association, play and picnic are the factors how the children perceived the activity, created meaning to their action and affected positive on the creation of kinship and cooperation.

Where the wild berry picking was a recreational activity for the both generations during their childhood, the older generation was furthermore under a demand for giving one's contribution for the common good. The wild berry picking was a norm for older generation in their childhood, determined by both home and school. From 1948, when the oldest interviewee had just started school 2 years earlier, the schools were obliged to provide a free school meal every school day consisting of simple food such as soups and porridges. Wild berries were a supplement food for their nutrition and all the pupils were expected to pick berries for the school kitchen which would then prepare meals and snacks for the pupils. They had even wild berry picking activity in their school timetable. The children were also expected to pick wild berries for their mothers who would then prepare a meal for the whole family and store the berries for the winter. In order to survive, people were depend upon one another in many ways and this leads to the reasoning that through the wild berry picking (among other things), the schools and homes instituted policies for responsibility, commonality and cooperation, and formed agent's habitus.

de Swaan claims that the natural world is marked by a constant struggle for survival and passing on ones genes why cooperation is often essential. (2001). This line of reasoning goes some way towards explaining why the wild berry picking groups are in most of the cases formed by blood relatives. A great deal of cooperation in wild berry picking takes place between close relatives all the way from their childhood to the old age. The groups change rarely and if they do, in most of the cases the new member or members are existing or new family members or relatives. It is very exceptional if even a good friend is allowed to (cloudberry) picking group.

There are some exceptions in the group composition which can in some cases consist of members outside of the family, such as friends. de Swaan argues that people have a natural ability to help others to survive, and due to their social learning process and socialization, they do not confine their cooperative efforts only to social arrangements of close relatives. (de Swaan, 2001). These family-type relationships, based not on blood or marriage but rather on close friendship ties can be defined as fictive kinship. (Ebauhg & Curry, 2000). Even the person is not related by blood, that person can be fitted into kinship and adopt the role in that kinship creating equal relationship with other members. (Fox, 1967). However both kinship and fictive kinships have their troubles coming back to the claim that cooperation is needed for survival can explain only partly the kinship formation.

Having stated that cooperation can explain only partly the kinship formation, I continue discussing the kinship formation using a concept of social capital. Kemijärvi wild berry picking field is a space of social play where all pickers can exchange their social capital and exercise their power (Bourdieu, 1977, 1986; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) some succeeding gaining more social capital than others. Social capital is a major source for social inequality, and natives value their social capital over migrants', hindering their social mobility. (Jenks, 2003; Nan, 1999). Because of the constant struggle of the social capital, it is exercised beneficial in the first place within one's kinship. Native wild berry pickers use their social capital to maintain advantages for themselves and their children in their kinship. This can partly explain why the groups picking cloudberries are formed almost always by the same persons who are close related when neither the social learning process nor cooperation do not apply.

Cloudberry is extreme laborious berry to reap because of its remote and generally hardly accessible habitat, with a high percentage of wetland and biting insects. The distances from the roads are often long forcing the cloudberry pickers hike and carry the berries long time and way. To addition, cloudberry is a symbol for well-being and health for many native wild berry pickers and therefore is regarded almost as a national treasure. Most of the cases the good cloudberry places are inherited knowledge from the parents or siblings via social capital and that information is not revealed to anyone else outside of the own kinship. Closure of the kinship is a norm.

Native wild berry pickers engage in creating social capital via interactions and networking with expectancy of returns in the form of reinforcement and agency. (Nan, 1999). The social capital is used for facilitate the flow of information, such as good berry places and earned income, but mainly only within one's kinship, in a closed network. (Nan, 1999). It can provide individual useful information about opportunities such as access remote location, access to vehicle and choices otherwise not available. But it can also be used for exercising power over the kinship members where the most obvious form is the limitation of information and resources. Membership in the group is based on a clear demarcation (family members) excluding outsiders. Social capital comes in many forms, not all fungible and all networks do not have exactly the same effects. The social capital can in fact create competing settings as this quote from one of the elderly interviewee addresses:

"I had a cousin that always wanted to pick cloudberries by herself. She knew good places. She never showed them to me. But once I was supposed to go pick cloudberries with her. Just two of us. All of a sudden she rang and said that she can't go. She [lied and] went with her husband instead... I ended up to the same place [on the swamp] with her. She asked me how I got all the way there and asked what if I lose my backpack and get lost [trying to worry the teller]... She was so annoyed that I found the same [cloudberry] place."

In the positive light the natives' social capital enables the members of the community to act together and increase the trust among the actors. As the interest to wild berry picking is decreasing generation by generation, many of the elderly natives are concerned of how they will get wild berries when their physical condition no longer enables them to collect the berries themselves. Thus they understand the individual and community's benefit of creating and using the social capital outside of the kinship.

6.3 Established Groups and Newcomers

Social capital is used to reinforce socially native wild berry pickers' habitus and recognition within the field. Being assured and recognized of one's achievements, an individual is accepted in the field and as a member of a social group sharing doxa; similar opinions and values. These reinforcements are essential for the meaning making and socially constructed interpretation about wild berry picking. This recognition is done by mirroring towards migrant wild berry pickers and social capital is used legitimate and rationalize native wild berry pickers' social perceptions and opinions.

The features of the wild berry picking values are considerably similar in the natives' sub-arena but the difference is emphasized in the encounter with the migrants. The migrant wild berry pickers arrive to Kemijärvi area every year for the berry season and spend their time working and living in their community nearby but anyhow separated from the natives. The only encounter is made mainly in the forests and swamps.

Putnam claims that ethnic diversity weakens the social capital and impair trust in between different ethnicity group but also within in-group. (2007). Ethnic diversity do weaken the social capital and trust, but only between the natives' sub-group and migrant' sub-group. Jackson argues that societies protect their identities and territories by excluding persons and proclivities they perceive as threats. (2013). When the natives feel threaten, they use social capital in the form of discourse aiming to gain more power over the migrant sub-group to protect their identities and fictive territories.

All of the interviewed native wild berry pickers were born nearby or in Kemijärvi. de Swaan argues that people living in the same society as their parents and grandparents before them usually have an advantage over those who have recently moved in. (2001). The study showed that because of interaction and gained position in the field, the natives have knowledge of the geographical good berry places and this information is not shared outside their kinship. Native wild berry pickers have already established their shared networks in their field

consisting of other native pickers and berry buyers. They have abstractly granted the best wild berry places to themselves and see that the newcomers in the form of migrant wild berry pickers have to take whatever is left. (de Swaan, 2001). The companies importing the labor abroad have a quite good knowledge of the wild berry places and they provide maps of those places to the migrant. This causes irritation among the natives who consider that the best and closest wild berry places belong to them and therefore disturb established situation in the field.

6.4 Rationalizing the Disparity

The wild berry locating and collecting process is laborious, thus the native wild berry pickers have a tendency to close ranks and preserve the best wild berry places for themselves. The natives and the migrants don't share a mutual language and therefore the communication in encounter is limited to body language based on parties' social perceptions and perspectives, and when that is not understood by the other party, misunderstandings may occur. These misunderstandings can further lead to need to rationalize the disparity. The differences between native and migrants habitus is exaggerated and natives feel need to rationalize their superior in their discourse to maintain their social identity. When one rationalized idea becomes popular among the sub-group, it becomes more socially acceptable and finally socially constructed reality.

From ecological point of view, the migrants are rationalized as a threat to the environment and wild berry quota because of their violent berry picking manners even it is not showed that berry production is affected by the damage caused by any of the picking method. (Manninen & Peltola, 2013). However, the natives have remarked the difference in the vegetation and state that the migrants' customs of ripping the berries with stems effect of the vegetation by obstructing the yield for 3 to 4 years before new plant grows back.

The social focus in rationalization is on the migrant pickers' behavior and deficiency of knowledge of the natives' social order; their particular set of customs, values, relations and practices, maintaining stable state among members of society. A letter of intent obligates manpower importing companies to inform and guide migrant wild berry pickers concerning e.g. ways of working, permissions and responsibilities, everyman's right and minimum distance of 2 km to the habitation. (Ministry of Employment and the Economy, 2013; Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment and the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, 2016). The lack of reverence and knowledge towards the geographical and cultural boundaries cause frustration among native wild berry pickers. Natives feel they are not heard in their distress about their rules migrants should obey and the companies importing manpower should see they are followed.

de Swaan argues that the newcomers are perceived as different, inferior and less worthy who don't deserve to be accepted into the new environment. They have to go to the very end of the queue and accept whatever is left. (de Swaan, 2001). In the natives' language the migrant wild berry pickers should be granted the most distant berry places because of their origins; the better positions should be left for the natives. However, the natives are able to find

common factors and identify themselves to the migrants by using their own values and perspectives. The migrant wild berry pickers are appreciated of their diligence, self-sufficiency and kindness.

6.5 The Meaning of the Place

The field and the environment an agent is acting is forming natives' habitus and the meaning to the place. The meaning is developed of individual perceptions and experiences by the engagement with the environment. (Derr, 2002; Bixler et al, 2002; Norberg-Schulz, 2013). The determinant factor is the 'spirit of the place' such as feeling that agent have when they experience a place making it unique or special, nurturing the attachment and belonging. (Norberg-Schulz, 2013).

Kemijärvi swamps and forests come into existence on a different level when the natives create a relationship and give meaning to a place via their experience and therefore these places hold a special meaning in their reality and habitus. The interaction with the environment, especially in the childhood, is essential to build a sense of belonging to the place. (Bixler et al, 2002). That belonging is reflected in their speech as "I need to go to the woods", "I grew up in the woods", "It is part of my life", "It is in my blood" and "I am so used to it".

The childhood experience with the swamps and forests was a common factor with all of the natives, and furthermore, the exposure with the environment continued throughout in their lives. The positive experience with environment during the childhood was highly influenced by play, as well as by family, culture, and community forming a strong sense to the place (Derr, 2002; Bixler et al, 2002) that is enforced throughout their lives by visiting the same surroundings in Kemijärvi area. In their adult life the natives tend to consider other places in relation to the places they have a strong bond to enhance their surroundings and justify the protection and preservation of their wild berry lands.

6.6 The Meaning of the Wild Berries

The natives see wild berries and picking as a physical activity intended to improve strength and fitness, but the mental and emotional sides are as important. Wild berries signify the set of all natural surroundings that affect individuals, social groupings, and life.

Immanent safety and locality goes hand in hand in the natives' language. The Northern-Finnish wild berries are related to cleanliness, safety and place of origin. Locality and safety have the same socially constructed meaning in the locals' language. Both locality and safety is understood as being protected from non-desirable outcomes and being in control over recognized threats. Discussions of locality have a strong echo in safety. Northern-Finnish wild berries are considered clean and safe even when Northern-Finnish wild plants often contain more radioactive cesium than the cultivated species of the same type because of the Chernobyl accident in 1986. (Rantavaara, 1987).

Bodily health and mental well-being rose up also as a jointly constructed understanding in natives' discourse. In these quotes 'health' and 'mental well-being' is described as both social and medical state of individual.

"Our berries are healthy, there are studies of the Northern-Finnish wild berries and their healthy content."

"When I need vitamin C, it is good that I have berries in my freezer."

"I would serve Kemijärvi blueberries for my foreign guests because it is so healthy, [including] flavonoids and so on."

"It is so quiet in the woods. My nerves are really at ease [in the woods]."

"Berry picking is a great way to exercise and keep fit. It is useful for everyone."

To addition terms such as "relaxation", "become tranquil", "meditation" and "ubiety", "purity", "organic" were particularly recognizable in natives speech.

Natives create joint meaning for themselves and for others despite of the different backgrounds and agendas. (Braithwaite & Baxter, 2005) The current health lifestyle trend is however noticeable in the younger generations' discourse. Terms such as 'superfood', 'organic' doesn't exist as such in older generation's language but have the somehow same meaning using different words. The difference in the generations' perceptions and habitus is noticeable in other areas as well and I will continue discussing about their perceptions next.

6.7 Social Responsibility

Both younger and older generations in native wild berry picker field rationalize their experience by creating social accepted dogma and share and reify these models through interaction. These socially constructed ideas are learned in early age but are also influenced by mass media and current trends.

The older generation didn't have the knowledge of the health benefits of wild berries in their youth, but the wild berries were seen as an additional food, the way to teach social responsibility and also a mean to train working. The financial conditions were quite different back then and children didn't have access to money other way than earning it themselves. The older generation was also obligated to pick wild berries by their guardians and school. Therefore the older generation have socially constructed the meaning related to wild berries and picking as 'a way to learn to work' and 'a way to learn hard work'. Socially constructed meaning among the younger generation varies a bit in the way that wild berry picking is seen as a way to "manage expenditure". The difference is fine but can explain why the generations frame the picking differently and have different motivations related to picking. The utterance, the older interviewees made, describes their perceptions and the importance of the social responsibility and work ethics:

"Youngsters get money so easy elsewhere and therefore wild berry picking is not lucrative because they know they will get money anyway" and "The unemployment benefit should be

rewarded if the [unemployed] person picks wild berries because it [the wild berry picking] is useful for everyone in many ways. It is a way to exercise and a good alternative for hanging out.”

The younger generation don't relate wild berry picking to social responsibility. They see life being more hectic outside the working life nowadays. They comprehend modern life and motivate their view of declining interest to wild berry picking with peoples' interest to other hobbies. The younger generation appreciate idle time without doing nothing and do not assimilate that to laziness.

One of the elderly person told that when she was still in her working-age, she would work the weekdays and would pick the wild berries during the weekends. It is noticeable that the leisure time is different when comparing the generations in their working-age and what the other generation have and want, does not always come across.

The wild berry picking activity is strongly related to social responsibility and the reluctance to pick is understood as a lost opportunity for well-being and decreased work ethic. The perceptions of reluctance to pick wild berries are however seen differently within younger and older generations. The utterances in older generations' discourse why people don't pick berries were "lack of time", "different upbringing", "laziness if money is not involved", "too easy living and access to income in early age" and "interest in IT-world."

The younger generation is also concerned that the wild berry picking is diminishing but frame the reasons as "rush years" and "will to have other hobbies". According to them leisure time culture has changed and "not performing all the time" is appreciated in their hectic life and is not related to work ethics.

6.8 Norms and Ethics

The native wild berry picking doxa is formed during many generations and, together with their habitus, is steering the natives' lives in the wild berry field. The wild berry picking tradition is transmitted in the family and the norms are inherited during the kinship formation. These deep-rooted norms are also called 'gentleman's agreement' among the wild berry pickers and are not communicated to the outsiders simply for the reason that the pickers assume all 'outsiders' are familiar with them, but also for the reason that the natives take it for the granted that they have the precedence to the best wild berry lands despite of the everyman's right. Some emerged norms from the study where the locals think all should share the same gut feeling were the concepts such as:

- Where one can pick the wild berries
- The methods how to pick
- The competition: who was at the spot first, has the right to the berry place even it is public territory
- Who can come close the territory where already is also a person/group picking
- How close other person/group may come

- What is appropriate to talk about (berry places and the amount picked)

The norms and morality obedience (in the form of what is good or bad, right or wrong) regarding wild berries and picking is a guideline for acting as a functional member in the Kemijärvi wild berry picking field. The rules how an individual should act in the field are learned through the natives' culture and the rule breaker is excluded from the arena using the power of social capital in the form of power of language and denigration. These norms are occasionally causing problems between native and migrant wild berry pickers who are neglecting, or are not familiar with the natives' rules, and are therefore partly creating conflicts.

The interviewees told that in life outside the berry picking, they are a bit aloof when they meet new people but once they get to know them, they are accepted into in-group. They are open about their matters but good wild berry places are never revealed, not even to good friends. They might even lie about their places and are very indefinite where they have been picking the berries.

7 Discussion

In this qualitative study I set off to explore what factors create individual and social perceptions, behavior and interest towards wild berry picking and how native wild berry pickers see the declining interest towards wild berry picking, and finally, how they experience the phenomenon of migrant wild berry pickers. I used Field theory including central concepts of Agent, Habitus, Doxa and Social Capital, to understanding the ensemble of construction of Kemijärvi native wild berry pickers' ethnography and to answer to the research questions.

7.1 Factors Creating Individual and Social Perceptions, Behavior and Interest toward Wild Berry Picking

The native wild berry pickers grow into the culture and the individual perceptions toward wild berries and picking are evidently formed via lifelong kinship formation and power of social capital. The social capital, acquired during grow up, provide possibilities that would not existed otherwise. On the other hand, social capital is a major source for social inequality (Jenks, 2003; Nan, 1999) and can impact negatively on the perception towards picking by hindering natives' social mobility.

It is possible to claim that socialization with other wild berry pickers in the wild berry picking field form their habitus and thus frame their behavior and interest to the culture. Therefore it is safe to say that the individual perceptions are constructed socially with some exceptions in different generations' framing. Further, evolving this idea, exclusion of other cultures and philosophies can explain the direction an agent takes when forming their perception and interpretation. Kemijärvi is a city where working-age population is decreasing and the amount of retirees grows rapidly. (Suomen Kuntaliitto, 03/2017). Having stated that, it is possible to assume that elderly people don't have many possibilities to travel and meet other cultures and their social world become closed consisting of likeminded people, therefore impacting on their perspectives.

The positive experience with the nature form a strong individual sense to the place and society. As adults, the natives tend to consider other places in relation to the places they have a strong bond to enhance their surroundings and creating meaning to the picking activity. On the other hand, the positive individual and social experiences in the childhood are a common factor among the natives creating interest towards wild berry picking. Based on this it is possible to suppose that the meaning of the nature, as well as community and feeling being a part of one, is essential for keeping up interest.

This study showed that feel of immanent safety, locality as well as health and mental well-being are important factors creating both individual and social perceptions towards wild berry picking. A possible explanation can be that the individual experience and rationalization lead to fact that these ideas become social accepted dogma and are shared and reified through interaction in the wild berry field.

I claim that the meaning of wild berries is a sum of emotional experiences building a consciousness of a responsible lifestyle, security and tradition. It is reasonable to say that wild berry culture effect on individuals, social groupings and life, and these factors create and keep up the interest towards wild berry picking throughout natives' lives.

7.1.1 Perception of Declining Interest toward Wild Berry Picking

The declining interest in wild berry picking is an issue that the native pickers are concerned. Wild berry picking is diminishing in Kemijärvi (Pouta et al, 2006) and the results of this study indicate that the activity of picking wild berries is linked particularly to the lifestyle of older generations who are picking wild berries both for own use and for sale whereas the younger generation pick wild berries mainly for own use.

Wild berry picking is like an American dream where everyone can get the opportunity to succeed and contribute to society. Kemijärvi native wild berry pickers acknowledge the declining picking interest are worried of the continuance of the culture. I claim that younger and older generations' habitus impact on how the picking interest, or lack of it, is framed. Also the imbedded social rules influence on their perceptions.

The natives see picking as an advisable duty that teach social responsibility and working. The perceptions of reluctance to pick wild berries, however, are different between younger and older generations. The older generations frame the lack of interest as reduced work ethics. They consider laziness and easy living are the reasons behind the declining interest of wild berry picking. The younger generation do not link the declining interest to poor work ethics, but appeal to changed modern life and different wide range of other options in leisure time culture. The reluctance to pick is commonly understood among both generations as a lost opportunity for well-being.

As the world is not black and white and the age difference is not a sufficient explanation to the different opinions, one can suppose that the differences between the older and younger generations framing can be explained with their different upbringing. The older generation was obligated by their parents and school to pick in their childhood that formed their habitus and doxa.

It is possible to assume that natives create meaning for wild berries and picking activity socially through inherited habits and perceptions. However, the current trends in the world have an impact to their perceptions and framing. I claim that one major factor is the appreciation of self-sufficiency and locality. This can be seen when comparing younger and older generations against each other's. Therefore it is possible to draw a conclusion that the idea of self-sufficiency is not as respected in modern Finland as it was during the older generation's youth and adulthood. However, the health and mental wellbeing has stayed the same but the locality is rising ideal for two major reasons: the natives can be sure where the berries come from, what they contain and are guaranteed to be clean. The second reason is

responsibility: the natives would like to see more local berry pickers to maintain the economical income primary in Kemijärvi and secondary in Finland.

Declining interest, in general, toward wild berry picking is therefore a dichotomous matter: the wild berry picking is an activity that have many positive impacts to the individual but the modern world and different interests are not encouraging for picking.

7.2 Experiencing the Phenomenon of Migrant Wild Berry Pickers

An agent can consider to be a free but is anyhow structured of one's past and present circumstances that affects to the choices agent makes. The chosen path is determined by the position in the social field. (Grenfell, 2012). The wild berry picking field was stable and the rules of the game, doxa, were cultivate into the unspoken opinions and perceptions, until the migrant wild berry pickers entered the field. I argue that the arrival impacted on natives' habitus and their perception of wild berry picking culture. As the habitus is a collection of agent's life history and the ways of perceiving and interpreting those, the agent is not usually consciously aware of the habitus until finding oneself in an alien environment. (Bourdieu, 1977, 1986; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Having said that, I continue that the arrival of the migrant pickers changed the natives' perception towards locality and Finnish social responsibility to pick wild berries.

The natives' norms and morality obedience (in the form of what is good or bad, right or wrong) regarding wild berries and picking is a guideline for acting as a functional member in the Kemijärvi wild berry picking field. The native and migrant pickers have had their dispute of picking methods and areas ever since from the arrival of the migrant pickers. As the habitus is evolving from the agents history and choices (Grenfell, 2012), and since no party has succeeded to maintain and follow the common rules defined by Letter of Intent, nor teach the natives' ethics to migrants, I claim the dispute therefore led to the negative interpretation and framing of the migrant wild berry pickers. However, the migrant pickers are seen as diligent and hardworking people in a context outside of the swamps and forests. Therefore it is reasonable to say that the migrants are experienced differently depending on the natives' current seat: if they feel they are put to the competition layout, it impacts negatively on natives' perception of migrants as they feel they have no agency to act and therefore win the fictitious contest.

Based on my findings, I say that the native and migrant wild berry pickers' different motivation towards picking impacts to their experience and perception. I continue arguing that the natives see migrants' motivation to pick as economic, in the way that they are in Kemijärvi just to earn money by any means. On the contrary, the native wild berry pickers' motivator seem to be emotional related to well-being, health and security. This can be possible explanation to the antagonism, why migrants are experienced foreign and distant, not operating in an equal manner. This way of reasoning can explain both the ecological concern where the migrant workers are perceived as a threat to the environment, as well as the social concern meaning migrants' so called unwillingness to obey the natives' social order.

The outcome of this study showed that Northern-Finnish wild berries are more than just a source of extra income. Jealousy, as it is framed in mass media (Nelikenttöanalyysi paikallaan, 2013; Airola, 2015), is not a significant factor behind the conflict, but I claim the issues lie on deeper level. Even it seems that the natives are egoistic wanting to hold the best wild berry places to themselves, the underlying issue is the fear of losing one's culture and therefore a part of an identity. The elderly, especially, are no longer able to travel long distances, and losing the wild berry places to others, restricts them to executing their culture and exercising activity that creates both bodily and mental pleasure. I claim that wild berries are enabling people to socialize which, for elderly people, can be one of only few ways to make connections outside their homes.

8 Conclusion

The individual interpretation and perception is not something that can easily be explained or defined. As we all interpret the world using different perspectives, the outcomes vary too. The aim of this thesis was to conduct an ethnographic study to understand the wild berry picking culture from Kemijärvi natives' perspective. With the help of the theoretical framework of Field the attempt was to illustrate how natives act in the wild berry picking arena and what factors impact on their agency.

The long tradition, inherited culture, and the natives' position in the field were identified as features to enforce and strengthen the tendency to see wild berries and picking positively. However the competition of the places and positions show how social attitudes and different understanding challenge the cross-cultural understanding. On the other hand, the self-sufficiency is not as respected in modern Finland as it was decades ago and can partly depict the lack of interest towards wild berry picking.

While the experiences of the participants in this study do not provide a complete picture of the Kemijärvi native wild berry picking culture, they do provide important pointers to some of the driving forces behind their perceptions and opinions.

To get a full picture of the conflict between all stakeholders in the wild berry picking arena, different qualitative studies would be needed to gain a richer picture including other perspectives. A logical step would be to review the berry companies who import manpower including their manners and perspectives. The berry companies are, however, between the native and migrant wild berry pickers and have a crucial role in the conflict. Also, to study what kind of attitudes those who come to Kemijärvi occasionally, or have moved Kemijärvi recently from others places from Finland, have towards wild berries and picking, would elevate the discussion to a different level.

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