The Dynamics of Cultural Borders

APPROACHES TO CULTURE THEORY 6

The Dynamics of Cultural Borders

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Volume 6

Aims & scope

The Approaches to Culture Theory book series focuses on various aspects of the analysing, modelling, and theoretical understanding of culture. Culture theory as a set of complementary theories is seen to include and combine the approaches of different branches of science, among them the semiotics of culture, archaeology, environmental history, ethnology, cultural ecology, cultural and social anthropology, human geography, sociology and the psychology of culture, folklore, media and communication studies.

The Dynamics of Cultural Borders

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Acknowledgements

Introduction.
Border-related practices
from interdisciplinary perspectives

Anu Kannike, Kadri Tüür

The aim of the Approaches to Culture Theory book series is to provide a forum for advancing discussion on contemporary culture theory through an interdisciplinary approach. The present issue of the series, *The Dynamics of Cultural Borders*, encompasses a broad span of issues related to border – a keyword in social and cultural research since the 1990s.

The functioning of culture can be approached as a continuous negotiation of borders, as an attempt by culture to define itself and its surroundings, to create meaning and translatability. Every culture divides the world into 'its own' internal space and 'their' external space (Lotman 1990, 131), thus cultural borders are tools of cultural self-reflection. Therefore, temporal, geographic and symbolic borders in culture undergo continuous change. Borders are areas of intense activity that contribute significantly to the dynamics of culture: shifting and moving borders are basic processes of cultural innovation.

In cultural theory, borders are explored through various methodological approaches based on diverse theoretical principles. Yet, several common keywords have emerged in current border studies, such as identity, inclusion/exclusion or inside/outside (Paasi 2011, 17). A border is increasingly interpreted as a process, and scholars have shown more interest in the cultural and narrative perspectives of borders and how they are perceived and constructed. Recent promising approaches include a holistic study of various kinds of border – topographic, symbolic and medial – viewed together to delineate a complex circulation of border concepts from one discourse or register to another. This enables a deeper insight into the historicity of the border concept, and its changes and developments in different cultural and historical contexts (Wolfe 2012, 112).

This volume brings together work from twelve scholars with backgrounds in archaeology, anthropology, folkloristics, religious studies, geography, semiotics, sociology and media studies, presenting new angles on a realm of interdisciplinary research. The chapters address questions of constructing, reconstructing, experiencing and representing physical, spiritual, imagined or symbolic borders.

The authors provide perspectives on the dynamics of coalescing and dissolving borders in the past and present, and on the negotiation of their meaning at the collective level and through the subjective viewpoint.

In this collection of articles, special emphasis is placed on subjective perceptions of, and narratives that talk about the other, asking how borders are experienced and expressed at the level of a specific community or individual. Several articles tackle dramatic and controversial issues like war, conflicts between different ideologies and cultures, and between the individual and the state, as well as attempts to cope with painful and/or shameful memories. A remarkably significant number of the contributions draw on empirical material from regions both connected and separated by the Baltic Sea – a part of Europe that has experienced numerous movements and re-definitions of borders over the past centuries. Especially through the 20th century, borders have been actively contested and negotiated in this area as new regimes have brought new interpretations of history. Focusing on such sociocultural ruptures enables the authors to examine changes in self-descriptive practices both during periods of abrupt turns and retrospectively.

Borders are a necessary pre-requisite for cultural dynamics – they facilitate as well as block communication. In national borderlands people have to constantly negotiate their position in view of past and present 'us' and 'them' discourses. The contributions also conceptualise borders as multisensory spaces over a longer temporal period. The authors explore dialectical relations between culture, social relations and landscape, and the interplay of ideological constructions and material culture. They discuss how the mobility of borders is shaped by everyday practices and movement in the environment as well as how ethnic boundaries are reflected in material heritage.

The contributions have been set out in two sections focusing on two wider issues: how borders are drawn in landscape, religion and scientific discourse, and how representations of cultural borders and border crossings have changed over time.

Wandering borders

This section consists of contributions that focus on the dynamics of cultural borders from the perspectives of landscape geography, archaeology, and religious studies. The authors have approached the phenomenon of borders from the multi-species viewpoint, bringing to the fore the constitutive role of movement in border formation.

Movement creates, as well as dismantles, cultural borders; it undermines traditional divisions of human and non-human worlds. However, inequalities in the possibilities and freedom of movement may arise as a modern cause of social hierarchies. Often movement is also a crucial problem in discussions of the rights of people engaged in traditional livelihood practices, such as reindeer herding. Claims for (modern) human freedom of movement may lead to people ignoring the movement needs of other species by cutting through the established migration routes and breeding areas. Human movement is regulated by laws and less formal agreements, which in some cases result in social and political conflict, whereas in other cases they may facilitate the adaptation of human activities and movement to the needs of other groups and other species. Interspecific ways of movement imply knowledge and experience of the particularities and borders of movement in other species. We may conclude from the above that movement and borders create each other, as they are not independent, absolute, or mutually exclusive phenomena. This observation is exemplified from different viewpoints in each of the five chapters belonging to this section.

Franz Krause, in his article "Rivers, borders, and the flows of the landscape", departs from the landscape phenomenological point of view. He indicates, referring to phenomenological anthropologist Tim Ingold's work, that a border is not a given object but is formed in the course of certain activities that define something as a border. We are used to associating borders with human activities, but borders can emerge from landscape conditions as well as from the activities of other-than-human species. Rivers may also manifest certain material agency of their own, especially in the case of large, meandering rivers with soft banks, such as the Mississippi, as their stream bed may re-locate regardless of human will and political agreement. Seasonality is an important feature of river environments and their conceptualisation as borders.

On the example of rivers, Krause demonstrates that a river may function as a barrier-like border, when administrative–political land use is in question, although it may at the same time serve as a bridge or a link in vernacular use. It makes a huge conceptual difference whether a river is perceived as a border to be crossed, or as an affordance to be moved along or upon. A river is never an absolute obstacle, although it is tempting indeed to use rivers as 'natural' borders between administrative territories. In practical use, the perception of rivers as borders or as connectors depends on the daily activities of humans and other species, such as reindeer.

The reindeer and their movement become a central issue for the next contribution, by Eva Toulouze and Liivo Niglas, titled "Fixity and movement in Western Siberia: when oil worker, native and reindeer paths cross". On the basis of

their decade-long fieldwork with Western Siberian native people, the authors discuss alterations in nomadic practices that have occurred over the past decades, as the Russian oil industry has moved into native herding territories. Borders need to be established in order for the different groups to find a compromise for co-habitation. The indigenous people of the region, Eastern Khanty and Forest Nenets, practice a semi-nomadism that sets tighter limits on movement and territories than pure nomadism. Toulouze and Niglas also point out that a sedentary life is not the absolute opposite to nomadism in Siberia: deep connections underlie different lifestyles. In many cases, personal contacts between native people and newcomers are voluntary and aim at mutual service and favours, as native people are more and more dependent on the oil industry as a provider of fuel and livelihood, and the oil workers sometimes need the services of the natives. Similar to Franz Krause's observation on the difference between official and vernacular uses of rivers as borders, Toulouze and Niglas point out that territorial negotiations at the personal level differ qualitatively from the institutional treatment of the same subject.

Movement is definitive for both of the large groups under discussion: reindeer herders move between their camps and settlements, and the newcomers engage in manifold migrations, from their native regions to Siberia, from their town homes to long-distance commute labour sites, and to the taiga during their holidays. This is where most of the contacts and conflicts arise and where the borders are established: the occasional visits of the oil workers to the herding territories are often associated with accidents, disturbance to animals and the environment, or even vandalism. In order to avoid the worst, borders must be established in the environment for both animals and people. This may happen in the form of wooden fences, intensive herding, or, as in Yuri Vella's case, in the form of active verbal intervention. Official negotiation as a strategy is also used, albeit that no practical consequences are ever expected. Borders mainly serve as a tool for survival from the native point of view, or as obstacles from the oil industry's institutional point of view.

Riin Magnus and Kadri Tüür continue to deal with the question of vernacular versus state-level itineraries and borders in their article "The meaning of movement: wayfaring to the islets surrounding Muhu island (Estonia) during the twentieth century". Relying on Tim Ingold's ideas on wayfaring as a basic mode of world-making, the authors point out that the movement type and aims are definitive of the borders or of what are perceived as such by someone on the move. In the case of coastal islets, the most obvious natural border is that between land and sea. However, the sea offers a multitude of possible itineraries for someone equipped with proper knowledge, tools of orientation, and means

of movement. Possible movements are also dependent on seasonality in a way similar to that which Krause mentions in relation to rivers. Magnus and Tüür delineate the categories of occasional, cyclical, and constant movement that result, respectively, in landscapes of experience, subsistence, and living. The insular knowledge–movement complexes imply borders that are actualised in some, but not necessarily all occasions of movement. The authors conclude that significance of a place is created by movement, paths, and trajectories.

The same idea underlies Uwe Sperling's contribution, "Visitors to the other side: some reflections on the Baltic Sea as a frontier and contact zone in late prehistory". Based on archaeological finds, mainly metalwork and pottery, historians on both coasts of the Baltic Sea have attempted to reconstruct the overseas connections of earlier cultures for quite some time now. At the beginning of the 20th century, the theory of the Swedes' eastward expansion was favoured. In Soviet archaeology, the Baltic Sea had to be regarded as a firm border for ideological reasons. At the turn of the century Valter Lang's proposed centre–periphery model featuring asymmetric relations between different cultural regions informed the debate. Sperling points out that the archaeological data can be interpreted in different ways, depending on which theoretical approach and particular findings are chosen as the basis of the analysis. Archaeological findings that would testify to the usage of open sea waterways during the Bronze Age are scarce. However, boats suitable for coastal navigation were known at the time, although the direction and frequency of movement across the Baltic Sea during the Bronze Age is still unclear.

Irina Paert's chapter "Visions and dreams in Russian Orthodox culture as border crossing" provides an insight into a different kind of movement – between humanity and divinity, created and uncreated nature, and the visible and invisible worlds. She deals with the phenomenon of miraculous visions in 19th century Russia as moments that "tear the veil of visibility" (Florensky 1996, 33) and open a door to invisible worlds. Through analysis of written accounts of such visions the author conceptualises them as controversial cross-border experiences, since the perception of what is beyond the border is a source of enlightenment, but also potentially dangerous and threatening. Leaders of the religious community guarded the established borders and thus maintained their power, and their protective and educative roles. Paert claims that the visionary not only crosses the line from one world to another, but also becomes a boundary uniting both worlds.

All of the five contributions demonstrate the crucial role of movement in formation of borders. What is established or perceived as a border at an institutional level, may appear to be of no relevance at the vernacular level, and vice versa.

Another important observation is that natural borders are never absolute, and that they may shift regardless of human regulations.

Borderscapes and memoryscapes

The phenomena and processes under scrutiny in the second section of this volume are related to borders as places of memory – of remembering and forgetting. Discussion of the relationship between borderscapes and memoryscapes in different texts forms the core of these contributions. Scholars from Finland, Estonia, and Lithuania highlight the complex interaction between public and private spheres of memory by demonstrating how border representations created by dominant narratives are negotiated by specific "communities of memory" (Irwin-Zarecka 1994, 47–65). Such communities of memory are often bonded by traumatic experience, such as imprisonment in the Gulag, participation in the Finnish Civil War or being caught in the turmoil of the political and ethnic conflicts of World War II in Lithuania. Through the study of life stories, media texts and autobiographical fiction, the authors illuminate the physical and psychological borders the actors encounter, including silent borders of ideology, class, and gender, as well as temporal borders between life cycles. The authors use vivid examples to illustrate how different genres describe the same historical reality in different ways.

Special attention is given to the ambiguous character of borders and to the dynamics of border representations over a longer timeframe. The chapters reveal how silenced or suppressed topics or conflicts may re-emerge after many decades, influencing the assessment of individual experiences in the new contexts of national narratives and global memory discourses. These chapters reflect a general trend in memory studies in which a focus on the study of the pivotal events of the 20th century "has brought closer to one another the research of the grassroots-level remembering and the construction of national memories as well as cross-country and cross-disciplinary study of memory politics" (Kõresaar 2014, 19).

The contributions in this section deal with the changes in the self-descriptive practices after socio-cultural ruptures, particularly the dynamics between self-descriptive practices and resources that were used before, that occurred during and after the explosive process, and the role of these practices in accentuating or diminishing the social and cultural changes. Through this lens the complexity of interaction between various levels of memory is demonstrated: although some past tensions may be relived at the communicative level of war memory, other traumatic personal experiences may also cause contradictions and problems that

are not present in public remembrance culture. In the Baltic countries particularly the categories of 'friends' and 'enemies', 'winners' and 'losers', 'victims' and 'persecutors' have been complicated and ambivalent as people have had to choose between bad and worse (see the in-depth analysis of war memories in Kõresaar 2011). The chapters in this section are linked by a common interest in how power relations between the discourses dealing with borders and borderlands have controlled the narration of border-related traumatic experiences.

In the opening chapter of the second section, "The Hero's Mother: Lotta Svärd and mediated memories", Merja Ellefson explores the retrospective meaning making of the 1918 Civil War, a dramatic rupture in Finnish history, by presenting a fascinating analysis of how the war was perceived, described and remembered in the 1920s and 1930s. The representations of the past in the magazines of the women's paramilitary Lotta Svärd organisation are a part of the construction of the national past and ideology of the nation-state. Yet, since the status of the Lottas changed over time, these texts have also functioned as counter-memories. The 'Lotta texts' were often of didactic character, describing desirable attitudes, values and behaviour, and thus these texts became means of socialisation. Moving back and forth over temporal borders, the women's activities in different periods of time are emotionally connected by anniversary journalism, forming a pattern of causes and effects.

In many senses the small nation-states around the Baltic Sea have faced similar existential challenges in the 20th century caused by wars and the struggle for independence. Yet, there are important differences which are revealed by the authors in this volume. While common struggle in WWII united Finns who had fought on different sides in the Finnish Civil War in 1918, for the Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians the tragic confrontation between families and friends fighting on different sides peaked in the 1940s.

In her analysis "Negotiating borders: conflicting memories of World War II participants in Lithuania", Irena Šutinienė discusses how Lithuanian war veterans cope with issues perceived as problematic or conflicting in present contexts of remembrance culture. Drawing on the oral history narratives of three groups of WWII participants and the theory of communicative memory developed by Jan Assmann, Šutinienė explores memory strategies applied by the members of these diverse communities. She analyses the complicated task of negotiating issues of war memory and how veterans deal with the contradictions and problematic points in their stories. Šutinienė demonstrates that the wider depoliticising tendency of interpreting war memory from an individualised, 'anthropologising' perspective, according to which all 'ordinary' participants are presented as victims, has also become popular in Lithuanian public discourse of war

memory. Her study underlines the importance of strategies of victimisation and apology–forgiveness rituals in overcoming contradictory issues of war memory.

Tiiu Jaago raises the issue of the relationship between rupture and continuity in "The Stalinist prison camp in Estonian life stories: depicting the past through continuity and discontinuity". She focuses on strategies that narrators and researchers use to interpret the Estonian past. Comparing and contrasting stories told at the end of the Soviet period, and those told ten years later, she argues that the presentation of prison camp episodes in the narratives remains unchanged, but earlier stories are much more actively engaged in contemporary public debates. Continuity and discontinuity are intertwined in the stories, with the latter emphasised by contrasting the situations described.

It becomes evident that the border between rupture and continuity joins the everyday practices and identities of different stages of life. In the descriptions of the prison camp, rupture is directly associated with the positioning of the narrators with respect to civilisation: their essential tragedy is being outside civilisation, outside the culture. Jaago demonstrates that in such a situation, continuity is associated on the one hand with the domestic sphere, finding or restoring fragments of what was familiar before imprisonment, and on the other hand, with acts of universal humaneness. Thus, discontinuity and continuity become 'visible' by means of drawing material and immaterial borders.

Tuulikki Kurki analyses three novels published at different points in Finland's post-war history by authors who legally or illegally crossed the Finnish–Russian border, resulting in dramatic and traumatic experiences, in her study "Personal trauma versus Cold War rhetoric in the Finnish–Russian borderland". Kurki argues that the borderland can be conceptualised as a "discursive multi-voiced space" in which multiple discourses have fought and continue to fight for the dominant position. This chapter provides three vivid examples of how narrators re-interpret their identities after the border crossings. Furthermore, the analysis tackles the question of how public discussion has read and understood these personal accounts and what their wider social significance is. Kurki demonstrates not only the individual dynamics of self-identity, but also the shifts in public signification of trauma narratives from silencing and censoring to a more open discussion. These processes reflect wider changes in the power relations between the layers of ideological, cultural, and individual discourses directed at the Finnish–Russian national borderland.

In her contribution, "Magazine texts portraying contacts between Finns and Soviets in the 1970s and 1980s", Tuija Saarinen discusses how Finnish popular magazines treated the tourist trips Finns made to the Soviet Union in the 1970s and 1980s, the incidents that occurred on these trips, and the relationships Finns

and Soviets established through them. The main focus of the discussion is the question of how Finnish attitudes towards the Soviet Union were presented in the selected magazine articles. Special attention is paid to the power relationships the texts represent through different discourses. The chapter is an engaging contribution to cross-cultural communication, travel anthropology and power struggles at the micro-level. Focusing on conflicts and misunderstandings during the trips, the author underlines the carnivalesque character of such tourism. Interestingly, the representations in Finnish 'yellow' journals reproduced narrative patterns characteristic of oral and collective traditions. Through such an ideologically marginal, yet hugely popular, medium, the Finns could show their suspicion, fear and mistrust of, and arrogance towards, the Soviet system even during the era of Finlandisation, while also presenting a critical image of the self.

It has become common knowledge that culture is structured through multiple borders in space and time, making it comprehensible and understandable. All the contributions to this volume focus on more complicated, ephemeral or fluid aspects of border building. In a world characterised by globalisation and constant border crossing, as well as by spreading stereotypical ideas on cultural borders, the social need for more precise theoretical analysis of these issues increases. The authors of this volume offer innovative tools with which to expand this concept across disciplinary frameworks.

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Wandering borders

Rivers, borders, and the flows of the landscape

Franz Krause

Abstract. This chapter argues for an awareness of landscape movements for our understanding of boundaries, which is typically lacking in border studies. Drawing on literature on the Mississippi–Missouri and on fieldwork along the Kemi River in Finnish Lapland, the chapter makes three claims: (1) the dynamics of rivers are at odds with modern, cartographic concepts of borders, (2) whether a river is used as separator or integrator is, to an extent, related to the spatial practices of humans in the landscape, and (3) water dynamics and uses complicate the fixation of boundaries of the river itself. These claims are contextualised by an overview of current writing about boundary-making, as well as an outline of the landscape phenomenology that serves as theoretical background to the argument.

Introduction

Rivers, along with coasts and mountain ranges, have frequently been considered conducive to drawing borders, or even as being 'natural' borders. In the words of a US Supreme Court ruling from 1892: "Nothing is more natural than to take a river as a boundary" (cited in Blomley 2008, 1825). These considerations chime well with the perspective furnished by a map, where rivers run like lines across otherwise homogeneous space, ready to be traced with a red pen in order to be turned into a border.

However, inhabitants of the landscapes through which rivers flow encounter them in a more ambivalent way. The same is true for the various affordances and limits provided by mountainous areas or sea shores. They do not simply divide: mountains may also be refuges, rivers can be transport arteries, and coasts may constitute links to far-away places. Writing about the Danube, for instance, Klaus Roth argued that rivers "can be barriers, but more often they are lifelines and bridges of cultural influences. If they are barriers and borders, this is usually not due to nature, economy, or culture, but to hegemonial, military, or administrative interests" (1997, 26). He showed that not only has the Danube spread ideas and

artefacts along its course, but also are the largest sections of its banks populated by people who share language and/or nationality across its waters.

It is evident that the role of rivers as boundaries is not determined by physical properties. But neither is a boundary along a river a purely symbolic construct. Rather, as I shall argue here, the ambivalent role of rivers – as separators and integrators – can be understood more fully by taking into account the perspectives of those people living in and moving through the landscape, across and along the river. As Tim Ingold has stated:

> Of course, boundaries of various kinds may be drawn in the landscape, and identified either with natural features such as the course of a river or an escarpment, or with built structures such as walls and fences. But […] it is important to note that no feature of the landscape is, of itself, a boundary. It can only become a boundary, or the indicator of a boundary, in relation to the activities of the people (or animals) for whom it is recognised or experienced as such (Ingold 2000, 192-193).

So how do people's activities relate to rivers and borders? Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork along the Kemi River in Finland, as well as on some of the literature on the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers, I would like to outline three aspects of the ambivalent role of rivers as boundaries. First, I shall illustrate some of the problems that the inherent variability and transformation of rivers poses for boundary lines and jurisdictions. Second, I shall show that rivers may more easily serve as borders for *some* entities than others, and I will indicate the role practical activities play in the constitution of the border. And third, I shall argue that the particular qualities of water problematise even the borders of a river itself, including its source, banks, and estuary.

The making of boundaries

Anssi Paasi (for example, 1998; Newman & Paasi 1998) has amply argued that borders are constituted by social processes, deeply entangled in the politics of identity, economics and security. He stated that boundaries are "not merely lines on the ground, but, above all, manifestations of social practice and discourse" (Paasi 1998, 75). While this approach to boundaries allows Paasi to investigate how borders are created, maintained, policed and sanctioned, its underlying assumptions about "the ground" can be problematic. The ground, in Paasi's writing, seems to be an undifferentiated, passive *tabula rasa*, upon which boundaries are inscribed according to purely sociopolitical considerations. Indeed, boundaries

have often been drawn like this, gazing at a map, equipped with ruler and pencil, as is evident in many borders of colonial and imperial origin (for example, Scott 1998). Nevertheless, it is equally evident that other borders have not been formed just like that.

A recent collection of "interventions on rethinking 'the border' in border studies" (Johnson et al 2011) argues for a wider understanding of borders in a world where 'bordering' practices are expanded despite the rhetoric of a borderless world. Contributors to this discussion draw attention to the range of bordering practices that happen far from the geographical border itself, for example, in offshore detention facilities or on the Internet. They also emphasise the multiple and often non-state actors that engage in such bordering practices, as well as the wider context into which these practices are embedded. Nevertheless, they all continue to think in terms of very particular, if particularly powerful and ubiquitous, borders, specifically those of the modern state, as well as in rather dematerialised terms, as if the performances and politics of borders occurred in a basically undifferentiated word. Paasi's discussion of the contexts of borders, for instance, mentions "discursive/emotional landscapes of social power" and "technical landscapes of control and surveillance" that together "link abstract ideas of border to society and show the site of borders in discourse/practices that are exploited to both mobilize and fix territoriality, security, identities, emotions, social memories, the past-present-future-axis, and national socialisation" (Johnson et al 2011, 63). In these "landscapes", however, there is no mention of the land, or the water, along and across which these bordering discourses and practices unfold.

Elsewhere, Paasi observes: "Boundaries are expressions of power relations. As institutions, they embody implicit or explicit norms and values and legal and moral codes. They are hence constitutive of social action and may be both obstacles and sources of motivation" (1998, 82). The relations between power and boundaries are obvious. Less obvious, however, is that it should be exclusively humans who participate in this power play. While in the last instance it is of course humans who create their own boundaries, this does not necessarily happen in a planning office remote from the border itself, but is often accomplished while living in or passing through the landscape. There, the powerful "obstacles and sources for motivation" – to use Paasi's terms – that may constitute boundaries or suggest cohesion include not only sociopolitical discourse and practice, but also the slopes of mountains, the relative difficulty of travelling through bogs and forests, the distribution of water sources and shelter, and the force of river currents. This approach would be more in line with Alison Mountz's plea, in the above-mentioned discussion, that we should "not lose sight of the physical

manifestations, material realities, and everyday productions of borders" (Johnson et al 2011, 65). Although Mountz also focuses on state borders, she calls attention to the material practicalities of bordering, including walls and fences, the mobility of border guards, and "the banal sites where sea meets land" (op cit).

Research on maps and mapping has drawn attention to the power of representing landscapes in a particular manner (for example, Scott 1998; Olwig 2004). If something, for instance a border, is successfully established on a map, it easily becomes recognised or even constructed in the world. Denis Wood even argues that mapping is far more than a particular representation of a given landscape, but effectively amounts to constituting the existence of that landscape. "Maps are used to establish the real. They're profoundly performative" (2012, 284). Wood claims that a map "links things through territory by fusing onto a common plane (that of the map) multicoded images of the very world the map itself brings into being" (op cit, 286, emphasis omitted). This approach assumes that a map makes two postulates: first, it proposes that the things it depicts actually exist, and second, it claims that they have particular relationships due to their spatial juxtaposition on the map. Wood argues that "almost all boundaries […] are created by map-makers; they're map-made. They're 'cartefacts'" (op cit, 290).

In arguing this radical position, Wood is able to show that "also, in decreasing degree, mountain ranges, forests, watersheds, rivers" (2012, 292) are "cartefacts" in that they do not exist in this particular form and in their particular spatial relationships in the world before both their categorical type and their geographical position and expansion are laid out on the map. However, this approach also leads him to assert that because boundaries are performatively produced by drawing them on a map, they "represent nothing on the ground. Only in their posting to maps are boundaries brought into being: they less *correspond* to facts than *constitute* them. Once posted on a map boundaries may assume material form on the ground, but the signs, fences, walls, guard posts – all are after the map" (op cit, 295, original emphases). Similar to the border scholars cited above, this approach thus takes the ground as a *tabula rasa*, upon which spatial and conceptual categories are inscribed through map- and boundary-making.

Kenneth Olwig, taking his cue from Latour (1999), approaches the relationship between landscapes and their representations as one of "circularity". "The particular form of representation can shape the landscape represented, and the landscape thus represented can shape its representation" (Olwig 2004, 42). Olwig cautions that this link can be severed, and the representation itself can come to replace the actual landscape in policy, planning and evaluation. He urges landscape researchers to "not just look *through* the window; one should also look *at* it, and consider how it frames one's view" (op cit, 62, emphases added). This

echoes Ingold's (2000; 2011) repeated calls to take seriously people's skilled practices in, and perceptual engagement with, the social and ecological environments in which they live and work. Rather than determined by a set of representations, people's knowledge emerges as much from their everyday practices and experiences in the landscape.

By pointing to the role of the ground in the making of boundaries, I do not mean to imply that a desert, river or mountain range would naturally become a border. Rather, I would like to expand on Paasi's statement "that boundaries are not 'constants' but mean different things for different actors and in different contexts. The production of boundaries is linked effectively with the social and spatial division of labour, the control of resources and social differentiation" (1998, 81). Alongside the military, economic and ideological actors and contexts that Paasi is addressing explicitly, I argue that we must also consider the non-human features and processes of the landscape, as well as the various practices of its inhabitants that resonate with different understandings of boundaries, and with interpreting different landscape phenomena as 'natural' borders.

The flows of the landscape

In taking this approach, I am following in the theoretical footsteps of various writers who have argued that organising space is not only the strategy of a ruling power, but also inherent in the tactics of the people using this space creatively (de Certeau 1984; Lefebvre 1991). Spatial activity is simultaneously a way of thinking about space. Space, in this analysis, is neither an abstract expanse on which humans inscribe meanings (like borders), nor a pre-given reality. Rather, space with its continuities and divisions is continually produced by human practices (Tilley 1994; Massey 2005). My approach is also informed by work that emphasises the particularities of embodied, involved and situated human perception and understanding (Merleau-Ponty 1962). More concretely, it is indebted to some of Ingold's ideas regarding human involvement in landscapes: Ingold (2000) argued that the relations that form humans are simultaneously social and ecological, which means that rivers participate in the relationships through which people continually make space. In this understanding, borders and other meanings are not social constructs, but "far from being inscribed upon the bedrock of physical reality, meaning is immanent in the relational contexts of people's practical engagement with their lived-in environments" (Ingold 2000, 168).

Ingold (2007) proposed that we understand human activity – in fact all of life – as a series of lines that continually grows in relation to other such lines, entangling and separating as they leave behind trails of their movements. The lines of human

practices and the lines of flowing watercourses can thereby be approached as developing in relation to one another. Finally, Ingold (2011) argued for reconceptualising the ground as not an inert surface on which humans build their lives, but as a field of entanglements through and with which humans live. Only in modernist fantasies, he claimed, are people detached from the ground: "It appears that people, in their daily lives, merely skim the surface of a world that has been previously mapped out and constructed for them to occupy, rather than contributing through their movements to its ongoing formation" (op cit, 44). Instead, to "feel the air and walk on the ground is not to make external, tactile contact with our surroundings but to mingle with them. In this mingling [happens] […] the continual forging of a way through the tangle of lifelines that comprise the land" (op cit, 115).

Studies of people's lives along rivers the world over have reported on some of the implications such 'mingling' with these particular lifelines can have for territorial organisation. For example, investigating the formation of social movements and community councils among black inhabitants of the Columbian Pacific Region, Ulrich Oslender (2002; 2004) found that these processes unfold in relation to what he calls "aquatic space". The layout of the rivers, which serve as main transport arteries in the region, is reflected in the distribution of community councils, as social relationships and identities are being shaped by everyday practices along the watercourses. More generally, aquatic space refers to "the specific ways in which aquatic elements such as high levels of precipitation, large tidal ranges, intricate river networks, mangrove swamps and frequent inundations have strongly influenced everyday life patterns" (Oslender 2002, 92). Interestingly, Julie Velásquez Runk (2009) finds a strikingly similar spatial understanding among the indigenous Wounaan in nearby Panama. She reports that Wounaan "social relationships are differentially mapped on the landscape, with rivers forming an important, material, organising feature of the cosmos and creating a skeleton for landscape and cosmos" (op cit, 458).

In addition, ethnographies of Manambu on the Sepik River in Papua New Guinea (Harrison 2004) and of Caboclos on the Brazilian Amazon (Harris 1998; Raffles 1999) bear witness to the crucial importance of rivers for local perceptions of space. Importantly, these accounts highlight the volatility of watercourses and analyse the implications for social life, for instance of rivers shifting or flooding. Harris observes that because of the extreme seasonal variation in water depth on the Amazon, "there are no fixed boundaries to demarcate discrete spatial domains of land, forest, house, garden, lake and stream" (1998, 70). Alongside the practice-specific affordances and meanings of rivers in the landscape, these

particular dynamics of watercourses must be kept in mind when analysing their use as separator or integrator.

Negotiating borders on a shifting Mississippi

River courses undergo incessant transformations, especially when running through soft terrain, as meanders move and shift, and some get cut off. This dynamic has created formidable challenges for those using rivers as boundaries. Hyde (1912) states that at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Western law adopted the river segment used for navigation, the so-called thalweg, as the line dividing properties or territories on opposing river banks. This replaced an earlier agreement, which had taken an imagined line equidistant from both shores as the boundary. The earlier line, however, had led to problems in navigation, as a vessel travelling along the thalweg had to constantly cross the border. Nevertheless, using the thalweg to determine the border did not do away with the problem of shifting rivers. The famous writings of Mark Twain on the Mississippi, for example, bear witness to a number of such shifts and the often disastrous social consequences they had.

> A cut-off plays havoc with boundary lines and jurisdictions: for instance, a man is living in the state of Mississippi to-day, a cut-off occurs tonight, and tomorrow the man finds himself and his land over on the other side of the river, within the boundaries and subject to the laws of the state of Louisiana! Such a thing, happening in the upper river in the old times, could have transferred a slave from Missouri to Illinois and made a free man of him.
>
> The Mississippi does not alter its locality by cut-offs alone; it is always changing its habitat *bodily* – is always moving bodily *sidewise*. At Hard Times, Louisiana, the river is two miles west of the region it used to occupy. As a result, the original *site* of that settlement is not now in Louisiana at all, but on the other side of the river, in the state of Mississippi. *Nearly the whole of that one thousand three hundred miles of old Mississippi River which La Salle floated down in his canoes, two hundred years ago, is good, solid ground now.* The river lies to the right of it, in places, and to the left of it in other places (Twain 2007 [1883], 3; original emphasis).

Hyde explains the way the law has attempted to grapple with such unreliable border demarcations. The border continues to follow the thalweg, even as it shifts in time, but only so long as these shifts remain "gradual and imperceptible [and are] due to accretion or erosion and produced by natural causes. If [however]

the change is perceptible and sudden, the boundary continues to follow the line indicated by the previous channel" (Hyde 1912, 904).

Unfortunately for the law, however, this neat division into gradual accretion and sudden avulsion does not reflect the processes of river course movement. Nicholas Blomley (2008), for instance, traces the ambivalences involved in a boundary dispute on the Missouri River, where a shift in its course had moved a large area of land from its western to its eastern bank. Despite fifteen years of litigation and numerous expert studies, the courts were unable to determine whether the river had moved gradually or suddenly. Rather, what emerged was that more and less perceptible movements in the river channel significantly influence each other, as do human practices of drainage and bank stabilisation. The shift occurred through a combination of processes, none of which was unproblematically attributable as either accretion or avulsion. The clear-cut categories of accretion and avulsion turned out to be gross simplifications, most practical for boundary-making on paper, but utterly unsuitable for the Missouri River.

Alongside the shifts that a river course may undergo spontaneously through flooding and erosion, human efforts in regulating, diminishing or strategically exploiting these dynamics are manifold. On the Mississippi, these include, on the one hand, a most intricate, highly engineered system of levees, floodways and other infrastructure that is meant to keep the river in its place, i.e. running along the particular course that the relevant decision-makers favour (Mathur & da Cunha 2001). On the other hand, Twain recounts stories of people consciously supporting particular erosion processes on the Mississippi, for instance in order to affect a shift in the river course that moved the river closer to their own land, thereby facilitating steamboat transportation of their plantation produce.

When the river is rising fast, some scoundrel whose plantation is back in the country, and therefore of inferior value, has only to watch his chance, cut a little gutter across a narrow neck of land some dark night, and turn the water into it, and in a wonderfully short time a miracle has happened: to wit, the whole Mississippi has taken possession of that little ditch, and placed the countryman's plantation on its bank (quadrupling its value), and that other party's formerly valuable plantation finds itself away out yonder on a big island, the old watercourse around it will soon shoal up, boats cannot approach within ten miles of it, and down goes its value to a fourth of its former worth. Watches are kept on those narrow necks at needful times, and if a man happens to be caught cutting a ditch across them, the chances

are all against his ever having another opportunity to cut a ditch (Twain 2007 [1883], 115‒116).

In this light, the observation that "borders are enacted, materialized and performed in a variety of ways" (Johnson et al 2011, 62) must not be limited to human participants removed from the landscape. Rather, their active interaction with this landscape, as well as the manifold dynamics of this landscape, such as the shifting of river courses, have to be conceptualised as integral parts in the negotiation of borders, too. The movement and changes inherent in rivers and the actions of humans living and working with them makes their geographical form, and therefore their use to delineate fixed borders, highly problematic. The dynamic and always evolving nature of landscapes, pushed forward by the entanglements of human projects, hydrological and ecological processes, implies that rivers in particular keep changing their form and characteristics, as they are made up of simultaneously very malleable and very powerful flows of water.

The Kemi River as separator or unifier

Two major rivers in Finnish Lapland – the Tornio/Muonio in the west and the Teno in the far north – were turned into international borders during the early twentieth century, dividing the Finnish- and Saami-speaking populations living along these streams into groups of Finnish, Swedish and Norwegian nationals. These rivers were turned into thresholds to demarcate bounded national territories because of the interests and ideologies of the European superpowers of the time. Previously, when Finland was a part of the Swedish kingdom, the Teno was the centre of a Saami community (Burgess 1996), and the Tornio River had long provided significant transit and settlement routes through the region (Lähteenmäki 2006, 15‒60).

The Kemi River, which flows through the centre of Finnish Lapland, has not been associated with a national boundary. Nonetheless, the river and its tributaries divide and unite a number of internal political and institutional entities (Figure 1). The present distribution of municipalities along the river, for example, closely follows the divides of sub-catchments. To name just two, the municipality of Savukoski is located around the headwaters of the Kemi River; and most of the upper Ounas River catchment makes up the municipality of Kittilä.

Figure 1. Major rivers, municipal and reindeer herding district borders in the Kemi River catchment in 2009
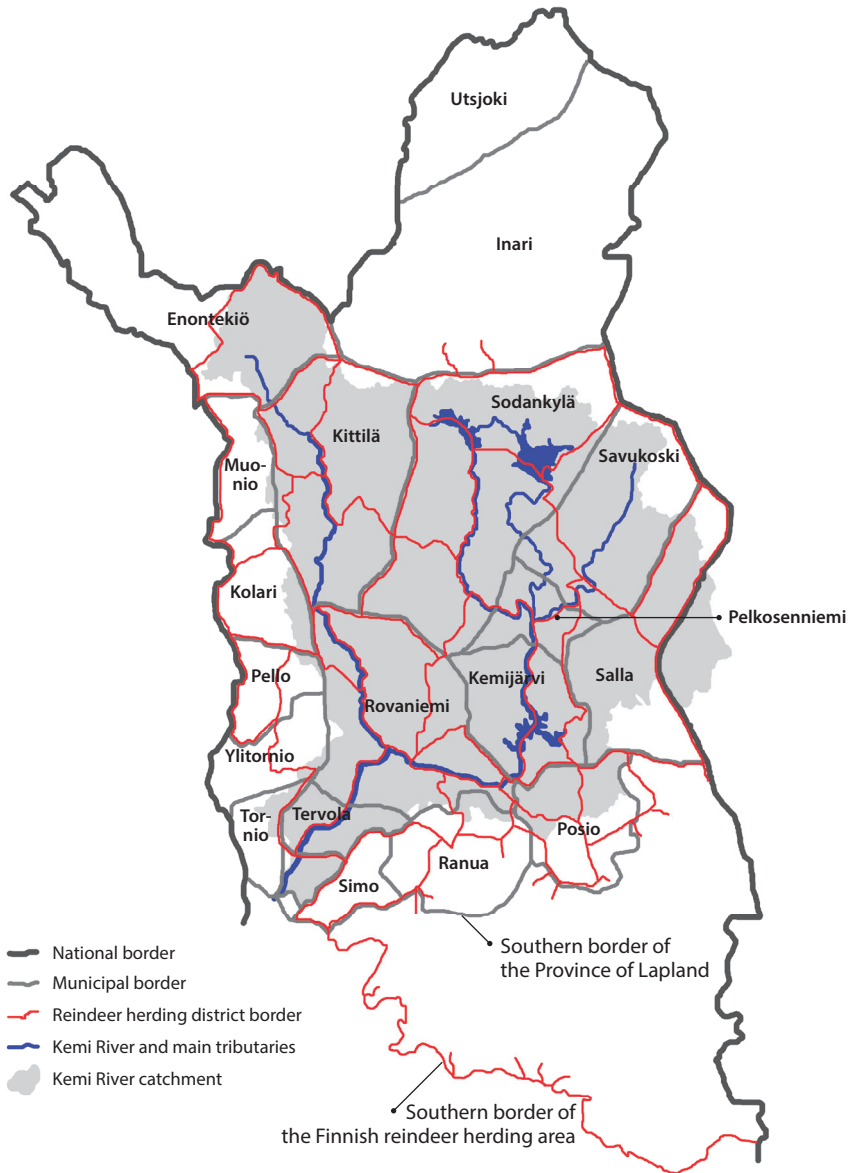
Catchment municipalities

In terms of organising human communities, the Kemi River appears to be a unifier, not a divider. The relation of municipal and watershed boundaries resonates with the traditional use of the river as an artery of transport, for instance for people to visit each other, attend mass together or celebrate communal festivities. It also corresponds to the historical categorisation of geographical entities in the region, which used to be divided into a number of 'Laplands' according to the major river draining the area. There was Kemi Lapland as well as – towards present-day Sweden – Tornio Lapland, Lule Lapland, Pite Lapland and Ume Lapland (for example, Schefferus 1971 [1674], 10-11; Julku 1991, 71). Similarly, the division of Lapland in the Middle Ages, between the spheres of the Bishop of Turku/Åbo and the Archbishop of Uppsala, lay between two major rivers, the Kemi and the Tornio, traced by particular stone markers through "the wilderness in between the rivers" (Julku 1991, 70). In fact, the fourteenth century documents defining this border seem to treat river names as labels not only for watercourses, but also for the entire geographical areas they drain, including their population, when they state that

> the borders in Northern Bothnia are defined as follows, i.e. that Kaakama [a place on the mouth of a small river by the same name, between Tornio and Kemi] belongs to the Archdiocese of Uppsala, and to the Diocese of Turku belong Kemi and subsequently the Ii River, Oulu River, Siika River and Patti River[1] (Julku 1991, 14).

Rivers, in these documents, figure as unifiers of human groups and political entities rather than borders between them.

Modern municipal boundaries can be seen as heirs to these historical political entities. Until the mid-twentieth century, many places in the Kemi River catchment were only accessible by boat (Mäkipuro 1967), which significantly shaped the sense of geography and direction of the area's inhabitants (Krause 2010). Even more so for the traditional farmer-fishermen of the time when municipal boundaries were drawn, working, living and moving primarily along rivers, watercourses represented continuous routes of integration. Therefore the inhabitants organised their municipalities around them, rather than using them as separators.

Interfluve reindeer districts

Alongside municipalities, reindeer herding districts form highly significant geographical entities in the catchment. Northern Finland is divided into approximately seventy of these districts, managed by individual reindeer herding associations and populated by the respective association's animals (Kortesalmi 2007). The overall reindeer herding area in Finland is delineated by the country's national borders in the west, north and east, and by population density and land use in the south and southwest. With denser settlements, more road traffic, more intense agriculture and less lichen availability towards the southwest, reindeer herding is not permitted beyond a particular limit (Figure 1). Unlike municipal boundaries, however, the internal divisions of this area do not regularly follow watershed divides. They might do so where part of a reindeer herding district border follows a municipal boundary, but many of its borders follow a different logic. Especially in the Kemi River catchment, reindeer herding district borders frequently follow large watercourses. Along the lower river, the Kemi is continuously utilised as a boundary of reindeer herding districts. The same is true for a number of its larger tributaries. Only the headwaters of the Kemi River, where watercourses are smaller and shallower, are not used as boundaries in reindeer herding.

The fact that watercourses are often borders for reindeer pastures appears strange given that reindeer are very good swimmers and do not shy away from frozen-over rivers or lakes either. Why, then, would the Kemi River and its major tributaries be utilised as boundaries for reindeer herding? According to some herders, this makes sense because watercourses also form the boundaries of the *animals*' customary territories. Although it can be easier for reindeer to cross a river than to cross a busy road, watercourses nevertheless seem to be perceived as an obstacle of some sort by the animals, and are thus utilised as such by their human herders. For land-dwelling reindeer, the flow of the rivers represents a discontinuity and thus a suitable boundary for reindeer-herding districts.

In detailing the history of reindeer herding in Finland, Jouko Kortesalmi (2007) mentions that the present system of reindeer herding districts with defined membership and clear borders only exists since enforced by a governmental decree from 1898. Earlier, reindeer herding had been organised through informal, often kinship- or neighbourhood-based groups with membership that could change from one year to the next. Similarly the geographical boundaries within which these groups would operate, grazing and gathering their reindeer, would not be rigidly defined. Rather, Kortesalmi explains:

> The area of the herding association depended on the extent of the area or radius, from which the reindeer that had been roaming free during the summer were rounded up into the association's reindeer corrals during early winter. The roundup radius, i.e. the area and borders of the herding association, were influenced among other things by the terrain which would have hampered the movement of the reindeer herders and the driving of reindeer, such as extensive marshes, large lakes, difficult boulder fields, cliffs and deep gorges (2007, 365).[2]

Kortesalmi does not explicitly mention large rivers in this list, but elsewhere in his discussion of the borders of reindeer herding districts it transpires that rivers were indeed considered adequate boundaries. For instance, he details the construction and location of various fences (Fi. *esteaita*, literally 'obstacle fence') that were supposed to keep reindeer from roaming abroad or into Finnish areas intended for agricultural production, southwest of the reindeer herding areas. One of the fences that were constructed along the Finnish–Norwegian border in the early twentieth century spanned ten kilometres from the Teno River to Lake Pulmanki (Kortesalmi 2007, 360). Here, as in many other instances, the river was seen as providing an adequate boundary on its own. This was also the case when during the mid-twentieth century the reindeer fences between Finland and Norway were unified "except for along the Teno River, which is already a sufficient obstacle in itself" (op cit, 362).[3] Furthermore, Kortesalmi treats at length the difficulties that reindeer herders experienced along the Finnish border with Russia/the Soviet Union, where fences were erected and are continuously maintained to keep reindeer from disappearing abroad. However, he hardly mentions the hundreds of kilometres of border between Finland and Sweden, perhaps because less fence-building and other efforts were necessary to keep the reindeer inside Finland. Presumably, this is at least in part due to a major difference between the reindeer herding area's eastern and western borders: the latter follows major rivers, the Tornio and its tributary the Muonio. These watercourses represent a discontinuity for the land-based movement of reindeer – and for the reindeer herders in their pursuit – and were probably considered a 'sufficient obstacle'.

Obstacles and boundaries

The term obstacle can serve to highlight the specific role of rivers in the delineation of internal boundaries in Lapland. Reindeer herders who maintain obstacle fences know that these barriers never completely prevent the movement of

reindeer to the other side. One herder, for instance, told me about the difficulties of maintaining his association's fence along the Finnish–Russian border: it went through rough and boggy terrain, many stretches of which were accessible only in winter by snowmobile, so checks and repairs could only be carried out at long intervals. Moose or fallen trees, for instance, could have breached the fence in the meantime, and some reindeer always make their way to the other side where lichen and other food sources are much more plentiful because of the absence of reindeer herding. Nevertheless, the fence does provide some degree of obstacle for the reindeer, and most do remain on the Finnish side of the border.

Similar observations can be made about reindeer and larger watercourses: reindeer are able to – and frequently do – swim across rivers and lakes, or walk across their frozen surfaces in the winter. One reindeer herder, for instance, told me the story of an almost successful autumn roundup, where the animals had been driven into an enclosure that was surrounded by a fence on three sides, and by the waters of a lake on the forth. When this exhausting task had been accomplished late at night, the herders went to sleep, only to wake up to an empty enclosure in the morning. Through the cold night, the lake had formed a first layer of ice along its edges, just thick enough for the reindeer to escape. Inhabitants of the southern fringe of the reindeer herding area also know that reindeer do cross the river that serves as the boundary there, especially when it is frozen over in winter. When the ice breaks open in spring, some reindeer may be left on the river's southern bank, upsetting the people for instance by eating the strawberries in their gardens. Large rivers and human-made fences thus perform similar functions in the spatial organisation of the reindeer landscape: they are obstacles to the animals' land-based movements, not stopping them entirely, but making particular trajectories more difficult and unlikely than others.

Usually, fences are built according to maps, in an attempt to make the ground conform to the divisions drawn up on paper. Rivers, on the other hand, as much as they may be dammed and re-channelled according to a vision dreamed up with a map, are features of that very ground where borders are made manifest. The juxtaposition of reindeer herding districts and municipalities in the Kemi River catchment has shown that this ground plays a key role in the making of boundaries, through its affordances and hindrances for particular forms and directions of movement. Humans and animals encounter the flowing water as a barrier, for instance because of the limited visibility of the water and the force of the current, but also as a channel, due to the relative ease of moving up and down along the river. While human movement in boats along the rivers has contributed to municipal boundaries being drawn along watersheds, the land-based movement of reindeer has suggested rivers as boundaries for herding districts.

Figure 2. Portages on the headwaters of the Kemi and Luiro Rivers

From the account of an old reindeer herder from the village of Kuosku[4]
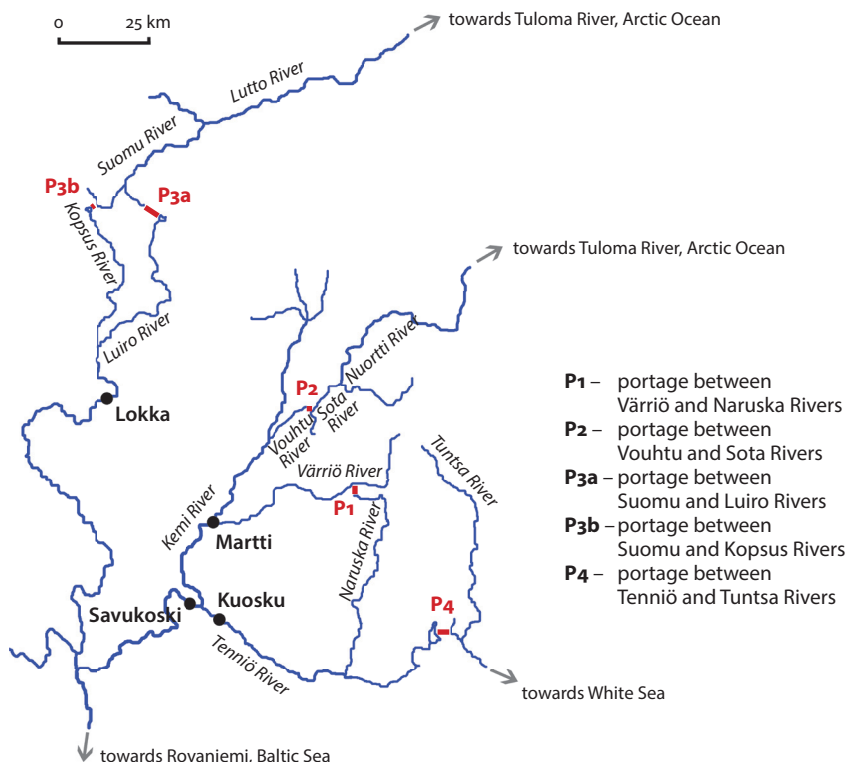
River course, catchment and source

If the 'boundary-ness' of a river depends on the specific activity in the landscape, what about the boundaries of the river itself? Conventionally, and particularly on maps, rivers are seen as beginning at a particular source, gathering run-off within a particular catchment area, and flowing within their banks towards the sea, where they end. As is to be expected, these categories are blurred in practice, in part through peoples' activities, in part through the dynamics of flowing water itself. A watershed, for example, is much more permeable than the line on a map suggests. For instance, in the rather flat terrain of northern Finland, it is not unheard of that a flood in one catchment may overspill into an adjacent river

basin. Similarly, part of the hydropower scheme on the Kemi River diverts most of the headwaters of one tributary into another one, in order to maximise the utilisation of the hydropower stations on the latter river.

On a less dramatic scale, river dweller practices have also traditionally blurred the boundary of the watershed. Travelling along the rivers and streams in the catchment, people have been used to portaging from one catchment to another, by which they were able to travel from the Kemi River to the White Sea and the Arctic Ocean (Figure 2). While this is no longer practiced in an age of ubiquitous roads and motor vehicles, some river dwellers continue to know the places and tell the stories of these portages, where river travel leaked across the catchment boundary. It was again the flat terrain that made pulling or carrying boats across the watershed into an adjacent catchment a relatively easy task.

A further distinction between the map view and the riverbank perception of river and catchment is that the former depicts a clear beginning (source) and end (estuary) of the river, whereas Kemi River dwellers seem to be less interested in such definite points. In the estuary, it was not before the mid-twentieth century that 'river' and 'coastal zone' were unambiguously distinguished; and that came only as a side effect of the construction of a hydropower dam across the lower river in the late 1940s. Downstream of the dam was labelled as 'sea', upstream as 'river' (Vilkuna 1975).

The Kemi's source seems even more elusive than the estuary, and few people appear to care from where exactly the river springs. The old-established Central European obsession with the origins of watercourses (Strang 2004, 99–101; Schama 1995), which during the Renaissance had come to associate springs of water with the origin of knowledge, the mystical *fons sapientiae*, seems irrelevant on the Kemi River. No grotto or temple has been constructed around an alleged 'source', and no particular value seems to be placed on defining or visiting a supposed location of origin. On an excursion entitled "Where does the Kemi River begin?" (Fi. *Missä Kemijoki alkaa?*) we climbed a hill overlooking the wide mires with uncounted brooks and rivulets that unite to form a stream called the Kemihaara, which further downstream unites with two similar streams and is then called the Kemi River. No particular place was sought out, suggesting that the river emerges not from a spot, but from a less-defined confluence of waters. Similarly, when river dwellers talk about their familiarity with a particular stream, they often mention how far up they have boated along it and seem to care less about how it runs upstream from that point. The limit of a river's navigability appears to be more significant than its source.

In this light, Wood's (2012, 292) claim that rivers and watersheds are "carte-facts" is better understood as an argument about the particular shape and extent

of these phenomena. On a map, the line representing a river must start somewhere, have a certain width and follow a particular course. In fact, it may be argued that just as a map suggests the political coherence of a geographical shape-turned-logo (Anderson 1991, 175-178), mapping a river asks for a line to be drawn from source to sea, rather than stopping the line somewhere to indicate that upstream or downstream of that point the river might exist but has no significance, for instance for fishing, transport or reindeer herding. Therefore mapping brings a particular version of the river into being, one that serves the requirements of the map. The river as an aspect of the inhabited landscape, however, is not so easily pinned down.

For the Kemi River, and other watercourses in various geographical contexts, the extent of water and the boundaries of the watercourse vary significantly with seasonal dynamics (Krause 2013b, see Harris 1998 for the Amazon). Annual spring floods swell the river's discharges to around twenty times their summertime levels, whereas during the winter only very little water flows in the river, which is covered by a thick layer of ice. This ice layer, especially when covered in snow, makes lakes and many river sections barely distinguishable from dry ground. The river remains open only where currents are particularly strong. This also means that the dimensions and practical implications of watercourses – for instance whether they connect or separate places and activities – fluctuate over the course of the year. In reindeer herding, the fact that animals easily cross frozen river sections during the winter has caused much anxiety for reindeer herders and the inhabitants of neighbouring areas, as mentioned above. Conversely, traditional winter transportation routes did not generally proceed along rivers, where the currents made the ice treacherous in many places, turning the river course into an obstacle rather than a facilitator for movement along its course. Rather, so-called winter roads were built and maintained across fields and open bogs that froze more reliably (Mäkelä 2000) connecting villages and towns in different ways than the rivers did during the summer. Moreover, during the spring flood, lakes and rivers usually exceed their summer size to a great degree, and during dry summers river discharge may be so low that certain river sections become impassable by boat, but crossable on foot. Seasonal dynamics of the landscape (Palang et al 2007) thus play a crucial role not only in delineating the physical extent of watercourses, but also – and more importantly for my argument – the extent to which rivers figure as obstacles to or facilitators of movement along and across them.

Conclusion

This chapter has illustrated a number of issues in the relationship between rivers and boundaries. Rivers – as much as other landscape phenomena – may be constructed semiotically and materially as borders, but do not have a passive role in this construction. I have argued for an approach to understanding borders as aspects of the flows of the landscape. This means understanding borders neither as pure ideological constructs and forceful implementations cutting up an otherwise undifferentiated world, nor as essentially natural divisions that determine social and cultural spaces. Rather, the hydrological dynamics of the Mississippi–Missouri as well as some of the human utilisations of the Kemi River in Lapland illustrate how human practices and water processes influence the making and not-making of boundaries.

Recent writings on borders (Rumford 2006), space (Jones 2009) and geopolitics (Dittmer 2014) have echoed Paasi's (1998) emphasis on the social relationships that create, maintain and change borders. However, even though some of these contributions explicitly engage with the materiality of borders, they keep reproducing an image of the border as largely constructed through specific actions and narratives, without paying attention to the landscapes through which these borders cut. As border studies have amply demonstrated, the making of boundaries is a political process. What this chapter has added to these discussions is a previously neglected dimension of such politics, namely the processes of the landscape through which the borders are passing, such as people travelling on land or along rivers. Including these practices and processes of landscape into the sphere of 'politics' follows in the tradition of political ecology (for example, Robbins 2012), emphasising in particular that hydrological processes do figure in political debates alongside human contesters (Krause 2013a).

Recently, McGuire (2013) has made similar observations regarding the USA–Mexican border. Focusing on the changing physical barriers constructed through the border city Ambos Nogales, McGuire highlighted the specific affordances for boundary fortification and transgression that these different types of barrier imply – what they let through and obstruct, how they can be re-appropriated by locals, and so on. The point is that the specific practices in the city and along the border are related to the particular material design of the barrier. McGuire also mentioned water-related practices in the negotiation of the Nogales border, including the underground storm drain network used by some to illegally move between the two countries (which flooded part of the city when closed); the attempts of the fire brigades on both sides to assist each other in fire-fighting (which is jeopardised by the increasingly fortified border); and the brutal death

by dehydration that hundreds of Mexicans die every year when circumventing the barrier in Nogales and attempting to cross the border in the desert. McGuire's account of the border comes close to the argument presented in this chapter regarding rivers, emphasising that the relationships of human practices and non-human dynamics play a key role in the constitution of boundaries.

Framing landscape processes and activities as political in this way not only helps to illustrate the ambivalent relations between rivers and borders, but also sheds new light on the often laborious efforts of some human groups to fix particular landscape processes, both materially and socially. When we approach the flows of a river, for instance, as part of a political struggle over a border, then the water's currents and course-shifting dynamics can be conceptualised as competing with the interests and projects of particular people: strong or dangerous currents compete with those trying to cross the border; erosion, sedimentation, freezing and floods with those who want to fix the border. The power of these dynamics is in a direct relationship with the powers of those interacting with the river. This has become evident, for instance, in the fact that smaller rivers are less likely to be reindeer herding district borders than large ones, as the animals have less trouble crossing them. Furthermore, this can be illustrated by juxtaposing Twain's report of shifts in the nineteenth century Mississippi to a hypothetical shift in the Rio Grande where it forms the USA–Mexican border. The former effectively re-made the realities of state borders, because those guarding these borders simply lacked the power to reverse the shifts. If the much smaller Rio Grande on the present, heavily policed USA–Mexican border shifted its course, it is much more likely that the river would be diverted back into its former bed due to the vested interests in preserving the border and their powerful technologies for hydrological engineering. In short, both social and ecological dynamics around rivers form part of the political question of borders, because different life processes are in friction with each other and competing over how, in what direction, and at what speed particular things move.

With this argument I do not want to belittle the widespread violent enactment of state or property borders, typically ostentatiously opposing unsanctioned flows across them, be they watery, human or otherwise. I do, however, want to place these enactments in a wider context by insisting that when researching borders we must take into account the actual socio-ecological landscape through which various borders may run in two ways. First, we must keep in mind that only on paper can borders be drawn across a *tabula rasa*; in the real world there is always already something and someone there. And second, this landscape of people and water and mountains and vegetation and animals is never as static as a border on a map might suggest. Rather, river courses move, a flood can increase

a river's width multiple times, and boaters travelling along a stream may simply drag their vessel across a portage.

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Notes

1 "*… quod limites in Norrabotn in modum qui sequitur sunt seruati, videlicet quod Kakama attinet archiepiscopatui Vpsalensi, et Kem attinet episcopatui Aboensi et subsequenter Yioki, Vlajoki, Sikajoki et Patsjoki …*".

2 "*Palkisen aluetta oli se, kuinka laajalta alueelta eli miltä säteeltä kesäkauden vapaina palkineet porot syystalvella etsittiin ja koottiin eli vedettiin omiin poronkokuuaitoihin. Hakusäteeseen eli palkisen alueeseen ja rajoihin vaikuttivat mm. poromiesten kulkua ja porojen kuljetusta vaikeuttaneet maastot, kuten laajat suot, suuret järvet, vaikeakulkuiset louhikot, jyrkänteet ja syvät rotkot […].*"

3 "*Vuoden 1952 saamelaisasiain komitea piti tärkeänä yhtenäisen esteaidan saamisen Norjan vastaiselle rajalle lukuun ottamatta Tenojokea, joka jo sellaisenaan on riittävä este.*" Later in the text, however, Kortesalmi (2007, 362) mentions that during the later twentieth century, the reindeer fence was extended along the entire length of the Finnish–Soviet and Finnish–Norwegian borders, totalling around 1200 km.

4 A considerable portion of the Luiro River – approximately around the script 'Luiro River' in the figure – has been covered by the Lokka hydropower reservoir since 1967.

Fixity and movement in Western Siberia:
when oil worker, native and reindeer paths cross

Eva Toulouze, Liivo Niglas

Abstract. In the last centuries, the indigenous peoples of Western Siberia have been nomads or semi-nomads. One part of them, those who live in the forest or the tundra with reindeer, are still mobile, steering their herds toward available pastures. But in the last fifty years another economic and social actor has occupied the territory they lived in: the oil industry. The focus of this chapter is how these human and animal societies interact with one another, how their movement patterns meet and divide and how their coexistence has pragmatically led, in addition to unavoidable conflicts, to a kind of symbiosis and mutual dependence. The chapter relies on on-going fieldwork carried out by the authors since 1999.

With the development of the oil industry in Western Siberia, two very different populations – the oil workers[1] and the natives – started to coexist and to interact. Movement and fixity characterise both ways of life, but the backgrounds, the values and the ways of thinking differ deeply. This occasional coexistence, when paths meet, may lead to conflicts between the two groups, and in order to avoid this, both must learn to handle the way they relate to their environment and to one another. The aim of this chapter is to map the present situation. It describes the movement and fixity patterns of both groups and shows the strategies natives implement to regulate their relations in order to avoid conflict with oil workers. Prospective conflicts would be dangerous mainly for the natives in the light of the political and economic power of both groups. But in certain situations, conflict behaviour is the only strategy the natives can use to stand up for their rights.

The area covered by this chapter is situated in the basins of rivers Pim, Agan and Tromagan, which are part of the Middle Ob region in Western Siberia (the southern portion of the grey area in Figure 1). It is a taiga and forest tundra zone, inhabited by indigenous people – the Eastern Khanty and Forest Nenets, whose traditional subsistence activities are semi-nomadic reindeer herding, hunting and fishing – as well as by Russian[2] newcomers, most of whom work for the oil

industry. We have been stimulated to reflect on the patterns of movement and its absence both by our experience in fieldwork over the long term and by some theoretical discussions about Western Siberian nomadism. The data rely on our fieldwork, which began in 1999. The authors of this chapter, both separately and together, have spent several months in the seasonal camps of Yuri Vella (1948–2013), the Forest Nenets poet, reindeer herder and activist. Moreover, Eva has moved around in the Pim and Tromagan basins in 2005. This chapter reflects our observations and information gathered from our host as well as from the local population. Yuri Vella was certainly an exceptional person,[3] and his experience vis-à-vis the oil workers cannot be generalised to the local native community. However, we believe that many aspects of his interaction with newcomers are similar to those of many other reindeer herders in the region. Yuri Vella was part of the community that has settled in the village of Varyogan and in the forest area that is historically connected to it. His forest territory, with several seasonal camps, is 140 km north of the village, in an area bordering the Tromagan Khanty district and he has both Nenets and Khanty neighbours.

Since the 1960s, when oil was first discovered in massive deposits, it has been, and continues to be, exploited. This industrialisation in areas mainly inhabited by indigenous peoples living in villages, whose activities rely on nature (hunting, fishing, reindeer herding), induced manifold changes. We shall concentrate in this chapter on the unavoidable contacts between such extreme communities through the point of view of fixity and movement in the Pim, Agan and Tromagan basins, where Eastern Khanty and Forest Nenets live together. Moreover, our previous experience in different regions of Western Siberia since the beginning of the 1990s has been of further assistance.

A considerable part of the information and insights presented in the chapter have been acquired in the course of the ethnographic filmmaking that Liivo, alone as well as with Eva, has carried out since 2000. Therefore, many of these observations have been recorded on video and serve as a source of fieldwork experiences that can be revisited and analysed for the needs of research. We also use these video recordings to represent the observed events and to present some of our findings for the reader.

Filming is not just a tool that helps a researcher observe the research subjects' behaviour in more detail – it is not only a device for audio-visual note taking. It is also a specific way of achieving anthropological understanding. Video recording makes it possible to capture and represent the research subject's or fieldworker's lived experiences, conveying many of the emotional and sensory subtleties that are often left unaddressed in written note taking: the subject's face, body movements and voice as well as the film maker's way of filming (the ability or disability

to hold a steady shot, camera movements and movements with the camera, etc.) can be an important source of understanding the psychological and physical conditions in which the filmed/filming experience takes place. The captured video material can be edited into short video clips or feature length ethnographic films to offer a means for the audience to share the lived experiences of the film subject and the filmmaker/researcher. In this way the understanding of anthropological signification of the observed/filmed event is reached through active experience rather than through reflection on that experience (MacDougall 1998, 79).

In this chapter we do not aim to focus on the filmic side of our research, neither do we want to emphasise sensory or emotional aspects of the encounters between natives and oil workers. We mentioned filmmaking and what it can offer to anthropological research only to underline that while reading the following text one should keep in mind that the coexistence of native reindeer herders and oil workers in Western Siberia is on both sides loaded with strong emotional stress caused by profound mutual mistrust as well as by genuine efforts to find ways to improve the situation. Quite often this contradictory psychological state of conflict and cooperation is discernible in people's micro-behaviour (gestures, posture, intonation) rather than in their outward action and speech. Sometimes a bold attack is the best way to hide the insecurity and fear that is visible only for a microsecond in the attacker's eyes, sometimes reckless bullying is the most effective way to proceed if you wish to be left alone.

As the conflict and the co-operation we are dealing with is in essence a cross-cultural one, the idiosyncrasies of ethnic ways of verbal and extra-verbal communication also have to be taken into consideration. The silence that seems to be agreement to one side could mean the strongest disagreement to the other; what is a friendly gesture in one culture could be taken as a sign of aggression in another. Watching video recordings or ethnographic films can help us notice and interpret these microscopic behavioural units more easily. Even if we missed them during the actual event, we can discover them in a later viewing of the recordings. But the most important aspect of ethnographic film is that it prevents us from forgetting that we are dealing with real people, that what we see on the screen is not a manifestation of an abstract cultural practice but a unique person for whom this 'interesting cultural phenomenon' can be the question of life and death. As Lucien Taylor reminds us, "ethnographic film is tied to the particularities of the person before it is to the [...] generalities of culture" and "its indexical attachment to its subject prevents it from playing fast and loose with the person in ways that are par for the course with expository prose" (Taylor 1998, 535).

We invite those who are interested, apart from the more abstract treatment of the issue presented in this chapter, in "more intimate structures of culture"

Figure 1. The Forest Nenets area in Western Siberia
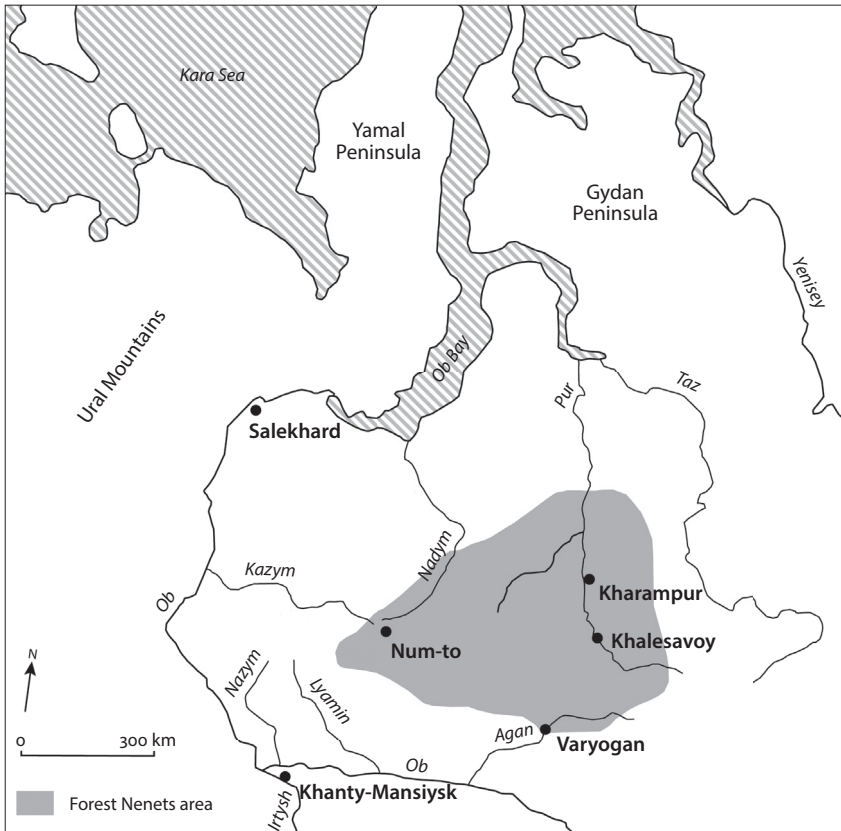
(MacDougall 1998, 62) to watch video clips that are available in the electronic version of this chapter (Virtual CECT, see Internet sources).

Native nomads and the oil industry

The relationship between nomads and the outside world has been a challenging topic for anthropologists all around the world (for an overview, see Khazanov 1994; Barfield 1993). No type of pastoral nomadism is self-sufficient and it cannot function in isolation. All nomadic groups have to find ways and means of

adapting to wider economic and political realities. The outside world does not usually act as a passive background for the nomadic way of life. It is an active force that has a great impact on the lives of pastoral nomads. But this interaction is not a one-directional cause-effect chain; rather it can be explained as a series of feedback links between nomads and the outside world. Thus, the choice of specific ways in which nomadic society can adapt to the outside world depends on the needs of its members and the specific opportunities and limitations offered by the wider economic and political environment (Khazanov 1994, 198).

The Middle Ob region was connected with the outside world mainly through military conflicts with neighbouring people and trade networks that reached as far as the Middle East (Golovnev 1995). It seems that in former times, when trade partners did not share a language and were scared of one another, trade relations with outsiders were executed mainly through a strategy that is described as 'silent trade': natives avoided direct contact with outsiders by leaving their trade goods at a certain spot in the forest, and their trade partners exchanged them with their own goods a little later (Leete 1999; Dudeck 2012, 96–97; Etkind 2011, 165–166).

The arrival of Russians signalled the beginning of a new area in the region: colonialism that combined commerce with coercion and was based on ruthless extraction of natural resources, first fur animals and later oil and gas (Etkind 2011).[4] At first the Russians came in small numbers as they used locals to do the highly skilled job of hunting and skinning animals, and contact between natives and outsiders was limited. With the huge migration of oil workers to the forest, the natives had to find ways to continue their way of life in the context of rapid industrialisation in their immediate neighbourhood. Could the old strategy of avoiding unnecessary contact with newcomers also work in this new situation?

When analysing the impact of the oil industry on native life in the Middle Ob region, researchers usually describe its devastating nature (Wiget & Balalaeva 2011; Dudeck 2012). But if we turn our attention to the Yamal region, which is not very far from there and features both nomadic reindeer husbandry and the oil and gas industry, the situation seems to be far less dramatic. According to a study that analyses industrial impact and climate change in Yamal, the native socio-ecological system "has experienced significant social/ecological shocks and increasing pressures, yet appears to have reorganized in ways that allow the overall system to continue to function, even thrive" (Forbes et al 2009, 22042).[5]

Why has the coexistence of industrial development and the natives' traditional way of life resulted in a much more drastic situation in the Middle Ob region than in Yamal? Although there are many important socio-economic similarities between the two areas, there are also some fundamental differences. One critical

difference is the way reindeer are herded. The Yamal region is situated mainly in an open tundra zone suitable for large-scale and fully nomadic reindeer pastoralism that is characterised by regular, linear and meridional yearlong migrations (Khazanov 1994; Niglas 1997; Stammler 2005; Krupnik 2000; see also Niglas 2000). The Middle Ob river basin's environment is dominated by forest tundra (pine groves alternating with marshland) and reindeer are herded in a circular movement between seasonal pastures in much smaller herds, while hunting and fishing plays an important role in the economy. In this so-called semi-nomadism, mobility is limited and the pastoral migrations are shorter than those of pure nomadism, both spatially and temporally (Khazanov 1994; Verbov 1936).

The difference in the scale of oil and gas development is also very important. In the Middle Ob region the oil industry has been flourishing since the 1960s, resulting in a huge influx of migrant workers and the development of numerous new settlements, while on the Yamal Peninsula natural gas deposits were opened for production relatively recently, two or three decades ago, and the population increase due to the arriving newcomers has been less drastic.

These socio-economic differences mean that the open space needed for nomadic activities is much more available in the Yamal tundra than in the Middle Ob forest area. In order to avoid ecological pressure and conflict with newcomers the Yamal reindeer herders were able to use the adaptive strategy that has worked for nomadic groups in many different parts of the world – they simply moved away (see Khazanov 1994; Barfield 1993). In fact that is how Nenets herders have responded to the presence of the oil industry in Yamal. The researchers found that free access to open space has been critical for success in adjusting to institutional constraints and ecological changes – the ability to roam freely enables people and animals to exploit or avoid a wide range of natural and manmade habitats. The Yamal Nenets have adjusted their migration routes and timing in order to keep away from disturbed and degraded areas (Forbes et al 2009).

For natives living in the basins of the rivers Pim, Agan and Tromagan moving away from ecologically and socially challenging places is usually not an option, although many have attempted it. The land use there is much less flexible – Eastern Khanty and Forest Nenets families can migrate with their herds and households only within the limits of their kinship or family territory (Ru. *rodavye ugodia*) as there is simply no free land in the midst of neighbouring family territories, oil production sites, roads, villages and towns. Moving within their small family territories is how they have tried to adapt to the ecological destructions of oil development. Their seasonal settlements were originally concentrated along the main waterways. However, with the approach of first geologists and then oil workers, they moved up the river into the swamps towards the watershed as their

"settlements were destroyed, huts were removed by bulldozers, the waterways were dammed up when roads were built over the marshland, reindeer pastures on the riverbanks destroyed" (Dudeck 2012, 90).

The industrial pressure on land and other natural resources is ever increasing in the current economic situation, where the Russian State budget depends heavily on oil revenues, and the Middle Ob region is still one of the most important oil producers in the country. The new oilfields are explored by building main roads along the rivers and then expanding in branches into the marshland between the rivers. In this way oil development has reached even the remotest parts of the taiga, putting high pressure on native territories. Many people cannot withstand the economic, administrative and psychological pressure of state and oil authorities and sign away parts of their land for oil production. This usually results in degradation of reindeer pasture, hunting and fishing grounds, and the family's reliance on different forms of material compensation from the oil company. This also means that roads to the oilfields connect natives with the existing towns and with the new emerging settlements of oil workers. As a result, the frequent contacts between the natives and oil workers are becoming unavoidable and both sides use co-operation as well as conflict to achieve their economic and political aims.

Native community and movement

While Khanty and Forest Nenets are considered two different communities, as they speak different languages which are only remotely akin, their way of life is very similar. They have a long tradition of interaction and intermarriage, in which interethnic exogamy was regulated (Verbov 1936). They are also developing, under pressure from newcomers, a common indigenous identity (Toulouze 2012) and will be treated in this chapter mainly from this point of view. As mentioned, their traditional way of life is characterised by semi-nomadic reindeer herding, hunting and fishing. How much is this way of life currently followed? It has certainly not disappeared. Even in the Soviet period it existed marginally, and, despite the fact that the indigenous population had been sedentarised, i.e. gathered into villages and employed in collective farms (kolkhozes) for which they hunted, fished or pastured reindeer, they did not entirely lose connection with the nomadic way of life. Some individuals managed to leave the collective farm and migrate on their own with their reindeer.[6]

After the breakdown of the Soviet economic and legal systems, numerous indigenous households, while keeping their houses in the village, moved back into their family's territory in the forest as soon as it was possible in order to live

as the previous generations had. In 1996, Yuri Vella even organised the delivery of 1000 reindeer from the Yamal region to natives wishing to re-establish reindeer herding in the area. This movement back to the forest was also encouraged by the villages' situation in post-Soviet Russia: the kolkhozes collapsed, and thus most of the villagers' employment disappeared.

Living in the forest provides activity and motivation and is a more or less efficient antidote to the alcoholism that is widespread in the villages: people have much to do not in order to get money or social status, but merely in order to survive. One needs to prepare the firewood, fetch water, and hunt and fish in order to survive in the forest. Every activity has both motivation and justification. Moreover, stores are scarce; vodka is less accessible than in the villages. Often, people who are constantly drunk in the village are sober in the forest. However, this is not an absolute rule; it happens that frequent visitors bring vodka and alcoholism cannot be totally avoided. Some families, older and younger, started modulating their lives between the villages, where they have a house, where there are shops, where the administration provided services, medical care and a post office, and camps in the forest, which may be further than 100 km from the village. Movement between the villages and the 'wild' now makes up double the traditional movement in the forest.

When people wish to move between the village and the camps, they must rely on their own transportation means. Snowmobile penetration occurred in the late 1970s.[7] Since then, reindeer have been used less and less for transportation. Snowmobiles, which have also been provided by oil companies as compensation for drilling on the natives' territory, have become an appreciated commodity. Thus they have become quite widespread in the region, and at the turn of the millennium most natives owned snowmobiles. Notwithstanding this, moving between villages and camps was quite an adventure. By snowmobile, it could take several hours of driving in extreme cold and heavy wind before a traveller reached his or her destination. It was even more difficult before the mobile phone era began in Western Siberia (Stammler 2009), for it was very complicated to organise logistics. However, mobile phones came to the region in 2000; at the same time, car use, which had started earlier, developed (Niglas 2011) allowing more fluidity in movement between the village and the camp, and conferring more flexibility to movement patterns.

The more traditional sort of movement of local indigenous people has been described as typical of semi-nomadism (Khazanov 1994, 42): this means that families have several camps in a relatively small territory (approximately 20x20 km) and move between them according to seasons and needs. They have a winter camp and a summer camp, today with several log huts;[8] in addition, they may

also use other more mobile dwelling places. For example, in 1999 Yuri Vella had a *balyk* (a small house with wheels) close to a corral one hour from the winter camp, and a *choom* (conical tent) in which the family lived in spring, and which was set close to the place where the reindeer calved (see Niglas 2003a). Later on he replaced the tent with a light structure that was designed by local art students: it had a platform that allowed observation of the herd during the calving period from far enough away that the reindeer were not disturbed and it could be moved to a new place with the help of a tank-like all-terrain vehicle (Ru. *vezdehod*) (see also Niglas 2011, 54). Movement between these seasonal camps is either on foot, by ski, by dugout canoe, by snowmobile or by car.

When the natives make a seasonal change of camp, they move with everything they need to live. When speaking in Russian, they use the same term that tundra nomads have for their everyday migration (Ru. *kaslanie*). Although the movement to a new camp is today done mainly by car and has become faster and physically much easier than in the past, when people travelled on reindeer sledges, it has still retained psychological and emotional importance for those involved. Liivo has documented the stressful but exciting process of loading the car, driving and unloading everything in another camp several times on video. According to Yuri Vella, moving the camp was always a joyful and festive activity (Niglas 2014a; see also Niglas 2003b).

Even when the natives are not changing camp, movement is part of their everyday life. Many households have some reindeer, and despite most of the natives losing their herds during collectivisation and sedentarisation, most of those who returned to their ancestors' territories started reindeer herding again. Forest reindeer herding techniques depend on the season. In winter the reindeer are supposed to come every day to a corral in the winter camp. In the afternoons they go freely to the pasture the herder has oriented them to and either come back in the morning or the herder goes and fetches them. In summer, when mosquitoes torment man and beast, the pasturing is mostly free: the reindeer look for food during the night and then come 'home' again, because in the summer camp corral there is a permanent smoke source that protects them from the insects.[9] After the mosquito period, pasturing is free. The reindeer choose the place for the rut and the herder takes care that they are undisturbed. As soon as the first snows fall, the herd is gathered and winter pasturing starts again.

Therefore, looking for reindeer, following their movement, is one of the everyday obligations of the herder, if he wishes to keep in touch with his herd and not have it turn wild. A skilled herder is supposed to know where his animals went during the night and is usually able to find them in the morning. Usually

this tour is made on foot, but snowmobile or car may be used as well if needed (see Niglas 2003c; 2014b).

There are also other obligations that require movement in the forest: even though today shop food is widely present as a source of native nutrition, they still hunt and fish. Hunting and fishing are carried out mainly using different kinds of trap. Traps must be set on animal paths or in rivers and lakes, and must be checked. Some families, like Yuri Vella's, do not hunt regularly. Usually he shot a bird or a squirrel that might cross his path while looking for reindeer. But in summer his family fishes regularly. It is necessary to check and empty the fish traps every day or two.

Fixed points and their inhabitants

The fixed points are first of all, historically, the 'national villages', which were created during the collectivisation process in order to settle nomadic natives and use them as labour in collective farms. In the Middle Ob region, the national villages were founded in the 1930s, although the sedentarisation[10] process lasted much longer (Forsyth 1992, 293–299). The national villages have a population that is mainly native, although the villages are often run by non-native officials.[11] We have generally worked in the village of Varyogan, which was founded in the 1920s, and where a boarding school was opened in 1939[12] (Varyogan Secondary School). There were around 700 inhabitants in the village in 2010.

In general, the sedentary way of life is seen as the antithesis of nomadic life. Clearly there are major differences between the conditions in which the two exist that justify this kind of dichotomy. However, this view also exists because of a certain ideology that is cultivated sometimes consciously or unconsciously by the nomads themselves. This ideology is usually fundamental in the negative attitude towards the sedentary world (Khazanov 1994, 199). That is also the case in the Middle Ob region: for many natives, the sedentary life seems less fulfilling and harmonious than living in the forest. However, this attitude does not prevent the Forest Nenets and Khanty from enjoying the opportunities and conveyances of village life now and then. Even those natives who live in the forest were officially included in housing projects, and many reindeer herders received houses or apartments in the villages. However, they did not move there permanently, preferring to travel between the forest and the village whenever needed. At the same time most of the native people who live and work in villages have close ties to their nomadic relatives. We agree with Elena Lyarskaya, who has proposed an interesting insight into the Yamal region: while recognising that "life in the tundra and life in the village are clearly distinguished and opposed",

she argues that the Nenets society in Yamal is represented by a continuum and cannot be separated into only tundra people and only village people (Lyarskaya 2003, 269). This is a keen observation, the aim of which is not to draw absolute lines where they do not exist and to acknowledge a deeper fluidity between two opposite models as a way for Siberian natives to adapt to the alien structures that have been imposed upon them. However, while in Yamal most of the villages are still dominated by Nenets (see Vallikivi, forthcoming), in the Middle Ob region intensive oil exploitation has resulted in the development of various kinds of settlement with an absolute majority of newcomers.

In our research area, the national villages are like islands of native populations, separated from each other by long distances and numerous newcomer settlements. For example, the nearest national village to Varyogan is Agan, situated 100 km down the river Agan; to get there by car takes more than four hours. The closest small town (Ru. *poselok gorodskogo tipa*), Novoagansk, is just 8 km away from Varyogan; it was founded in 1966, and has around 10,000 inhabitants. The closest bigger town (Ru. *gorod*) is Raduzhny; it was established in 1973 and has a population of 43,500. As these data show, the foundation of these towns is quite recent and accompanies oil industry development. The nearest non-native settlements that were founded before the discovery of oil are the two largest cities in the region – Surgut (est 1594) and Nizhnevartovsk (est 1909), both having more than a quarter of a million inhabitants. While in Varyogan the population is two thirds native (Khanty and Forest Nenets), in towns there are only tiny percentages of indigenous people, the others being people initially connected with oil industry and coming from elsewhere.

These 'new' people are more or less mobile and undoubtedly they are migrants. Their mere presence is the result of a very decisive movement that led these people to build their lives in an ecosystem very different from the one from which they originated. They came with a strong motivation, often (but not always) two-fold: firstly for money, as salaries are higher in the North, in order to attract newcomers, and, secondly, for adventure, for pioneering and to have the feeling of achieving something. Usually, these people, mainly young men, came in connection with oil industry work. The oil industry has been expanding for about fifty years, and the massive migration and the multiplication of families has demanded the creation and development of all kinds of administrative service: industrial (construction, road building), commercial (trade and distribution) and services (banking, insurance, school, medicine, culture). Many of the inhabitants of these towns are today no longer directly connected to the oil industry. The life they lead in this environment is not so different from the life they left: a sedentary, urban, modern life.

Not all of the newcomers are fully sedentary. First of all, those who are involved in the oil industry do not always actually live in town. In Russia, long-distance commute labour or shift work (Ru. *vakhtoviki*) is increasingly becoming a means of meeting the need for labour in the expanding oil and gas industry. Both intraregional shift workers who commute within their region, and inter-regional workers who travel to the region from outside, are used to exploiting the oil fields in Western Siberia (Eilmsteiner-Saxinger 2011; Spies 2009). Most of them are younger single men who live in camps not far from the oil fields. They usually spend a month in camp with quasi-military discipline and then go back to their homes "in the South" for the same amount of time (Eilmsteiner-Saxinger 2011; Spies 2009).[13] This means that in addition to historical cities and mono-industrial towns that were developed during the first oil boom between the 1970s and 1990s, there are also shift-labour villages (Ru. *vakhtovoi posyolok*) with the capacity of several thousand oil workers. Clearly these workers are less attached to the land where they work, for they keep a strong connection with their place of origin.

So, as a rule the natives and newcomers live in different environments. Even most of the natives who are settled in villages have close ties with the traditional way of life. At the same time, they have had very little involvement with the oil industry. For a long time, the 'newcomers' ignored the natives because they were considered 'wild people' who were a hindrance rather than an asset to the industrial development of the region. Apparently, this attitude is changing and many reindeer families have some family members working for oil companies (Dudeck 2012, 97).

We already see that the forest, a dwelling place for some and a place for work and entertainment for others, may very well be a place for conflict relations between the two communities. Oil production sites have been built not in com-pliance with taiga logics, but according to industrial criteria. Production sites are built where oil is found, and shift-workers' villages where it is convenient for peo-ple to go to work from. The needs of reindeer and herders are ignored. Oil pumps may be just a few hundred meters from a seasonal campsite. Contacts between the natives and oil workers in the forest are thus unavoidable, and in order to understand the interrelations between the two groups, we must describe some of the more typical situations in which their interaction takes place.

Willing meetings

The initiative for meeting may come from either of the sides concerned. For exam-ple, it can come when a newcomer visits a native in his camp, which could be

for different reasons. The newcomer may be lost in the forest and happen to arrive at a native's place. He will then stop, enter the hut and be given the usual welcome a visitor, albeit unexpected, is supposed to receive in a camp. He will be offered tea and whatever eatables are available. News and comments will be exchanged. Life in the tundra or in the taiga is pretty monotonous; any unexpected visit is welcome indeed.

When the places are known it may happen that somebody passing by will decide to make a stop and have a chat. They might for example ask whether they can buy reindeer meat. Individual relations exist and are often quite friendly. The usual racism of newcomers (see below) is not actualised in the presence of a real person, and every native family has a network of superficial acquaintances, with which they exchange slight services and mutual help.

At Yuri Vella's camps visits were much more frequent than the average: Yuri Vella was a well-known personality and he was consulted by very different kinds of people. As an example, in winter 1999 in the course of three weeks that Eva spent in his camp, Yuri Vella was visited by a filmmaker, the head of a nature park looking for advice on reindeer herding, and entrepreneurs who were trying to sell biological toilets to people living in the forest.

Willing meetings can also happen when a native goes to an oil production site. These sites have become places in which problems connected with what both the natives and the newcomers call 'civilisation' may be solved. Different kinds of people and professions are concentrated on these sites: drivers and mechanics, welders and metal workers, geologists and engineers, etc.

The presence of oil industry infrastructure has allowed the spread of modern technology in the reindeer herders' camps. Most families have electricity generators and can use various electronic devices as well as other modern tools in their everyday life. In Yuri Vella's camps there are electric ovens, televisions, video recorders, computers, water pumps and mobile phones, not to mention chain saws, snowmobiles and cars. Some of these devices are easy to repair in the camp but sometimes more specific skills and tools are needed, and those are often available at some bigger oil site.

These oil sites are also urban culture representatives 'in the wild' in other ways. There are refectories where everybody can buy a meal and some basic groceries. Yuri Vella visited these refectories almost every time he drove past one in order to have a Russian style lunch and to buy biscuits, cakes, chicken, sweets and other food that would introduce variety into the everyday diet.

As Yuri Vella and other natives use cars, electricity generators and other fuel consuming technology, they have to find ways to obtain petrol without driving long distances to a filling station in a town. Since the beginning of the 1990s,

when the regional parliament approved the law about family territories, the oil industry has been compelled to ask for the natives' approval to extract oil on their territory. In exchange, the companies are supposed to sign "economic agreements" (Ru. *ekonomicheskie soglashenia*) and compensate the loss of reindeer pastures and fishing and hunting grounds. Apart from money, goods and different services, this compensation usually includes petrol. In this way, many natives get the opportunity to use generators, snowmobiles and cars – but they have also become more and more dependent on petrol. Compensation tends only to be paid to those natives who are docile and do not cause too much trouble. As Yuri Vella was actively trying to discipline Lukoil to change its working ethics towards the natives and towards nature, the company stopped fulfilling the economic agreement and Yuri Vella had to find other local sources of fuel. He either had to drive to a filling station in the nearest town or buy it from oil workers, who had obtained it illegally from their company (see Niglas 2011, 47). So, the native population may visit these oil sites and oil workers' towns to get fuel or to negotiate the economic agreements with representatives of the oil companies.

Difficulties of coexistence

Meetings between reindeer herders and oil workers often result in conflict. For ethnic Russians and for those who have assimilated Russian culture into their everyday life, the forest is a location of recreational activities and entertainment. Therefore, it often happens that natives meet oil workers in the forest when these people are either hunting, fishing, picking mushrooms or simply relaxing in nature, i.e. drinking. These meetings are potential sources of confrontation because the presence of strangers in the forest can be highly damaging for indigenous people and for their reindeer. For most of the newcomers the forest is a world unknown, even hostile, something of an antithesis to life in the towns. It is certainly not a civilised place that compels one to be responsible and to think about the consequences of one's actions. As they have no direct impact on the newcomers' lives, the rules of safety as well as of respectful behaviour are generally ignored.

The main danger for the forest, and for those who depend on it, is fire. Dry summers increase the danger of forest fires, which can destroy huge parts of the woods and reindeer pasture. Lightning may cause fires, but people who do not extinguish their campfire before leaving, or throw their burning cigarette butts onto dry moss, can also cause them. According to Yuri Vella, that is what had happened repeatedly on his territory: after strangers fished, hunted or worked in certain parts of the forest, fire started there. How dreadful forest fires can be

Figure 2. Pim River taiga, Estonian poetess Kristiina Ehin and Khanty linguist Agrafena Pesikova clean the forest near Pesikova's camp, gathering empty bottles left in the forest in 2005.

for the lives of people became clear in 2011, when lightning started a forest fire that destroyed one of Yuri Vella's camps and the family lost most of their winter clothes and many household items along with the entire VHS archive that Yuri had collected over decades.

A further danger for the forest and reindeer is also the habit of leaving trash in the forest. When walking on the forest roads of Yuri Vella's territory one can see empty beer cans and bottles almost everywhere. Campsites that oil workers use for fishing, hunting or mushroom picking are literally littered with garbage that leaves no doubt about the role of alcohol in those recreational activities. For example, in August 2005, after having spent a couple of days at a Khanty camp in the Pim River basin, Eva and her companions cleaned the forest of dozens of empty vodka bottles that had been left there during the two previous weeks. The garbage left behind in the forest is not only unpleasant for the eye but also dangerous for reindeer as they might harm their legs by stepping on broken bottles and beer cans with sharp edges. That is also the case with waste that oil

companies have left in the forest in the course of their industrial activities: broken wires, pieces of iron sheeting, toxic materials and oil pollution pose a serious threat to the reindeer (see Niglas 2003d).

The increasing number of people who move around in the forest either for work or for entertainment threatens the security of the reindeer. All reindeer, although they move unchecked in the wild, belong to someone. They are domesticated animals, as cows and sheep are. But while it would be unconceivable for an ordinary person to shoot a cow, reindeer are treated as game animals in the taiga. This situation was especially bad in the early 1990s, when oil workers shot reindeer from helicopters in the Varyogan area. This triggered native action: the Khanty and Forest Nenets blocked a road used by oil workers, called the press and protested against the danger their herds were exposed to. While in recent years this kind of attack has ceased, it is still dangerous for reindeer to move too close to oil sites.

Another danger for the reindeer is being disturbed by the presence of strangers in the forest. Reindeers are easily frightened. Even the noise of a passing car or a gunshot can make them scatter and run. Dogs, brought to the forest by oil workers, are also dangerous to the herd as they usually start chasing a reindeer whenever they see one, not to mention the harm the packs of stray dogs that have been left behind in the forest by their owners can do to the herd. A frightened reindeer runs away and can become isolated from the rest of the herd for a long time. A single reindeer is much easier prey for beasts and poachers, and a herder can lose several reindeer this way every year.

The herd is especially vulnerable to disturbance during the time of the rut. For the reindeer, the rut is very limited in time. Many females accept males for only a few hours a year. It is thus important for the herder to make sure that his reindeer are not disturbed during this crucial moment if he wants his herd to reproduce. The reindeer rut usually happens in late September and early October. This autumn period is also very good for hunting. Hunting is considered one of the privileges of people who are compelled to work so far from the pleasures of the city, and the oil companies have their own hunting societies. The regional authorities provide these societies with hunting grounds that sometimes correspond to areas where native people pasture their reindeer. When oil workers go hunting they usually use heavy transportation and dogs. If they pass rutting reindeer, it is very much to be expected that the herd's reproduction will be a failure. The rutting grounds of one of Yuri Vella's herds was on land that was simultaneously his family territory and a hunting area for the Lukoil hunting society. He expresses his anguish in a poem:

But the Land of Love
Where all must be peaceful
And quiet
As in the nursery,
Where one must hear
Only the cries
Of the newborn children
And the deer calves,
Where the peace must be guarded
against the car exhaust pipes,
against the barking of dogs,
against marksmanship over emptied bottles,
against forest fires from the hunters'
And fishermen's fires –
Now is the hunting ground
Of the LUKOIL Company.

And with the opening of the autumn hunting season,
When the deer
Have their Love time,
In that white,
World peaceful before,

The oilmen rush
Not for the drilling of oil and gas,
not for the strengthening of the state,
Not for the prospering of the people,
But
for a hunter's sport,
for the ranging of guns,
for the training of dogs,
for the testing of snowmobiles,
for picking mushrooms and berries,
for spending nights
beside the fishermen's fires,
for enlightening the children
in 'national hunting' […]
(Vella 2010, 34–35)

The movement of newcomers in the forest can also be dangerous for forest dwellers for a reason that may be summed up by the word 'vandalism'. Oil workers who are hunting or working in the forest might come upon a hut, a storehouse, a fish trap or a dugout boat. All these objects are someone's property; somebody has made them and uses them, even if they are just left unprotected in the forest. According to the forest rules, the use of these items in the absence of the owner is natural. When natives leave their camp, they usually leave some firewood in the hut, to allow anybody who passes by to make tea or to stay overnight, if needed. But this taiga hospitality, where nothing is locked up, is thoroughly unknown to people accustomed to a westernised urban culture in which it is natural to protect ownership. When there is no clear hint that property is protected, a sign is given that there is no need to respect the ownership. All over the taiga, natives have had the sad experience of finding their stores and cabins vandalised, their canoes burnt, instruments and furs stolen.[14] For example, twenty years ago someone burned down Yuri Vella's hunting cabin.

There are even worse transgressions by the oil workers, at least from the symbolic point of view. Destroying graves is unacceptable in every culture, no less so in Russian culture than in the native culture. Nevertheless, desecration of graves is often observed in the northern areas. Many graves have been destroyed in order to make way for industrial development in the region. Often a native clan cemetery is turned into a sand quarry or into new settlements, as it is usually located on high and dry ground between marshlands. For example, the towns of Novoagansk and Raduzhnyi are both partly built on the cemeteries of the Aipin clan. But there are also many examples of cemeteries being destroyed for no obvious reason. Is it because native cemeteries look different from the Christian ones, and therefore are not recognised as places deserving respect? Yuri Vella has written a strong text about his experience when visiting one of these desecrated cemeteries:

> For what reason? Yesterday I was passing by the clan cemetery of the Aipin. What I saw beats any reasonable explanation. The majority of graves are dug up. These are not the traces of animal claws, they are traces of spades, used by human beings. What were they looking for here? Why? The hidden treasures they didn't find in the storage huts at the sacred grove? […] Here lies the discarded rotten boot of the singer Shchimka. One can see a piece of bone – perhaps, the former foot? Is it the one he mangled once when, in his youth, he was bringing the fish train to Surgut, after the war? And the neighbouring grave of Ayzer, plundered as well? Here are the traces of the fireplace somebody had arranged. Two sticks and a kettle with a hole, put on

a horizontal stick, swinging like a pendulum. And inside, a white skull. What on earth does this mean, o you people! By instinct, I close my eyes imagining. Here I lie, at the end of the cemetery, dug out by some hooligan. And a curious and gnarled unfinished thought scratches into my weather-beaten skull: What have I done to you?[15] (Vella 2008, 36–37)[16]

Apart from cemeteries, which are also clearly distinguished as such by newcomers, there are other parts of the sacred landscape that oil workers destroy without even knowing it. Even ordinary places in the forest, which for newcomers appear empty, can be of the highest significance for natives. For example, Liivo filmed Yuri explaining at the oil company's truck depot where he went to get his things repaired that the depot was built on the site where his grandmother's aunt was buried. It is kind of surreal to watch Yuri explaining the whereabouts of the grave, using an oil pump and a filling station as reference points, and then talking about casual issues with the oil worker who has no idea what sort of meaning his working place has for the native (Niglas 2014c).

Another important source of conflict between reindeer herders and oil workers is the destruction of sacred places where natives worship their gods. Travelling to the sacred place and gathering there for animal sacrifices is an important aspect of the social interaction inside a community and is mirrored in the spiritual communication with the deity who protects that community (Dudeck 2012, 96). Unfortunately, these important communal sites are under great pressure from the oil industry: like the cemeteries, sacred places are usually situated on elevated and dry locations, which makes them ideal for sand quarries and for other industrial development. The main sacred place close to Yuri's camps has been completely destroyed: now there is the oil workers' village of Povkh.

There is a still-functioning communal sacred place not far from Yuri's autumn camp, where he sometimes performed rituals. It is a sacred place on top of a hill, overlooking the marshland and the Vatyogan River. According to Yuri, there were many reindeer antlers and skins hanging on the trees in the 1980s as the local Forest Nenets and Khanty visited it often to make sacrifices and offerings. But in 2009, we could see only a few very recent ones on trees. Yuri accused the oil workers of removing them. Yuri also said that the oil workers have desecrated the place in other ways, too: they used to drive their heavy trucks over the hill, and he also showed us a metal pole that was planted on the hill top as geodesic mark. Showing us the geodesic pole, Yuri made a remark that the oil workers would never think of doing the same in a church (Toulouze & Niglas 2012, 146–151; see Niglas 2014d).

There must be some reasons for behaviour that seems extreme and does not fit with the image of the civilised people the oil workers are supposed to be. We have already mentioned the ignorance of rules of proper conduct in the ecological and cultural system that is new for people coming mostly from urban and Western settings.

Alcohol is certainly one possible reason, or at least cause of such mischief. It is important to understand that for newcomers the forest is an environment full of ambiguity. It is attractive as a place for recreation and entertainment, but at the same time it is frightening: the forest is something exceptional, it is an environment that is non-domesticated. In 2005, the Russian truck driver who gave Eva and her companions a lift to Lyantor commented: "Of course, the forest is frightening. One has to drink." So, the forest is relaxing, exciting, and also frightening, and in order to feel comfortable one has to drink.[17] As the forest is beyond the ordinary life environment, visitors do not feel any responsibility towards it. But alcohol consumption could also explain the actions of ordinary people, who would not carry out these actions in their own environment, being sober.

Probably the main reason lies not so much in the newcomers' love of alcohol and in their ignorance of decent behaviour in the forest, but in their lack of willingness to understand this new environment and its requirements.

While earlier newcomers, who arrived in the region individually in different periods from the Tsarist era to the 1920s and 1930s, tried to merge into the local society by learning the new rules and in many cases even languages, those who came here during the oil boom arrived in completely different conditions. They migrated in massive numbers, bringing habits and values from the world from which they originated. Instead of revising them according to the new environment, they imposed their own preconceived worldview. The imported world they live in has very little to do with the new location of their life. Their values are confirmed by their community, which lives in a world of its own. They have no wish to change their habits and ideas. It is a comfort to rely on well-known ideas, especially when one is convinced of their superiority, rooted in instinctive racism. Racism towards native people is a general feature of Russia (see Pika 1999; Gray 2004, 95, 150, 204; Rethmann 2001; Bloch 2003, 143; Xanthaki 2004), even though it is often not backed by acknowledged awareness. It relies on a clear evolutionist understanding of culture, whose roots are deep in Soviet positivism and materialism. There is a universal scale of culture, of 'civilisation', according to which communities are judged and positioned.

The notion of 'culture' (Ru. *kul'tura*) or 'civilisation' (Ru. *tsivilizatsiya*) is a central one in Russia's ideological landscape, as Bruce Grant and Alexander D. King emphasise (Grant 1995, 15-16; King 2011). The concept of culture has two

different but interlinked meanings. On one hand, culture stands for everything that is peculiar to a specific ethnic group, as in the understanding that 'every people has its own culture'; on the other hand, culture is seen as a universal attribute of humanity (King 2011, 71, 115‒116; Grant 1995, 16). We would like to insist upon this universalistic understanding of culture as being a crucial notion in the North. 'Culture' and 'civilisation' are absolute notions[18] that denote the higher step on the evolutionary ladder of different forms of culture. They are opposed to primitiveness, backwardness, which is at the bottom of the ladder. The features that characterise civilisation are manifold: upbringing with school and written culture, urban ways of living, integration of progress and the refinement that is supposed to go with it. It may also be Christianity versus animism. Anything seen as archaic or primitive is considered as lower in the universal scale of values. The indigenous peoples are primitive and thus at the bottom of the scale. Moreover, they have themselves interiorised this category (Toulouze & Niglas 2012, 139). What is usually outside the awareness of the people who use these categories, is that what they consider to be a universal rule is actually the pre-eminence of one form of culture, more precisely Russian (cf Vallikivi, forthcoming).

Native adaptation strategies

The natives respond to the presence of oil workers in the forest by implementing different strategies to protect them from conscious or unconscious aggression. They try to find ways to co-exist more or less peacefully with the newcomers, as it is not realistically possible to get rid of them.

One way of doing this is to attempt to assert more control over land. The natives' concept of land ownership is much more flexible and more fluid than in the West. In Western thinking a formal land title and rigid borders define ownership of the land, which is then enforced by a legal system. However, in order to control the usage of land and resources, and to provide for the transfer of land rights between generations, an indigenous society usually relies on oral records and communal understanding. Thus, there was no need to delineate the borders of family territories. The arrival of oil workers close to reindeer herders' camps introduced the necessity to mark clearly the boundary between the reindeer pasture and the rest of the forest. Oil workers tend to consider the forest just as a kind of no man's land and feel free to drive wherever possible. One of the natives' strategies to prevent outsiders from entering their territories and so avoid contact with them is to delimit their territory with the help of road signs, written warnings and gates. Many reindeer owning families have also erected wooden fences to isolate their territory. Yuri Vella himself built several kilometres of fence.

Figure 3. "Native camp, entrance prohibited": the entrance to the camp of Boris Ayvaseda, a Forest Nenets reindeer herder, nearby Yuri Vella's camp in 2009.

The main aim is not so much to keep outsiders out – it is quite easy to open the gate and to get in –, rather it is to keep the reindeer in. Thus, reindeer should not be tempted to go wandering towards the oil sites, putting their lives in peril.

Actually, speaking about 'the natives' territory' is somewhat misleading. In Russia, indigenous minorities do not have property rights for the territories on which they live. They are allowed to use the land for free, but they cannot own it. They have no rights on the subsoil and for the raw material it contains, although they may use the surface area for traditional activities like hunting, fishing and herding. The majority of the landmass in Russia, including the territories of traditional natural resource use, is owned by the Russian Government (Yakovleva 2011, 9-10). In the Khanty-Mansi autonomous region the natives were granted the right to use their ancestral territories in 1992. The territories, called 'kinship territories' (Ru. *rodovye ugodja*) are officially confirmed to families wishing to lead a traditional way of life and have clearly determined borders.

Figure 4. The fence built by Yuri Vella and his wife around the kinship territory to protect his reindeer in 2009.

Figure 5. Metal barrier as a border to native territory on the Vatyogan River, 2009.

Apart from using different ways of demarking the borders of their land, some reindeer herders have convinced the oil companies to construct physical barriers, like metal gates and ditches that make entering their family territories very difficult (Dudeck 2012). Sometimes oil companies use the argument of protecting reindeer herders from outsiders in order to demonstrate their capability of controlling the natives' movements in the forest. For example, Yuri Vella discovered one day that he could not drive to his autumn pasture on the Vatyogan River as someone had erected a metal barrier on the road. The barrier was locked and it had a sign attached to it with the information that the key could be found in Yuri Vella's camp. According to Yuri, it was deliberate attempt to cause mistrust inside a local community as the barrier also blocked the way to an important sacred place that native people used for rituals. The natives' movement in the forest may also be controlled by checkpoints that oil companies have established on the roads to oil fields. Officially the checkpoints are there to protect oilfields and natives from outside threats like alcoholics, poachers and vandals, but quite often the companies' security guards make it hard for natives or their visitors to enter the forest.

There is another, more active way of protecting the family territory and the herd – chasing the trespassers out from the reindeer pastures, although not all natives have enough determination and skill to do this. One of those who was quite successful in this was Yuri Vella. Yuri insisted on catching the strangers who had entered his territory for hunting or fishing trips and teaching them a lesson. Lesson teaching did not naturally encompass either physical retaliation or brutal action, but was achieved with words – a means that Vella was probably much more skilled at using against Russians than most of the natives in the area. Vella tried to catch the people who circulated unduly on his lands, to identify them and to threaten them with denunciation to their bosses and to other authorities. This practise sometimes involved a nerve-racking car chase, skilful verbal attacks and a great deal of bluffing (see Niglas 2014e; 2014f).[19] However, this strategy, which is based on a kind of conflict behaviour, can be dangerous for the natives. The trespassers may have guns and may be intoxicated, and hence unaccountable. In fact, we do not know anyone other than Yuri Vella who uses it systematically to keep outsiders away. Thus, we can consider that this practice is not used very often among the reindeer herders in the region.

The best strategy to protect the reindeer in the region is active herding. In the forest, the herds are much smaller than in the tundra, where they can contain thousands of domestic reindeers. Some Forest Nenets and Eastern Khantys have herds with as few as 20 animals, while others have bigger herds, up to a couple of hundred animals. The small size of herds allows the herder to better protect his

Figure 6. Active herding means being close to the reindeer and getting them used to human presence. Yuri Vella among his herd in February 1999.

reindeer through close contact with his animals. Usually herders want to check their herd every day, either by visiting them in the forest, especially during the times of rutting and calving, or luring them home with the help of smoke in summer and treats like dry bread and salty fish soup in winter.

Yuri Vella tried to have contact with the herd as often as possible, and was therefore constantly looking for them in the forest, either on foot, by snowmobile or by car (see Niglas 2014b; 2003c). Being close to his reindeer helped him to discover the disappearance of animals from the herd early on, so he could find them before they ended up in the vicinity of oil sites and were killed there by oil workers. It also prevented the reindeer from turning wild. That is what happened with Vella's younger neighbours: they did not take enough care of their reindeer, mostly due to alcohol, and their big herd became so wild that the herders had to shoot deer in order to get meat. This herd has now scattered and is no more.

Another method to maintain a sustainable way of life in the forest is to negotiate with oil workers, to develop contacts with them and to convince them to remove the elements in their policy that disturb the natives most. As oil companies and regional authorities have promised that the natives' territories would remain free of outsiders, herders may rely on this promise to protest when they
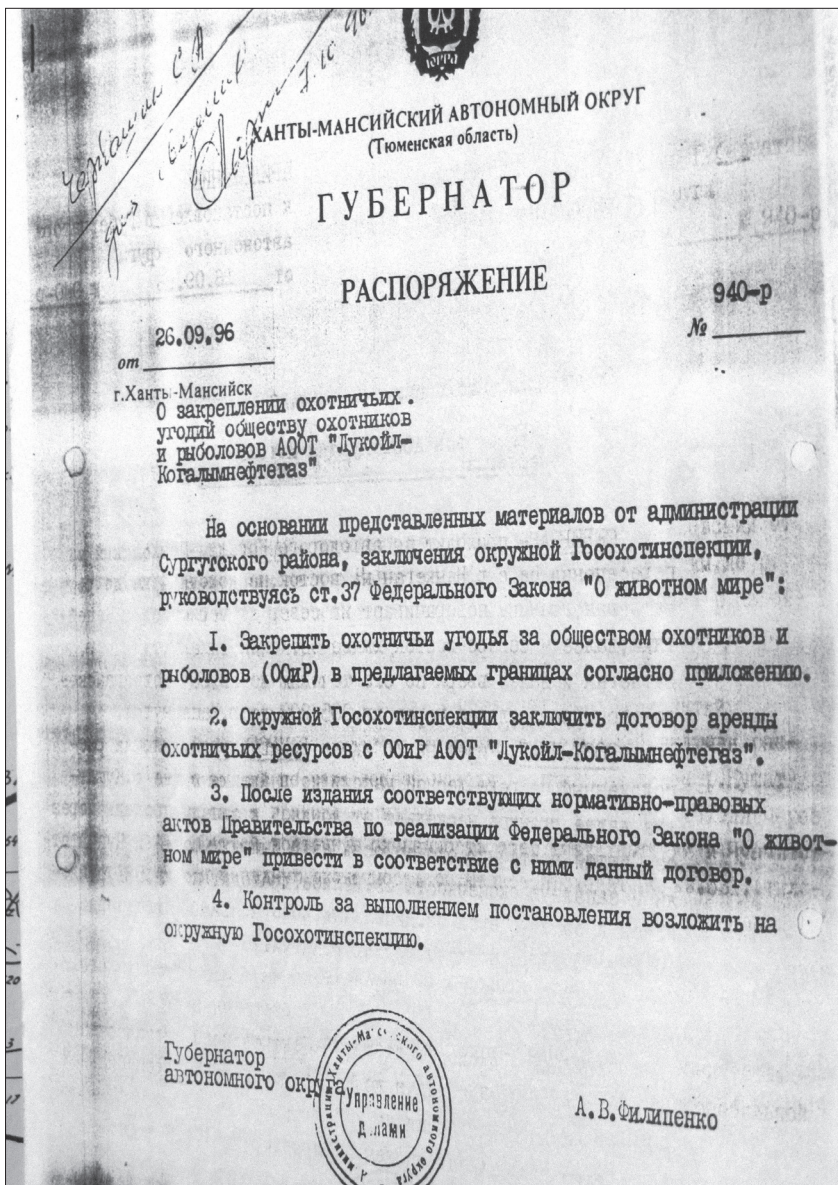
Figure 7. Letter from the Governor of the Khanty-Mansi autonomous region, Aleksandr Filipenko, entrusting the Vatyogan area to Lukoil's hunting society, 2009.

have proof that it has not been respected. Negotiations between the two groups have developed in the last decades as the law on family territories has compelled the oil companies to address personally the natives in order to receive their agreement to oil drilling on their land. Further, the need to sign "economic agreements" has led to closer discussions between the natives and the oil workers.

These discussions are unequal and difficult for the natives: the company and state representatives are masters in rhetoric and, moreover, speak in their mother tongue, while the native's culture gives a secondary place to verbal communication and they speak a language in which they are not so proficient. Often negotiation is not favourable to the natives, who sign whatever the company wants them to sign. It also happens, especially in the case of negotiations with the state, that an agreement has been reached but the next administrative level's requirement is not fulfilled, and the agreement may never be confirmed and implemented. For example, according to Yuri, in 1996 an agreement was reached between the heads of families and the local administration about the borders of the land allotted to each family. The natives were satisfied and considered that the measure was implemented. But this agreement was never confirmed at a higher level and, in fact, some months later a letter from the governor ascribed the same land to Lukoil's hunting society. The natives were not informed of this: Yuri Vella found out about it more than 10 years later, in 2009. So negotiations are important, but people have no illusions about them.

A new kind of symbiosis

Nonetheless, negotiation and cooperation seems to be the only way to survive. Actually, the natives are those who are most in need of negotiation because they have no real strength to oppose the newcomers. In the Khanty-Mansi autonomous region, the indigenous population represents, according to the 2010 census, around 1% of the population. It is clearly not a percentage that allows much hope in terms of power struggle. Moreover, the natives do not fight the intruders actively. First of all, they are accustomed to avoiding conflicts, and secondly, they know that if they would dare to, it would be an easy task for oil companies to squash them. In 2000, when Yuri Vella attempted to prevent Lukoil from destroying a bridge that was vital to his movement between his camp and the village of Varyogan by cutting the bulldozer's tyres with an axe, the result was a lawsuit, which Vella lost.

It seems that the key for natives to maintain a sustainable life in the forest is to take an active part in negotiations and to try to have access to the goods and services that can be offered by oil workers. But what does this mean in practice?

Figure 8. An electricity generator in Yuri Vella's winter camp, 1999.

Figure 9. Liivo Niglas and Yuri Vella after the purchase of oil, 2009.

An idealistic vision would perhaps be that of a forest without oil workers. But the reality is that they are there, and that they have brought with them a world that cannot be undone. In this way, new needs have been created for reindeer herders that only oil workers are capable of fulfilling. These needs have been partly created by oil workers, but they come also, more generally speaking, from the wish to live a life in the forest that has some aspects of modern comfort. Modern life demands energy, which is produced from the oil that the newcomers extract from the forest. Fuel is used for cars and snowmobiles, and for electricity generators. Electricity is needed in order to have light in the evening and during the long winter darkness, to charge mobile phones and computer batteries, to watch films or television, to pump water for the sauna, to bake bread in an electric oven, etc. Today, all natives in the forest have a crucial need for fuel.

The natives also have a need for technical help, as mentioned earlier. Many modern tools, such as cars, snowmobiles and electrical instruments cannot be repaired in the reindeer herders' camp, they have to be brought to a place where proper tools and technical skills are available. So, the natives have to go either

Figure 10. Iron stoves in Yuri Vella's car ready to be taken to Lukoil's site, 2009.

to a nearby town or to an oil site. Sometimes, they even may need to use heavy transportation. For example, when they want to move a log house to another place, they need a truck to transport all the pieces it is composed of. During the Soviet period, Vella decided to bring different kinds of cabin and storage house from abandoned campsites in the forest to the village of Varyogan in order to make an open-air museum there. He was able to do that thanks to the oil companies' cooperation.

But what can the natives offer the oil workers? Obviously, the oil companies are interested in native signatures on land use contracts for oil exploitation. Is there anything else that could interest the newcomers, such as they are? First of all, the natives can offer symbolic assistance. They may give shelter. After all, that is what they would do to anybody passing through the forest, and today the people more frequently lost are indeed newcomers looking for oil sites. The natives also have skills and knowledge that can powerfully contribute to the newcomers' understanding and management of the forest environment.

Unfortunately, these skills are usually not recognised. Being humans 'at the bottom of the civilisation ladder', their knowledge is too often dismissed as unscientific.[20] Yuri Vella said that he repeatedly proposed helping Lukoil to work out a plan for how to exploit oil in his territory in a way that was ecologically sustainable and had little impact on reindeer. Yuri believed that his model, which was based on his intimate knowledge of the forest ecosystem and the needs of the reindeer, could have served as a model for other oil companies in order to change their environmentally disastrous policies.

There are even more practical and efficient fields for cooperation. What the natives have, and the newcomers are interested in, is connected with the traditional way of life. The natives are the only ones to have reindeer. While a reindeer meat market is still not organised in the region,[21] oil workers and other newcomers might be more interested in buying or exchanging meat with the natives, instead of obtaining it illegally by killing a lost reindeer near an oil site. The other commodity natives have is connected to recreational activities in the forest. The oil workers' hunting, fishing, berry picking and mushroom gathering could be coordinated and agreed with the natives, if a proper relation system between the two parties were to be established: instead of entering to the natives' territory without their permission and disturbing the herd, the oil workers could be welcomed to the areas where reindeer were not present at that moment. There could be basis for negotiation and cooperation that would eliminate some of the potentialities for everyday conflict between natives and oil workers.

Neither of the two sides is really interested in confrontation. Oil workers at all levels are mainly interested in working, living and relaxing without any hindrance. From the natives' perspective, the main problem of course is the oil production that competes for land with reindeer herding. But they know that this cannot be solved according to their wishes: oil is so vital for Russia's economy that to expect any compromise on this point would be extremely naïve. Yet other sources of conflict could be avoided through dialogue: at the moment, the oil workers work, live and relax without taking into account the interests of other people living in the area. Better coordination between natives and oil workers could make things easier for both sides.

What is the state of the dialogue at the moment? On the one hand, relations with the oil companies as institutions are tense in our fieldwork region. The companies' attempt to keep the local population under thorough control has led to conflict, especially in Yuri Vella's case. Yuri was a skilled and active fighter for his rights demonstrating that sometimes there is no other option to protect natives' interests than to engage in an open conflict with the oil industry. Yuri Vella had a long confrontation with Lukoil that lasted for almost 20 years – from the time

Figure 11. A bridge vital to the natives, destroyed on the orders of Lukoil. September 2000.

the oil company decided to stop fulfilling the economic agreement in mid 1990s, as a reaction to Yuri's demands for environmentally responsible oil production, to the very end of his life in 2013. He was quite successful in this fight and proved that a native person can withstand the economic and political pressure from a giant oil company and state authorities, while maintaining a sustainable way of life in the forest. Yuri Vella's neighbours had slightly better relations with Lukoil, but at a price: some of the neighbours have yielded large parts of their family territory to oil exploitation and are experiencing a serious impact on reindeer herding and other subsistence activities. Recent developments in the region testify that there are other natives who have decided to put up a serious fight with oil companies in order to save their traditional way of life in the forest. Some have gone even as far as challenging the state authorities with the fact that they have the legal right to self-determination (Borodyansky 2014).

However, 'official' relations are not everything. The big bosses of oil companies sit in city offices and are almost never seen. In the field, relations are characterised by compromise and dialogue, sometimes peppered up by occasional conflicts. People meet, and stereotyped relations become more personalised. The relations Yuri Vella developed with the head of a Lukoil transport unit close to his camp offers a good example. Vella allowed him to hunt on his family territory and sometimes provided him with reindeer meat. In return, he helped Yuri Vella when needed. When Vella brought him his old iron stoves to be welded, there was a very interesting dialogue between the two men that illustrates eloquently

the relations between the two groups of people that have to find ways to co-exist in the forest: they looked like antagonists and accomplices, and playfully embodied the 'civilised' and the 'native'. But behind the words was a hint of friendship, mutual understanding and a long experience in dialogue (for details, see also Niglas 2011, 46; 2014c).

Conclusion

The natives living in the Pim, Agan and Tromagan river basins cannot use their traditional strategy of avoidance of outsiders when it comes to finding ways of co-existing with oil workers. Unlike the fully nomadic Tundra Nenets, who can avoid disturbed and degraded areas by changing their migration routes, the semi-nomadic Forest Nenets and Eastern Khanty have no option of keeping away from the areas of intensive oil production. Thus, they have to find specific ways in which they can adapt their way of life as reindeer herders and hunters to the world of oil extraction, migrant workers and energy dependence. In doing so, the native communities have to consider the needs of their members and the specific opportunities and limitations offered by the wider economic and political environment.

In the relations between oil workers and the indigenous population that live on the same land, there are always multiple levels. As far as the regional authorities are concerned, they naturally express support to both sides. The oil industry is the backbone in the regional authorities' relations with federal power, so it is vital for the local administration to give it as much support as required. At the same time, the regional and state authorities have the moral duty to support the indigenous people living on its territory, and in discourse they do so. But clearly, what is at stake is too big for the interests of the natives to be really protected.

On the other hand, relations between oil companies and the population are even more complicated. It is a well-known fact that the oil industry disrupts the ecological balance in the forest and that this is a huge disturbance for the indigenous population, whose living environment and resources are damaged. However, the consequences of the oil industry on natives' lives reach further: there is also the human aspect. People from all over Russia and the former Soviet Union have migrated to these areas, of their own volition and also to accomplish tasks useful to their countries (and to their families). They arrive with their own needs, their own habits and their own worldview. As little as the indigenous population likes their presence, they are a reality and cannot be ignored. The northern aborigines are pragmatic: they know that in order to survive they must find a way to live with the nuisances that accompany the presence of outsiders

in the forest and to lessen them as much as possible. They have adapted and built their lives on relations with newcomers, often using both conflict and cooperation to maintain their traditional way of life in the forest. As a result, a kind of accidental symbiosis has emerged, based on dependence relations. We have tried in this chapter to explicate the conditions and the outcome of this symbiosis. The main concern in the chapter is that the dependence is rather unilateral.

We hope that the video clips that are available in the electronic version of the chapter help the reader to remember that what we have presented here is a part of the everyday existence of real people, both natives and oil workers. In Yuri Vella's case, these video recordings are also a testimony to a great man: a reindeer herder, a poet and a social activist who is no longer among us.

Fieldwork materials

Fieldwork was conducted in the Eastern Khanty and Forest Nenets regions, Russia, 1999–2009. Materials at the authors' disposal.

Video clips

All video clips are available in the electronic version of the chapter, see http://cect.ut.ee/docs/Toulouze_Niglas.html

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Sources of illustrations

Figure 2 – Photo: Eva Toulouze, September 2005.
Figures 3, 4 – Photo: Eva Toulouze, 23 July 2009.
Figures 5, 10 – Photo: Eva Toulouze, 30 July 2009.

Figure 6 – Photo: Eva Toulouze, February 1999.
Figure 7 – Photo: Eva Toulouze, 31 July 2009.
Figure 8 – Photo: Eva Toulouze, March 1999.
Figure 9 – Photo: Eva Toulouze, 1 August 2009.
Figure 11 – Photo: Eva Toulouze, 14 September 2000.

Notes

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1 Oil worker (Ru. *neftjanniki*) is an overarching term that embraces all people who are connected with the oil industry, from ordinary workers to heads of the oil companies, including drillers, drivers, office workers and also their families. Actually the oil workers are those who, according to Yuri Vella, behave as no native would. As a matter of fact, there are no other non-native people in the area besides the oil workers.

2 'Russian' here is not a purely ethnic term: it covers a diverse community of workers who are united by Russian as a lingua franca and a Russian or Soviet way of life, and are of different origins – from Russia and the former Soviet Union (Vallikivi, forthcoming).

3 For more details, see Juri Vella homepage (Internet sources).

4 There are interesting parallels between the medieval fur trade and today's oil and gas industry in Russia. Alexander Etkind has demonstrated that "the same geographical areas that fed the fur trade of medieval Novgorod and Moscow have provided the Soviet Union and post-Soviet Russia with their means for existence. The oil and gas fields of Western Siberia have been found in those very spaces that the greedy sons of Novgorod colonized for fur trade with the Iugra, Hanty, Mansi, and others […] The main consumers of Russian gas and oil are also located in many of those same places, from Hamburg to London, which consumed Russian fur" (Etkind 2011, 170).

5 Yamal has done surprisingly well compared with many other northern regions in post-Soviet Russia: some regions experienced almost total collapse in reindeer herding after the demise of the Soviet Union (Forbes et al 2009). Igor Krupnik has labelled the crisis the "great reindeer crash" (Krupnik 2000).

6 Oysya Yussi, for example, left as soon as 1953 and never again visited the village.

7 While its penetration has been wide indeed, it has not induced a social revolution similar to that which Pertti J. Pelto analysed among the Sami (Pelto 1973).

8 The log hut is the traditional habitat for the Khanty. Until quite recently, Nenets preferred to dwell in conical tents. The above-mentioned Oysya Yusi was the last Nenets in the Varyogan region to use a *choom*. The others have gone over to Khanty tradition and live in what they call a *kapi mya*' (Khanty house).

9 In recent years, since 2008–2009, mosquitoes have been scarce. This causes concern to the herders, who have to look, sometimes quite far, for their reindeer as they are not motivated to 'come home'. In 2013, Yuri Vella came to the conclusion that mosquitoes are being systematically exterminated by the oil workers, who want to work undisturbed in the oil sites.

10 Sedentarisation of nomads was one of the main issues of the sovietisation agenda. It began intensely at the beginning of the 1930s and was achieved by the end of the 1950s.

11 For example, the administrative autonomy of Varyogan village has been thoroughly reduced in the last years: while in the 1980s and at the beginning of the 1990s sometimes the head of the administration was a native, in the late 1990s and the 2000s natives were supposed not to be able to administrate a village and at the end of the decade, the administration was transferred to the closest small towns.

12 See Varyogan Secondary School homepage (Internet sources).

13 In some parts of the Russian North, a kind of long-distance commuting was also practised in reindeer pastoralism, although it was never implemented in Western Siberia. This industrial nomadism (Ru. *proizvodstvennoye kochevanie*) implied a shift system in which herders alternated between working in herding brigades and living in the village with their families. It was an attempt to sedentarise nomadic families that was modelled after the oil industry (Vitebsky 2005, 44; Vitebsky & Wolfe 2001, 81-94; Stammler 2005, 149).

14 Khanty writer Eremey Aipin even wrote a short story in 1977 about a man who refuses to put a lock on his door (Aipin 1995, 65-74).

15 All the quoted English translations from *Breeze from the Lake* are made by Aleksandr Vashchenko, a non-native English speaker and Russian academic who helped and supported Yuri Vella and died some months before the Forest Nenets poet. To enjoy Yuri's literary talent, please consult the original Russian text (see Internet sources, Juri Vella – Books).

16 See also a film by Olga Kornienko (1998).

17 This attitude is revealed in the stereotype about Russian hunting and fishing culture. Several popular films have been dedicated to the phenomenon of Russian hunting and fishing, in which alcohol plays the central role. The titles of the films clearly hint at the national character of the behaviour: *Osobennosti natsional'noi okhoty* (*Peculiarities of National Hunt*) (1995), *Osobennosti natsional'noi rybalki* (*Peculiarities of National Fishing*) (1998), *Osobennosti natsional'noi okhoty v zimnii period* (*Peculiarities of the National Hunt in the Winter*) (2001). Actually, in the poem about the Lukoil hunting society we cited earlier in the chapter, Yuri Vella indirectly refers to them.

18 There are many comments on these terms as used in Russian, for example Piers Vitebsky and Sally Wolfe comment on Yakutia: "The current terms *kul'tura* and *tsivilizatsiya* are Russian words which carry heavy Soviet ethical baggage. This scale is mapped out across the face of the earth, along a continuum from wilderness, through the village, to various provincial towns and the city of Yakutsk" (2001, 90).

19 See also Niglas 2014b.

20 See Yuri Vella's enlightening short story "How the KGB man taught fishermen to catch fish" (Vella 2010, 51-55).

21 Unlike the Yamal-Nenets autonomous district to the north, where reindeer meat is commercialised, in towns of Khanty-Mansiysk district it is still very difficult to have access to reindeer meat.

The meaning of movement:
wayfaring to the islets surrounding Muhu island (Estonia) during the twentieth century

Riin Magnus, Kadri Tüür

> As in life, what matters is not the final destination,
> but all the interesting things that occur along the way.
>
> Tim Ingold (2007, 170)

Abstract. The chapter addresses the ways of living that evince an intricate entanglement of movement and inhabitance on the islets surrounding Muhu island (Estonia). Relying on interviews, archival sources and nature writing, we ask how movement has been shaped by the meanings that different places carry for humans as well as for non-humans, and also, vice versa, in what manner different kinds of movement contribute to the perception of particular places. The routes to and on the islets, as well as the skills, technology and even means of movement, appear to be closely tied to the activities carried out on, and in relation to, the islets. We also observe how the borders that are actualised in the environment of the traveller depend on the traveller's particular type of movement.

In order to demonstrate the interweaving of social, individual and environmental elements in movement, we develop a three-fold typology of movements, activities and resulting landscapes. The activities that give rise to human and animal movement to the islets can be preliminarily classified as cyclical (or seasonal) activities, constant activities (continuous activity throughout the year) and occasional activities. The activities and movements can in turn be related to corresponding functional landscape types: landscapes of subsistence, landscapes of living, and landscapes of experience. The chapter examines the historical dynamics of movement patterns, reasons for movement, and related knowledge.

Introduction

The variety of movement types experienced in everyday life shapes our perception of time and space. Movement thus serves as a key factor in the modern forms of what David Harvey has called "time-space compression" (Harvey 1989). Encompassed under the broader term of 'mobilities', and discussed in the framework of the 'mobility turn' in social theory (see Grieco & Urry 2011; Creswell 2001), the corporeal movement of living beings is merged with the mobility of transported objects, and both virtual and imaginative travel (Urry 2010, 145; 2007, 47). Movement, in this wider context of different kinds of mobility, is something which sets one free from staying put and being place-bound, and thus liberates one from the habits and social constraints that go along with being tied to a place. More fundamentally, movement, together with other forms of mobile life, becomes the primary condition of human habitation, questioning the primacy of sedentary existence (Sheller & Urry 2006, 208).

Against the backdrop of the recent discourse on mobilities, which indicates withdrawal from bounded places and identities, we would like to take a step back to the transition between place-bound and mobile ways of living. Instead of seeing sedentarity and mobility as two opposing and contradictory semiotic frames of human existence, we will take a look at ways of living that are shaped by both movement and place habitation. Tim Ingold's anthropological and philosophical research on the entanglement of wayfaring and inhabiting will thereby serve as the chapter's primary theoretical framework. In his discussion of traces, trails and wayfaring, Ingold points out that wayfaring is a pre-requisite for successful inhabitation (Ingold 2007, 101). Figuratively speaking, trails become tangled in certain locations, becoming meaningful places while at the same time enabling further wayfaring. Whereas 'location' and 'local' indicate certain confinement and boundedness, trails form meshworks that are based on movement (op cit, 100–101). Our task in the present chapter is to explore the dynamics of trails and places – on land and on sea, and made by both humans and non-humans.

Our research focuses on the wayfaring practices associated with the five larger islets (Kesselaid, Viirelaid, Võilaid, Suurlaid, and Kõinastu) surrounding Estonia's third largest island, Muhu (see Figure 1 and Appendix 1).[1] By asking when, why and how humans and non-humans have travelled to and from these islets, and who these travellers have been, we hope to demonstrate how patterns of movement have been shaped by the meanings that different places carry for both groups of actors, and also, vice versa, in what manner different kinds of movement contribute to the perception of particular places. When highlighting the different kinds of movement associated with the islets, we also propose a typology

Figure 1. The location of Muhu island and the surrounding islets
Muhu island marked with an arrow
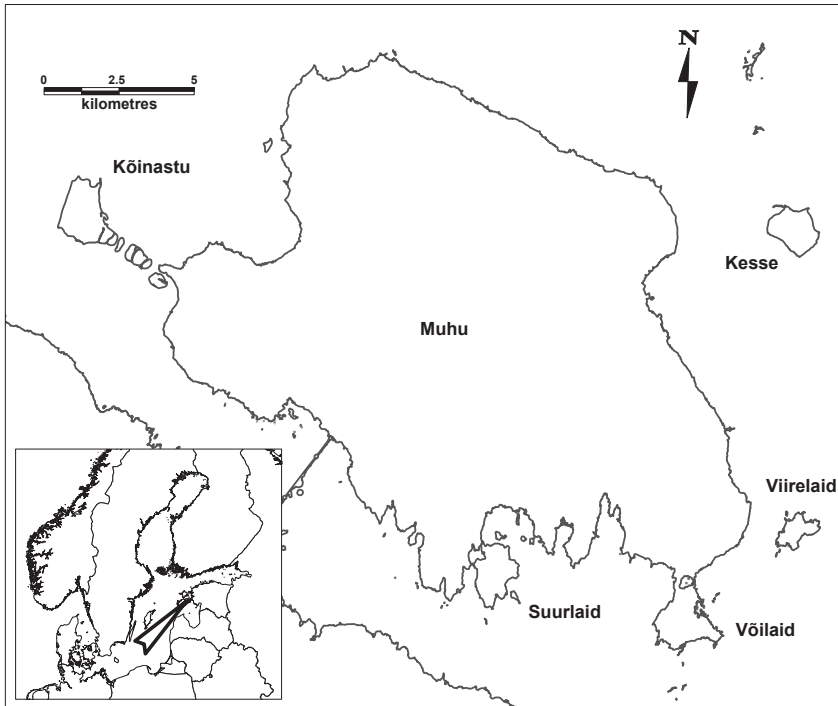
of landscapes that are related to the respective movement types as well as to the different borders that are actualised for different travellers.

The material on which our analysis is based has been obtained from archival sources and includes maps, scientific and nature writing, interviews with coastal people, oral local history and autobiographical narratives. The initial impulses for choosing this particular topic of research originate from Estonian nature writing and popular science writing. Earlier research on the islets, predominantly focused on natural history, has provided a necessary background. A considerable amount of material is collected and preserved by Estonian memory institutions, such as the Estonian State Archives, the Estonian Literary Museum, and Muhu Museum. We have used their card files, databases, and digitised online sources. Relevant documents provided online by local history researchers, such as Ülo Rehepapp

and Jaan Rebane, have also proved to be very informative. Interviews with the Muhu islanders about wayfaring to the nearby islets were conducted in the summer and autumn of 2011 and the tape-recorded, semi-structured interviews were subsequently recapitulated.

The historical formation of the knowledge–movement complexes of the Moonsund islets

Borders between different landscapes that might appear to be barriers to an observer or visitor do not carry the same meaning for those who possess the means and knowledge to transgress them. From the perspective of a resident, for whom a variety of movement skills forms an integral part of everyday activity, the borders in landscapes are defined by activity (herding, fishing, haymaking) rather than by any geographical landscape borders per se. Tim Ingold's notion of "taskscape" as "the entire ensemble of tasks, in their mutual interlocking" (Ingold 2005 [2000], 195) can thus be made good use of not only to describe the interlocking of human activities with the corresponding environment, but also to include the know-how and activity of getting somewhere as a necessary part of completing tasks.

A task is also something that combines a variety of natural conditions into a conceptual and meaningful place. The Norwegian philosopher Jakob Meløe has demonstrated how the formation of the 'harbour' concept depends on the character of practices and the means of movement (1988, 392–394). Shifts in the meaning of a certain concept (like 'islet'), depending on the type of practice in question, are also central to our chapter. To give an example along the same lines as Meløe's, landing places on one of the islets, Kesselaid, are a case in point – small fishing boats can approach the shore basically from any direction and find haven in several inlets (cf Maide 1923, 226), while today yachts need a dredged harbour for safe mooring.

A close relation between people's activities, landscape types and routes and movements can be observed on the Moonsund islets. These islets serve as models of knowledge–movement complexes. In principle, the same approach may be applied in other areas with less definite natural borders. For classificatory purposes, we proceed from a three-fold typology of movements and the resulting landscapes. The activities carried out on Moonsund islets and the movements that contribute to those activities can be classified as cyclical (or seasonal) activities, constant activities (continuous activity all year) and occasional activities. These types of activity apply to the whole period under observation, although the proportions of the activities falling under one or other type, as well as the

character of activities included under a certain type, have undergone considerable change over the course of the 20th century. The activities can in turn be related to corresponding functional landscape types: the landscapes of subsistence, the landscapes of living, and the landscapes of experience (see Figures 2–4). Each type of activity requires different skills, technologies, and even means of movement.

Next we will examine the historical dynamics and the particular connections between the types of perception and knowledge, the social status of the holders of the knowledge and people's activities as bound with particular wayfaring under the three different movement complexes. Although the types are taken as points of departure from which to describe the interweaving of the social, individual and environmental elements in movement, establishing the borders between them reveals plenty of transitory phenomena, which we will try to capture and indicate in the following analysis.

Occasional movement: from experience to refuge

The first movement type to be discussed is occasional movement. By this we mean movements that do not occur on a regular basis, but rather as single events or as unexpected necessities. Occasional and sporadic movements to the islets are often caused by some external force (a person is obliged to move by some natural, social or political condition), but may also be related to intentional experience-seeking. This type of movement does not necessarily have an immediate impact on ecosystems (although it may do, for example if a fire gets out of hand on a remote islet), but its long-term influence needs to be studied in more detail. The very fact of transgressing the physical borders between land and sea might turn movement into an event in its own right for the occasional traveller. Ingold (2007, 75–76) argues that each itinerary is actually formed in the course of movement; wayfaring is an activity in its own right, with an active perceptual and material engagement in the surrounding environment. In this way the experience of movement itself is highlighted, which changes the meaning of movement from a means of getting somewhere to an object of experience. Thus the transgressing of physical borders between land and sea, may be an occasion on which the interplay between the mundane, everyday activities and the either planned or unplanned irregular activity is acted out. Movement opens the islets as places for the explorer. However, what is often sought in them is the separation and isolation that they offer – the islets thereby evince what an Estonian researcher of environmental aesthetics, Kaia Lehari, has described as the ambiguous "closed openness" of an island (2003, 100).

The exploratory character of this type of movement stems from a certain lack of knowledge of the goal and destination of the journey, or of the right or the best way to reach the goal. The signs indicating the route are yet to be discovered, the links between different sea markers and landmarks and one's target yet to be created. One's immediate environment must be intensely and continuously studied – even a faint alteration in the direction of wind may bring drastic outcomes, as for example is the case with brittle spring ice.

Occasional movements that are forced upon the subjects or that are undertaken due to some unfavourable conditions may often occur during major social upheavals or extreme weather conditions. For example, two families from Kesse islet tried to escape to Sweden during WWII. One of them succeeded, but the other was captured by the Germans and taken to Germany. Aleksander Kipper, who was the last permanent native inhabitant of Kesse, also attempted escape with his family but was forced to return (Rehepapp 2007, 12).

In the interviews that we conducted with the coastal inhabitants of Muhu as part of our research, when asked about their experiences of travelling to the islets, people often recalled occasions when they had been caught in a storm or in fog or some other unexpected natural phenomenon. These stories and memories are more prevalent in connection with the islets farther from Muhu island, i.e. Kesselaid and Viirelaid, which can be reached only by boat or across the sea ice in the winter. One of the last inhabitants of Kesse is even said to have once stayed overnight on the small patches of land that have only bushes, called Kõbajad and located near Virtsu, when returning from the mainland on a dark and stormy evening (Interview 1). In this way, even well-established and habitual movement may unexpectedly turn into a unique experience. Under different climatic conditions, a route may suddenly appear as a border that is very difficult to cross.

Animals as well as people have had to deal with the threat of straying from their regular courses because of extreme environmental conditions. One of the informants recalled how the disoriented kolkhoz heifers once suddenly started swimming towards Estonia's largest island Saaremaa from the Kõinastu islet when caught in a strong thunderstorm (Interview 2). The inhabitants of the nearby Koguva village recalled that the whole herd, more than 100 heifers, drowned (Interview 5). As biologists and nature writers Tiit Leito (1984) and Haide-Ene Rebassoo (1972) have indicated, most wild animals arrive at the islets as a result of some exploratory movement: "It is hard to say whether it is a refreshing bath in the sea or the hope for better fodder that lures feral animals to the islets, but moose and wild boar often visit these places" (Leito 1984, 55). Snakes and even

several species of ant and ladybird venture to the islets, either by flying or swimming (Rebassoo 1972, 80–82).

There is a completely different rationale behind the voluntary occasional movement to the islets. When talking about the reasons to travel to the islets during the Soviet period, as well as today, the coastal people interviewed mentioned some spontaneous idea or plan stemming from practical considerations as an impetus for their visits, for example that of going to see whether there are birds' eggs, berries or mushrooms on the islets (Interview 3). On some occasions the visit to the islet was made as a foray off of a main route connected to another task, for example checking fishing nets (Interview 1).

The gradually increasing intensity of the unique and explorative visits to the islets during the second half of the 20th century, fuelled by the search for adventure, resulted in stronger pressure not just on the local habitats but also on animals and local people. One of the interviewees related how the hostess of the only remaining farm on Kesselaid, when faced with yet another group of random visitors, carried the food to the table, and then retreated to a quiet place and simply cried, as there was no longer much food left for her own family (Interview 1). The logic behind the unconditional hospitality of the remote coastal regions is the ancient assumption that the majority of unique visits stem from a need for something or an accident caused by the harsh environment (cf the narratives of the islanders' own unique movements) and are border-related situations rather than simply the search for new experiences.

The modern unique movements to the islets of travellers from the mainland and the larger islands include, for example, nature tourism and geocaching. These activities result in landscapes of experience: wild, unmanaged landscapes, in which even overgrown bushes and nettles can be part of the adventure. For the unique visitors who are in search of pleasure and adventure, the crossing of borders on land or sea, the voyage, and the subsequent encounter with the islet environment form a taskscape where the only 'task', paradoxically, is to enjoy the extraordinary conditions.

Cyclical movement and islets as places of subsistence

We refer to cyclical and seasonal movement as movement that is generally induced by the subsistence related activities on the islets that are of a seasonal nature. Unlike the geographical borders between sea and land that are typical of occasional movement, the borders experienced by seasonal travellers appear to be more of a temporal kind. The activities carried out on the islets are bound to the temporal transitions in the environment accompanied by shifts in subsistence

related activity. Historically, the recurrent movement to the islets was predominantly related to agricultural activity, mainly herding with the resulting alterations in the environment leading to landscapes of subsistence. Today, however, with the drastic decrease in small-scale farming in Estonia, the agricultural basis of cyclical movement to the islets is rapidly being replaced by a summer cottage culture. This also means that seasonal movements are limited to one season, summer.

The seasonal and traditional activities that belonged to the islets in the 19th and all through the 20th century included haymaking, herding, fishing, and gathering berries (strawberries, blackberries), hazelnuts, birds' eggs, sea shells for hens, different kinds of algae to fertilise fields and stuff mattresses, and birch bark for the floats of the fishing nets.[2] Kesselaid, with its fir forest, was also an important place to obtain lightweight and durable wood for tool handles and frames for fishing nets. Our informants' accounts reveal that fun also forms an important part of all the seasonal activities: the trips to the islets were considered leisure as much as work. This, as well as the above-mentioned habit of visiting the islets during fishing trips, indicates that wayfaring has been regarded as an important part of the formation of the knowledge–movement complexes of the islets. In the following we give some examples of how the seasonal paths have resulted in landscapes of subsistence on the islets. The need for haymaking initiated movement to the islets twice a year: in July by boat, from December to February by sleigh. The trajectories were slightly different in summer and winter, depending on the means of transport. In summer the boats headed towards the harbour sites, whereas in winter shallow coasts were sought, where the border of land and sea could be smoothly crossed with horse and sleigh. Avoiding underwater coastal springs is also important as the ice is weaker there and the danger of falling through is greater. Locating such sites of potential harm requires thorough local knowledge (the same can be said of underwater boulders and shoals on the boat routes).

Hay barns erected on the islets were in turn used by fishermen for temporary shelter if the location was far from the home harbour and the environmental conditions (such as storms or abundance of fish) required men to stay overnight on the islet. With the use of hay barns, the connection between fishing and the more predictably cyclical traditional activity of haymaking was established. Staying overnight on the islets during fishing trips was no longer practiced during the Soviet period due to the military security obligation to bring boats back to their home harbours every night (attempts to escape the Soviet Union by boat – cf above – were the reason for the restrictions). Cutting off mobility and traditional stopover places thus served as a means of controlling unwanted

macro-movement and border crossing by placing a ban on traditional micro-scale movements. In spite of this, and quite paradoxically, the complex of seasonal activities was still followed during the Soviet period, although it acquired a somewhat different rationale.

An interesting instance of seasonal islet inhabitation is pastoralism, with both humans and non-humans creating paths and places. Domestic animals often prescribe and shape the paths of people, so that feet follow hooves, as the anthropologist Pernille Gooch (2008) has phrased it. For a long time, sheep, goats and horses have been taken to the pastures on the islets for the summer as they can cope there without additional assistance (Kaskor 2007, 43–44; Parašin 1988, 47–48). In the 1950s and 1960s the kolkhoz heifers, which exerted a different and much stronger kind of pressure on natural habitats than sheep, were taken to all of the larger islets in the Moonsund Archipelago (Interview 4). The damage caused by heifers to the fragile plant communities on the islets has been critically noted in several pieces of Estonian nature writing (Rebassoo 1975a, 98; Leito 1984, 28). Judging by the number and tone of these accounts, it was not considered the most suitable idea for the islets. The transportation of heifers to the islets was stopped in the 1960s, when, after the drainage of bogs, more land was cultivated for grasslands on Muhu Island (Interview 2).

In relation to animals being taken to islets, it is relevant to address Ingold's (2007, 77; original emphasis) distinction between the character of wayfaring and transport: "Unlike wayfaring or seafaring, transport is destination-oriented. It is not so much a development *along* a way of life as a carrying *across*, from location to location, of people and goods in such a way as to leave their basic natures unaffected." Although taking animals to the islets is an example of transportation, we also find instances in which the animals defy their status as objects of transport and show their own initiative as wayfaring subjects. Due to the shallow water around Viirelaid, getting the heifers to the islets was technically not only transportation. One of our informants explained that once the boats used for transport reached their draught limit, the heifers were pushed over board, where they swam and waded to the nearest shore, that is, to their destination islet. The opposite process in autumn – driving the herd back together and getting the animals into the boats – was much harder (Interview 2). Today, special rafts with shallow draught are used to transport animals to the islets (Lember 2013) leaving much less room for the animals' own initiative for wayfaring.

Another culturally significant phenomenon of seasonal movement is the ice road. The islets were not cut off from the mainland and larger islands by the relatively harsh winters of the latitude. On the contrary, the long-term ice cover on Moonsund, caused by the low sea level, the low salinity, and the inland sea's

relative isolation, opened up a new and safe connection between islands and the mainland. The traditional winter roads went across the islets and had facilities (such as winter taverns) for wayfarers, run by the manors (Interview 2; see also Islet Kesselaid, EAA.2072.3.371.). Winter roads were often first traced and tested by the islet inhabitants, and traditionally marked with juniper branches every 50 meters – a practice still alive today. As the winter road was the only connection between the islands and the mainland in winter, journeys were often made even across thin ice (Mardiste 1971). As oral accounts and memoirs suggest, in such cases it was wise to give the lead to the most experienced horses, who were far more sensitive to the condition of the ice than humans and could thus avoid weak patches. Horses are able to jump wide cracks in the ice, and even if they fall in could be rescued with the help of traditional know-how (a slipknot was tied around the neck of the horse making it fill its lungs with air when pulled, thus easing the upheaval (Kesler 1968; Pallas n.d., 18)).

Functioning as a frozen bridge, the ice cover also changes the identity of the islets as sea-locked places. Kaia Lehari has highlighted the role of winter in the modification of place-identity, especially as it relates to islands:

> Seasons change the identity of place within different landscapes in different ways. […] Winter possesses the greatest transformative power, especially in an environment rich in water. The identity of an island disappears in winter ‑ it is no longer separated by water, it becomes a land closed by openness. The border between the water line and the shoreline has vanished (Lehari 2005, 124).

Taking the distance between two places as a function of movement time between them, the difference in travel time across the ice in winter in comparison with that across water in summer brings islets closer to the mainland and larger islands (see also Palang et al 2007, 11). However, in the case of unfavourable ice conditions, these islands could remain out of reach for weeks.

Another reason for coastal people moving to the islets seasonally, or at particular times of the year, relates to visiting the permanent inhabitants of the islets on some special occasions like birthdays or Christmas. Local people required no special sea signs to reach the islets. Even Kesselaid, the farthest of the islets in respect to Muhu (3.4 km away), is easily visible from the coast, and thus the shoreline of the islet is enough to keep the boat or the sleigh on the right course. This does not mean that locals were ignorant of other orientation systems, as one of the informants noted. They could use the spar buoys and other sea signs for orientation very well, although these were not needed to reach the islets. The

Figure 2. One islet, multiple landscapes. Landscape of subsistence: sheep in a Kesse coastal meadow, 1960s.

fishermen had their own points of reference: they oriented themselves to the best locations for fishing using angles to the island or the mainland (Interview 1).

The voluntary cyclical movement of (wild) animals is also related to the islets. Migratory birds use islets as stopping sites on their way across large patches of sea, thus contributing to the diversity of plant communities on the islets (especially plants that have berries, such as blackberry (Rebassoo 1972)). As a result of the diverse seasonal movements of humans and non-humans, landscapes of subsistence are created.

Constant movement: materialised knowledge, routine routes

When discussing the nature of traces, Tim Ingold writes: "In our terms the trace is any enduring mark left in or on a solid surface by a continuous movement" (2007, 43). He proposes a distinction between additive and reductive traces, depending on whether some material has been added to or removed from the surface upon which the trace is produced. When the trace transgresses the border between solid ground and water, as in the case with wayfaring to the islets, the conception of trace and its perception must be approached somewhat differently. Ingold remarks that traces left in water are instantly erased, but they nevertheless remain

etched in the memories of those who follow them (op cit, 76). As wayfaring requires constant sensory input, travelling by water may well happen along invisible lines, that is, by cues provided by the surrounding environment, including wind, water, and other species. For a skilled wayfarer experienced in islet-related knowledge–movement complexes, materialised routes in the form of maps and landmarks may not be of primary importance, whereas someone engaged in occasional travel might not survive without such materialised knowledge. The sea routes are not ingrained in water as the land routes are in land, although they are still fixed on maps which help to abstract occasional movements into a constant, repeatable route.

Constant movement is related to the formation of permanent inhabitancy on the islets. By 'constant' we mean movement that takes place to and from, as well as on the islets, a-periodically but frequently, depending on the needs of the islet inhabitants. In such cases the constancy of movement is derived from the necessity to stay in touch with the mainland or larger islands and also with the regular routes that are trodden between different landscapes of living on the islets. Borders are set between the marked trail and the rest of the terrain, which is perceived as unsuitable or less suitable for movement.

If in the occasional movement of marine travel the sea is seen as a potential place for travel, then in seasonal movement the areas perceived as suitable for movement are more limited due to the travellers' more detailed knowledge of the environmental conditions. The field of movement is narrowed down even more by constant movement, although this occurs for different reasons in different groups of travellers. For those relying solely on maps, the fixed trail is the route to follow because ignorance of local conditions excludes other possibilities within the area. On the other hand, for the inhabitants of the islets, who constantly move back and forth between the islets and the major island or mainland, the number of alternative routes is also reduced because their good knowledge of the local environment excludes routes other than the best. This does not mean that the same routes are used all the time, but that the route is selected according to the prevailing environmental conditions. As these two types of constant movement differ from each other in terms of know-how, means of transportation and reasons for movement, we will discuss them in separate sub-sections.

Constant movement of islet inhabitants. Several Estonian islets have had temporary inhabitation in the form of caretakers whose task was to herd animals and guard the hay grounds and fields during the vegetation period; these caretakers transferred to the main island for the winter (Kaskor 2007, 44). In some cases, seasonal activity has gradually grown into permanent residency, although links

Figure 3. One islet, multiple landscapes. Landscape of living: cattle belonging to the caretaker of Kesse, summer 2013.

with the main island have remained through administrative ties (baptism, funerals). In this way, landscapes of living were created on the islets. As Kaia Lehari has pointed out, an island is an ambivalent phenomenon as it implies both an open horizon and a closed refuge. Lehari states that "as a counterbalance to certain conservatism, the isolation of the islands has stimulated social activity" (Lehari 2003, 97). Historical data supports this observation. Permanent inhabitation in general brings about a more intense network of paths because the inhabitants need to travel to the mainland. Of the islets in focus here, four out of five have had permanent habitation (only the smallest, Võilaid, is uninhabited). In addition to permanent lighthouse keepers and temporary border guards, Kesselaid has had a village with up to 8 farms, which were finally deserted in the 1960s (Rehepapp 2007). This happened partly because electricity became available on the mainland and partly because it was difficult to organise school attendance for children from the islet. Viirelaid has had a semi-permanent hayfield, a caretaker's hut, and a lighthouse inhabited by the lighthouse keeper and his family (Kolk n.d.). The number of inhabitants on Kõinastu reached a peak of 73,

and 5 farms in the middle of the 19th century; permanent habitation ceased after the village was burnt down during the battles of WWII. Two brothers and their families lived on Suurlaid during the first decades of the 20th century.

Landscapes of living are created by permanent residence. The network of paths and places within an islet's geographical borders becomes elaborated over the course of habitation; micro-toponymic diversity increases, and thereby borders are marked and established within the islet. The constant movement related to the daily chores on the islet starts to prevail over seasonal and occasional movements.

Mapped movement. Even though maps have become enacted in the course of travel, their use does not preclude constant attention to the environment (see also Howard 2012, 174–179), as they rather serve as guides of perception.

The oldest maps in the collections of the National Archives of Estonia featuring the islets of Moonsund in detail date back to 1799 (Transportation Map, EAA.2072.3.372). Detailed navigation maps for passage through the Big Strait were compiled in the 18th and 19th centuries by Russian cartographers (Moonsund navigation 1, ERA.T.-6.3.1303; Moonsund navigation 2, ERA.T.-6.3.1308; Nagajev 1757, 12). Movement that previously relied on individual experience and attention to conditions was thereby turned into a universalised and repeatable undertaking. During WWI, Tsarist Russia decided to physically fix the navigation track into the bottom of Big Strait by dredging it. These were the largest dredging works by volume undertaken in the Russian Empire, resulting in a system of shipping lanes (Mereleksikon 1996, 491). Ironically, one of the Tsarist army's military ships, the Slava, was shipwrecked in the channel in 1917 (see the map Moonsund navigation 3, ERA.T.-6.3.1276, for the exact location of the wreck). This accident gave local peasants from both sides of the strait abundant reason to create new trajectories across the official one in the quest for various goods from the abandoned ship.[3]

Marine traffic in the Big Strait was rather heavy at the beginning of the 20th century, as the shortest sea route from the Gulf of Finland to the Gulf of Riga ran through the strait, with final destinations in the Estonian towns of Kuressaare and Pärnu, and the Latvian capital Riga (Ratas & Rivis 2005, 24). Viirelaid, with its location in the southern part of the Big Strait ferry route, was formerly named Pater Noster, which referred to the dangers of crossing this part of the strait. For the same reason a lighthouse was built on the islet in 1857 to signal the dangerous reefs in the entrance to the strait (Luige 1974, 45).

A remarkable shift in cognitive skills takes place when local everyday movement is replaced by professional navigation (Ingold 2005, 225–226). As our

interviews revealed, local fishermen were easily able to locate the best places for fishing by placing themselves in relation to certain parts of the shoreline. The differences between the local seaman's way of orientation and that of the mariner are clearly visible in one of the travel books written by the English author and journalist Arthur Ransome. Ransome, best known for his children's books, travelled in the Estonian coastal waters in the early 1920s and wrote a maritime travel book *Racundra's First Cruise* (1923) based on that experience. The following excerpt demonstrates the problematic position of a traveller who relies solely on technical means of orientation and disregards signs within the local environment. Ransom's way of relating to the surrounding environment is contrasted to that of a local sailor whom he calls "ancient mariner", who picks up information from the surrounding environment – waves, water, wind – and is sceptical about Ransom's technological approach.

> I could feel the Ancient waiting in the dark to hear me, having timed the light by a method (the stop-watch) in which he did not believe, admit that I did not know what light it was or where we might be. It was a most unpleasant moment. So I said nothing at all (Ransome 1923, 45).

A similar reluctance to accept maps as guides at sea is detected in Penny McCall Howard's research on the navigation techniques of Scottish fishermen, in which she mentions that in the 1960s the old-timers looked at those using maps suspiciously, claiming the use of maps was for those who do not know where they are (Howard 2012, 181).

We find a historical explanation for these two contradictory approaches to the marine knowledge–movement complex in Ingold's words: "Driven by imperial ambition, the Royal Navy sought to dispatch its ships towards destinations fixed within a global system of co-ordinates, sidelining traditional seafaring skills in favour of an instrumental calculus of point-to-point navigation" (Ingold 2007, 77). Thus we could explain mapped movement in terms of imperialism versus vernacularism. Ransome's story in its full length demonstrates that it is still possible to accommodate both approaches in one vessel in a relatively balanced way.

Postal transport was an important factor in mapping and transport along fixed itineraries and in creating regular trajectories in the Baltic Sea region from the 16th to the end of the 19th century. Postal journeys took place on a regular basis, either by boat or by horse and sleigh (Rullingo 2001, 299–303). The present-day ferry connection between Muhu and the mainland has descended from the postal routes, although it no longer relates to the islets in any way, as the earliest postal routes from Muhu to Pärnu and Haapsalu did.

Figure 4. One islet, multiple landscapes. Landscape of experience: hay making in Kesse village, summer 2009.

Over the past 10 years the Estonian government has played with the idea of constructing a fixed link bridge from the mainland to Muhu across Viirelaid. As no possibilities for driving off the bridge are planned at Viirelaid, this development would probably turn it into a non-place, enabling no alternative paths to the islet. At present, Viirelaid and Kesse are both non-places to the average users of ferry transport. The ferry route sets certain limits (borders) on navigation, and crossing over to the islets is excluded from the possible itinerary.

The islets still contain some potential for path creation, as indicated previously. Nature tourism activities started on the islets towards the end of the 20th century with travel to them being an indispensable part of the experience. These activities are, however, an intersection of unique movements (for the tourists) and constant movements (for the guides). In relation to the movements on Kesse islet, it is interesting to remark that the locals and their relatives habitually move around the islet clockwise (from the harbour to the village and then to berry-picking areas and beauty spots), whereas the trail for visitors has been designed anticlockwise (starting with spectacular geological formations, navigation constructions, cultural history sites, and finally the village ruins). One option may be no better

than the other, but the contrast between the logic behind path-creation for landscapes of living and for landscapes of experience is evident.

Conclusion

The three basic categories of movement (unique, seasonal and constant) to and on the Moonsund islets demonstrate an intricate interplay between human and non-human (from fish to heifers) actors, the social setting and environmental particularities, and the subjective will and its suppression. Although the reasons for travelling to the islets often seem to dominate and determine the ways, means and time of movement, the influence is reciprocal, as the aforementioned aims would not be reached without the latter. As a result of these movements, landscapes of experience, subsistence, and living are created respectively.

The movements always have a particular relation to the borders that need to be crossed in order to move. In the case of unique and constant movements, the borders are predominantly spatial (such as sea, land, ice, etc.), but in the case of seasonal movements they are mainly temporal (such as vegetative seasons, breeding seasons, etc.).

Despite the possibility of systematising the history of these movements by delimiting the complexes of knowledge, and the rationales and environments bound with them, we also clearly see how individual cases tend to slip away, transgress and combine the types that should organise them – animals swim back to where they were brought from, people spontaneously leave their regular routes, GPS-bound tourists safeguarded from getting lost meet challenges in testing out their ability to operate the navigation device, and so on. These examples show how the significance of a place is created by movement, paths and trajectories.

Interviews

Interviews with the inhabitants of Muhu Island. Digital sound files and manuscripts in authors' personal archive.

Interview 1 = Informants A (74 y) & B (47 y), 12 June 2011.
Interview 2 = Informants C (68 y), D (70 y) & E (79 y), 13 June 2011.
Interview 3 = Informant F (90 y), 13 June 2011.
Interview 4 = Informant G (74 y), 13 June 2011.
Interview 5 = Informants I (72 y) & J (67 y), 29 October 2011.

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Sources of illustrations

Figure 2 – Photographer unknown, around the 1960s. Hilda Kipper's private collection, reproduced with permission.

Figure 3 – Photo: Riin Magnus, 2013. Private collection.

Figure 4 – Photo: Indrek Allmann, 2009. Private collection, reproduced with permission.

Notes

1 There are approximately 1500 islets in the coastal waters of the Estonian Republic. Most of them are uninhabited. In addition to careful mapping of the islets on navigation charts, thorough geological, botanical, ornithological as well as environmental historical research has been carried out on several islets in the Väinameri (Moonsund) area (e.g. Peil & Nilson 2007; Peil 1999; Rebassoo 1975b; 1972; Talvi 2004) and in the Gulf of Finland (e.g. Jüssi et al 2002). Several sources also feature folkloristic and local history information concerning the coastal islets (e.g. Luige 1974; Peil 2011).

2 The list has been combined from indications in literature as well as on the basis of the recollections of our informants.

3 A documentary novel has been published featuring the event by Enn Nõu, *Mõtusekuke viimne kogupauk* (2005).

Appendix 1. Overview of the characteristics of the islets involved in the study

Name	Location	Size	Geological description	Land use	Inhabitation
Kesselaid (Schildau)	3 km from the coast of Muhu and 3.7 km from the coast of the mainland	1.7 km²	Kesse was formed by the retreating ice sheet, which scraped away softer layers of bedrock leaving the harder layers. The most remarkable natural object on Kesse is the 600-m-long steep coast on its western side (relative height 7–8 m; absolute height above sea level 15 m).	Lighthouse, village, hay fields. **Currently:** lighthouse, pasture (cattle), recreation.	Village of 5 farmsteads; abandoned in the 1960s. Permanent habitation at the former lighthouse keeper's house.
Viirelaid (Paternoster)	1.2 km from the coast of Muhu and 3.5 km from the coast of the mainland	0.8 km²	Elongated shape in SW-NE direction; up to 4.5 m high, meandering coastline.	Lighthouse, hay fields. **Currently:** no use.	Lighthouse keeper's family; hay field watchman. Permanent habitation until the 1980s.
Võilaid (Woielaid)	0.3 km from the SE edge of Muhu island, connected with the main island by a natural half-submerged causeway (Est. *silm*)	2.5 km²	Triangular shape, up to 3.6 m high, meandering coastline.	Hay fields, pasture. **Currently:** pasture (horses).	No record of permanent inhabitation.
Suurlaid	0.5 km from SW edge of Muhu island, connected with the main island by a natural half-submerged causeway (Est. *silm*)	1.9 km²	Elongated shape in N-S direction; western coast straight and up to 2.1 m high.	Village hay fields belonging to Suuremõisa manor. **Currently:** recreation.	One to two farmsteads; permanent habitation until 1971.
Kõinastu (Drotzenholm)	1.5 km NW from the western tip of Muhu island, attached to Muhu by a 2-km-long underwater sandbank (Est. *lee*)	2.6 km²	Round shape, over 5 m high, straight coast NW with high shingle and moraine banks.	Village, hay fields, pasture. **Currently:** pasture (cattle, horses), recreation.	Village of 8 farmsteads, burned in 1944; permanent habitation ceased in 1965. New permanent habitation in 21st century.

Visitors to the other side:
some reflections on the Baltic Sea
as a frontier and contact zone in late prehistory

Uwe Sperling

Abstract. The chapter deals with the topic of the Baltic Sea as a zone of inter-action and maritime travel in late prehistory, with particular focus on the relationship between the cultural spheres of the Nordic and Eastern Baltic Bronze Age (ca 1800–500 BC). The matters of discussion are the different theoretical approaches and strategies of interpretation applied in past and present archaeological studies on western–eastern interaction, and the explicit and implicit perceptions of the Baltic Sea in research as both a geographical and a cultural boundary. The nature and direction of contacts and foreign influence according to interpretations and reconstruction based on the archaeological record are also discussed. When questioning the conditions and practicability of maritime travel and seafaring in late prehistoric times by revisiting the archaeological evidence and corresponding data, the Baltic Sea can indeed be viewed from the perspective of a frontier.

Since the early days of research into European prehistory scholars have paid much attention to the occurrence of 'international' networks when preparing archaeological maps; that is, they have relied mainly on the distribution of metal objects and their find-contexts before final deposition (for example graves, hoards). These first networks, characteristic of the Bronze Age (ca 1800–500 BC) and expanding over vast natural territories and barriers (i.e. mountain ranges, large water basins), have been attributed to bronze and amber trade connections (for example Montelius 1910–1911; de Navarro 1925; Childe 1930). Metallurgy and amber processing have been considered the driving forces behind mercantile interaction ever since, and the exclusionary regional distribution patterns of the correspondent copper/tin ore deposits or amber mines in Europe made Scandinavia (with the Baltic Sea), the British Isles and the western Mediterranean the primary parts of this pan-European network (Kristiansen & Larsson 2005; Rowlands & Ling 2013).

**Figure 1. Map of the Baltic Sea with the large sea basins
separating southern Scandinavia and the eastern Baltic region**

In Bronze Age northern Europe the archaeological record of the Danish Isles and southern Sweden indicates large-scale metal consumption and a genuine Nordic metalwork tradition as well as long-distance exchange and interaction with distant regions in the west and south of Europe. Among the Nordic archaeologists it was the Finn Aarne M. Tallgren (1885–1945) who was one of the first to direct his focus eastwards, that is on the Baltic Sea area, south-west Finland, the eastern Baltic and Russia (for example Tallgren 1914; 1922; 1924; 1937). The so-called Mälar Celts in particular attracted his attention, as bronze objects (or subsumed types) showed an enormous geographical expansion reaching as far as western Russia. It was then that the Bronze Age eastern Baltic was included on the 'archaeological map' of interaction, with the result that the Baltic Sea is now perceived as a zone of maritime travel and interaction in late prehistory (Figure 1).

Since Tallgren's studies, only a few works have explicitly dealt with the topic of Bronze Age relationships between the Nordic and the eastern Baltic cultural spheres, and the conceptualisation of the Baltic Sea as a cultural boundary has remained a generally unexplored topic. This chapter examines three works from past and present research that deal with cultural interaction in the Baltic Sea in this particular prehistoric period. The archaeological record provides comprehensive data and material for interaction studies, as well as a range of alternative strategies for the interpretation of the nature and conditions of maritime travel in the Bronze Age. This might also affect our notion of the Baltic Sea both as a contact zone and a cultural frontier.

The Nordic Bronze Age – Birger Nerman's 'First Swedish Viking Age'

The Swedish archaeologist Birger Nerman (1889–1971), following Tallgren, dwelt on the issue of Scandinavian relations with prehistoric far eastern territories. Tallgren and Nerman both taught Nordic archaeology at the University of Tartu during the period of the first Estonian independency in the early 1920s (Lang 2006a, 21–23) and conducted studies of the material culture relevant in the discussion of the cultural relationships of the circum-Baltic area in prehistoric times. Nerman specialised in pre- and Early Viking Age archaeology west and east of the Baltic Sea, extending his research to focus on earlier periods and summarising his studies in an article titled "Die Verbindungen zwischen Skandinavien und dem Ostbaltikum in der Bronzezeit und der ältesten Eisenzeit" (1933). In this article, he introduced the eastern Baltic Bronze Age and Early Iron Age using selected finds in order to describe the character and dimensions of Scandinavian–Baltic connections overseas.

In referring to the very few bronze objects known from grave or hoard contexts at that time – mainly stray finds and presumably imported – and in specifying distinct Nordic features in local grave architecture (for example ship settings), Nerman argued from his diffusionist standpoint that western influence in the local material might be evidence of people migrating to the eastern shores of the Baltic. Even though settlement sites in the Bronze Age eastern Baltic had not yet been discovered, and the local characteristics of the archaeological material culture remained unknown, Nerman referred to the grave forms in the east as clear signs of colonising populations (1933, 245). The chronology of these Nordic expansion events have been paralleled with the increasing distribution of bronze finds and funerary customs across the Baltic throughout the Late Bronze Age.

Thus, both Nerman and Tallgren favoured the idea that the intercultural transfer and exchange of social information, as visible in the grave architecture

and funerary customs of the Eastern Baltic, date back to direct encounters with western visitors or arrivals. Furthermore it has been generally assumed that these extensive Bronze Age contact networks, such as the metal trade, were first established and developed for economic reasons and demands, in spite of the socio-political implications of travels and trade (see Childe 1930). There was no alternative approach among scholarship of the time, other than to explain the geographical distribution of objects and features, both indicating a common (for example Nordic) cultural–ideological provenance, as the result of the movements, migrations or journeys of ancient people. Furthermore, the distribution of objects or elements distinctive of an archaeological culture or cultural province has been viewed as the result of single encounter events (and not processes). It has also been generally assumed that the social and symbolic identification of objects or cultural elements have been received everywhere in equal measure, regardless of the distance covered or the degree of diversification in cultural–regional traditions.

One major topic that fascinated researchers of that time was the problem of the Mälar type axes occurring in large numbers both in the eponymous region of East Central Sweden and in Russian Tatarstan (Volga-Kama region; for example Tallgren 1937). These axes and their various sub-types today referred to as KAM (Ru. *Kel'ty Akozinsko-Melarskie*), have also been reported in Norway, South West Finland and the East Baltic. This entire phenomenon of expanding distribution patterns of KAM stimulated an on-going discourse on large-scale metal importation or migrating populations in the Bronze Age.[1]

Nerman can be seen as an extreme example of the expansionist/diffusionist view because of his emphasis on the Nordic dominion in the Eastern Baltic, resulting in the idea of Scandinavian ('Swedish') hegemony. Nerman argued that Nordic people, both from the eastern Swedish Mälaren area and from Gotland, moved eastwards because of demographic pressure and the shortage of resources during the Late Bronze Age. In spite of the Nordic traits in the eastern Baltic in grave structures and bronze objects, he was aware of some regional particularities, but expressed his firm conviction concerning the establishment of Swedish or Gotlandic colonies (Nerman 1933).

In regards to some odd features in the design of the Courlandic ship-like settings, Nerman adapted his interpretation strategy, explaining them to be signs of local assimilation and acculturation, resulting from progressively less contact with Scandinavia. In turn he saw this in combination with an economic crisis or decline in the Mälaren area after the era of the massive expansions (Nerman 1933, 252). Nerman was still applying this same scenario describing eastern expansion and subordination about two decades later, when he termed the Late Bronze Age

Figure 2. Map depicting the "eastward Swedish expansion" in the Late Bronze Age

The dotted areas are "the areas exhibiting Swedish objects or Swedish influence. In these, Swedish colonies were also undoubtedly established in several places" (Nerman 1954, 265). **Grey circles** show areas of main or significant distribution of KAM axes (see Melheim 2015; Bolin 2004), being the first stimulus of the expansionist view.
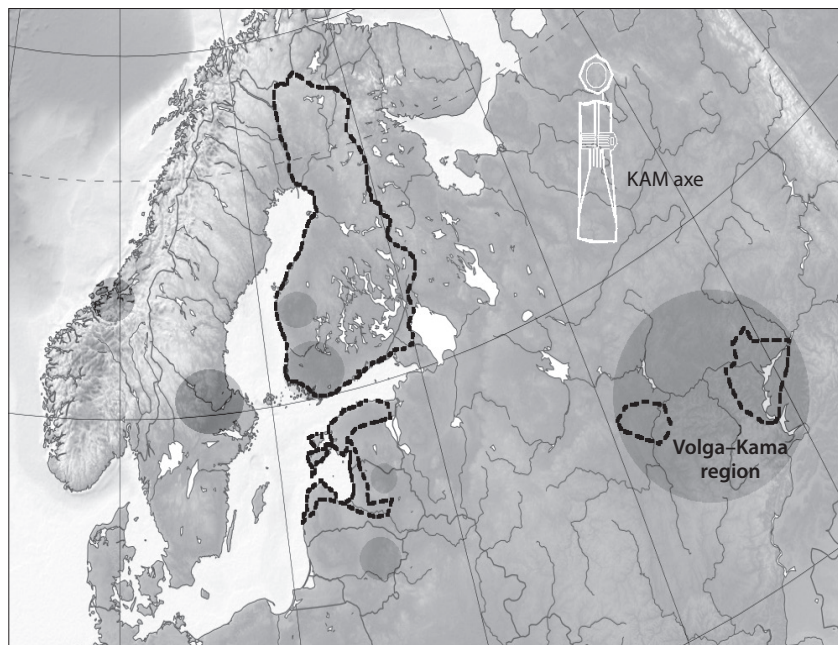
Source: Nerman 1954, 265, figure 1; adapted and simplified by the author

"a first Swedish Viking Age" (Sw. *en första svensk Vikingatid*) (1954). Again, the reoccurrence and distribution of particular objects and cultural elements in the region east of the Baltic Sea was explained as a chain of historical events that implied movement, migration and colonisation.

The methodological practice and approach remained the same, although following the geographical distribution of stylistic and iconographic elements or features presumably referencing, or related to, Nordic Bronze Age culture caused the eastern horizon to expand once more. Nerman propagated his idea of a one-way cultural relationship across and around the sea, a sort of a dominant cultural wave or movement departing from the Swedish regions of Mälaren and Gotland and expanding via south-west Finland and the eastern Baltic to the Russian

Volga-Kama River area (Figure 2), even down to the Caucasus and the Near East (Nerman 1954). In applying his hypotheses about demographic pressure and economic stress, Nerman saw intriguing parallels between the periods of the Late Bronze Age and the Viking Age (op cit): that is, Scandinavians were being forced to expand eastwards in order to find glory in establishing trade networks and in reclaiming their cultural hegemony. This theory on, and approach to, the matter of cultural relationships in the late prehistory of the Baltic Sea can justifiably be said to contain a chauvinistic flavour (Bolin 2004, 12).

However, and probably because of these far reaching assumptions, Nerman's thoughts have not always been much appreciated or followed by Finnish or Estonian colleagues (see Salminen 2012). In the 1930s there was already a thorough re-evaluation of the effect of methodological practice in archaeological interpretation, without denying the Scandinavian influence on regions east of the Baltic Sea leading to cultural relationships now being viewed as mutual and interactive. Nerman's propagated view should serve only as an illustrative example of the western perspective on intercultural relations in which one predominant cultural circle is seen as strongly affecting the passive, subordinate and receiving eastern sphere (Nerman 1933, 237; 1954). Not only was this argumentation based in a selective manner on a very poor selection of archaeological finds, it also demonstrates the metal-centred perception of any Bronze Age culture in and outside the Nordic sphere. As this chapter attempts to show, the contrasting juxtaposition of metal-rich and metal-poor regions west and east of the Baltic Sea has never completely left the minds of scholars studying cultural interaction in the Bronze Age Baltic Sea area. Objects and finds related to ancient metallurgy and metalwork have always been referred to as the pre-eminent key for understanding social and economic behaviour (see below). However, despite the nature and direction of the interregional and intersocietal contacts in question, the Baltic Sea has always been regarded as an open zone for any travel and interaction, although its perception as a natural boundary or maritime frontier in late prehistory has not been much explored.

Interaction studies – between the East and the West

Even though the archaeological data and information deriving from Bronze Age material culture that indicates intercultural relations in the Baltic Sea area increased remarkably during the post-war decades, studies of interaction between Scandinavia and the eastern Baltic remained for the most part untouched, even into the early 1980s. This marginalisation of research into both western–eastern Bronze Age connections and the Baltic as a travel and communication zone was

also conditioned by the omnipresent Soviet frontier. This political and ideological separation between the West and the East strongly affected the research, something that is particularly true of Eastern Baltic archaeology and its methodology, which was incorporated into the doctrines of Soviet history science. Despite the fact that the political situation during the period of the Iron Curtain and its ideological restrictions resulted in temporarily isolated and stagnant archaeological research in the Baltic States (Lang 2006b; Sne 1999), an approach was adopted that applied a frontier perspective to the prehistoric intercultural relations and interaction in the maritime context. Furthermore, this was conditioned by the scarce opportunities of western and eastern archaeologists to collaborate in common research projects or symposiums and the difficulties in exchanging information. This in turn resulted in the dilemma of autonomous research traditions with different or undeveloped views on cultural interaction and its role in social and economic development.

However, Bronze Age research in the Baltic States made some remarkable progress in archaeological fieldwork, as the large and extensive excavation campaigns in several Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian hill forts show (Vasks 1999; Lang 2006b). The results of these excavations remained generally unpublished or summarised in article form and only a few archaeologists from Sweden and Denmark actually visited the Baltic countries to study the material. In regards to Bronze Age research, there was only minimal progress. The situation began slowly to change in the early 1980s with the organisation of first meetings, visits and symposiums between Swedish, Estonian and Latvian archaeologists (for example Loit & Selirand 1985; Ambrosiani 1989).

In the context of Bronze Age connections between Scandinavia and the eastern Baltic, it is of importance to note a slow but certain shift in the dominant mentality and mindset in research, away from applying the perspective of Nordic hegemony and towards a perspective that admits a mutual relationship of interaction between the cultural spheres. This is mainly because the research situation has changed remarkably since the days of Tallgren and Nerman, when the eastern Baltic was generally perceived as a metal-poor region with little settlement and economic activity, implying, in addition, cultural backwardness.

From the 1930s Estonian and Latvian archaeologies benefited enormously from large-scale excavation of settlement sites, in particular that of the hill fort type, which spoke of an intense and dynamic settlement history from the Bronze Age onwards and shed new light on the cultural and socio-economic milieu and the development in the eastern Baltic of the Early Metal Age period. The Estonian prehistorian Harri Moora (1938, 369) made an interesting note about the metal-poor record in Bronze Age Estonia and Latvia, saying that it could have been

misinterpreted when used as a source of metal-consumption and socio-economic behaviour in the eastern Baltic. Different habits of metal deposition in the Nordic Bronze Age sphere should have been taken into account.

Indeed, after several excavations at various hill fort sites in the Daugava valley (Kivutkalns, Klangukalns, etc.) and on the Island of Saaremaa (Asva, Ridala), carried out up to the late 1960s, the metalwork situation appeared even more of a paradox. In almost all of the Estonian and Latvian hill fort sites dating to the Late Bronze Age, workshops with large amounts of bronze casting remains have been found (clay moulds, crucibles, furnaces), while the number of metal finds archaeologically recorded remained minimal. This seemed to confirm Moora's assumption concerning different deposition practices, probably distorting our picture of the amounts of bronze circulating in ancient times. Therefore, to assume missing developments and advancements in society and economy simply on the basis of bronze finds alone seems to be inappropriate and unsubstantiated. This was when the eastern Baltic settlements and the Bronze Age societies appeared in a new light – that of being self-sufficient and versatile surplus economies involved in long-distance metal exchange (Graudonis 1967; Lõugas 1970). Researchers now focussed more on the local preconditions and dynamics in cultural developments in the Eastern Baltic without broaching the issue of Scandinavia and its developing role and relations. This shifting focus, away from the predominant Nordic perspective and towards a growing respect for the Baltic Sea basin as a frontier between different cultural spheres, was apparently conditioned by the ideological restrictions of Soviet archaeology. It was only in the early 1980s that Soviet-Estonian archaeologists were allowed to reconnect with Swedish colleagues to discuss topics of cultural interaction in prehistory as well as the role and significance of the Baltic as a maritime boundary (for example Lõugas 1985).

In studies of Bronze Age interaction between Sweden and the eastern Baltic, pottery groups from settlement and grave contexts gained particular significance in the discussion on cultural interaction. Ceramics have been viewed as a new source of socio-cultural interaction – as in the seminal doctoral thesis by Hille Jaanusson (1981) on pottery material from the Late Bronze Age settlement site of Hallunda, located south of Stockholm at Lake Mälaren. The applied research perspective was no longer centred only on socio-economic significance, and the distribution of bronze objects was no longer regarded as the primary source of social behaviour and intercultural communication. Jaanusson conducted typological and quantitative-comparative analyses on eastern Swedish pottery, including references to ceramics from other regions such as Åland (Otterböte), Denmark (Voldtofte) and Estonia (Asva and Ridala). Here, and in her later works,

Figure 3. Map depicting the different boundaries of the Nordic metalwork region and the western and eastern pottery regions

The **streaked areas** are eastern pottery regions. Jaanusson's Nordic bronze work boundary (**dashed grey line**) has become obsolete, since metal finds (or casting moulds) reminiscent of Scandinavian objects are known across the entire eastern Baltic region.
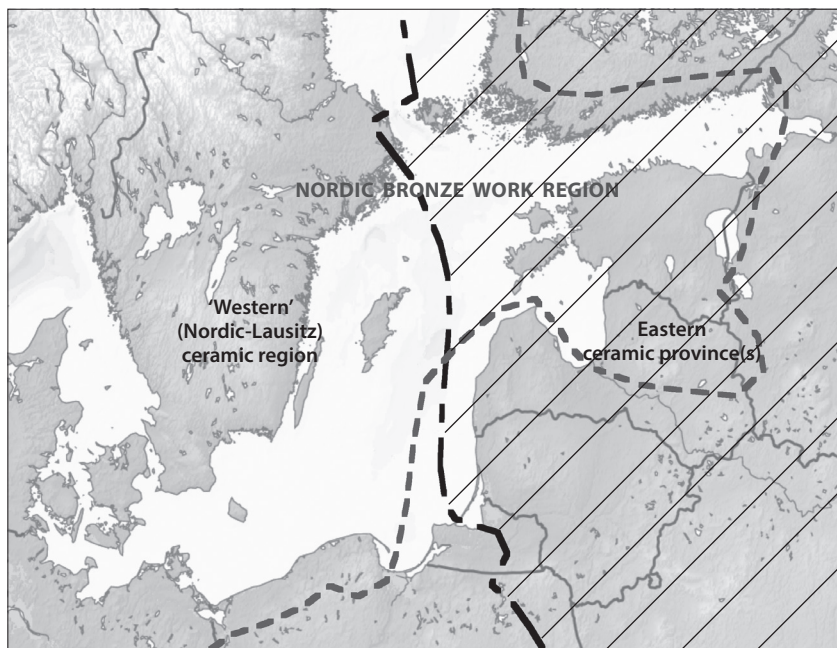
Source: Jaanusson 1981, 129, figure 59; adapted and simplified by the author

she views pottery as a source of socio-cultural interaction and applies a sophisticated analysis of the concept of archaeological culture (Jaanusson 1981; 1985; 1988).

Jaanusson's studies of settlement materials from various sites and regions made the eastern Swedish pottery a preliminary subject of research in order to describe and interpret the archaeological evidence of eastern impacts on the Nordic Bronze Age milieu (Ambrosiani 1985; Reisborg 1989; Eriksson 2009). Jaanusson's definition of ceramic regions with distinct characteristics, traditions and foreign influences in style and technology are also of relevance in discussion of the ways and forms in which cultural relationships might be reflected in the archaeological record.[2] Accordingly, pottery and metalwork show very distinct distributions and boundaries, and not in a synchronic manner (Jaanusson 1981,

128–130, figure 59). That is why they are regarded differently in their referential meaning as sources of cultural interaction. According to this view the distribution pattern of Nordic metal objects and their local imitations seems to suggest cultural connectivity facilitated or even channelled by the Baltic (i.e. water routes), while the rather distinct cultural traits visible in western and eastern pottery provinces and traditions (i.e. the Nordic Bronze Age ceramic region and the eastern Baltic and south-western Finland region, with Tapiola or Asva type ceramics (Jaanusson 1981; 1985)) resulted in an awareness of the Baltic Sea as a natural barrier or frontier that only sporadically and regionally allowed cultural assimilation. Only the south-west coast of Finland (and Åland), with its specific type of hybrid pottery, has been referred to as a region that mediates between the interacting Nordic and eastern Baltic cultural spheres, which might show that there was a northern group of contacts and external influence from the east (and vice versa).

The essence of Jaanusson's work was to emphasise that cultures and interaction in the past existed and functioned in various ways and dimensions, and the multi-layered and multi-directional communication visible in both metalwork and ceramics are not equally reflected (or present) in the archaeological record. She accentuates this aspect by contrasting the borders and boundaries of Nordic and eastern Baltic pottery and metalwork regions (Figure 3). There has been some progress in Bronze Age pottery studies in producing a much more diverse and complex understanding of pottery styles in terms of signification and communication of social identity and social behaviour (see Lang 2007; Eriksson 2009; Sperling 2014). However, Jaanusson's pottery-focussed perspective lacked the paradigmatic perception of metals as being of primary importance in inter-societal contact and in any socio-economic concerns and developments (see for example Larsson 1986; Kristiansen 1987). Therefore, in following Jaanusson's approach, metal objects should not be regarded as the most eminent or only medium that contained or communicated symbolic meaning and social identity.

Centre, periphery and the eastern Baltic – the Bronze Age world-system as a model of interaction

Recent research has witnessed a new theory of cultural interaction in the Bronze Age Baltic Sea with Valter Lang (2007) developing his view of the eastern Baltic as an integral part of a Nordic network of communication and exchange. Lang initiated and conducted several studies in settlement and landscape archaeology in different micro-regions of north-west Estonia (1996; 2000; 2003) focusing on the introduction and development of agriculture and forms of land use.

Accordingly, social and economic development in the eastern Baltic towards an agrarian society, and the formation of social inequality and stratification in the course of the Bronze Age up to the transition to the Early Iron Age, is understood in connection with the processes and events in southern Scandinavia. Lang (2007, 44) explicitly refers to Andrew Sherratt's (1993) model of centre–periphery relations between Europe and the Mediterranean during the three last millennia BC, mainly describing the conditions and relations of political and economic hegemony.

The insertion of Estonia into a centre–periphery system, seen from a macro-historical perspective, presupposed an interactive relationship between Scandinavia and the eastern Baltic and a situation of asymmetric socio-political and economic interdependence (Figure 4). This has been considered a fundamental feature of the Bronze Age world-system theory (Sherratt 1993, 4-6), i.e. peripheries (and margins), with less developed political, economic and technological potentials and infrastructures, are seen as having been influenced and stimulated by the centre through the exchange of information, goods and finished products that the peripheral or marginal areas were unable to produce themselves.

This scenario of Bronze Age Estonia as tied and connected to contemporaneous events in southern Scandinavia (particularly the Mälaren Region and Gotland) is conditioned by the social and economic meaning of metal finds and metal production (Lang 2007).[3] Accordingly, metalwork activity in the eastern Baltic hill fort-type settlements required a complex socio-economic organisation of labour and production. Bronze casting is regarded as an exclusive activity, indicating existing social elites with control over the processing and distribution of copper and copper alloys and its import to the Baltic area.

This implies access to the interregional and long-distance networks of metal exchange and considerable effort in the mobilisation of subsistence goods and facilities in eastern Baltic societies. Corresponding ore deposits required for making the copper and tin alloy bronze are all located in far away European regions, such as the northern Alps, the Iberian Peninsula, or Cornwall with its tin sources (see Ling et al 2013; 2014). However, Lang considers the metalwork in its specific, significant context of centre–periphery relations, as Kristian Kristiansen (1998) has previously done in regards to the metal-rich Bronze Age societies in Denmark and southern Sweden. This view of intersocietal relations in this period as being directed by the exchange of metals and securing trade and access to trade routes has been repeatedly accentuated (for example by Kristiansen & Larsson 2005, 37). What matters here is that it has been assumed that metal trade and metalwork are significant economic activities that describe the nature and direction of cultural interaction between the Nordic regions and the

Figure 4. Map with a schematised and simplified depiction of the centre–periphery view of the Baltic Sea area

According to recent adoptions of the Bronze Age world-system model
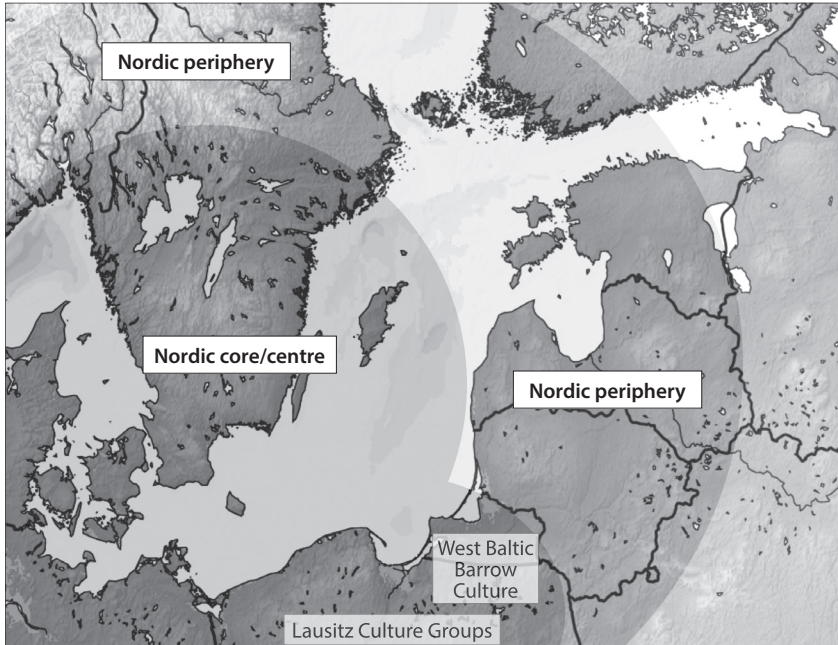
eastern Baltic. This led Lang to conclude that there were interdependent and asymmetrical relations between western and eastern spheres in the Early Bronze Age (2007, 44-47). Accordingly, only at the very end of the Bronze Age the eastern Baltic developed sufficient socioeconomic potential to reduce the asymmetry and to leave the periphery/margin status behind (Lang 2007, 260-262).

This world-system model is rather reminiscent of Nerman's interpretation of western–eastern Bronze Age relations, despite Nerman's raw colonialist and expansionist view (see above). However, what is important to the Baltic Sea is that it is still referred to as a cultural boundary under Nordic dominion. In any case, there has been a grounded critical response to applications of world-system approaches because of methodological problems and in particular because of difficulties in providing archaeological evidence for any economic (inter-)dependency (Kümmel 2001).

As in the case of the Estonian settlement sites of the Asva group and the social setting and organisation of bronze casting, there are indications that metalwork activity was indeed part of a complex economic strategy facilitating the exchange of secondary products from seal hunting and mixed farming. This might explain the preference for casting uniform bronze rings (ingots), but it does not hint at its primary significance in the economy or as a constituting factor in local society (Sperling 2014). The occurrence of bronze objects and local traces of metalwork activity bear witness to interaction and long-distance travel in the Bronze Age, but one might nevertheless question the role of metals as driving forces or primary factors behind any social and economic development.

There are recent contributions in research that provide a very diverse and complex picture of the subsistence economy of Bronze Age societies that lead to a rethink and discussion of the social role and function of metals and metalwork (see Bartelheim & Stäuble 2009; Sjögren 2006). Firstly, when referring to eastern Baltic metalwork as a source of both economic behaviour and intercultural contact, one must admit that the research is still at a preliminary stage in regard to the analysis of the finds and their contexts (for example workshops), and in particular to technological aspects. This concerns the prevalent premise of metal craft-working belonging chiefly to the elites, particularly in the case of skilled crafting. In the eastern Baltic the situation is different and seems to have been part of demand-oriented metalwork embedded in economic strategies, with a sort of democratised access to the mid-level skilled technology of casting multi-purpose semi-finished products (Sperling 2014). Secondly, there is the metal hoarding phenomenon in the Nordic and eastern Baltic regions, which has been seen thus far only in light of economic strategy or behaviour; the metal hoards seem to have been exploited as sources in trade and economy relations – and as arguments in macro-historical centre–periphery models (see Kristiansen 1998; Lang 2007; Vasks 2008; 2010). However, when accepting alternative and amended explanations of these bronze depositions, that of their possible background in the spheres of cult and religion, then their application as parameters for metal consumption or circulation in Bronze Age societies and economies might be questioned (Sperling 2013). That is why metalwork needs to be treated with caution as a referential source in interpretations of trade and economic relations from a large-scale, or particularly Nordic, perspective. This also relates to macro-historical models in general, because of the tendency to neglect or marginalise aspects of regionality and cultural variety of customs and habits described in ancient deposition practices.

In applying the core–periphery perspective and with emphasis on the social role and function of metalwork, the Baltic Sea is understood as a sort of cultural

boundary and open communication zone that, in the Early Bronze Age, was under Nordic or western dominion. According to Lang, the interregional disparities in the core–periphery development decreased in the Late Bronze Age, as did the perception of the sea as a former western barrier (Lang 2007, 44‑47, 260‑262). The Baltic Sea remained a cultural boundary, and one with socio-political implications (Figure 4).
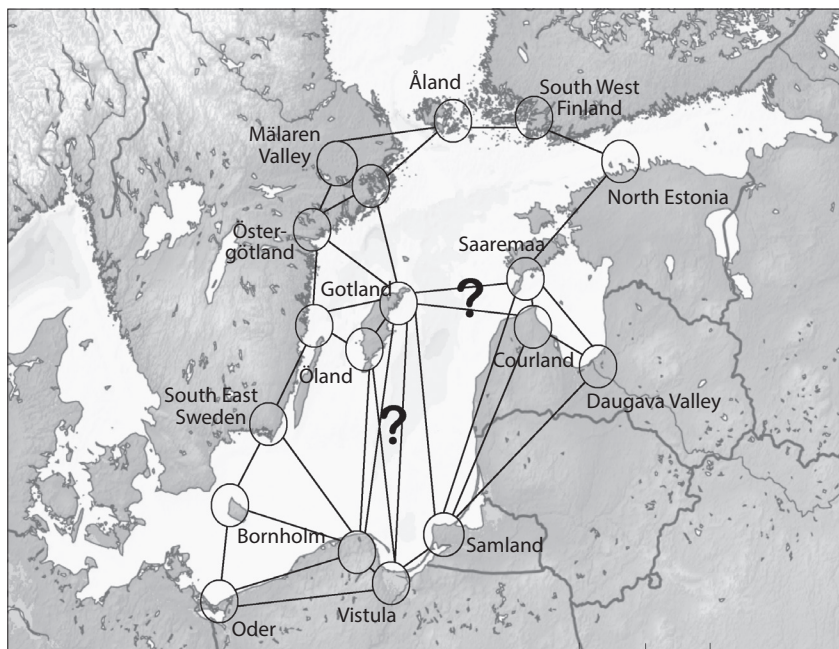
The Baltic Sea in late prehistory – a frontier perspective

It is the Bronze Age period that is ‑ when the metal-centred view is applied ‑ conceptualised as a maritime network because of the metal (copper/tin) supplies that seemingly arrived at the time in the Nordic zone and in Central Europe via western maritime routes (i.e. via the Atlantic from the Iberian Peninsula) (Rowlands & Ling 2013). Notably, in his recently published thesis on the Gotlandic stoneship settings, Joakim Wehlin (2013) describes the Baltic Sea as a maritime-based contact network and communication zone, as a 'maritory' (Figure 5). This is firstly in accordance with the omnipresence of both ship and sea as integral parts in Nordic Bronze Age cosmology, and secondly with the idea that the maritime network was established to facilitate the trade and exchange of metals with the eastern shores as well.

In any case, applying the metal-centred approach to the Baltic Sea situation of interaction and encounters between the West and the East is not unproblematic when combined with alternative approaches on material culture as a referential source of socio-economic behaviour or supra-regional network patterns. In regard to the Baltic Sea as a cultural boundary and contact zone, the works focussing on Nordic and eastern Baltic pottery groups as a source of interaction result in a different perception of the nature and social context of intercultural relationships. Bronze Age metalwork is regarded as belonging to a sphere of exclusive interaction between particular groups or elites in societies and as indicative parameters of socio-economic developments and relations (Lang 2007; Lang & Kriiska 2007; Lang 2010; Vasks 2008; 2010). Swedish Bronze Age pottery, with its foreign influences, has been referred to as a source of cultural assimilation and acculturation without these socio-political implications (Jaanusson 1981; 1985; Ambrosiani 1985; Gustavsson 1997; see also Bolin 2004; Eriksson 2009). Thus it appears that the archaeological record offers space for various interpretations and reconstructions of the nature and direction of cultural interaction, depending on the theoretical approach and applied strategies of interpretation in interaction studies.[4]

Figure 5. Map of the Baltic Sea and Bronze Age maritory network with assumed maritime crossroads

Question marks show those routes for which there is only circumstantial evidence

Source: Wehlin 2013, 185, figure 9.2; adapted and simplified by the author

When thinking now of the Baltic Sea and the way it is perceived as a border or boundary in late prehistory there is also reason to view it as a frontier, although only when applying a strictly directional western or eastern perspective. The application of a frontier situation for the Baltic Sea should be understood as a kind of suggestive, discursive construction or dialogue in order to imagine how the Baltic Sea has been perceived both by its inhabitants and its travellers (see Sooman & Donecker 2009, 18). This relates to both the imagination and experiences of the space–distance relationship of Bronze Age people, and the Baltic Sea in their worldview. There is also the question of to what extent these people actually perceived an 'opposite' (or any particular 'other') side of the sea.

As emphasised on the previous pages, some hypotheses on the nature and direction of cultural interaction do not always accord with the archaeological

data and situation. This might also relate to the issue of travelling and travel routes, in particular the conditions of seafaring in Baltic Sea prehistory. The centre–periphery or the metal-trade perspective applied to Bronze Age connections between the eastern Baltic (Saaremaa, north-western Estonia) and the Mälaren Region and/or Gotland imply that sailing and travelling was practiced on a frequent and regular basis, on existing sailing routes across the Baltic Sea. Therefore, local shipbuilding traditions and the nautical knowledge behind the use of proper, seagoing vessels are necessarily regarded as prerequisites for these short- and long-distance journeys in the Bronze Age. This all leads to questions about the conditions for maritime travel in the Baltic Sea during the Bronze Age, which is in accordance with the general scarcity of archaeological data in this context.

There is, of course, plenty of archaeological evidence of open sea travel in northern Europe before the Bronze Age: islands such as Helgoland, Bornholm or Gotland being populated during the Neolithic era point to long sea journeys covering distances of 25 nautical miles and more (45–50 km) on open sea (for example von Carnap-Bornheim & Hartz 2007; Rainbird 2007). It remains a matter of further speculation as to what the nature of these trips and their occasions might have been. The application of sewn-hide boats or dugouts on long-distance sea passages might indicate risky undertakings and acts of recklessness that were performed rather sporadically, due to the inconvenient and insecure conditions of navigation and travel, particularly in the case of boats unsuitable for open sea travel.

Bronze Age Scandinavia, in particular, is regarded as an area with a distinct seafaring and boat-building tradition, reaching at least back to Late Neolithic period. This is indicated by the many rock art depictions of ships in the Swedish regions of Östergötland and Bohuslän, where ship-like stone settings were used as burial and meeting places (mainly on Gotland), as well as by the rich metalwork containing ship-decorations (for example bronze razors).

Recent studies resumed the discussion of both the Bronze Age ship carvings and stone settings as sources of ship construction and, in spite of the abstract symbolism and ritual or mythological implications of the ship images, researchers regard the dimensions, proportions and significant technical details as rendering genuine types and forms of ancient sea crafts (Ling 2008; Wehlin 2013; Artursson 2013; Skoglund & Wehlin 2013). Unfortunately these carvings and stone ships do not tell us much about the routes and destinations of sea travel at that time, and finds of prehistoric boats or ships are generally scarce or absent. In the eastern Baltic only the few ship-like stone settings from the Island of Saaremaa and Courland (western Latvia) are referred to as sort of 'stranded ships', telling of direct travel across the Baltic to its eastern shores (Lang 2007, 166; Wehlin

2013, 36–37). In any case, the conditions of seafaring in the Baltic Sea area during the Bronze Age and the types of sea craft applied in long-distance journeys are still an issue to be researched. The crucial question is whether sailing ships or paddled canoe type boats were used for such journeys from western to eastern shores of the Baltic Sea basin (and vice versa) – and, again, the rock art images and the ship-like stone settings are the only available source (see discussion in Artursson 2013).

However, it is likely that Bronze Age people in northern Europe were acquainted with sails and their implications of use and function, since proper seagoing vessels using sail craft to ship crew and heavy cargo are known from the Bronze Age in the Mediterranean at the latest (late 3rd millennium BC; for example Lambrou-Phillipson 1991). Indeed, a small number of ship images from the Swedish Bronze Age rock carvings suggests the depiction of boats with sails, but it remains to be hypothesised whether the sails might have been used for travel and transport or if they are merely portrayals of ritual or mythological scenes (Pfeiffer-Frohnert 1997, 461–463, figure 5; Artursson 2013, 501–502, figure 4; Ling 2008, 201). Therefore, one must not fall back into evolutionist thinking and rule out the capability and feasibility of Bronze Age people in northern Europe constructing and furnishing seagoing ships with sails, or having the implied nautical experience and knowledge to sail long routes across open sea.[5]

However, the maritime situation and the conditions and dispositions of seafaring in the Nordic Bronze Age might have been different to the North Sea or the Mediterranean, for instance, and might have implied the need for sea-going craft with sails. In accordance with the Nordic Bronze Age rock art or Gotlandic stone ship settings, the most rendered type of sea craft is a canoe-like boat – also interpreted as 'war canoe' (with pronounced features such as keel extensions and prows; Artursson 2013; Ling 2008; Skoglund & Wehlin 2013).

Archaeological finds of Bronze Age boats, corresponding in age and construction with the Nordic images from stone carvings and stone settings, have been found on the English and Welsh coasts. These sewn plank-built boats, classified as from the Ferriby group, could be dated to around 2000 cal BC and are regarded as essential means of emerging Bronze Age long-distance exchange contact (Van de Noort 2004; Rainbird 2007). In Scandinavia, the oldest prehistoric ship find is the Danish Hjortspring bog find of a pre-Roman Iron Age date (400–350 BC), most likely illustrating a Bronze Age plank-built canoe tradition. These boats are relatively flat seagoing vessels using paddles and large crews to propel the craft – as is depicted in the Bronze Age rock art (see Ling 2008). It is assumed that smaller canoe-type boats had a size of about 5–13 metres in length for a crew

of 6–14, and large boats of 18–20 metres seating about 22 crewmen (and more) (Skoglund & Wehlin 2013, 494; Wehlin 2013, 160; Pfeiffer-Frohnert 1997, 463–465).

Various trials with archaeological replicas of the Hjortspring-type warship canoe have showed that the speed and manoeuvrability of these paddled boats can be compared to boats of later periods propelled by rowing (Fenger et al 2007, 38; see Englert 2012). The paddled sewn-plank boats could reach a speed of 8 knots, and with an average of 4–5 knots they might have covered distances up to 50 nautical miles (ca 90 km) per day, although apparently without the ability to tolerate rough sea (Fenger et al 2007; Kaul 2004, 136).[6] Therefore, the Bronze Age canoes are regarded as having operated mainly on sea routes that followed the coasts, estuaries and navigable rivers of the Scandinavian peninsula, and most likely for journeys of political and military character (such as raids) (Kristiansen 2004; Kaul 2004; Ling 2008). In view of Gotland and the particularly rich archaeological evidence of foreign contacts in the cultural milieu, as well as the omnipresence of ship symbolism (Sabatini 2007; Wehlin 2013), it is very likely that these canoes were used for frequent passage-making and open sea travel from the Swedish mainland to the island in prehistoric times. However, their frequent and regular application for direct sea travel to the eastern Baltic shores might be questioned.

With regard to the routes and distances travelled on the open sea, Ute Pfeiffer-Frohnert (1997, 453, figure 1) categorised ca 20 potential Bronze Age sea routes in the Baltic Sea in accordance with the distances covered: small tours between islands and coasts up to 20 km, then trips up to 70 km, and particularly long sea routes covering distances up to ca 240 km across the sea. The second and third categories might have been travelled occasionally rather than regularly (Pfeiffer-Frohnert 1997).

These direct and regular passages across the large Baltic Sea basins, such as the northern Baltic proper and Eastern Gotland Basin, required proper sea-going vessels, and Pfeiffer-Frohnert questioned the evidence of their potential use at that particular time. Gotland–Saaremaa (or Courland, about 160–180 km) could be sailed (and partly rowed) in one entire day (and part of the night) at minimum, but that is considering the practicalities and both the textual and archaeological data of later, mainly historic periods in Baltic Sea travel. In any case, it is an intriguing thought that – regardless of the (non-)use of sailing ships – people in prehistory might actually have avoided traveling both on open sea and at night when possible. This is simply because of the dangers of these venturous and risky sea trips, for crewmembers, kin and cargo, especially when travelling or sailing without the aid of coasts, skerries and islands as landmarks for orientation, and particularly without the help of celestial navigation.[7]

This aspect has been discussed and remarked on in studies of interaction between Scandinavia and Estonia in the Iron Age and Early Medieval periods, that is, in times when sailing was already performed as a regular practice in Baltic Sea travel (Markus 2004, 103–107).[8] This also speaks in favour of the idea that costal routes in Bronze Age sea travel might have been preferred to direct sea passages because the coastline (including islands), with landmarks and occasional landing sites, offered navigational aid and shelter – as is documented from historic accounts of the Viking Age and Early Middle Ages (for example Crumlin-Pedersen 1984; Breide 1999). Bronze Age practices of coastal sailing as an integral part of the interaction network are likely, although they remain hypothetical.[9] The current state of the archaeological record does not provide information on the routes and passages taken; in addition, there is a lack of knowledge on any landing or harbour site from this period in the Baltic Sea region. Therefore, the research deals with many potential or rather hypothetical connections or sea routes between Swedish and eastern Baltic regions, as a substantial link in the directional allocation of the maritime contacts is still being sought. Thus, when revisiting the archaeological evidence and the theoretical approaches in interaction studies, and when questioning the factual data of both the means of sea craft and the conditions (and nautical prerequisites) of Bronze Age maritime travel, the Baltic Sea might indeed be viewed from a frontier perspective.

Conclusion

I do not regard the Baltic Sea and its larger sea basins between the eastern Baltic and the Nordic zone as impassable barriers for interregional communication and exchange in principle. However, it is the propagated intensity and directionality in sea travel and interaction in late prehistory that remains to be questioned.

As exemplified above, the few archaeological interaction studies focussing on western–eastern relationships in the Bronze Age provide a range of interpretations and conceptions of the character of these relations and the Baltic Sea as a cultural boundary. This is due to the referential object groups chosen (metalwork versus pottery and funerary customs), the variety of correspondent sources of quantitative data and information available, and last but not least to the varied theoretical approaches. The frontier perspective is also applied in order to emphasise the particular nature, history and preconditions of the Baltic Sea in the development and establishment of both maritime travel and cultural interaction – in comparison to other European maritime networks and potential seaways (for example the Atlantic and Mediterranean).

When accentuating the regionally diversified developments and the general complexity of the archaeological record in accordance with the many recent material culture studies in the circum-Baltic Sea area, we obtain a rather complex picture of various maritime micro-level communication networks. This is why a critical attitude towards the application of both the macro-historic centre–periphery and the metal-centred perspectives seem to be justified. This frontier approach means ruling out neither the Nordic influence or dominance in some regional–cultural developments in the Baltic Sea area, nor the socio-economic implications of metal exchange. However, understanding the nature of cultural interaction should probably not be made in terms of directional exchange (or trade) alone.

Interaction studies first need to ascertain the right referential sources in material culture for the signification and communication of social information, such as group identity and persisting boundaries (see Dietler & Herbich 1998). This is because of the various patterns and spheres in material culture that might reflect the exchange of social information, in addition to which metalwork apparently played a distinct but singular role in cultural encounters and interaction. This becomes apparent with the recent studies in Bronze Age material culture of the two often interlinked islands of Gotland and Saaremaa, particularly because of the occurring hybridity phenomena and adoptions of Nordic, Eastern Central European and Eastern Baltic influences (for example funerary customs, pottery; Sabatini 2007; Sperling 2014). However, this allows an altered view of the sea as a dividing and separating border element, particularly in the case of the discussed Bronze Age relations between western and eastern shores. The much propagated connectivity between the Nordic (including Gotland) and eastern Baltic shores, perceived as interacting cultural spheres, needs revision, as well as the prevailing imagery of the Baltic Sea as an open maritime travel zone in late prehistory.

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Notes

1 See Lene Melheim (2015) summarising the research debate about the KAM phenomenon, also in referring to recent results of trace element and isotope analyses of copper. Later on the debate was about an assumed eastern origin of Scandinavian KAM axes, instead, which is in regards to distribution patterns of archaeological production remains and metal analysis. Recent investigations point to more or less simultaneous, indigenous developments and traditions in the axes' style and technique.

2 The occurrence of striation and textile imprints on the surface of Nordic pottery in a few coastal sites in middle-eastern Sweden indicated eastern influence (Jaanusson 1981; Ambrosiani 1989; Reisborg 1989), and the profiled and polished fine-ware bowls appearing in a few Estonian and Finnish sites (for example Asva) only, indicated both Nordic and eastern Central European Baltic influence (Jaanusson 1981; Lõugas 1970; Lang 1991; 1996).

3 The rare metal finds in the eastern Baltic are generally regarded as prestige goods and their exchange and import is explained by the application of the renowned gift-exchange model from archaeo-ethnographic research, wherein the social status of elite and prestige might have been negotiated through ceremonial-symbolic acts of exchange (Lang & Kriiska 2007, 110-112; Lang 2007, 38–44).

4 Nevertheless, some new insights and developments in recent research might affect further discussion. As it turns out, after typological-comparative and chronological analyses of Nordic and eastern Baltic pottery (Gustavsson 1997; Eriksson 2009; Sperling 2014), the western-eastern relationship and influences in style and technology are far less visible in correspondent Swedish and Estonian ceramic groups than in those from eastern Central-European *Urnfield* groups, for instance. Furthermore, certain techniques of surface treatment or decoration, such as striation and textile imprints, should not always

be treated as hints of or witness to (eastern) provenance or foreign cultural influence (see Eriksson 2009).

5 The recently discovered Salme ship burial on the Island of Saaremaa, dating to the Late Vendel or pre-Viking Period (early 8th century AD), is considered to be the oldest ship find furnished with sails (in addition to oars) in the Baltic Sea area (Mäss 2012; Peets et al 2013). The Gotlandic picture-stones suggest the use of sailing ships by about 500 AD (Nylén 1985).

6 Other estimates, based on historic accounts of Viking Age and adapted trials, suggest that ca 36 nautical miles per day (66 km) could be accomplished in six shifts of rowing (see Englert 2012, 140; also Pfeiffer-Frohnert 1997, 465).

7 For open sea passages by paddled boat one must take into consideration the hardly predictable sea currents in the Baltic (check, for instance, the digital archive of the Federal Maritime and Hydrographic Agency of Germany). See also Lambrou-Phillipson (1991) and her objections, based on the obstructive nature of local currents, to a proposed ancient route from Egypt to Crete.

8 See Breide for a discussion of the reason for, and occasion of, the recording of the Danish Itinerary (ca 1300 AD), a sailing description of a coastal route possibly with a long tradition reaching back to prehistoric times, with many stopovers and landing sites, starting from the former Danish province of Blekinge and heading past various coasts and islets via Finland to Estonia (Reval) (1999, figure 2; Markus 2004, 104–107, figure 12). The largest distances covered on open sea without sight of landmarks might have been about 50 km, that is, between the islets in the Gulf of Finland.

9 There is also the possibility of Bronze Age communities travelling fair distances in winter times, across the Baltic, on the ice-covered sea. However, there is a minimum probability that large basins as the Eastern Gotland and Northern Baltic Proper have been solid frozen offering direct routes and short-cuts on open sea, not even in harshest winter periods (Nurminen 2010). Although the practice of winter travel along the northern coasts and across the Gulf of Finland in prehistory is likely, also in connection with hunting of seals (Sperling 2014).

Visions and dreams in Russian Orthodox culture as border crossing

Irina Paert

Abstract. The chapter deals with the phenomenon of visions and dreams in Russian Orthodox culture. It is based on a case study of nineteenth-century accounts of miraculous visions. The chapter conceptualises the vision as a cross-border experience, providing arguments from folklore and theology. The religious understanding of dream and vision as a border between this world and the next, between life and death, allows the reconceptualisation of the border as a phenomenon of religious culture as well as geography.

Religion represents a complex spatial organisation of both the material and the immaterial world, of the micro- and macrocosm. Religion can be imagined as a confluence of organic-cultural flow that draws "on human and suprahuman forces to make homes and cross boundaries" (Tweed 2006, 54). While religions exist and develop in space, creating social spaces and marking the boundaries between 'us' and 'them', they also "orient devotees temporally and spatially by creating cosmogonies and teleographies[1] that represent the origin and destiny of the universe" (op cit, 116).

Every religion, in one way or another, draws distinctions or borders between humanity and divinity, created and uncreated nature, the visible and invisible world. In Christianity the borders between Heaven and Hell, and heavenly and earthly cities, are drawn by means of ritual, theology and visual depiction. Some Christian theologians, under the influence of Platonism, believed that the invisible reality could be discerned through its points of contact with the visible world, which was expressed aesthetically in medieval art. It was not only through Scripture and the sacraments, but also in the contemplation of nature, art and spiritual exercises that a believer could overcome the limitations of material existence and come into contact with the Divine.

The boundary between these different realms is often expressed in the body–soul dichotomy. The *Imago Dei*, the image in which man was made, has been distorted through Original Sin and the body becomes subject to illness and death. Platonic, radical denigration of the body as the prison or tomb of the soul never

became mainstream in Christian doctrine, although in one way or other it has affected the Christian attitude to the body.

The work of Pavel Florensky, a religious philosopher and a neo-Platonist, formulated the problem of the border between corporeal, visible realities on the one hand, and invisible realities on the other. In his book *Iconostasis*, which deals with the aesthetic theology of iconography, Florensky starts from the supposition that "[t]hese two worlds – the visible and the invisible – are intimately connected, but their reciprocal differences are so immense that the inescapable question arises: what is their boundary? Their boundary separates them; yet, simultaneously, it joins them" (1996, 33). According to Florensky, awareness of the boundary and the other world is located in the life of the soul. It is only within ourselves that we can experience the point of contact between two worlds, "sometimes brief, sometimes extraordinarily fleeting […]. At such fleeting moments in us, the veil of visibility is torn apart, and through that tear – that break we are still conscious of at that moment – we can sense that the invisible world […] is breathing; and that both this and another world are dissolving into each other" (op cit, 33).

Dreams and visionary experiences are moments that "tear the veil of visibility" and open a door to invisible worlds. According to Florensky, the time of the dream "is turned inside out", and the dream world is a "pure meaning wrapped in the thinnest membrane of materiality; it is almost wholly a phenomenon of the other world" (1996, 43). "What did it mean to say, 'I saw?'" asked Barbara Newman (2005, 1). What is the subjective context of a vision, of an encounter with another reality, of crossing the border between two worlds? How does it take place? In some cultures, for example in Russian traditional culture, there is no strict distinction between waking visions and dreams. While all dreams are regarded as meaningful, a certain category of dreams is considered religiously significant, prophetic and an impulse to social action. Faith Wigzell argues that, "peasants attributed prophetic value to exceptionally vivid and disturbing dreams, in particular those which caused the dreamer to wake in the middle of the night. These were viewed as a symbolic warning of future events of major importance in the dreamer's life" (Wigzell 1998, 50). The meaningful visions could also take place either during *tonkii son* (light sleep) or *obmiranie* (a state that could be a trance, fainting, or a near death experience). Dream and death were regarded in Slavic peasant culture as comparable states. This semiotic proximity between the two may explain that unconscious states and sleeping serve as a liminal zone between the world of the living and the dead, thus providing rich folkloric material about encounters with deceased relatives and representations of the other world (Warner 2000, 71-72).

Modernity has marginalised visionary cultures, although it has not made them obsolete. Despite rationalisation and belief in progress, many apparitions of the Virgin Mary and the saints have been recorded in various parts of Europe. New pilgrimage destinations have emerged. In France, the Virgin Mary appeared to a novice nun called Catherine Laboure in 1830, to two young children in the alpine village of La Salette in 1846, and more than once to 14-year-old Bernadette Soubirous, from Lourdes, in 1858 (Harris 1999). In 1879, fifteen people in the town of Knock in County Mayo in Ireland witnessed the Virgin Mary, St John the Evangelist and St Joseph, and in the pouring rain were transfixed by the vision for about two hours. In the obscure town of Fatima in Portugal, three shepherd children witnessed an apparition of the Virgin in 1917, followed by a collective vision (the miracle of the sun) seen by approximately 70,000 people.

The Eastern Christian visionary cultures are not well explored. Many visions have to do with eschatology and the destiny of humanity after individual judgement, or the Last Judgment. The recorded visions have clear spatial structures with the dead inhabiting houses, churches and monasteries (Pigin 2006). Heaven and Hell are located in different dwellings. The realms of the living and the dead are sometimes separated by a river or a forest, and are sometimes described as doors through which the visionary entered the realm of the celestial world (Wigzell 2005). The visionary describes his or her experience as a journey or passage across some form of border. Nun Taisiia of Leushino described her vision of the Kingdom of Heaven as a journey along a snowy road that brought her to a doorway, through which she saw a radiant light. The Virgin Mary greeted her by the door. "I am the Gate-keeper", she said.[2] Through the door Taisiia saw a huge cross adorned with precious stones, the instrument of Christ's suffering and the means of salvation (Taisiia 2005).

Many visions in Orthodox Russia were hierophanic events. Believers encountered the Divine through a holy object that was unknown, hidden from the believing public. It was only through visions that hidden objects were recovered. During the late Tsarist era peasants initiated veneration of new icons that they had discovered through revelatory dreams or waking visions. In 1879, two shepherd boys from Simbirsk diocese had visions of an icon in a spring and heard a voice that directed them to a holy object. In 1893 in Kazan diocese a 14-year-old peasant boy had a vision of the Virgin Mary, who he described as "a maiden clothed in white". As was typical for many visions in the Russian Orthodox tradition, the Virgin commanded him to notify the priest about a holy icon "that had been carelessly abandoned in the church's storage area" (Shevzov 2004, 176).

The visionary had to convey his or her vision to the public in order to prompt religious or social change. The visionary's extraordinary experience was

understood and acted upon as a call for the moral and spiritual renewal of the people. The episode discussed in this chapter took place in Russia at the end of the Crimean War (1853–1856), a disastrous defeat that triggered the government to embark on a series of economic and political reforms, starting with the abolition of serfdom in 1861. In 1855, Private Anufrii Krainev had several visions of an unknown saint who called himself Feodor. During the first vision, which took place in Narva where Krainev was part of the coastal guard during the war, the saint urged him to go and find a grave in a derelict church in Moscow so that it could be opened for public veneration (O pokazanii 1858, 21v). When Krainev's regiment was in Moscow in 1858, he had a chance to find the place indicated by the saint, which turned out to be the former Patriarch's residence in Krutitsy, now used for military purposes. Upon his visit to a nearby derelict church, Krainev started dreaming about entering the crypt with a candle which lit by itself, proceeding with the candle through the crypt, and finding Feodor (who looked like St Nicholas) lying on his side in a grave. The saint begged him to tell the authorities that the church should be re-built on the site and dedicated to him. He warned the soldier that if he kept this revelation to himself, he would be punished. And punished he was. He started to suffer from what can be described as bulimia and he temporarily lost his eyesight (op cit, 47).

Krainev was not the only one who believed that there were holy graves in the derelict church. Muscovites had been talking about it since at least beginning of the century. Krutitsy was indeed a notorious place with a dark history. During the violent religious persecutions of the 17th century, Krutitsy served as a prison and torture chamber where dissenting Old Believers were held. One of these prisoners of conscience questioned here was called Feodor Ivanov who died in Postozersk in 1682. Therefore the relics of the mysterious Feodor could not be of this Old Believer martyr (O pokazanii 1858, 40–41). Nevertheless, the authorities suspected that the rumours of a relic were Old Believer propaganda and tried to put an end to the unsanctioned visits to the derelict church. Did Krainev hear about the holy relics and martyr Feodor before he started having his visions? This is what the authorities believed, pointing out that his battalion had actually stayed in Krutitsy (while it was a military barracks) on its way from Nizhny Novgorod to Narva (op cit).

Hierarchy and hierophany were not in opposition; they were two aspects of the Orthodox ecclesial community (Shevzov 2004). It would be wrong to claim that church hierarchy diminished and ignored the calls from the Divine. Yet, the ideas of popular and institutional religious culture on how the invisible world could reveal itself diverged. When crowds started to gather in Moscow to venerate the unsanctioned relics, the authorities had to intervene. Bishop Filaret of

Moscow commenced the investigation of the case, placing Krainev under the supervision of the monks in Troitse-Sergieva Lavra. As a result of the investigation, the visionary experience was deemed inauthentic and Krainev deluded. The criteria for this conclusion were set out using Orthodox theological principles that deal with preternatural phenomena and will be explained later. The first divergence was the fact that, apart from challenging Krainev on factual errors and questioning his credibility as a visionary, the church authorities wondered whether it was seemly for a saint to punish the visionary with bulimia and blindness. In this they were acting contrary to established popular tradition. It was not unheard of that a believer would be punished for failing to spread the news of a miracle. Mary and the saints could strike the lazy mediators of their will with blindness for failing to see the truth. This was a common motif in many canonical stories about wonder-working icons. The second challenge was the principle of historical authenticity. Bishop Filaret meticulously checked the parish records to prove that there was no person named Feodor buried in the church. Here again, the logic of authenticity was in opposition to popular religious belief that the wonder-working relics of unknown saints could reveal themselves miraculously, a belief that started to fade during the modern period.

The typical visionary of the modern era would be a woman or a child (men were 22% of visionaries between 1780 and 1980s), normally from humble origins. Twenty-year-old private Krainev had come from the lowest strata of society: born the (quite probably illegitimate) son of a serf soldier, he was sent to a *kantonisty* (military musician) battalion at an early age, although by the age of 17 he was deemed unfit for regular service and remained in the army as a guard and unskilled labourer. Unmarried and illiterate, he was a pious Orthodox believer: he took Holy Communion and went to confession every 6 weeks, regarded as frequent at the time. His religious experience was spontaneous and unmediated through religious institutions, yet he sought acceptance and public recognition of his visions. The transference of what can be regarded as a subjective and private experience to the public sphere was typical for the popular religious culture of the nineteenth century, and thus cannot be regarded as a confirmation of the trend towards the subjectivisation and individualisation of religion as a modern trait.

On the other hand, there was certainly room for such individuals to improve their social status by overcoming the drudgery of their miserable existence in the role of prophet and 'saint's impresario'. Even when Krainev was on trial, people flocked to him to ask about the future. They believed that if someone had been selected by a saint, that person must be an oracle (Wigzell 1998). Dreams empowered people, provided them with a special status and brought them into the public spotlight.

The border as an exercise of power

Borders can be crossed, but they have to be maintained and closely guarded. Discussions about what constituted the territory of the invisible, and its narrative and visual depiction, had to be approved by church leaders in Moscow. They were responsible for making a distinction between canonical and non-canonical (apocryphal) texts, and for censoring accounts of human encounters with the preternatural. The exercise of power by the educated, ordained and male members of the religious community over personal and collective visionary and miraculous accounts can be interpreted as maintaining boundaries. The Synodic Church established a procedure for dealing with reports about miraculous events: any testimonies of 'crossing boundaries' – when made known – had to be reported by the priests to the bishops and to the Synod, which decided on the credibility of the event (and the person in question) and its conformity with the canons of the church.

The institutional principles of the Synod itself were defined in the Ecclesiastical Regulation of 1724. Increasingly the sacred had to be limited by the boundaries of the church as a public space (Freeze 1998). The relationship between the 'public' and 'private' realms of religious practice was re-defined hierarchically. However, towards the end of the 19th century when the relationship between the power hierarchy and the community had become more relational and ambivalent, and the authority of the holy object and the reality of miracles that take place in its presence had been recognised (Shevzov 2004), the boundaries were still defined by the church. Perhaps this is natural because guarding the border had not only a security role, but also a protective and pedagogical function. The perception of the world 'out there' as not simply a source of enlightenment but also as potentially dangerous and threatening, was the result of a clearer division between the material and immaterial worlds.

Why would 'crossing boundaries' be regarded as potentially dangerous by the educated members of the church in Russia? We have to go back to Plato for the answer. While the works of the medieval Western vision theorists (Boland 1959) were largely unknown in the East, there was a rich collection of ascetic literature on spirit discernment going back to Evagrius of Pontes (345–399). Using the Platonic division of the human personhood into three parts – the rational, the irascible and the appetitive – Evagrius proceeds to define the goal of contemplation, which is the imageless contemplation of God. In contrast, all demonic activity, according to Evagrius, is representation based. The demons tempt the irascible and desirous parts of the soul with images of material objects. The demonic *logismoi* produce in the soul feelings of attachment and obsession and

lead to the cultivation of passions, which in turn lead the person away from his or her goal of contemplating God. That is why Evagrius and those who followed him were especially cautious about the contemplation of God and other Divine subjects in any visual form, a fact for which they were often called radical spiritual iconoclasts (Guillaumont 1962 in Konstantinovsky 2008, 28). Following Evagrius, the nineteenth century ecclesiastical writers warned against uncritical acceptance of visions and dreams (Brianchaninov 2001). As some of the angels of light had fallen from God's love, turning into demons, their purpose was to lure men away from the righteous path. Immaterial demons were able to take on the appearance of angels, Christ and his saints. This is why some weak souls who lacked spiritual discernment mistakenly took these angels to be heralds of the Heavenly Kingdom. Any undiscerning visionary who claimed to have received a divine revelation could be prey to demonic cunning. This is how the clerics interpreted not only popular visions, but also the spiritualism and occult experimentation that came into fashion in the second half of the 19th century. Thus, for the church the credibility of the witness was important. The church questioned the ability of a layman, or a woman, and especially a child, to distinguish a true Divine revelation from the work of the person's own imagination, or, even worse, from a demonic source.

Even though states try to make borders appear timeless and fixed, essentially borders are shifting and constantly produced at the level of symbolic representation and social construction (Massey 1995). In a similar sense, the borders in religion are in need of constant construction and maintenance. What appeared 'orthodox' at one point in history can be defined as 'heretical' and 'heterodox' in another leading to doubt about whether this process of constant maintenance and re-definition is the result of the absent border, or of the essential ability of the border to shift in meaning.

The border as a cultural mechanism in visionary accounts

It is at the boundary of the visible and invisible worlds, as Florensky argued, that intense spiritual struggle occurs: a soul may go through various stations where it is tormented (in traditional eschatology, this was known as *mytarstva*, or the toll houses), and there are concentrated temptations and seductions that represent phantoms which need to be ignored in the journey to higher realms. "Such, then, are the elemental swamps at the boundary of the worlds" (Florensky 1996, 47). This is what Juri Lotman calls "the intensification of semiotic processes at the border" (1996, 101).

According to Lotman, the border represents a mechanism of translation of texts from the language of a different culture (semiotics) to our language. This is the place of transformation of the 'external' into the 'internal', a filtering membrane that transforms 'other' texts so that they can be incorporated into 'our' internal system, remaining at the same time extraneous (Lotman 1996).

Visionary culture represents a border moment in several respects: it is a process of translation of a specific subjective experience, the reality of which is unquestioned for the person involved, into the language of a specific historical culture. The visionary not only crosses the boundary between the two worlds, he or she also *becomes* a boundary that unites both worlds, that is, through his or her body and personality something is communicated to his or her own culture. Visionaries use the language of their own culture to translate experience, especially the visual language which Aron Gurevich calls "the aesthetic of sameness" (1999, 377). Private Krainev describes the saint of his dreams as looking like St Nicholas, whose iconic image was familiar to every peasant.

Lotman (1996, 183) also challenges the duality of the border (which divides the inside from the outside), pointing out that a border is a place where the peripheries of different spaces and languages intersect, creating a complex multilevel system.

Most visions that we know of (unless they are our own) are textualised or orally transmitted. In this process of mediation, three different cultures intersect: rationalisation (the ecclesiastical or scientific interpretation), literation, and mediatisation. In the final analysis, the vision is not necessarily what the visionary saw (a magical snapshot of the world behind the closed doors) but a complex intersection of official and popular, dogmatic and heterodox, idiosyncratic and collectively shared.

Conclusion

The essential role of religion in creating spaces and crossing boundaries, as emphasised in Tweed's theory, mentioned above, can be illustrated by the visionary religious cultures. The imagining of the sacred cosmogony with its spaces and boundaries was an important part of vernacular religious culture. Visionary experiences have confirmed the existence of the boundary while also testifying to its penetrability. There is a paradox here: through the medium of dreams and visions, communication with the supernatural has become quite ordinary, and, in principle, anyone can have such an experience through dreams. Moreover, accounts of such visits and encounters reveal many similarities to the terrestrial world. Saint Feodor behaved just like an army officer in Krainev's garrison,

punishing the soldier for disobedience. Therefore the outside was not radically different from the inside, and the boundary did not define the place. For the clergy, the crossing of the boundary between two worlds had been presented as a dangerous activity: the world out there, across the border, was not safe and benevolent, it was not what it seemed. Border crossings and visits to the world 'across the border' were nevertheless essential to define religious belief, while the visions and dreams served as a form of knowledge.

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Notes

1 Tweed uses the neologism of teleography for a geography of the otherworld and of heavens.

2 For many poets the door, called "an entire cosmos of the Half-open" by Bachelard, symbolises a return to the Father's House (1994 [1958], 223).

NARVA $\frac{25}{IV}$ 19.

Bordering ruptures: the dynamics of self-description

Reverse side of postcard from previous page

In Narwa, 12-12-[19]20.

    Dear Nelly! Don't be annoyed that I didn't write to you for so long, for there was no news, and secondly there was no certainty about where I would be living, now at least it's certain that I will remain a Red Cross driver in Narwa, because on Friday, that was the 10th, I went to Tallinn to collect my car and drove [it to] Narwa myself. The car is quite good and in good nick. Write some news, greet [your] husband. Greetings to you both, Julius.

    I'm sending a postcard to you showing Narwa [J]uhkendal [Juhkentali street] burning after the great bombing.

The Hero's Mother:
Lotta Svärd and mediated memories

Merja Ellefson

Abstract. This chapter explores the retrospective meaning making of the 1918 Finnish Civil War, a dramatic rupture in the country's history. The aim is to study how the war and pre-war activities were perceived, described and remembered by the Lotta Svärd organisation. Lotta Svärd was born out of bourgeois women's desire to help the White Army and the voluntary auxiliary defence organisation Suojeluskunnat (the White Guards).[1] Lotta groups were initially subordinated to local Suojeluskunta units and became a separate organisation in 1921. Due to its popularity and size, Lotta Svärd played an important role in shaping the national consciousness and memories of the 1918 war. The organisation is of great interest, since, over the years, Lottas have both lost and regained their good reputation.

The material consists of the *Lotta Svärd* magazine and Lotta pages in the military magazines *Suomen Sotilas*, *Suojeluskuntalaisen lehti* and *Hakkapeliitta* in the period 1919–1939. As the Winter War began on 30 November 1939, memories of the 1918 war faded into the background. Much of remembering (and forgetting) is socially motivated, since memories need to be communicated (Cubitt 2007; Fentress & Wickham 1992). However, the early wartime experiences shaped the Lotta organisation's activities, membership requirements, ideology and sense of belonging. Lotta pages and magazines often described individual members' experiences and contributions to the national struggle. Texts were typically written from the point of view of 'us' or 'I', meaning that the individual was always positioned as serving the organisation and the Fatherland. The 1918 war was 'kept alive' by various rituals, involving sacralisation of the Nation, for example flag raising or visits to war cemeteries. Such events were also described in the magazines, meaning that there was an element of anniversary journalism (Kitch 2007; 2008). In the process these rituals were turned into Lotta rituals.

Introduction

This chapter examines how the Finnish Lotta Svärd organisation remembered and made sense of the Civil War in 1918 and the pre-war experiences. The focus is on mediated memories, not on what 'really' happened. How the war is recalled reveals the speaker's political affiliation. Civil War (Fi. *sisällissota*) is a neutral term, mainly used by historians. The victorious White side, Lotta Svärd included, always spoke of "the Liberation War" (Fi. *vapaussota*). Hence, in this chapter Civil War or 1918 war are used for the event itself, whereas Liberation War marks the Lotta viewpoint.

The birth of the Finnish nation-state was a violent and dramatic rupture. The Russian Empire collapsed, the Bolsheviks orchestrated the October Revolution and Finland declared independence on 6 December 1917. The Finnish civil war ended on 16 May 1918 with the White Army's victory parade in Helsinki. That summer special treason courts were established to deal with the Reds, some of whom had already been sentenced in field courts (Roselius 2009; 2013). Women on both sides were involved in the war, but their involvement was judged differently.

Although Lotta Svärd was formally registered in 1921, it was born in 1918 out of bourgeois women's desire to help the White Army. Many Lotta pioneers came from families in which both sexes had participated in the resistance against the Russification policies at the turn of the century. During the war, women assisted the White Army by cooking, nursing, sewing, etc. Annika Latva-Äijö (2004) says some women's wish to fight created an instant furore and women were forbidden from carrying arms.

The Red women, on the other hand, received military training and thus the White's judgment against them was harsh. Simply working as a nurse or a cook for the Red Guards could lead to a long prison sentence. The "pant guardists" (Fi. *housukaartilaiset)* or "wolf bitches" (Fi. *susinartut*), armed women wearing men's trousers, were perceived as monstrous women and risked death sentences. Some were shot on the spot (Hakala 2006; Hoppu 2008; Pekkalainen 2011). They vanished from the nation's collective memory until the late 1990s. As Paul Connerton (1989; 2009) and James Fentress and Chris Wickham (1992) point out, both remembering and forgetting are socially motivated. Women and war is often a controversial topic. As Sofie Strandén's (2010) interviews with Lottas, nurses and veterans show, even Lottas lost their good reputation during WWII, although disciplinary problems were rare, as shown by Vilho Lukkarinen (1981). It was not until the change of political climate in the 1990s that Lotta Svärd was re-evaluated.

The name Lotta Svärd comes from Johan Ludwig Runeberg's poem "Lotta Svärd" about a woman who followed her husband to the Finnish War in 1809 and, after her husband died, stayed among the troops looking after them with motherly love. Lottas saw the poem's Lotta as a role model.

The material consists of articles published in the Lotta pages in three military magazines, and the *Lotta Svärd* magazine, from 1919 to 1939. The date 30 November 1939 marks another violent rupture, the Winter War, and a new phase in Lotta history. The first obituaries of fallen Lottas appeared in the December issue. New heroes and myths began to emerge, and worship of the Liberation War faded into the background. The 16 May White Victory Celebration disappeared and Lotta Svärd was ordered to abolish the 'socialist paragraph' forbidding Leftist women from seeking membership. During WWII, Lotta Svärd's membership rose from roughly 100,000 to around 240,000 people, Lotta Girls included, at a time when Finland had less than four million inhabitants.

The Liberation War appeared routinely in various types of text. My focus is on stories about women's contributions to the war and national struggle during the Russification period. Texts that do not mention women's involvement at all are excluded. The two series of articles called Hero's Mother and Patriotic Women are included in-so-far-as the texts refer to the war or pre-war activities. Both series are rather impersonal presentations of women who had done something admirable or whose sons had been soldiers. Presentations of heroes' mothers consisted mainly of a headshot and a short biography. Occasionally several mothers were presented in the same article. Commemorative articles were published particularly during anniversaries related to districts, local Lotta units or key historical events. Especially important were the years 1933 and 1938, the fifteenth and twentieth anniversaries of the Liberation War, as well as the year 1934, the Jaegers' (Fi. *jääkärit*) twentieth anniversary.[2] The studied articles are generally fairly long, one page or more.

Barbie Zelizer (2008), Carolyn Kitch (2007; 2008), Jill Edy (1999) and Eyal Zandberg (2010) speak of journalism's memory work and how journalists function as social storytellers. The Lotta and military magazines served the same function but were generally not produced by professional editorial offices. They were voices of specific organisations and their memory work stemmed from a particular point of view and from particular experiences. It was consequently more important to tell the 'right' story than to tell the whole story.

Memories must be articulated, but they are not limited solely to words (Fentress & Wickham 1992; Cubitt 2007). They can be preserved in both speech and rituals, for example war cemeteries or heroes' graves (Fi. *sankarihaudat*) were important memory sites. Lottas looked after the graves and provided help for

White veterans. Rituals performed at the graveyards and national monuments are visible in the magazines, but less so in the studied articles, which focus on women's activities before and during the 1918 war.

The foundation of Lotta Svärd, Lotta pages and the Lotta magazine

When the Liberation War ended, the White Army was not officially demobilised. Instead, it was reorganised into the regular army and a voluntary auxiliary paramilitary group called Suojeluskunnat, the White Guards. Existing Lotta groups were initially subordinated to local White Guard units, but the explosive increase of Lotta groups soon led to organisational disarray. Latva-Äijö (2004) discusses at length Lotta Svärd's early years, its organisational ties to the White Guards and the High Command's attempts to cope with the situation. It is not possible to give an exhaustive account of all the disputes in this chapter. However, in the end, the White Guard High Command imposed a solution on the Lotta groups. On 27 January 1921, by order of the Supreme Commander, Lotta Svärd was to be separated from the White Guards and given its own chairman (Latva-Äijö 2004; Lukkarinen 1981; Kataja 1986; Pirhonen 1979). The order took effect as of March that year, and as a result common statutes were accepted and a Central Board nominated.

Throughout the 1920s, the Central Board struggled to consolidate its position and convince local groups to adopt its rules, uniforms and routines. Since the name Lotta Svärd was registered, local groups either had to join the central organisation or find a new name. Lotta work was organised into sections, covering tasks considered suitable for women.[3] In 1928 Fanni Luukkonen, the Lotta leader from Sortavala in the Karelian district, was elected chairman of the Central Board, remaining in that position until 1944 when Lotta Svärd and the White Guards were abolished under the peace treaty with the Soviet Union. Under Luukkonen's leadership, Lotta Svärd developed into the country's largest women's organisation, within which the Lotta Girls got their own unit, in 1931 (Latva-Äijö 1998; Seila 1972; Bäckström 1993).

Lotta Svärd needed a way to communicate with the increasing number of members and groups located around the country. During the 1920s, Lottas had neither the means nor the wish to start their own magazine. Lottas were hesitant to compete with the military magazines popular among Lotta and White Guardist families and thus risk the survival of these magazines. Instead, Lottas wrote for *Suomen Sotilas* (Finland's Soldier) and *Suojeluskuntalaisen lehti* (White Guardist Magazine), renamed *Hakkapeliitta* in 1926. In the mid-1920s Lottas got their own column in *Suojeluskuntalaisen lehti*. *Suomen Sotilas* and the more radical

Suojeluskuntalaisen lehti were both founded in 1919. All Lotta and White Guardist magazines closed down in 1944, while *Suomen Sotilas* is still published today.

The first magazines produced by the Lottas themselves were Christmas magazines published by local associations before the organisation was officially registered (Kotila 1993; Latva-Äijö 2004). These Christmas magazines were an important source of income to the Lottas and in 1922 the Central Board took over their publication. As Lotta Svärd grew, it also outgrew the column space available in the military magazines, leading, despite continuing resistance, to the first sample issue of *Lotta Svärd* magazine being published in December 1928.

Lotta leaders felt that the family and women's magazines of the time had given up on uplifting, patriotic content. *Lotta Svärd* was to be "a patriotic women's magazine that could also be read by patriotic women outside Lotta Svärd" with the purpose of strengthening "the mentality that guarantees life and peace in our country, the moral posture, the will to stay free and independent, and the nurturing atmosphere of self-preservation and national defence among women and in Finnish homes" (LS 1928, 1–2).

The aim was thus to reach a wider audience, not only Lotta Svärd members. Later new magazines were founded, although *Lotta Svärd* remained the flagship. *Pikkulotta* (Little Lotta) was founded in 1938, and renamed *Lottatyttö* (Lotta Girl) in 1943. During the Winter War (1939–1940) Lottas had little time for journalistic efforts, although during the Continuation War (1941–1944) a Swedish version of *Lotta Svärd* magazine was founded, as well as *Flicklottan* (Girl Lotta in Swedish). A free magazine, *Kenttälotta* (Field Lotta), was published specifically for the Lottas on active duty.

18 to 22 issues of *Lotta Svärd* were published per year in continuous pagination, with between 292 and 376 pages each year. At the end of the year all articles were organised thematically in a separate list of contents. The thematic categories were Lotta work, religion, society, general topics, stories, memoirs, person portraits, literary reviews, handicraft and information. Although partially overlapping content-wise, these categories remained the same over the years.

The decent profit of the Christmas magazines may have created unrealistic financial expectations and thus the *Lotta Svärd* magazine's humble turnover was a disappointment (see circulation data in Figure 1). Since the founders lacked journalistic experience, they did not realise that patriotic themes were absent in commercial women's magazines because there was no market for them. Although the magazine was sold at newsstands, its main source of revenue was subscribers and unfortunately many members could not afford to buy it. While the leadership initially may have hoped for better revenue, money had not been the primary reason for starting *Lotta Svärd*. It was a tool for disseminating Lotta

Figure 1. Circulation of *Lotta Svärd* and the Christmas magazines, 1929–1939

	Lotta Svärd	Joululotta	Jullottan
1929	9,119	35,639	16,540
1930	7,195	35,778	16,041
1931	7,233	32,951	15,249
1932	8,180	32,360	14,784
1933	10,469	35,429	14,404
1934	12,100	41,837	14,794
1935	12,722	41,788	14,750
1936	12,593	45,000	15,000
1937	13,313	47,229	14,586
1938	..	51,275	14,656
1939	..	41,188	12,584

.. – no information available.   Source: Kotila 1993, appendix 1, LS annual reports 1929–1939

ideology, spreading organisational information, informing members about practical matters and getting feedback from the field.

Since the organisation had approximately sixty-four thousand members in 1929 and slightly over one hundred thousand in 1939, the circulation of the *Lotta Svärd* magazine was modest. Subscribers came mainly from the more affluent southern districts. The magazine had more readers than subscribers, which did not improve its income. It was customary, for example, to read it aloud during work evenings.

Lotta magazines were run by editorial boards consisting of members of the Central Board, and section and district leaders, meaning that there could be no conflicts between the organisation's goals and the magazine's journalistic integrity (Kotila 1993; cf Åker 1998). The boards were stable with people resigning only for personal reasons. In reality the editorial secretaries were in charge of the work. Vera Linkomies, wife of a well-known high-ranking conservative politician, was *Lotta Svärd*'s editorial secretary until 1940 when Valma Kivitie took over the position. Both women had previous journalistic experience, which was unusual. In 1935 a typist, and five years later a clerk, were hired to help the editorial secretary. The team itself did not produce the content. Instead, suitable contributors had to be found for each issue, for example military pastors, officers, politicians, academics, and popular male and female authors or poets. There were few advertisements and they had to be suitable, meaning no promotion of tobacco or alcohol. Advertisements were usually placed on the last page.

Both Lotta leaders and ordinary members wrote for the magazine. Hilja Riipinen, the first editor in chief, often wrote articles herself. Members were encouraged to submit their texts, for example through writing competitions. Lotta districts had correspondents writing about local activities. During the annual Lotta Days in 1930, the editorial secretary gave an evaluation of the magazine's first year and explicitly asked for more contributions from the districts, including articles about heroes' mothers (LS 1930, 132–134). The Lotta archive contains many letters, in which the writers confess that they would never have dared to send their stories elsewhere, and that they trusted "their own magazine". Most authors were women, only about eight percentage were male. However, there were also ample numbers of unsigned texts: usually instructions, official information or presentations of members, leaders, etc. Initials and pseudonyms, like "I was there too", "field Lotta" or "Lotta's husband", were also used.

In 1936 the Central Board took a firmer grip of the magazine. Hilja Riipinen was fired and Chairman Fanni Luukkonen became the formal editor-in-chief. Riipinen was cordially thanked for her services and she was asked to continue her good work in other tasks within the organisation (LS 1936, 114). According to the official explanation, Riipinen could not continue as the editor-in-chief because she no longer belonged to the Central Board. The Lotta Archive contains angry letters protesting against Riipinen's dismissal with some members even cancelling their subscriptions as a result.

The real reason was Riipinen's political opinions. Liberation War heritage allowed radical right-wing attitudes to remain acceptable and mainstream until the mid-1930s. Then in 1932 the Mäntsälä rebellion, in which even White Guardists had been involved, failed[4] leading to an official crackdown. The political turmoil quietened down, but Riipinen remained as far right as ever. She was a member of parliament for the right-wing Isänmaallinen kansanliitto (Patriotic People's Front) party as well as one of its founders. However, despite her dismissal she continued to be a leading figure in the Lotta organisation.

Nation and remembering

According to Maurice Halbwachs (1992), collective memory binds individuals' personal memories together. While individual memories may differ, they are nevertheless part of group memory, and remembering itself is typically done in shared social and cultural contexts. Fentress and Wickham (1992) think Halbwachs overemphasises the collective nature of social consciousness. They speak instead of a social memory that identifies a group and gives it a sense of its past and future. Barbara Misztal (2003), however, points out that even Halbwachs

saw collective memory as multiple, since different groups may have different memories.

Lotta Svärd represented experiences and memories that were specific for a certain generation and segment of society, despite the existence of counter-memories. The Reds had their own view of the 1918 war. The 'collectiveness' of Lotta memories is thus a matter of definition. Aapo Roselius (2009) says more Reds died in the war's violent aftermath than during fighting, a fact that was at the time labelled malevolent agitation. The Reds' point of view, post-war treason courts, prison camps and executions were absent from Lotta texts. Lottas focused instead on the good work done by the patriots.

Nation is both an imagined and a mnemonic community. It is imagined since feelings of togetherness are created between distant others (Anderson 1993; Eke-crantz 1998). Hobsbawm (2012) speaks of invention of tradition and Smith (1991) sees nation building mainly as a reconstruction of its ethnic core and integration of its culture with the modern state. A nation, nevertheless, shares a collective name, myth of common ancestry, historical memories, culture, system of ideas, specific homeland and sense of solidarity (Gellner 1997; Smith 1991). The Finnish national awakening began in the 1840s and became increasingly political during the Years of Repression (1899–1905 and 1908–1917), meaning that many Lotta pioneers were politically active during the nation's formative years. Female activism partly contributed to the acceptance of universal suffrage in 1906.

Lottas participated in the construction of a national identity and an acceptable past, as well as the appropriate interpretation of key historical events. Miika Siironen (2012) says Lotta Svärd and the White Guards were White Finland's most important symbols and organisational core. Lotta Svärd itself could be seen as an imagined community. Despite its size and geographical spread, members shared a feeling of togetherness, fostered through publications, annual Lotta Days, ideological education and practical work. Believing in the common cause was linked to working for the common cause. Mosse (1975) speaks of longing for uplifting, extraordinary experiences, typical for both religious cults and the secular religion of politics. In Lotta texts, the Fatherland was God's creation, meaning that religiosity was intertwined with patriotism. This combination gave the mundane work that the women did a deeper meaning, an aura of sanctity. Cooking for the White Guards was not just about cooking. It was about participating in a joint effort of defending and serving the Fatherland.

Lottas aimed to honour and preserve the memory of activist women. This commemorative effort became more systematic and intentional over the years. The first autobiographical stories appeared in 1919, although the publication of *Valkoinen kirja* (The White Book) in 1928 was a more conscious effort to make use

of women's experiences. The book's stories resemble those published in the magazines and are therefore not included in the analysis. The Hero's Mother series was another attempt to collect women's experiences. Its purpose, introduced in the *Lotta Svärd*'s sample issue in December 1928, was as follows:

> The patriotism that particularly the Years of Repression had awakened in the Finnish people burned strongly in the heart of the Finnish mother. This spiritual fire left its mark on the whole household, and the youth who grew up in the family. In this way, Finnish mothers planted in the minds of their sons love for the Fatherland, love that at the moment of destiny turned into heroic deeds. Since we Lottas believe that the memory of these brave mothers – mothers who for the freedom of the Fatherland many times sacrificed their sons, the only source of joy and safety in their lives – needs to be preserved so that these women become role models for the new generations, we will publish in the pages of *Lotta Svärd* magazine short stories of their lives and noble work as educators (LS 1928, 6).

The article series was to be seen as "wreaths honouring these mothers, who had sacrificed so much", and as an attempt to preserve their memory for future generations. The "moment of destiny" was the Liberation War and the hero was the son who died or was wounded. The key words here are 'role models', 'memory', 'sacrifice' and 'heroic deeds'. Heroism and sacrifice will be discussed in the next sections of this chapter.

According to Kitch (2007, 34), photographs are memory objects that "allow their owners to recall and regain the context of which they were once a part". The texts had few photographs. At times pictures and text did not match. For example, a picture of a smiling young woman with ammunition belts wrapped around her waist appears in at least two stories, neither of which is about her. One of the stories is written by two women who shared their experience of visiting a Russian army barracks to buy weapons (LS 1938, 131). They tied ammunition belts and a couple of rifles to their waists, covered them with long overcoats, and walked out without being frisked. The primary purpose of the picture was thus to evoke memories of the war and wartime activities, not to illustrate that specific story.

Another such example is the photograph in Tekla Hultin's article about the 1905 general strike (LS 1930, 249). It shows a large crowd singing *Maamme laulu* (later the national anthem) at the Senate Square in Helsinki as the strike ended. The square was a mnemonic site and a locus for national rituals. A statue of Tsar Alexander II, the University of Helsinki, the Helsinki Cathedral and the Senate

of Finland were located there, and in 1904 Governor General Bobrikov was shot dead there on his way to a Senate meeting. Hultin mentions Bobrikov, but instead of saying he had been murdered, she states that "he left office". Riipinen's article about the peasant march in 1930 has a similar photo, as the march also ended at the square (LS 1930, 161).

The importance of being active: memories of doing

Lotta texts typically focus on doing something. If the author had done nothing special, she either sounds apologetic or creates a feeling of participation. For example, Maila Talvio, a well-known author and writer of Lotta stories, wrote a long story about life in Red Helsinki in the spring of 1918 (LS 1938, 130–132). She confesses that she was not involved in the war effort at all, and when a Red Guard patrol inspected her handbag, it only contained a piece of hard rye bread. Yet, by describing her own thoughts and observations, the mood among her friends and the Whites' general feeling of uncertainty, she nevertheless places herself within an on-going drama.

Although some Lotta pioneers had been members of Naiskagaali during the Years of Repression, it is rarely mentioned. Naiskagaali was a sister organisation to Kagaali, both founded to organise passive resistance and spread forbidden leaflets and publications. Only one text (LS 1937, 289–290), written by a former member, focuses on it. She describes the common feelings of danger, importance, sisterhood and trust, and the joy of working for a common cause. She mentions meetings, contact people in the countryside, the importance of collecting funds, the need to keep the money boxes and people's names safe and the fright even false alarms of police raids created. She also praises the leading figures Dagmar Neovius and Tekla Hultin. Both women were journalists and members of Parliament. Although the text does not provide any details, it shows the importance of participation.

Another such example is a story about Countess Mannerheim, a relative of Marshall Mannerheim. Her admirable deed was to organise a concert that the Tsarist authorities closed down as too oppositional and later to stand by her husband who was deported by Governor General Bobrikov. Ellen Svinhufvud, the president's wife, is called "hero Lotta" for the same reason. She followed her husband into exile in Siberia, where he was deported due to his nationalist activities (LS 1932, 84–85; 1938, 312–314). Although these women only shared their husband's fates, they are framed as the stories' heroines.

Several articles memorialise activist women's assistance to the Jaeger Movement (Fi. *jääkäriliike*). Jaegers were patriotic young men who left Finland for

military training in Germany. Some served in the German army in World War I. When the Finnish Civil War began, they returned home and joined the White Army. The articles speak of knitting socks and sending parcels to Jaegers or assisting men on their way out of the country. A couple of texts feature Saara Rampanen, who was known as the Jaegers' nurse (LS 1931, 52–53; 1934, 313; 1937, 28). She later wrote a book about her experiences at the Eastern Front. A second nurse, Ruth Munck, became a Lotta leader, whereas Rampanen emigrated to California. These stories show how women played a small role even at the Eastern Front.

Commemorative articles from Lotta districts were fairly impersonal and provided a general overview of the first years of these districts. The districts explained whether women had been involved in the Jaeger Movement and passive resistance, or had first joined the struggle during the Liberation War. The work women did during the war is briefly listed, whereas large scale operations, such as organising linen, clothes and food for thousands of men in provisional recruiting and training centres, are described at length. Small private contributions, such as a pair of hand-knitted socks donated by a poor woman, are also mentioned. Some articles quote unnamed front-line soldiers, who give thanks for all the help they received and express admiration for the women who brought them hot coffee and comfort even under fire.

These texts show that the Lottas were proud of their involvement. The main point was their participation, rather than the extent or nature of it. It was important to *do* something, no matter how little. The feeling of pride is more tangible in the autobiographical tales, in which the language also tends to be more emotional. These stories describe both personal accomplishments and the joy of having been part of something exceptional, something greater than oneself (cf Mosse 1975).

Lottas speak in collective terms. The use of 'we' and 'us' makes even the occasional 'I' part of the collective. At times, instead of the grammatically correct conjugation of the predicate, a passive form is used together with the pronoun 'we'. This is typical of spoken Finnish and gives the text an informal tone. In a text this may either be a sign of the author's inexperience in writing, or a way of highlighting the joint effort. The Finnish passive has neither agent nor formal subject, which shifts the focus to *doing* and to the end result (for example, soldiers were fed). Thus 'the doer' becomes irrelevant.

Perceptions of causes and effects, friends and foes

Lotta Svärd saw women's participation in the resistance against Russification as a prelude to the voluntary work carried out during and after the Liberation War.

Activities in different periods of time are intertwined in the mediated memories and form a chain of causes and effects. Although the commemorative articles do not explicitly discuss causes and effects, Russification is implicitly presented as the cause for national awakening. The country had to be liberated from Russians and their henchmen, which led to the Liberation War. In fact, the national awakening began in the 1840s with the first dividing line based on the question of language. Russification began in 1899 and created new dividing lines. Lotta Svärd steered away from language squabbles by adopting official bilingualism. Lotta texts do not discuss the previous dominance of Swedish or the role of the Swedish-speaking elite. The matter is mentioned in passing in one article (LS 1937, 289–290).

These mediated memories are fragmented; unsuitable details are excluded and key patriotic events appear as part of Lotta history. A speech given at the 10th anniversary celebration of the Suonenjoki Lotta organisation is a prime example. The speaker reminded the audience of the 1899 February manifesto, of how the Russians had "purported to destroy Finland's ancient and precious constitution", and how the people sought to protect "the laws of the country by lawful means" (LS 1929, 209–210). The "lawful means" was the Great Petition: nearly half a million signatures were collected in less than two weeks, mainly by skiing to even the remotest villages. The speaker recalled signing the petition and depicted it as a solemn, almost holy moment. She explained how even the poorest peasants learned to write their names just for the occasion and how disappointed everyone was when the Tsar refused to see the delegation. She thus implied that despite the regime's illegal actions the Finns were still loyal to the Tsar and that the loss of loyalty was Russia's fault. She emphasised the feeling of national unity and the enthusiasm that arose from the project. The working class was not yet an enemy, although she does not say so explicitly.

A Karelian Lotta presents a similar chain of cause (oppression) and effect (activism):

> The struggle for independence during the last years of Tsarist reign had thoroughly awakened Karelia. The oppression of the Russian authorities and later the united, senseless brutality of the Red Russians in their own negative way hastened and ensured the end result. An activist movement was born even in Karelia. […] In Vyborg, female activists organised the first collection of funds in the winter of 1916 and began making linen, socks and gloves for the Jaegers and for future use (LS 1938, 38).

The text links Russian oppression, national awakening, activism, female activism and Lotta Svärd. Calling the Red Guards "Red Russians" divides "true Finns" (Whites) and those who gave up their Finnishness by joining the Reds. This is, however, an unusual example of dehumanisation of the enemy. Lottas seldom wrote about the Reds. The speaker also conveniently equates all Russians with Reds.

The general strike in 1905 is another example. Only Tekla Hultin commemorates the 25th anniversary of the strike, "the greatest and most efficient demonstration in our country and the perhaps most complete and largest strike that has ever taken place anywhere" (LS 1930, 249–251). Interestingly, she does not hesitate to thank the working class movement for starting the strike and doing an excellent job in organising it. She also emphasises the national unity against Russification and downplays the differences between the radical working class movement and cautious bourgeois political groups. She presents the main parties as the Finns and the Russians. Hultin, part of the Constitutional political group, described the Finnish delegation's meeting with the Governor General, Lieutenant General Obolenski. Her story places the humble, modest and sincere Finns against a grand and arrogant representative of the Russian Empire. Hultin's text nevertheless ends with a warning against national discord. The November Manifesto, drafted by Mechelin, one of the leading Constitutionals, and accepted by the Tsar, ended the first period of Russification.

In Riipinen's view the notion behind the Jaeger Movement was not simply limited to achieving independence, it also encompassed the idea of national unity and a strong Finland (LS 1934, 269). In her view the country "was fought and won free after a thousand years of foreign rule" and should be protected against the "chaotic, undisciplined, worthless East" (LS 1929, 17–18). She equates "foreign rule" with the "East", conveniently forgetting both that Finland was part of Sweden until 1809, and that the relationship with the Russian Empire only turned sour much later.

As these examples show, the Lottas' imagined community was White Finland. Leftist Finland appears only indirectly, and when it does the views of the Left, and of other citizens who were not considered patriotic enough, were portrayed negatively. Since Lotta Svärd was founded during the 1918 war, Lottas believed that an individual's survival was dependent on the survival of the Fatherland, meaning that every citizen had to defend the country against the common enemy – Russians and their henchmen. Lotta Svärd's interests and ideology thus coincided with the existing hegemonic belief system and the interests of the state.

A mnemonic community must familiarise new members with the collective past in order to ensure that they identify with the past and attain the required social identity. In a speech for young Lottas, a speaker says:

> We, who were born in a free Fatherland, also have a sacred obligation to protect it. Putting their faith in us, our fathers and brothers performed their heroic deeds. […] How could we betray their trust? (LS 1939, 36).

Karl Mannheim (1993) and Misztal (2003) say generations acquire distinct profiles through their specific shared experiences, memories and discourse of self-thematisation. Many Lottas, however, came from families where men were in the army or the White Guards and children were active in Lotta or White Guard youth units. Seija-Leena Nevala-Nurmi (2006) speaks of defence families, with no significant generational conflicts. Although the children did not have first-hand experience of the Liberation War, participation in the youth organisations meant sharing their parents' beliefs and experiences. All generations participated in the same historical and social circumstances and shared the same mentality. According to Ilona Kemppainen (2006) remembering is an important part of a nation's self-understanding and self-perception. Fallen heroes must be remembered, and remembered not only by friends and relatives but also by the collective. Lottas saw the sacrifices of the earlier generation as an inspiration and obligation.

The heroism of small deeds and healing stories for gruesome events

Commemorative texts downplay difficulties and offer healing stories with which to ameliorate the effects of gruesome events. For example, in 1919 *Suomen Sotilas* published a series of articles offering a Lotta's personal account of her time at the frontline. She wrote of cooking food for hungry soldiers without a field kitchen or other equipment, constantly moving from one location to another and looking for a place to cook. She downplayed the dangers and practical difficulties, for example cooking while dodging flying bullets emerges mainly as a subtext. Willingness to serve is presented as more important than the appalling conditions.

Lottas' view of heroism was twofold. On one hand, men dying for the Fatherland were perceived as 'true' heroes, while on the other there was the heroism of small deeds. Nurse Ingrid Bäckström-Boije's wartime diary is a typical example of male heroism and 'die smiling' stories. She donated her diary to the Lotta magazine to commemorate the 15th anniversary of the Liberation War. The texts consist of short dated notes, describing personal observations, thoughts and feelings. She writes:

> Has anyone seen the look on a recently fallen young volunteer's face? There is nothing so beautiful among the living. This is to say that dying for the Fatherland is the highest moment of life, a concentration of love and sacrifice without any limits. This beautiful glow radiates from the features of the dying men (LS 1933, 58).

This particular excerpt includes both "a young volunteer" and "men". Lotta texts are seldom explicitly age specific, meaning that protagonists usually appear to be adults. Siironen (2012) writes about the large number of boy soldiers and the "Runebergian" idea of sacrifice. Juha Poteri (2009) claims pastors often compared the death of the White soldiers with the sacrifice of Jesus. As Kaarle Sulamaa (2009) shows, religion was ingrained in Lotta ideology. In Lotta texts death, pain and suffering are typically described in a positive light. No one complains and no one is afraid. Men always die peacefully, having happily sacrificed their lives for the right cause. After all, the Fatherland was God's creation.

The possible physical and psychological problems of veterans were consequently not discussed in Lotta texts. Riipinen's article, lamenting the difficulties experienced by some Jaegers', is an exception (LS 1934, 274). She admits that some former soldiers had psychological or physical problems and some had left the military, feeling discriminated against when they could not speak Swedish, which was often spoken by officers. Riipinen was nevertheless quite sure that these men, despite all their problems, had no regrets and still believed there was nothing "nobler than to fight for the Fatherland".

Kemppainen (2006) points out that during WWII some women also died heroic deaths. The studied Lotta texts have no such examples. Instead, Lottas write about the heroism of small deeds, such as the following:

> […] a quiet farmer's wife who has laboured at her chores year after year, prepared food for the family year after year, taken care of the cows, and put her faith in God and the Fatherland brought up many children despite poverty and other difficulties. […] Or, the exhausted father, who had done everything for his family, now resting in peace, fallen as a hero. Or, another honest Finn, who had conscientiously fulfilled even the demands of his most pressing duties, bravely fought for his beliefs, toiled tirelessly for what was good and right. […] But (to be called) a hero a person must have given *everything*, done *everything*, even if other people didn't notice it. Are you a hero? (LS 1930, 1; original emphasis)

Stories of poor women's small donations are in line with this. A pair of socks may seem like an insignificant donation, but if it was *all* the woman could give or do, she had consequently done *everything*. The key words are 'everything' and 'sacrifice'. Men gave their 'everything' by dying and women through hard work, self-sacrifice and selfless service. However, the self was not depleted in the service of God but in the service of the Fatherland. Sulamaa (2009) sees Lottas as protestant nationalistic nuns. Lottas believed in the idea of service. Chastity and strict sexual morals were an important part of the Lotta ideology, although this topic was not discussed in the articles studied.

There is latent intertextuality in the texts. Lottas belonged to the generation who knew many of Runeberg's poems by heart. Lottas mainly referred to the poem "Lotta Svärd", since she was a role model and the organisation was named after her. Another well-known poem is about Paavo from Saarijärvi, a farmer whose faith in God despite several years' misfortune never wavers – "the Lord tests but does not abandon". Paavo never complains regardless of how miserable his life is. Stories of the heroes' mothers, as well as many autobiographical stories, contain the same attitude. The heroes' mothers were generally poor, struggling to feed their families and some had lost both husband and son(s). They might be sad, poor and grief stricken, but they never complained.

Men's view of women's heroism is somewhat ambivalent. In texts directed to a Lotta audience, the women's contribution is at least briefly mentioned. Officers, such as Lieutenant Colonel Zilliacus, Chief of Staff of White Guards' High Command, usually wrote in general terms of the war, national struggle and women's willingness to work for the cause (for example, HL 1926, 9; HL 1926, 16–20). In some texts even ordinary soldiers reminisced about the women they had encountered at the front.

At times the women were depicted as braver than the men. For example, some soldiers fleeing from battle were accused of cowardice by women, who then demonstratively picked up the rifles and stomped off towards the battle. The men had no alternative but to return to their posts. In another story a local White Guard leader describes how his group was on guard duty and suddenly heard footsteps in the darkness. They heard a nervous female voice asking if they were "the White boys". She had waded through the deep snow and passed the Red Guards just to bring "the White boys" hot coffee. In the process she told the White soldiers what she knew about the Reds' troop movements. The author says:

> With great risk for her life, without sparing herself, she had the courage to do what she could. Only the soldiers at present know the value and difficulty of

her deed, as unimportant as it may seem in today's peaceful society (SS 1920, 70–72).

The quotation shows again the importance of doing something, no matter how little. On the other hand, it is sometimes difficult to determine whether the praise for women's bravery is serious or ironic. For example, in an article about heroic women in Joutseno, a young lady is said to have thrown herself down like a seasoned soldier when the Reds shot with a machine gun, and to have quickly jumped up ready to encourage the soldiers as soon as the shooting stopped. She is described as "burning with patriotism", doing her bit to keep that front section from collapsing. The tone of the text is slightly ironic. It also shows how unsuitable fighting was thought to be for women. She could encourage but not shoot.

Discussion

As stated, the past is reminisced about particularly on anniversaries and commemoration days. Edy (1999) speaks of various types of anniversary journalism. Lottas' anniversary stories aimed primarily to create an emotional connection between the past and the present. Only a few articles contained descriptions of both the commemorative celebration and the historical event, and the stories told in those articles generally contained few historical facts. Lottas wrote to an audience that already knew what, when and who, but needed an appropriate explanation of why bad things happened and what the purpose of the suffering was. There was a need to connect the past with the present in meaningful ways. The past was connected with perceptions of a desirable future, as well as with the practical Lotta work and the reason for the organisation's existence, i.e. the survival of the Fatherland.

Yvonne Hirdman (1993) speaks of a gender system, based on separation of the sexes and men's position as a norm. Irma Sulkunen (2007) discusses the importance of Finnish non-gendered public activity, the blurring of gender-based public and private spheres and the self-evident character of women's social participation. However, it was still thought that only certain types of tasks were suitable to women, a belief that is visible in Lotta texts. Lottas believed in the separation of male and female roles and although Lottas emphasised the importance of participating, they did not challenge traditional gender roles or fight for gender equality. On the contrary, Riipinen (1927) claimed that the Lotta movement had surpassed the women's movement, since Lottas worked *with* men, not against them.

Lotta ideology and activities contained both conserving and emancipating elements. Although Lotta Svärd as an organisation stayed away from party politics, some of its members were politically active. Thus, the Lotta magazine instructed its members to vote for 'patriotic women' from bourgeois parties, or, if such women were not available, for a patriotic man. Voting – and voting for women – was hence thought to be important, although patriotism was emphasised more than gender. Nira Yuval-Davis (1997; 1998) and Päivi Harinen and Sonja Hyvönen (2003) say that national galleries of heroes are usually male. Lottas attempted to change this by increasing the value of the work done at the home front but without questioning gender roles. Similarly, although Lottas valued ordinary women's experiences and contributions, men's heroic deaths were nevertheless seen as the ultimate sacrifice. For example, the stories of heroes' mothers often said more about the men than the mothers, particularly if the man had died.

Kitch (2007; 2008) says that memory needs to be domesticated. Nostalgia personalises the past, blending individual memory into the shared memory of a generation or nation. She thinks that producing a unified image of the past is an act of self-preservation and that nostalgia offers people a way to define memory in ways that fulfil their needs. For Lottas, retelling the stories of past hardships was a way of redefining and making sense of them and confirming the common identity. These memories contained an element of nostalgia as the older generation felt they had participated in a larger-than-life event and the future generations needed to honour the sacrifices made. The sacrifices would not be in vain as long as they were remembered and appreciated.

Lotta texts were a means of socialisation and had a distinctive educational air. They taught desirable attitudes, values and behaviour and aimed to influence readers' cognitive thinking and intentions. They aimed to make Lottas internalise Lotta discipline and act in the desired manner by their own choice. Lotta magazines also taught members never to doubt themselves, although it is not as explicit in the commemorative as in the instructive articles. Lottas were told never to ask *if* they could do something. They should only ask *how* to do it, or how to do it better next time. This principle was expressed explicitly in instructive articles, and implicitly in personal stories of "I had no idea even where to begin, but I rolled up my sleeves and it all went well" moments. In brief, although Lottas believed in traditional gender roles, they also fostered a 'women can' attitude.

We should not overemphasise the importance of textual representations, since being a Lotta was foremost about practical work. Although a Lotta was to participate only in gender appropriate tasks, she was expected to know how to make decisions, solve problems, take responsibility and execute. After all, Lotta Svärd had close ties to the military, although it was not directly part of the army's chain

of command. Since Lottas were to replace men in a wide range of duties, they had to know how to obey orders and do what had to be done. This topic appears mainly in articles providing practical information and instructions. By describing concrete situations and difficulties, the commemorative texts provide many examples of problem solving, decision making and taking responsibility.

Magazines

HL = *Hakkapeliitta* (1926–1928)
LS = *Lotta Svärd* (1928–1939)
Suojeluskuntalaisen lehti (1919–1925)
SS = *Suomen Sotilas* (1919–1928)

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Notes

1 The Red and the White Guards can trace their histories back to the 1905 general strike. Such groups were formed on both sides to 'keep order' in the streets. However, the first clashes occurred during the strike. Suojeluskunnat grew out of this experience and formed an essential part of the Civil War White Army under Mannerheim's leadership. There is no established translation for Suojeluskunta (or, Suojeluskunnat in plural). *Suojelus* means 'protection'. *Kunta* has several meanings, but in this context it refers to a collective, for example *ihmiskunta* means 'mankind'. The word *valkokaarti* (White Guard) also exists, for example in *Helsingin valkokaarti* (White Guard of Helsinki, a term used during the general strike). In Finnish *suojeluskunta* is more common, since it is the official name of the organisation. Haapala and Tikka (2012, 81) speak of "Protection Guard", combining *suojelus* and *kaarti*. Heimo and Peltonen (2005, 52) prefer "White Guard". Lavery (2006), Nevala-Nurmi (2006), Ahlbäck and Kivimäki (2008) say "Civil Guard". Kirby (2006) uses *suojeluskunta* but also mentions "the White Guards". The Reds used the word *lahtarit*, i.e. the butchers. I will use "White Guards" to emphasise the political element and the link to the White Finland.

2 The Jaeger Movement was born during the second Russification period (1908-1917). Young patriotic men were smuggled out of the country to Germany, where they received military training. A Finnish Jaeger battalion fought for Germany in World War I. As the Finnish Civil War began, most of them came home and joined the White Amy. Jaegers, particularly Jaeger officers, were quite influential in the Finnish military.

3 The first section included cooking and field kitchens. The second trained women for field and military hospitals. The third manufactured and acquired needed equipment, for example uniforms or material for field or military hospitals. The fourth worked with

internal and external information, gathered funds, for example by organising lotteries and organising Lotta and White Guard events and fetes. This section later had more diversified tasks, for example working as army secretaries, telephone operators and enemy aeroplane spotters.

4 In the late 1920s and the early 1930s Finland experienced a surge of right-wing radicalism, which turned into so-called Lapuanliike (the Lapua Movement). Its activities culminated in the Mäntsälä rebellion. Several hundred White Guardists interrupted a socialist meeting and gave the government an ultimatum including, for example, the demand that the Social Democratic Party should be abolished.

Since there were thousands of armed White Guardists around the country, the situation was serious. Challenging the government was a mistake, which ended the Lapua Movement. The government and President Svinhufvud, a well-respected conservative politician, decided to use the law against subversive activity against the rebels. The situation calmed down after Svinhufvud's famous radio speech asking people to go home. Public opinion also turned against the radicals. The rebels were convicted and the Lapua Movement was abolished. Its leaders founded the small right-wing party Patriotic People's Front (Fi. Isänmaallinen kansanliitto, IKL).

Negotiating borders: conflicting memories of World War II participants in Lithuania

Irena Šutinienė

Abstract. The chapter explores the memory strategies employed by Lithuanian war veterans at the level of communicative memory in order to cope with issues perceived as problematic or conflicting in present contexts of remembrance culture. Based on the analysis of oral history narratives of three groups of war veterans, the chapter reveals how on the level of communicative memory, on the one hand, problematic issues of war memory are negotiated or mitigated, and, on the other hand, how the memory of traumatic war experience expressed at this level may impede resolution of contradictions. Analysis reveals the importance of strategies of victimisation and apology-forgiveness rituals in overcoming contradictory issues of war memory and resolution of memory-based conflicts among war participants.

Introduction

After the re-establishment of the independence of Lithuania, the memory of World War II was among the intensively contested issues on both public and private levels of memory. In spite of the long temporal distance, this event remains among the most important events in the collective memory of Lithuanians. According to empirical representative research, it takes second place after the events of regaining independence in 1990 (Šutinienė 2008, 116). Apart from the 'return' of old conflicts silenced or suppressed during the Soviet period, new dilemmas also emerged in the assessment of diverse groups' war experience in the new contexts of dominant national narratives as well as of European and global memory discourses. Among the 'old' issues that post-Soviet society had to face were memories of the Holocaust and Lithuanian participation in it, and the memories of wartime conflict between Poles and Lithuanians, based on pre-war territorial disputes. Debates on these issues permeated the entire sphere of Lithuanian–Jewish and Lithuanian–Polish relations. Another group of problems, which particularly concerned the level of individual and collective remembrances of participants in the war on both Soviet and Nazi German sides, relates to the

dominant Lithuanian national narrative of Soviet occupation and its opposition to the former Soviet narrative of the Great Patriotic War. The dominant European remembrance discourses also exert influence on public and private levels of war memory, although their contradictions to the post-Soviet national narratives are decreasing with the emergence of transnational perspectives on the war, which have challenged national discourses of victimhood as well as traditional Western perceptions of the war (Hackmann 2009, 167). Although the dominant war narrative in Lithuanian memory culture is becoming less contested, this event remains the source of contradictions and conflicts at the level of communicative memory for diverse groups.

The aim of this chapter is to explore memory strategies applied by the members of these diverse communities of war participants in order to avoid contradictions and problems at the level of communicative memory. The chapter is based on analysis of the oral history narratives of three groups of World War II participants whose memories are problematic in contemporary contexts of Lithuanian remembrance culture and/or global memory discourses. The chapter also contributes to the research on the complex and dynamic interaction between cultural, communicative and individual levels of memory by revealing how borders and contradictions created by dominant narratives of memory cultures are negotiated at the level of the communicative memory of groups of war veterans.

Definitions, data, methods

According to information presented in historiography, approximately 140,000 Lithuanian inhabitants participated directly in World War II. More than 100,000, mainly in 1944–1945, were called into the Red Army (3000 of them fought underground). About 20,000 Lithuanians were involved on the side of Nazi Germany in diverse military, police and paramilitary units. About 10,000 people were in the Polish resistance and approximately 5000 Lithuanians belonged to units of underground resistance, which fought against the Nazis (Nikžentaitis 2011, 392).

There are two main areas of contested or conflicting memories of World War II at the level of the communicative memory of diverse "communities of memory" (groups connected by a sense of bonding through common memory of shared experience; Irwin-Zarecka 1994, 47–48) in Lithuania: ethnic group memories (also linked to ethnic identity and national memory narratives) and war participant memories held by those who fought on different sides (Nikžentaitis 2011, 388–389). Disagreements between ethnic group memories are generally expressed in the memories of veterans of the Polish Home Army and veterans of the Lithuanian Territorial Defence Force, of which the latter was created in 1944

to support the Nazis and fight against the Red Army in Lithuanian territory. Both forces fought against each other at the end of the war in a conflict that was based on a pre-war territorial dispute in the Vilnius region. Memories of those who fought on the side of the Red Army – veterans of the Red Army's 16th Lithuanian Rifle division – are also problematic in the context of the dominant culture of remembrance. This group's memories directly express the contradiction between the dominant Lithuanian narrative of Soviet occupation and their experiences, which were formerly interpreted within the framework of the Soviet Great Patriotic War narrative. In the context of dominant national narrative, members of anti-Nazi resistance and of the Lithuanian Territorial Defence Force represent fighters for Lithuanian independence, while for members of the Red Army the role of 'occupants' was sometimes attributed a priori (op cit, 393).

Communicative memory here is defined according to Jan Assmann: as history and recent past presented in the framework of autobiographical memory, transmitted in the form of the informal traditions and genres of everyday communication and encompassing the time horizon of three or four interacting generations (2008, 117, 126).

The theoretical and methodological framework for the analysis of veterans' memory strategies is mainly based on (1) the insights of John Tunbridge and Gregory Ashworth into the strategies of managing traumatic memory (the "heritage of atrocity") as a resource of conflict, (2) the insights of Aleida Assmann into the narratives of victimhood as a resource of positive group identity in contemporary culture of remembrance of traumatic events, and (3) Thomas J. Scheff's theory on the emotions of pride and shame as mechanisms generating both social conflict and social cohesion (Tunbridge & Ashworth 1996; Assmann 2006; Scheff 1994).

Aleida Assmann defines the present contexts of remembrance of traumatic events creating a framework for interpretation of the war memories of particular collectives as the "post-traumatic era", where, in contrast to heroic interpretations, moral criteria prevail and the central positive value is ascribed to the passive victim (2006, 80–81). This fundamental shift of memory paradigm is manifested in various forms, among them through the 'individualising' and 'anthropologising' tendencies in war memory cultures; it is demonstrated, *inter alia*, in the representations of wars in European museums, where war is approached from the perspective of the individual human being. From this perspective, the political and moral categories of conquerors, defeated heroes, and friends and enemies are relativised, presenting all individuals as war victims (Wahnich 2008, 43–56).

The acknowledgement of crimes and traumas alongside heroic deeds also changes the legal consciousness of societies and determines a victimological

identity policy of collective actors; competing narratives of victimisation become a characteristic feature of contemporary memory of traumatic historical events (Assmann 2006, 74–77). The status of victim creates a positive collective identity, whereas guilt implicates its destruction (op cit, 81). The strategy of victimisation (the self-identification of a group, or of an individual, as victim) is considered as one of the most successful strategies for coping with the problems of traumatic memory on political, moral and psychological levels (Tunbridge & Ashworth 1996, 106–108; Scheff 1994, 61). However, the moral criteria of interpretation create new problems for the memory of traumatic events: the status of passive victim also implies the responsibility of perpetrators creating "traumas of guilt" (Assmann 2006, 99); moral criteria may also recast heroes as perpetrators of atrocities, or winners as losers (Tunbridge & Ashworth 1996, 108).

Other strategies are employed to manage perpetrators' memory, among which deliberate amnesia is a popular defensive strategy (Tunbridge & Ashworth 1996, 109). This approach can help to resolve the memory conflicts, and forgetting may 'heal' some 'wounds of war', although this strategy has no 'healing' power in cases of exploitation, dehumanisation and the extermination of innocent people (Assmann 2006, 78). The memories of those who have persecuted are also interpreted according to the strategy of demonization, limiting blame to a specific group that can be demonised as solely guilty (thereby exonerating the rest), while the strategy of relativisation reflects efforts to relativise responsibility ("all were involved", etc.) (Tunbridge & Ashworth 1996, 108–110).

However, attribution of the status of passive victim to nations, groups and individuals is complex in many cases (Tunbridge & Ashworth 1996; Assmann 2006). This complexity is especially inherent in war memories in which "reducing all humanity to the twin roles of victim and perpetrator" contains many complexities and biases (Tunbridge & Ashworth 1996, 99). In war memories, the same actors are often defined as 'victims' and 'villains' while the definitions of 'winners' and 'losers', as well as of the limits of atrocity and guilt, might also be ambivalent (Assmann 2006, 65–78; Tunbridge & Ashworth 1996, 99). In the memories of war veterans from the Baltic countries, the categories of 'friends' and 'enemies', 'winners' and 'losers', 'victims' and 'persecutors' are complicated and ambivalent due to the historical situation of complex intertwining between two occupations and the hopes held by Baltic people to regain independence. In this case war participants have often been forced to make difficult choices "between bad and worse" (Kõresaar 2011, 10–16).

Memory conflicts, especially identity based ones, include a strong emotional dimension (Tint 2010, 246–247). The memories of those who participated in war are strongly connected to categories such as 'winners' and 'losers', and therefore

emotions of shame and pride, as revealed in the sociological theory of emotions by Thomas Scheff, are significant for these memories. According to Scheff, feelings of pride arise with achievements, success, and acceptance, whereas shame emerges from failures and rejection (1994, 53). Acknowledged and unacknowledged shame generate different social effects: "Acknowledging shame helps connect parties; admission of feelings of weakness or vulnerability can build solidarity and trust" (op cit, 61), whereas unacknowledged shame leads to conflict (op cit, 54). Scheff also explores the psychological and social outcomes of public apologies, in which the role of acknowledgement and "authentic feelings of sorrow, regret, remorse, and responsibility" for the success of these actions is revealed (op cit, 54–56). Psychological mechanisms for the construction of positive identity based on the status of victim are also revealed in this theory: ascribing victimhood to oneself compensates for the shame of failure because it gives, for a "sinless loser" (innocent victim), a feeling of moral superiority over a "sinful winner" (aggressor or perpetrator). Recognition of the victims' unjust suffering restores their dignity (op cit, 61).

Communicative memory as an arena of expression of war memory creates preconditions for both the generation of conflicts and their resolution. In contrast to memory culture, in which political aims and values prevail, in communicative memory moral values are more important (Jordanova 2000, 162). The traumatic character of war experience is another source of conflicting issues within the communicative memory of war participants: historians can agree, but for the bearers of traumatic experience memories it is more difficult to agree (Frei 2004, 22). However, there are also preconditions for the mitigation of contradictions at the level of communicative memory due to the aforementioned 'individualising' and 'anthropologising' tendencies, which contribute to the depoliticisation of war memory.

The oral history narratives of members of three war veterans' organisations are analysed in this chapter: veterans of the Polish Home Army, the Lithuanian Territorial Defence Force and the 16th Lithuanian Rifle Division of the Red Army. The analysis is aimed at an exploration of the discursive strategies employed by these groups in order to resolve their war memory issues (perceived as problematic or conflicting in the current contexts of remembrance culture) as well as looking at the (re)construction of a positive self-image in these contexts. Representations of themes and issues that can be identified as problematic in contemporary contexts in terms of the moral criteria governing global memory culture, and/or of the hegemonic narrative of Lithuanian memory discourse, or with regard to the memories of other groups, are analysed empirically; the presentations of groups' self-images are also identified in the narratives. The narratives were collected

during semi-structured interviews conducted in 2006. In the interviews, the veterans were asked to talk about their experience of participation in the war, its aftermath during the Soviet era, their present attitudes towards the problematic issues surrounding their experiences and the status of their memory, and their present activities in veterans' organisations. Six narratives were chosen and analysed from each of the three groups under study.

The Polish–Lithuanian conflict in the Vilnius region 1939–1944 and its representation in the Lithuanian and Polish discourses of memory culture

The Lithuanian Territorial Defence Force was a short-lived armed Lithuanian volunteer force created in February 1944, and disbanded in May 1944. Previous attempts by the German forces to create an SS unit or other armed force from the local population had been unsuccessful and mobilisations boycotted. The Territorial Defence Force was subordinate to German authority, but had some autonomy and was staffed by Lithuanian officers. Its goal was to fight against the approaching Red Army and Soviet partisans within the territory claimed by Lithuanians, and to provide security within this territory. Many people joined the unit in a very short period following its announcement in February 1944 (it quickly grew to approximately 10,000 men). The Nazis made constant attempts to use this force to fight in the Wehrmacht, but such attempts were blocked by Lithuanian commander general Povilas Plechavičius. After brief encounters with the Soviet partisans and the Polish Home Army, and an attempt to send it to the Eastern Front, the force disbanded itself in May 1944. Its leaders were arrested and deported to prison camps, and many of its members were executed by the Nazis. Others were either drafted into Nazi auxiliary services or joined the newly formed anti-Soviet resistance known as the Forest Brothers. Their main enemy in the Vilnius region was the Polish Home Army as a result of the territorial conflict centring on Vilnius.

In contemporary Poland, the Home Army is the central heroic figure in the myth of the Warsaw Uprising and struggle against the Nazis. However, in Lithuania and in the territories of contemporary Belarus and Ukraine that formerly belonged to Poland, the role of this army was ambivalent. Although their main declared aim was the fight against the Nazis, in Lithuania they also fought against Lithuanian forces, local administration and police, sometimes also collaborated with Nazis in battles against Soviet partisans, and were involved in massacres of civilians. The main goal of the Home Army in this region (also formulated by the Polish government in exile, to whom they were subordinated) was to regain

the territories lost in 1939, and their enemies were any forces who were perceived as obstacles to this goal (Bubnys 1998; Wołkonowski 1996). This small-scale civil war between Poles and Lithuanians was encouraged by the German authorities and culminated in the massacres of Polish and Lithuanian civilians in two villages in June 1944.

At the level of remembrance culture, the role of both units is evaluated differently in the national narratives of contemporary Poland and Lithuania. In the dominant narrative of Poland, the assessment of the Home Army as hero is applied to all territories. In Lithuanian memory culture the assessment of members of the Territorial Force as patriotic heroes is also important, although the debate over the massacres of civilians and collaboration with German authorities is also present in public discourse. Contradictions arising from this conflict are characteristic of the works of some historians, media debates and memoirs:

> When reading the memoirs of contemporaries or the works of some historians about the Home Army that were edited in Warsaw, one can have the impression that the Vilnius region was not occupied by Nazis, but that Poles and Lithuanians were fighting against each other. In the memoirs of Lithuanian contemporaries and works of some historians the main actors in this conflict are also the same ethnic groups, but the 'right' and 'wrong' sides are opposite (Nikžentaitis 2011, 390).

The main differences in the assessment of the Lithuanian–Polish conflict in the Vilnius region in the historiography of Lithuania and Poland are reflected in the articles of Lithuanian and Polish historians summarising the historical research of both countries (Nikžentaitis 2004; Bubnys & Gluza 1999; Karbowiak 2007–2008). According to Lithuanian historians, taking the Vilnius region in October 1939, in accordance with a treaty with the USSR, is recognised as a liberation, and Poles are accused of causing the conflicts that took place before the war. The participation of Lithuanians in the actions exercised by Germans against Poles is acknowledged, although the activities of the Lithuanian administration and police in the region are presented as not being autonomous. Thus, according to Lithuanian historians, in 1939–1940 Lithuanians implemented humane reforms in the Vilnius region that were not always understood by the Poles, who therefore resisted them. All responsibility for actions in this region from the beginning of the Soviet occupation in 1940 to the end of World War II, except the massacre of civilians executed in one village by the Territorial Defence Force, is attributed to Russians and Germans (Nikžentaitis 2004, 18; Bubnys & Gluza 1999). Summarising Lithuanian research, Alvydas Nikžentaitis comes to the conclusion that

"Lithuanian historians cannot be accused of absolute concealment of facts or their distortion, however the form of their presentation shows that, in analysing the Lithuanian–Polish conflict, Lithuanian historiography protects Lithuanian national interests" (2004, 17).

In Polish historiography, the 1939-1945 period is presented as an occupation of the Vilnius region carried out by Lithuanians. Although the dates of Soviet and Nazi occupations are indicated, the Lithuanians are always considered to have been the main offenders against Poles in the region. The actions performed by Germans against Poles with the participation of Lithuanians are often presented as executed by Lithuanians alone (Karbowiak 2007–2008). Some Polish historians even blame Lithuanian security structures, which had allegedly earlier made lists of the Poles being persecuted (Nikžentaitis 2004, 17), for the deportations of Polish nationality residents from Lithuania performed by the Soviets in 1940. Lithuanians are also blamed for deportations of Polish men to forced labour in Germany (Karbowiak 2007–2008). The Home Army's contacts with the German authorities are concealed. Responsibility is assumed only for one massacre of civilians, performed in 1944 as an act of revenge for the aforementioned massacre of Polish civilians by Lithuanian forces; other murders of civilians and actions against them are justified or concealed (Karbowiak 2007–2008; Bubnys & Gluza 1999; Nikžentaitis 2004). Thus, the complicated period of Soviet and Nazi occupations in the Vilnius region is presented as the fight of oppressed Poles against Lithuanian 'invaders' (Nikžentaitis 2004, 18).

In Lithuanian memory culture, this local conflict became relevant at the beginning of the nineties due to disagreements between Lithuanians and Poles during the struggle for the restoration of Lithuanian independence and threats raised by Soviet leaders to take away the Vilnius and Klaipėda regions from Lithuania. The crimes perpetrated by the Home Army against civilians, and the collaboration of these civilians with the Nazis, were emphasised in order to demonstrate the illegitimacy of Polish actions in the region; in 1994 the Home Army was declared a criminal organisation (Nikžentaitis 2004, 17). A status equal to the position of anti-Communist post-war resistance was assigned to veterans of the Territorial Defence Force, emphasising their objective of restoring independence and their refusal to fight with the Nazis. In 2004 their commander, general Povilas Plechavičius, was posthumously awarded the supreme award of the Republic of Lithuania, which had previously been given to the commander of the Home Army in the Vilnius region, general Aleksander Krzyżanowski. In 1994, after the signing of the Lithuanian–Polish Friendship Treaty, the conflict became less relevant. The conflict also lost its relevance due to the dominant memory policy:

in the hegemonic national narrative the fight for independence took the central position and questions of territorial integrity became marginal (op cit, 18).

Today the conflict between both groups of former enemies seems to be resolved at the political level as well as in many official arenas of remembrance culture. The memories held by both groups are recognised within the memory culture: monuments for civil victims and fighters from both sides are built and commemoration practices are performed. The Declaration of Reconciliation between veterans of both sides, supported by the president of Lithuania, was signed between both sides in 2004.

Memory strategies of veterans of the Lithuanian Territorial Defence Force

The construction of positive group identity and unproblematic communicative memory has not been an easy task for either group: both have undergone not only traumatic war experience and post-war persecution, but also collective traumas of defeat in military operations and in respect of the aims they pursued. The guilt and responsibility for civil victims is another important moral problem for both groups of veterans.

When struggling for recognition of their memories, veterans of the Lithuanian Territorial Defence Force follow the main template of the dominant Lithuanian narrative, stressing their attempts to fight against the Soviets and avoiding claims of collaboration with the Nazis. However, they rarely present themselves as heroes; the patriotic motives and unrealised goals of anti-Soviet resistance are probably insufficient for the heroic narrative. Some tension is felt about their identity as 'pure' defenders of Lithuanian independence and there are also signs of shame and guilt in the narratives. The massacre of Polish civilians is depicted as a collective responsibility, although it is an unpopular topic, and the Polish Home Army is blamed for provoking fights and murders. The veterans generally present themselves as victims of German and Soviet aggressors. The narratives about the Nazi repressions after the self-disbanding of the Defence Force help veterans avoid claims of collaborating with the Nazis. The experience of suffering after war (many had experienced Soviet repressions) also takes an important place in their narratives, simultaneously expressing the roles of victim and fighter against the Soviet regime. Stories about war experience and post-war suffering are told in detail, thus possibly expressing the "biographical necessity for narration", which is characteristic of traumatic war memories, affects the present and future of a narrator's life, and contributes to the collective justification when presenting oneself as a victim (Rosenthal 1991, 40).

The Declaration of Reconciliation lessened the memory conflict, but neither side participated actively in the subsequent reconciliation (common commemoration ceremonies and other events) and some experts state that this process has been fraught with difficulty (Degutis & Komar 2006, 11-12). However, the apology-forgiveness ritual started a new phase in the attitudes of members of both groups towards each other, and to some degree in Lithuanian–Polish relations in general. The apology-forgiveness transaction "signifies the removal of a threat to the social bond" (Scheff 1994, 136) and helps "to acknowledge and integrate the power of the historical content but move forward" (Tint 2010, 251).

The feelings of beginning a new phase are expressed in the comments of the leaders of both veterans' organisations. According to the chairman of the Union of Territorial Defence Force Soldiers "[…] after signing the declaration as if a stone fell down from our hearts, all our anger and hatred ended" (XXI amžiaus horizontai 2004); a similar opinion was expressed by the chairman of the Polish Home Army veterans in Lithuania: "We are Christians, so we must forgive each other. During the war we were on different sides of the barricades. It should not have happened, but nobody can change history" (op cit). As the later behaviour and narratives of the members of both groups demonstrates, this apology was not completely successful. Yet, members of both groups often cite this ritual when expressing their will to achieve reconciliation and social solidarity.

The realisation of the reconciliation at the level of Territorial Defence Force veterans' communicative and individual memory seems to be hindered by the emotional importance of memories of the pre-war territorial conflict with the Poles and emotions connected to the trauma of defeat by the Home Army, especially when these emotions relate to losses of combatants and civilian Lithuanians (in this conflict, the Territorial Force, poorly trained and lacking experience, suffered more defeats and heavier losses than the Home Army (Karbowiak 2007–2008; Bubnys 1998)). Some veterans confessed that they approve of reconciliation, but personally and emotionally they still cannot forgive when remembering the combatant and civilian Lithuanians killed by the Home Army. The emotional importance of these memories may also be based on influential pre-war national narratives, in which 'the question of Vilnius' took an important place, and the image of the Pole as enemy was very strong. Lithuanians were the victims and Poles the aggressors in this narrative. These old cultural templates, though not corresponding to present memory cultures, may exert influence on personal memory: "Their [cultural templates'] efficacy lies in the fact that they circulate in cultural spaces which antecede, and thus are part of the constitution of, personal memory. […] Templates do not always work in the service of a dominant national narrative" (Ashplant et al 2000, 36). The relevance of 'the

question of Vilnius' for this group's memories is also illustrated by the commentary of the former chairman of the veterans' union, in which the claims of Poles for this territory are reiterated: "I always knew that Poles still have their objectives in Vilnius region, but we made this step in order to make consensus easier for everyone" (VR4, 2006). Though the status of victim of German and Soviet aggression applies to both conflicting groups, some veterans of the Lithuanian forces dispute the 'equality' of the victimhood of the Home Army in comparison to their own at the level of communicative and individual memory.

Thus, although the positive self-image of this group is strongly supported by the dominant narrative, contradictory and problematic aspects of their memory are present that invoke the strategy of victimisation. This strategy partly helps them overcome the tension between pride and shame, alleviating traumas of defeat and guilt and contributing to the construction of the group's positive self-image. However, this does not fully resolve these tensions: the lack of ability to forgive and other emotions connected to the shame of defeat remain an obstacle for complete resolution of memory conflict between former enemies at the level of individual and group memory, although this conflict is resolved and peripheral at the level of memory culture. However, despite emotional obstacles, the apology-forgiveness ritual is perceived in this group as a point of departure from which to 'move forward'.

Memory strategies of veterans of the Polish Home Army

The experience of veterans of the Polish Home Army is problematic in the contexts of dominant Lithuanian narrative and the negative attitudes of some social groups. The role of hero attributed to them in the Polish narrative helps to maintain collective and personal dignity, but all members of this group emphasise the importance of recognition in Lithuanian contexts for them as well. Two memory strategies are applied in their narratives, presented for a Lithuanian audience in order to avoid conflicting points in their memories: the strategy of victimisation and the strategy of deliberate amnesia.

The strategy of victimisation is the main means of normalisation of their experience in present Lithuanian contexts. The heroic aspects are not mentioned in the narrative presented for the Lithuanian audience. In contrast to Polish historiography, in which Lithuanians are depicted as the main occupiers, only two enemies are named – the Soviets and the Nazis ("Two bandits – Hitler and Stalin – divided our countries" (AK3, 2006)). As in the Polish narrative, participation is defined as defence of the homeland from German and Soviet occupation, although in Poland the regional aspect is emphasised: "You must defend

the homeland where you live" (AK5, 2006). Lithuania and Poland are portrayed as victims of the war and of the pact between two demonised aliens, thus both sides of the conflict are presented as 'equal victims'. This common victimisation helps to create solidarity between former enemies (Tunbridge & Ashworth 1996, 106).

The role of victim also alleviates the trauma of territorial loss: "Soviets captured Vilnius and gave it to whom they wanted" (AK3, 2006). This common victimisation also helps those affected to look for unifying points in history: "We were suffering together during the Soviet period" (AK1, 2006). Similarly to the dominant Lithuanian narrative (and in contrast to the Polish narrative), the 'Soviets' in the narratives of Polish Home Army veterans seem to be a greater enemy than the Nazis.

The narratives of Home Army veterans contain 'amnesias' and partial denials of facts unhelpful to the formation of a positive self-image. This strategy was probably chosen as a defensive reaction in the situation of tension between the national narratives of Lithuania and Poland and negative assessment of their experience still present in some manifestations of Lithuanian memory discourse. The strategy of deliberate amnesia is applied to the topics of the massacre and rebellion of civilians, the anti-Lithuanian character of their struggle, and partly also to the themes of episodic collaboration with Nazis and the Red Army, as well as battles with Lithuanian forces. Responsibility for the massacre of civilians is avoided mainly by denying the involvement of the Home Army unit to which they belonged ("Those were local conflicts, members of the local population killed them, not us" (AK5, 2006)); some veterans recognise the massacres but assign responsibility at the level of the individual.

In the narratives of the veterans of the Home Army, the war experience is presented fragmentarily, while long and detailed narratives are told about post-war Soviet repression. Similarly to accounts by veterans of the Lithuanian forces, the narratives of post-war suffering, apart from strengthening the role of the victim, can also be told as 'cover-stories'; in situations were a group is faced with the question of political responsibility, it is possible that 'cover-stories' will appear which deal with personal suffering and serve to normalise the past (Rosenthal 1991, 40).

Among Lithuanian veterans reconciliation is evaluated positively, as an important sign of the recognition of their memory in Lithuanian contexts and as a significant step towards social consensus. Even though the collective apology-forgiveness ritual itself means recognition of guilt and repentance at the public level, in this case the detachment between the past and present created by this ritual

also serves as a motive to forget the problematic past. According to Thomas Scheff (1994), only acknowledged shame helps to create solidarity.

However, both sides of the conflict appeal for reconciliation as a positive ritual, which is important for consensus (although some Home Army veterans confessed that only the younger generation would be able to resolve the conflict: "Nothing will change until those born before 1950 die" (AK3, 2006)). Again, the need for acceptance of the contemporary political situation, and for loyalty, is also admitted: "At that time we thought we were behaving properly. Poland was here, but now it is not. If you did not emigrate, you have to be loyal" (AK1, 2006).

Although "acknowledging differing national narratives is seen as a key element to working with parties in long-term, identity-based conflict" (Tint 2010, 250), the narratives reveal the importance of the apology-forgiveness ritual for both groups, even when the narrative of the opposite group is not fully acknowledged. Both groups see this ritual as an important point of departure that opens a new phase as well as possibilities for the processes of reconciliation and the establishment of social cohesion. Narratives indicate that the dividing line between past and present made by this public ritual also serves as a basis for contemporary and future changes of communicative and individual memory. This confirms the importance of collective apology-forgiveness rituals, as stressed by Bernhard Giesen:

> Only collective rituals can mark the opposition between past and future and heal the fundamental breakdown of commonality between perpetrators and victims. Just as traditions that attempt to continue the past require rituals of commemoration, so rupture between past and present, too, requires rituals of repentance and cultures of memory (Giesen 2004, 154).

Thus, in the case of Home Army veterans' memories, strategies of victimisation and amnesia help to avoid conflicts with the dominant Lithuanian narrative and with former war enemies' memories. However, the strategy of amnesia in general is considered to have little effect on reconciliation and social cohesion: the process of reconciliation requires an acknowledgment of responsibility (Tint 2010, 250; Scheff 1994, 64), while "deliberate amnesia appears likely to be successful only in the short term" (Tunbridge & Ashworth 1996, 109). Despite the apology-forgiveness ritual also significantly reducing the contradictions of the Home Army's memory in relation to Lithuanian remembrance culture and conflict with former enemies, the absent full acknowledgment of the shameful events of the past impedes complete resolution of memory conflict. However,

the rising marginality of this conflict in Lithuanian memory culture also works in favour of conflict resolution.

Memory strategies of
veterans of the Red Army 16th Lithuanian Rifle Division

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the roles of members of this group as 'hero-liberators' became irrelevant, and their part in an army officially recognised as occupational began to look rather ambiguous. In order to maintain positive individual and group identity, the veterans had to reinterpret and normalise their memories according to contemporary discursive contexts.

The common means of normalising the memories of this group of veterans, which appears in all narratives, is the strict separation of the war and post-war periods, stressing different logic and assessment criteria for these periods: according to one of the veterans, "the war is quite a different thing, it is clear with whom we were fighting" (16D1, 2006), and occupation was performed "by the NKVD, not the army" (16D1, 2006). Another common feature is the depoliticisation of the war experience as part of the victimisation strategy: the war is presented in veterans' narratives only as the war 'against' fascism, but not 'for' any aim, and its experience is separated from political goals and consequences. The war is perceived as an alien war in which they were involved violently: "People perished for nothing. The soldier won the war, but Stalin and the Communist party made profit from this victory" (16D6, 2006). The soldier is treated as the main figure of the war – both as hero and victim of an alien war between two dictators and regimes. The victimisation is also expressed by means of 'anthropologising' and 'individualising' memory. In this case the perspective of an individual helps to depoliticise the memory and disassociate it from the present narrative of Soviet occupation. The motif of violent conscription emphasised in some narratives also corresponds to the role of victim. The heroes in the narratives are not abstract symbols, but concrete individualised soldiers. Therefore the monuments the veterans accept are mainly tombstones with the names of perished soldiers: "Only respect for perished people should be expressed in the monuments. There was and there is no idea in this war, only violence; we were expelled like serfs. Everybody knew that we would die" (16D3, 2006). In some stories the glory of the dead soldier is also transferred to the enemy, thus ignoring the political aspects of the war:

> Every monument of the perished soldier must be respected. All was done by people, Gods and [political] power must not be glorified. I saw German

prisoners in Germany, then I was against them. Now I think that the soldier was not guilty because he was mobilised, I can forgive the squaddie, but I cannot forgive the SS workers, they were not at war, but killed innocent people (16D6, 2006).

Apart from common features, three slightly different memory strategies can be identified in the accounts of Red Army veterans. The first one is based on the Soviet/Russian narrative of the Great Patriotic War, with the Soviet soldier presented as a heroic liberator from fascism. The continuity of Soviet commemoration practices and the institutional recognition of their memory and relations with veterans in Russia are especially important for veterans following this strategy. The treatment of the Red Army as occupiers is avoided by separation of war and post-war periods and logics, and by emphasising the arguments of 'liberation from fascism'. The Soviet soldier is presented as a hero in this group of accounts.

The other group of narratives is similar to the first, but the interpretations it contains are based on the transnational discourses of the struggle against Nazism, and the veterans stress the anti-fascist ideology and their membership in the transnational community of war veterans. The soldier in these narratives is represented as a hero and a victim simultaneously.

The strategy of victimisation is expressed most 'genuinely' in the third group of narratives. War memory is presented only from the 'anthropologising' perspective with the status of victim attributed not only to a single soldier, but also to the entire division and to the whole country. This group of narratives lacks the heroic motif, and the ideological schemata of the 'Great Patriotic War' are not important and insufficient for the meaning making of the veterans' war experience. Memories of traumatic experience take an important place in these narratives in which suffering, inhuman behaviour, and the numerous and meaningless losses are emphasised. The experience of all veterans of the 16th Lithuanian Rifle Division is traumatic to a great degree. The division was sent unprepared and in haste to its first battle. In the battle in the vicinity of Oriol, as well as in the last battle in the Baltics, many units of the division suffered heavy casualties. This experience still remains important for veterans:

It is impossible to forget. Even now I see in my mind fields with killed people, a range of dead men at every five or six steps, this way they were sent into attack. But there were some empty places. It means that in this place somebody remained alive and crawled out (16D6, 2006).

Some members of this group already felt the dissonance between their experience and official interpretations during the Soviet period and perceived their and their unit's experience as that of a victim of manipulation by command. In their opinion, the meaningless deaths of numerous combatants could have been avoided, but were part of the plan (this opinion is confirmed by present publications from Russian and Lithuanian historians, as well as other documents):

> At the very beginning, when our division was sent into battle, it was wiped out. It seems they wanted as few Lithuanians as possible to return to Lithuania. We did not speak about these episodes formally. We said confidentially that it was done on purpose because there were some soldiers from the pre-war period in the division. Many of them were killed, many deported to the camps, but some remained, entered the party and swore allegiance to Russia (16D3, 2006).

Therefore the activities of this group of veterans and their organisations are today aimed not only at commemorative practices, but also at the reconstruction of the more 'authentic' history of their division than the official Soviet version; they perceive this reconstruction as a duty towards their dead comrades. The themes of nationality and Lithuanian patriotism can also be found in the war narratives of this group: "They wanted to kill more Lithuanians, especially at the end of the war" (16D5, 2006).

The victimhood narrative of the 16th Lithuanian Rifle Division veterans is recognised in present public discourse and by a large part of society, while the claims of 'collaboration with occupiers' have become less numerous. The status of this group as a victim is recognised even by the members of post-war anti-Soviet resistance – the heroes of the dominant national narrative. According to the opinion of the chairman of their organization "there were patriots among them as well, a lot of them perished meaninglessly, they were betrayed" (LLKS1, 2006). The depoliticising tendency of interpreting war memory from an individualised, 'anthropologising' perspective, according to which all 'ordinary' participants are presented as victims, has also become popular in the public discourse of war memory. The typical attitude is illustrated by the following quotation:

> A human attitude wins: at first it is necessary to respect the memory of those who were fighting on the foreign fronts, who died or returned with wounds or were disabled. It is even more important that in these historical cataclysms and divisions of occupants there were few parents and grandparents who were able to choose – either to go to the forest, deep underground, fly away

from Lithuania or with clenched teeth put on the overcoat of the Red Army soldier (Iškauskas 2011).

Conclusions

The results confirm the complexity of interaction between various levels of memory. At the communicative level of war memory, the assessments of political discourses of remembrance culture are negotiated and mitigated to a great extent. However, the traumatic aspects of war experience may also cause contradictions and problems that are not present in remembrance culture.

The strategy of victimisation characteristic of the 'post-traumatic' era prevails on the communicative and individual levels of the war memory of all three groups. The cases analysed reveal that the victimhood narratives in war memories can help to reduce contradictory and conflicting issues, especially when the role of persecutor can be attributed to 'alien' forces. However, although victimhood narratives offer communities of memory a high status and a positive self-image, they are not easily applicable to the memory of the ambivalent experiences of those who have participated in war.

Among the cases analysed, the strategy of victimisation most successfully helps to diminish the contradictions between the dominant, national anti-Soviet narrative and the experience of the war veterans who participated on the side of Soviet occupation. These contradictions are mitigated by presenting Red Army veterans as passive victims of alien aggressors and by relating the group memory to the global discourses of anti-Nazi resistance. Transnational discourses of war memory according to which the war is approached from the perspective of the individual human being, also support the image of victimhood and help to depoliticise this group's memory.

The strategy of victimisation also helps to reduce the points of conflict in the communicative and individual war memories of ethnic groups – former war enemies – despite the remaining contradictions between the dominant national narratives of both groups. However, although the role of victim helps to reduce the trauma of defeat and partly shift responsibility to external forces, the emotions connected with ethnic identity and war trauma, as well as the morally unacceptable experience of persecuting civilians, create obstacles to the construction of a positive self-image and complete conflict resolution for both groups of veterans. In the memory of Lithuanian Territorial Forces veterans, emotions related to the trauma of defeat and guilt hinder the adoption of a positive image of heroic independence fighters. Conflict resolution at the communicative and individual level of the memory of these veterans is also impeded by the emotional

inability to forgive based on the old cultural templates and the traumatic memory of defeat. In the memory of veterans of the Home Army, attribution of victim status is facilitated by the strategy of amnesia, which partly allows ignorance of the role of perpetrator; the status of victim also helps this group to cope with the trauma of defeat. Here the apology-forgiveness ritual plays a more significant role than among veterans of Territorial Forces, even though the lack of any ability to acknowledge the shameful past also impedes complete conflict resolution.

The cases analysed confirm that "traumatic experience of suffering and shame are generally not integrated with ease into positive self-images" (Kõresaar et al 2009, 32). In addition the analysis also contributes to research revealing "the impossibility of a clean break with the past in view of the moral, emotional and political resistances to a quick fix" (Rigney 2012, 254).

Veterans' war memories reveal the importance of public apology-forgiveness rituals in resolving memory conflicts based on ambiguous traumatic experience. This is true even when the public process of reconciliation is initially less supported by the informal levels of memory and no common alternative narrative of the problematic past is established, as the different narratives of opposing sides are not fully acknowledged by conflicting groups. This confirms the multiple functions of these rituals and the multidirectionality of the ways of reconciliation (Tint 2010, 250; Rigney 2012, 252).

Interviews

Author's fieldwork material, 18 interviews in total, conducted in Lithuania, 2006.

Respondent index	Date of interview	Sex	Age
AK1	February 2006	Male	77
AK3	March 2006	Male	83
AK5	March 2006	Male	84
LLKS1	April 2006	Male	77
VR4	March 2006	Male	92
16D1	February 2006	Male	79
16D3	March 2006	Male	82
16D5	April 2006	Male	82
16D6	April 2006	Male	85

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Notes

The Stalinist prison camp in Estonian life stories: depicting the past through continuity and discontinuity

Tiiu Jaago

Abstract. This chapter discusses the use of the concept pair of 'continuity–discontinuity' in Estonian life story research. The concepts are used in both history and literary studies to describe the dynamics of Estonian culture under different foreign authorities. One of the premises for life story researchers is that the standpoints presented in public discourse are also represented in life stories dealing with the Soviet period in Estonia. Two problems are raised in this chapter. Firstly, how discontinuity and continuity are revealed in autobiographic descriptions of life in Stalinist prison camps. Secondly, to what extent the time of narrating influences the presentation of the past through discontinuity rather than continuity, and vice versa. Eighteen narratives from the Estonian Life Stories collection of the Estonian Cultural History Archives are analysed. Nine stories date from the end of the Soviet period (1989–1991), the remaining nine from the late 1990s. Analysis shows that episodes describing life in the prison camps are presented following the same narrative strategies, regardless of whether the stories were told at the end of the Soviet period or ten years later. However, it appears that authors of the earlier autobiographical narratives engage in public debates on Estonian history, which authors of the later narratives do not. In prison camp episodes discontinuity (the takeover of government in Estonia, change in the narrator's social status, etc.) and continuity (humane behaviour, finding balance in one's culture) are intertwined. When narrators reflect on the political context of their lives, the rhetoric of discontinuity generally comes to the fore.

This chapter is part of oral history research, focusing on strategies that narrators and researchers use to interpret the Estonian past. Continuity and discontinuity are analytical tools with which to present the past that emerged in the 1990s and 2000s, both in discussions held on the self-descriptions of Estonian culture (for example Krull 1996; Jansen 2000; Pilv 2008; 2011) and in studies on life stories (Kõresaar 2005; Aarelaid-Tart 2012). In the self-description of culture, interruption marks a situation in which one's 'own' culture is interrupted by

'another' or 'alien' culture (Pilv 2008, 71). In treatments of life stories, discontinuity is characterised by opposition between the history presented by the narrators of life stories and official Soviet history (Kõresaar 2005, 33). Accordingly, the natural course of Estonian history was disrupted in relation to the continuity of Soviet authority. The time of narrating (the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s) is linked to the narrators' desire to restore the course of Estonia's own history.

Firstly, both continuity and discontinuity are natural parts of processes that take place in the reality of life, operating simultaneously (see Lotman 2009, 12). Secondly, they function as a way of depicting processes that took place in the past. Thirdly, the research focus plays a role when approaching the topic: in other words, it affects how the researcher contextualises the given presentation of the past. In this chapter I deal with the narrative level. While continuity is achieved by presenting the past as a sequence of naturally and coherently flowing events, in the case of discontinuity the narrator concentrates on contrasting the described situations.

Continuity, or presenting the past as a coherent whole, is primarily associated with elderly narrators: they rely on experiences that have accumulated over a long time, which they try to synthesise and interpret from the standpoint of their life stories (Bluck & Alea 2008, 57–58; Kaźmierska 2009, 99). However, it should be stressed that by nature the popular narrative style is homogeneous neither in narrative methods nor in images of history (Matsumoto 2006, 43; Heimo 2010, 47–51). Moreover, the popular way of narrating the past is itself an ever-changing process, in the course of which experiences are deposited, meanings of what happened are clarified through narrating, other views are discussed, and there is interaction with other fields of culture, and so on. In addition, different genres depict the same historical reality in different ways. For example Eda Kalmre has analysed, in parallel with life story researchers, how the 1940s were depicted at the end of the 20th century through modern urban legends and rumours. Her work is based on the actualisation of folklore schemes and motifs in post-war Tartu. Referring to the international and historical scope of these motifs, she highlights cultural continuity in historical situations which are perceived as interruptions of ordinary time (Kalmre 2007, 39–48; cf Kalmre 2012).

From the point of view of this chapter, the varying nature of the images of history and the ways in which these images are presented in the narratives is important. I show that the concepts of discontinuity and continuity are revealed differently in the description of events and in paragraphs referring to the time of narrating.

For my analysis I have chosen the life stories of former prisoners of the Stalinist prison camps. On the one hand, these represent an extreme situation in the life of a person who has been imprisoned by the institutions of Soviet authority. On the other hand, the topic is associated with clear political intervention in a person's life, accompanied by the implementation of cultural behavioural patterns and knowledge, developed over a lengthy period and in a new situation. I do not emphasise the legal or historical aspects of (Stalinist) prison camps. A brief look at the works of researchers in this field is sufficient to understand how complicated it is to describe the legal system of the Soviet Union from the aspect of the rule of law:

> Traditionally, the use of strict measures [death sentence, imprisonment, deportation] is regulated by criminal law. In the Soviet Union coercive measures were also used unlawfully, contrary to their own laws, masked by the expression 'unofficial measures' (Niglas 2011, 61).

I view the prison camp episodes in life stories specifically and only from the viewpoint of descriptive methods, more precisely from the viewpoint of discontinuity and continuity. I admit that concentrating on only one topic differs from the starting points of the above-mentioned studies, where emphasis is placed for example on the predominant discourse at the time of narrating, which invokes the concept of rupture in the research by Ene Kõresaar (2005), or on the story as a narrated text, which focuses on the topic of continuity rather than rupture, as for example in Eda Kalmre's studies (2007; 2012). I chose the extreme situation – life in Stalinist prison camps – hoping that in this way the 'places' of rupture and continuity will be especially clearly brought out in the depiction of the Soviet period.

The first part of the chapter deals with the question of how the narrators raise the topic of the prison camp in their stories and which rhetorical techniques they use to create their texts. This is a question of the narrative's level of influence: how the narrators convince their audience, and how they argue their interpretation of the past. In the second part of the chapter I ask how the time of narrating (first and foremost the historical background of narration) affects the presentation of the topic of prison camps in these stories.

The research material comes from the archives of life story manuscripts, stored in the Estonian Literary Museum. Using a keyword search I found 86 narratives dealing with this topic, of which I selected nine stories written in 1989–1990, and nine stories written in 1997–1998. I presumed that the nine-year difference in narrating these stories is reflected in them. I would like to note

in advance that there is no fundamental difference in those parts of the life stories that concern the descriptions of the prison camp. However, when the impact of the time of narrating on the autobiographic text is studied, it appears that stories written in 1989–1990 coincide with topics generally discussed in society more than stories that were told later (the earlier stories, therefore, are more dialogic).

In addition to the life stories in the manuscripts stored in the Estonian Literary Museum, I also used two published texts on the topic. One of them is a publication of an interview broadcast on Estonian Radio in 1988 (Lauri 1991). The narrator was a man who was active in the business sphere in the pre-war period. The other source is memoirs from the prison camp, published by a local schoolteacher in the *Läänlane* newspaper in the late 1980s (Uustalu 1988–1989). This manuscript was written between 1962 and 1965 and had so far been retained in the family archives. I also asked former prisoners questions connected with the topic of the prison camps during my fieldwork, and use the information obtained in this way here (see MK: Läänemaa).

The prison camp: the main topics, characters and stylistic devices

The thematic axis of prison stories is formed by the relationship between the three keywords of food, work, and death. They are used to let the reader know how people survived in these extreme conditions. For example, one narrator refers to strategies that had to be taken into consideration in the camp: despite the hunger it was important not to work over the norm, because it might cost your life. The form in which this knowledge was worded – the three commandments of the prisoner – refers to the model derived from Christian culture.

> All the work in the camp was based on one aim: to earn your food. You had to do your utmost to get the prescribed minimum food. Well, prison people had their own sayings about this. They said that a prisoner has three commandments. The first was: do tomorrow what you have to do today! The second was: eat today what you can eat tomorrow! And the third was: always take what has been left lying about! So, it was according to these three commandments that people lived. Those who exceeded norms to get an additional portion – *prembljuda* – were unlucky. It was common knowledge that sooner or later they would end up in hospital as a result of over-work, and from there, depending on how their bodies endured this, either to the burial site or back to the camp, in order to start the next phase (Lauri 1991, 64).

What is significant about this quote is the fact that the three commandments of the prisoner contradict Christian rules of conduct. This can be interpreted as the border between the narrator's two sets of everyday practice and identity. In addition, it becomes evident that the border between rupture and continuity joins the everyday practices and identities of different stages of life.

Descriptions of the beginning of imprisonment reflect shock about and incomprehension of what has happened, including the paltry food: "soup slop made from the tops of fodder beetroot and cabbage, and a little bit of watery millet porridge" (EKLA f 350: 19, p. 11, 1989); "I remember it was Christmas Eve, we were given snake skin soup, with a layer of green shit on top of it" (EKLA f 350: 419, p. 34, 1998). However, when talking about the prison camp period, the descriptions rather focus on the size of food portions and the knowledge of how to eat in a hunger situation. As time passed, the subject matter of survival comes to the forefront.

The chronological rhythm of camp narratives gradually starts to be moulded by the events inside the camp: where the work took place (in the forest, in mines or on construction sites; easier jobs were obtained, for example, in hospitals or in workplaces, although these necessitated the prior acquisition of a certain profession), how and when one got rid of lice or other parasites, hospital stays, improved food situations, first letters from relatives at home, etc. It is clearly apparent that the journeys, lasting for several weeks, in extreme conditions and without knowing the destination, were difficult to bear.

On a significant number of occasions, fellow prisoners are referred to according to their ethnic nationality; however, the stories or destinies of others are generally not introduced. At the same time, the organisation of one's relationships with fellow prisoners is in the focal position, both in the descriptions of imprisonment as well as in depictions of life during the prison camp period. Relationships between the political and criminal prisoners – conflicts as well as agreements and joint activities – form a separate section of stories. Regarding other people in the narratives, it is possible to differentiate the helpers, who are simply referred to as 'good people' but who are not personal acquaintances. These people include those who have somehow helped the narrator by, for example, mailing a note, secretly thrown out of the deportation train, to family members to inform them about the deportation, helping to keep the narrator in a hospital, or organising a better job for him or her – 'the good person' is someone involved in situations in which the narrator's life was saved, or whose activities were motivated by universal human understanding.

The so-called contra-figures (interrogators, prison guards) do not deserve as much attention. Instead of describing an interrogation, hints are made as to

what was going on and the mood is often impersonal: "I was charged with …" (EKLA f 350: 36, p. 41, 1989), while talk about the events is indirect: "Horrible, what it was! […] Oh-oh-oh. Women's fingers and arms were broken … Horrible" (ELKA f 350: 135, 1989; cf EKLA f 350: 731, 1998). Report-like descriptions are less frequent: "I was not taunted and there was no violence done to me. But my sister was beaten, and tortured terribly when she, too, went to interrogations because of her husband. She was covered with bruises all over her body" (EKLA f 350: 444, p. 11, 1998).

A conspicuously large number of animal-related metaphors are used, and in diverse associations, starting with 'animal carriages' (which is the predominant keyword in these stories), and finishing with burial: "Afterwards, the deceased were pushed into the hole, without a coffin, like dead animals" (EKLA f 350: 36, p. 35, 1989). Another image stems from the so-called dog-clause in the passport of a political prisoner (Lauri 1991, 88).[1] Prisoners were forced to sit in the rain: "We were soaking wet when we were driven into the carriages like animals" (EKLA f 350: 151, 1989). Soup was given to the prisoners in bowls "from which you had to lick like a dog" (EKLA f 350: 220, p. 10, 1990) as the convicts were not allowed spoons. One narrator describes his physical presence after recuperation in hospital, saying that he weighed forty-nine kilograms and looked "like a ram in spring" (EKLA f 350: 151, p. 11, 1989). Another narrator, who, as a prisoner, had dragged trees out of the forest, explains that prisoners were used as "draught animals" (Uustalu 1988–1989).

The situations that involve animal imagery are associated both with food and with the weather, and refer both to animals in general and to the way in which animals are treated. These metaphors can be found both in self-descriptions and descriptions of others or objects. It is significant that the animal images in these descriptions are positioned in the semantic field that presents an attitude of authority (anonymous power) over the prisoner: the animal images are connected with how the prisoner was treated.

The analysis of themes and methods of narrating highlights the axis along which the level of depth of the story can be plotted, with narrators presenting themselves as if they were outside civilisation, outside humane treatment. The boundaries of civilisation are also marked by such subject matter as the absence of names (prisoners had numbers), the existence of mixed camps for political and criminal convicts, and endless carelessness in the arrangement of work as well as in medicine. "I can't say anything humane about things there", concludes one of the narrators about everyday life in prison (MK: Läänemaa. E. M. 2007). Reading the life stories of these prisoners, this seemed tragic to me. However, I abandoned the idea of using the word 'tragic' after I had asked a former prisoner what

the convicts themselves perceived as such – for them this word was associated directly with death, not with daily life, although this life was inhumane.

As a counterbalance, activities that prisoners used to retain their humanity were recounted, rendering value to singing, sport and holidays, which were naturally celebrated unofficially. Death as a subject is inevitably connected with prison life, therefore narratives include dying, dealing with dead bodies and striving for burials. The theme of death relates prison life's inhumanity with the humane: on one hand, it meant unfair death under arbitrarily violent power, but on the other it referred to the prisoners' attempts to bury and remember companions in ways pursuant to their cultural norms.

The time of narrating in the stories

In the studied text collection the topic of prison camps was presented in the same way, regardless of the nine-year gap in the time of narrating these stories (1989–1998). Next I am going to change the research focus and, based on the same stories, study how the time of narrating is revealed. The first period in question is that of the final years of Soviet rule, when the topic of political repressions was taken up in public. (In the years 1988 and 1989 discussion started at the national level on how to remedy Stalinist repressions.)[2] The second time period consists of the years after Estonia had regained its independence, and when political repressions had been publicly condemned. Therefore, the time of narrating falls within the period when history-related discussions were intertwined with legal and political questions (see Hiio 2010). All these aspects, in turn, were involved in people's lives on the everyday, legal and economic levels.[3] Between the 1970s and 1980s, as political pressure increased, the topic was hidden from the public. Theatre director Merle Karusoo, who uses life stories as a source material for her plays, explains why, according to her experience, participants did not talk about this topic:

> […] they thought: I know I am not guilty, but others must be guilty, why else were they arrested? A mistake was made in my case; but the fact that mistakes had been made with everyone, or rather that there was no mistake, that it was the goal and how things were meant to be – people just could not believe it (Karusoo 2004, 87).

A similar conclusion was made by, for example, Irina Scherbakova, the Russian researcher of prison camp experiences. She started collecting stories about Stalinist prison camps in the 1970s and noticed that when she asked former

prisoners at what moment they had realised the scope of political repressions, they answered in bewilderment. This was because people's roles in the period of the Russian revolutions and in the 1920s changed very quickly, which is why it was nearly impossible not to get into conflict with the authorities. Therefore it was not easy to exactly understand the processes that took place in Soviet Russia in the 1920s, and especially in the 1930s (Scherbakova 2007, 125). In the life stories dealt with herein, the narrators do not refer to literature or other materials since it had become possible to speak openly about their personal experiences. Moreover, one of the narrators says that even the most unbelievable prison camp story must be true, because no one could invent anything as horrible (EKLA f 350: 220, p. 97, 1990).

The time of narrating the life stories studied here reveals that the periods of imprisonment, and the fact of imprisonment, are not kept secret, in fact quite the opposite. Narrators have also included the names of other prisoners they know in their stories, so that those who can no longer speak for themselves would not be forgotten, for example, "finally I refer to the names [of people] who were killed by the Red Murderers" (EKLA f 350: 419, 1997), or they mention that their story is just one of the many told by people with similar destinies (EKLA f 350: 145, p. 1, 1989). Such choices – the narrators are writing to a public archive – indicate that the topic of Soviet prison camps was shifting from the communal field to the national one and into general public discourse, tuned in a way that was acceptable for the narrators. In the stories the narrators may express doubt about whether their story is important or interesting enough (EKLA f 350: 419, p. 71, 1997), but they never refer to the possibility that the imagined reader might interpret their prisoner status disapprovingly. Here the question of how they justify their imprisonment arises. This can be followed through the description of the situation of being arrested or charged, or in rare cases by the way in which the narrator describes himself or herself as a convict.

At the beginning of the Soviet period (1940–1941) the imprisonment situations were unexpected rather than anticipated. This is not the case in post-war imprisonments for at least two reasons. Firstly, people already had experiences from the pre-war period. Secondly, the years since the war had given rise to situations that excluded the possibility of not being guilty in front of the Soviet authorities.[4] In the narratives the "I haven't done anything wrong" motif (EKLA f 350: 19, 1989) can be found, but as a rule, two things are mentioned as the background to imprisonment (and guilt, as seen by the Soviet authorities): service in the Home Guard and avoiding mobilisation (referred to as 'going into the forest' in Estonian).[5] From the aspect of an Estonian life story reader it is obvious that the situation was made more complicated by the fact that Estonia

was occupied twice (the Soviet occupation of 1940–1941 and the Nazi German period of 1941–1944), yet it is not as obvious in the international context. It was outright unacceptable to say this in the context of Soviet power. Narrators did not know the European points of view, but they opposed the Soviet one. This brings irony into the narratives. This is evident, for example, in the description of being arrested, of which one narrator (EKLA f 350: 36, p. 29, 1989) presents his point of view in the form of a speech of a representative of authority: "As your presence is a danger to the established order, you will be placed elsewhere." The narrator, who was arrested at his workplace, continues to say that he could not even go home, but was put straight "into the cattle wagon, under the protection of a gunman". The narrator also gave metaphors for sending people to prison camps, like that of a "free ride". The self-designations 'traitor to the homeland' and 'traitor to the fatherland' present the viewpoint of the Soviet Union, but the meaning is contested in statements such as the following: "Although I sat in prisons and camps as a traitor to the fatherland, the vast plains of Russia are not my fatherland. I have not betrayed my fatherland, I do not need to be embarrassed because of it" (EKLA f 350: 19, 1989; 145, p. 1, 1989; Uustalu 1988–1989). This kind of imagery is used in an axiomatic way – it is familiar both to the writers and their imagined readers.

The reasons for imprisonment (or official charges) are not dealt with explicitly in the stories. When reading the stories, it feels as if the absence of guilt corresponding to the punishment was a self-evident fact for both narrators and their imagined recipients, as it is not discussed. This is also confirmed by historians who study the behaviour of authority. For example, in an article in which he systematises the Soviet repressions, Aivar Niglas writes:

> As a rule, attempts were made to conduct the investigation, i.e. arrest, interrogation and prosecution according to the rules of criminal procedure, which however does not indicate any personal guilt, because [evidence of] guilt could always be fabricated. This was a widely used practice in the USSR (Niglas 2011, 73).

Life events are given in these life stories in linear sequences. Among other topics, references are made to the complications in the post-war situation because of life during the war – Estonia was an occupied country, which from the position of the Soviet authorities meant collaboration with the enemy or switching to the enemy's side. I have already mentioned above that serving in the Home Guard or avoiding battles and mobilisations are presented openly in the stories. It is more difficult for the narrators, however, to explain service in the Nazi German

Army, police or civil institutions. The historian and member of the board of the Estonian Institute of Historical Memory, Toomas Hiio describes the problem as follows:

> The people for whom it is just history or just a small portion of the memory policy discussed at conferences, may see the reluctance of Estonians to do it [declare the Waffen SS a criminal organisation] as a signal of the Nazi-mindedness of Estonian society – what would it cost them, they ask. No one is interested in how forced or voluntary Estonian service in Himmler's army was, to say nothing of the reasons for voluntary service. […] We know that the question was not about a few hundred brainwashed fanatics, but about two decades of men in their prime (Hiio 2010, 5–6).

Here the question arises as to what extent life narrators presume an understanding of what they talk about, and to what extent they presume a lack of understanding, or even condemnation. Or, on the other hand, to what extent narrators have closed these topics for themselves for psychological reasons or because of the conditions prevalent at the time of narrating. To some degree, an answer to these questions can be offered by a comparative analysis of life narratives and memories, and historical documents. One example of this is provided by historian Aigi Rahi-Tamm (2011). However, the present study focuses only on what the narrators themselves reveal about Stalinist repressions in their stories, and which narrative methods they use thereby.

It is characteristic for narrators to present their story either as a sequence of events, without expressing their evaluations of or attitudes towards the political nature of events. Or, vice versa, they show the autobiographical events as conflicting, referring to the political context. In the following I give examples of both narrative methods: firstly, narrating of the 1940s as a sequence of life events, and secondly, presenting the events of 1940 with political evaluations.

A man born in 1919 presents his story as an account of one of the possible life courses in the framework of the era (EKLA f 350: 419, p. 19, 1997). Life is 'thorny' and not quite as he had expected. But his parents and grandparents also had 'thorny' lives, although for different reasons. His life, therefore, is not principally different from that of his ancestors. The wording of the story contains evaluations of the events he experienced, for example: "so I served Greater Germany and also my small homeland", which might refer to general political opinions. Yet he does not discuss the correct or incorrect decisions in his life, his life just went a certain way. What is significant is that he does not cross communal borders in his narrative, he associates his activities and their consequences only with the

people he knew. Neither does he present himself only as a person at the mercy of events and situations controlled by someone else. It appears that the political framework is general, yet not everything going on within this framework is random, because now and then he shows his choices. The choices are shaped by specific people whom he meets in these situations. For example, when he had problems with a local communist in July 1941, he went "into forest to wait for the Germans"; when he was sent to training courses in Germany in 1943, he thought "why should I go to Germany", and got off the train and went home, and so on. The repeated motif of going home (from service, from battles) is associated with the observation that no one was actually pursuing or chasing him. The emergence of the role of fellow man (regardless of the political side or group into which he belonged) is repeated in episodes relating to arrests. In one case his boss saved him, in another case the person who arrested him withheld from his superiors that he had a gun, which redeemed him in the eyes of the officers, etc. Again, this is a case of a person's good or bad qualities being more important than that person's politics.

Political expressions can be found more frequently in the earlier stories (narrated at the end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s). For example, a man born in 1912 asks whether perestroika will work, whether it will change the situation that he had previously called the "Stalin farce" (EKLA f 350: 19, p. 11, 1989). A man born in 1907 concludes that he is happy that he saw the end of the Soviet regime (EKLA f 350: 220, p. 144, 1990). A man born in 1915 expresses his concern, at the end of his story, about the disappearance of Estonian culture as the result of Soviet rule in Estonia. He also refers to the 'Estonian experience', saying that "Estonians have already received their punishment, put [your household] in order and then get a ride to Siberia instead" (EKLA f 350: 145, p. 61, 1989). Discontinuity appears when the narrators relate to public criticism of Soviet rule. Thus, two levels of rupture become evident in the narration: the first is the evaluation of historical events, while the second is the contemporary political approach to these events. For instance, when the man cited above discussed the reinstatement of Estonian independence as a return to "our own continuity", the time of narrating gave rise to a certain way of presenting the Soviet authorities and their destruction (through the 1940 coup) of the work and achievements ordinary people had made in the 1920s–1930s. This comes to the foreground even more clearly in life narratives created in the course of an interview. The researcher's questions might lead the narrator to elaborate on general situations. For example, the researcher asked: "What were people's attitudes to Soviet rule in the 1940s?" The respondent, a man born in 1920, answered thus: "When a stranger comes into your home, you cannot think anything evil right away. But then they

started to take people away from home, then the Germans came and in their turn started to … then the Russians came again and started in their turn to … and so it went" (EKLA f 350: 135, 1989). This man does not talk about specific situations in the lives of specific people, but tries to formulate 'our', meaning the Estonian, point of view. The tendency of shifting from viewing events and the narrator's personal life from the point of view of the individual, to a group view was also apparent in the answer to the question of "what would you have wanted to do if there had been no Russians and no war?" This man answered using the 'we' form, saying that "we would have been millionaires, had they not come to disturb us." Next he referred to persistence and the hard-working Estonian character, which helped Estonians achieve the pre-war standard of living once again (EKLA f 350: 135, 1989). Even if the researcher's questions do not lead the narrator directly to political generalisations, they might still direct him to talk about certain aspects (for example: "when did you learn the reason for your imprisonment?"; "who denounced you?", etc.) (EKLA f 350: 156, 1989). In this case it is important to note that at the end of the 1980s, the topic of Stalinist prison camps only just appeared in public discussion. At the end of the 1990s, it was already a natural topic to discuss – narrators do not mention the political context of the time of narrating. In addition, in earlier stories there are references to writing rehabilitation petitions at the end of the 1980s (EKLA f 350:19, 1989). In later narratives these topics are no longer dealt with.

Conclusion

The life narratives sent to the public archive or recorded for the archive at the end of the Soviet period represent an intermediate point between the personal and the public information fields. Most of the aspects in the multi-level topic of Soviet prison camps (the psychological, moral, legal, political, human rights, etc.) were not discussed at the time. The more the narrator starts discussing the problems present at the time of narrating (questions, doubts, expectations), the more discontinuity and continuity, as concepts with which to describe one's own history, come to the fore. In this sense this study confirms the standpoints expressed by Ene Kõresaar on the discourse of rupture typical to the stories narrated at the end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s.

More precisely, on the basis of eighteen life stories in manuscripts, and two published life stories, I observed the interrelation of rupture and continuity in episodes relating to prison camps and in the sections containing information associated with different narrating times. In the descriptions of the prison camp, rupture is directly associated with how the narrators position themselves as

prisoners with respect to civilisation (culture): they are outside civilisation, outside the culture – there was 'nothing human' there. To mark the border of civilisation, and being on the other side of it, animal metaphors are used. In general, these are concentrated around the keywords of food, work and death, which also shaped everyday life in the camps. However, one can also find continuity here. Continuity is present in the areas where an antidote to being rejected from civilisation can be found. For example, these descriptions emphasise the importance and meaning of singing and celebrating holidays, dignity when refusing to accept non-human food on Christmas Eve, looking for contacts with next of kin, and the role of the helping stranger or the depiction of the 'good person'. Continuity is associated on the one hand with the domestic sphere that was familiar before imprisonment. People sang the songs that were known from home. They celebrated holidays that had been important at home. Attempts were made to bury deceased prisoners in ways appropriate to their cultural practices. On the other hand, continuity is related to the topic of universal humaneness, such as the role of the good person, the attempt to resist inhuman situations, and images familiar from Christian culture.

On the basis of prison stories, rupture manifests itself through continuity, and vice versa: one creates and can be understood through the other. Discontinuity and continuity become 'visible' by means of a border placed between them. If a lack of food is perceived, it presumes experience of normal food; if the role of the 'good person' is valued in these inhuman situations, it presumes the experience of what would have been done, had the 'good person' not intervened.

Regardless of the varied narrative techniques (whether showing all or part of the narrator's story through continuous flow or discontinuity), it is important to note that a boundary is placed between Estonian culture and Estonians on the one hand, and the (representatives) of Soviet authority on the other. 'Soviet' is not representative of any field of life (for example education, culture, and everyday life), other than that of a foreign power.

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MK: Läänemaa = Materials collected by the author in the Department of Estonian and Comparative Folklore, University of Tartu, 2007; 2008.

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Notes

1 It is not clear exactly what this metaphor refers to in Lauri. It is evident however that according to the narrator some kind of information was included in the passport of a political prisoner that differentiated him/her from other citizens of the Soviet Union. This difference manifested itself in limited rights, for example the right to live in the capital or in the border regions, etc. According to another narrator, this kind of information could have been given with the name of the specific institution that issued the passport (MK: Läänemaa. J. P. 2008).

2 Judicial reviews of former files had been taking place since 1988. At the end of the year, on 7 December 1988, the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR issued legislation "On the extra-judicial mass repressions in Soviet Estonia in the 1940s–1950s" to legally regulate the rehabilitation process. The aim of the law was worded as follows: "In order to relieve the injustice, to restore the honour and dignity of people who suffered in extra-judicial mass repressions and to seek compensation for the moral, physical and property damage caused to them, and also to create a feeling of security in the people that such abuse, arbitrary action and lawlessness would never happen again, the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic shall decide […]" (Riigi Teataja 1988).

3 Narrating prison camp stories has its own dynamics, which are not dealt with in this chapter due to the limits set by the research problem and the analysed material. However, I will still refer to a few aspects: the topic of prison camps first entered the public

sphere in the Soviet period during the Khrushchev thaw at the beginning of the 1960s, mainly in limited-circulation literature and on the communal level (Scherbakova 2007, 123). In Estonia, the novel *Nelikümmend küünalt* (*Forty Candles*) by Raimond Kaugver was published in 1966, and Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* was translated into Estonian in 1963.

4 Natalia Mamul (2009, 155) points out a similar opposition (master–slave versus oppressor–victim) as it related to World War II and the post-war situation through the example of Belarusia. Yet, in comparison with Estonia, the situation of Belarusia is different in the aspects that concern the relationship between the Russian and the Estonian culture and authorities before World War II.

5 The Home Guard (Est. Omakaitse) was a voluntary military defence organisation established by the Forest Brothers in 1941 in the territories the Soviet army had left. During the German occupation the Home Guard guarded roads, bridges and military objects; the organisation was subordinate to the German military and police authorities (Rahi-Tamm 2011, 257). In the narratives, 'going into forest' to escape battles and recruitment is distinguished from partisan activity (the latter did not automatically follow the former). As joining the Home Guard and going into forest/being a Forest Brother was in reality extremely complicated, and, from the narrators' point of view, anti-Sovietism was not a crime in itself, narrators do not give direct and unambiguous general evaluations of service in the Home Guard, on hiding from recruitment or about being a Forest Brother. Descriptions focus on specific contexts, situations and relationships between real people.

Personal trauma versus Cold War rhetoric in the Finnish–Russian borderland

Tuulikki Kurki

Abstract. The chapter analyses three novels published in Finland and written by individuals who have legally or illegally crossed the Finnish–Russian national border. The novels, which were published from the 1940s until the 2010s, describe the writers' traumatic experiences caused by the border crossing and its consequences. The chapter asks: (1) how does the narrating 'I' reconstruct his or her identity after the traumatic events and (2) how does literature criticism and public discussion read the trauma narrative, in other words, what is the public signification of the border-related trauma narrative? The analysis shows how the power relations between the discourses directed at the Finnish–Russian national borderland have controlled the narration about border-related traumatic experiences. During the post-war and Cold War eras, writers aimed at narrating the 'truth' of their experiences in the Soviet Union. However, the dominant nationalistic discourses in Finland ignored or silenced the individual traumas. In the 1970s and 1980s under the influence of Finlandisation, the sharpest criticism against the Soviet Union was silenced leading to further censorship of border-related individual traumas. During perestroika and the post-Soviet era, the traumatic narratives of defectors were recognised as 'true' in the Finnish media. However, during the post-Soviet era, the discussion of border-crossing, trauma and identity shifted to another level. Discussion then focused more on feelings of alienation, ambiguity, and hybridity than national identities, violence or war. This was possible because the dominance of nationalistic discourses directed at the borderland lessened. Furthermore, nationalistic discourses have lost their dominance in determining identity, which allows for example hybrid identities to emerge. At the same time, border-related trauma has become more insidious and part of everyday life.

Introduction

> This book was not born impulsively. It was crystallised during those nine years that I had to live in Soviet Russia (Huurre 1942, 5).

> I know that these memoirs will cause a great sensation in some circles, and I know that I will be opposed and maybe accused of slandering the Soviet Union. But that is not my purpose (Huuskonen 1979, 5).

The quotations above come from novels written by two Finns who first migrated to the Soviet Union and then after some years returned to Finland and wrote about their experiences. As can be interpreted from the quotes, the authors have experienced something grave that motivates them to write even though their novels would not be accepted by the reading public and would cause controversy.

This chapter analyses novels published in Finland and written by individuals who crossed the Finnish–Russian (former Soviet) national border legally or illegally. These novels describe writers' experiences, including traumatic ones, caused by the crossing of the border and its consequences. Therefore these novels are treated as border-related trauma narratives in this chapter. Here trauma is defined in two ways. First it is "a severe emotional shock having a deep, often lasting effect on personality" (Webster 2004, 1336). The trauma is caused by life threatening incidents, which are followed by fear, and feelings of helplessness and horror (Hout 2011, 331). Second, as Stef Craps (2010, 54–55) suggests, it is important to expand the understanding of trauma "to everyday forms of violence and oppression affecting subordinate groups". In the studied novels, both these definitions of trauma apply. The trauma occurs when the narrating 'I' crosses the national border and faces violent and fearful experiences, for example, in a prison camp or in an environment where the narrator feels himself or herself threatened by the surrounding hostility. In addition, the trauma may be insidious, and caused by facing unfamiliar culture, world view, ideology or oppressive power structures, and it may be unnoticed by the dominating groups in the society. In both cases, traumatic experiences cause profound questioning of one's identity and create a need to reformulate it.

Narrative, on the other hand, is defined here as a narrative structure, where events follow each other in chronological order and form a story (Rimmon-Kenan 1983, 3). A trauma narrative often refers to an eyewitness account, a testimonial and survival narrative, where the narrating 'I' either experiences the events him or herself or remains an outsider who observes the events closely. Writing a trauma narrative takes place after the traumatic events have occurred,

and writing functions as a tool that processes the narrator's traumatic experiences (Craps 2010, 55). Writing trauma verbalises and explicates the experiences, placing them within the narrator's life story. The narrative 'I' in a sense becomes a researcher into his or her own personal history, and while narrating this story this researcher is in a continuous process of redefining his or her identity. In this way, a trauma narrative also gives meaning to traumatic experiences (van der Wiel 2009; Aarelaid-Tart 2006). It is typical of trauma writing to be fragmentary and non-linear (Hout 2011, 337). Trauma writing repeats certain elements and lacks coherence, at least in its early stage (op cit). However, in this chapter, the studied novels are published works and represent more coherent and edited forms of trauma narrative. Even though the trauma narratives are usually deeply personal, they can be collective when they represent the experiences and survival of a larger group of people (see Aarelaid-Tart 2006, 55; Novak 2006, 107). Therefore, the reader too can use trauma narrative as a tool with which to process his or her own traumatic experiences.

This chapter focuses on two questions. First, how does the narrating 'I' reconstruct his or her identity after traumatic events? Second, how do literature criticism and public discussion read a trauma narrative, in other words, what is the public signification of a border-related trauma narrative? The chapter focuses on the time period from the 1940s until the 2010s in the Finnish–Russian borderland. Its aim is to make visible the change in the writing and public signification of border-related trauma narratives during this time. The chapter claims that until the time of perestroika these trauma narratives were primarily read in isolation from the political context of World War II and the Cold War. This kind of literary practice made border-related trauma narratives politically explosive and made them represent the ideological and political juxtaposition between the East and the West. In this context, the reading experience emphasised the institutional and political aspect of the narrative while the trauma narrative of the individual narrator and the collective trauma of the community were kept in the background. Only in the late twentieth century and early twenty-first century was the personal trauma narrative discussed in public.

The analysis focuses on three novels published in Finland: Kirsti Huurre's *Under Hammer and Sickle* (*Sirpin ja moukarin alla* 1942), Taisto Huuskonen's *Child of Finland* (*Laps' Suomen* 1979), and Arvi Perttu's *Skumbria* (*Skumbria* 2011). These novels describe border crossing as an event which significantly ruptures the protagonist's understanding of everyday reality as well as his or her expectations for and dreams of the future, which compels the writer and the narrating 'I' to redefine his or her own identity. *Under Hammer and Sickle* and *Child of Finland* are based on the authors' memoirs and represent eyewitness accounts.

Thus they are testimonial novels in which the narrating 'I' witnesses the narrated events, experiences them or closely observes them. *Skumbria* is a more fictionalised form of trauma narrative, although Perttu too utilises his own Finnish–Russian border-crossing experiences in the novel. Distinction between factuality and fictionality is not an important question in this chapter, as it is does not play an important part in trauma literature in general (Hout 2011, 331). Despite its fictional character, a novel has no less significance in processing traumatic experiences than eyewitness accounts or testimonial narratives.

In the following, first the idea of a multi-voiced borderland is introduced. This forms the context for writing and reading the border-related trauma narratives in the Finnish‒Russian national borderland. Then each novel and its reception are analysed as a trauma narrative in chronological order in the context of the multi-voiced borderland. In the analysis, the trauma narrative's significance, given by the author, and the significance given by literature criticism and the reading audience, are juxtaposed with each other. Literature criticism was often written by the editorial boards of the national and regional newspapers, or by anonymous reviewers. Immediately after World War II and during the Cold War era, the published literature reviews closely reflected the dominant political opinions of White Finland. In the 1980s, when the discussion of *Child of Finland* expanded into the so-called yellow (such as *Seura*, *Hymy*, and *SE*) and tabloid (*Iltasanomat*) papers, the opinions diverged from the dominant political opinions in Finland, and institutionalised literature criticism in general. The juxtaposition of the authors' views, literature criticism and the reading audience makes visible the heterogeneous voices and their power relations that construct the identity of the narrating 'I' and maintain the public significations of the traumatic experiences related to the Finnish‒Russian border and border-crossings.

A multi-voiced borderland – a context for trauma writing and reading

Understanding the Finnish–Russian borderland as a multi-voiced discursive space creates an important context for the writing and reading of border-related trauma narratives. The trauma narratives studied in this chapter are connected with the Finnish‒Russian border area, and especially with the so-called Karelia region, which straddles the Finnish‒Russian border (see Figure 1).

The Finnish‒Russian borderland, especially Karelia, has been an object of various and contradictory cultural and political interests throughout the centuries. Since the establishment of modern nation states, Karelia has been divided between two nations. Since the late seventeenth century, it was split between Sweden and Russia. In 1809, when Finland was separated from Sweden, it became

Figure 1. Map of Finnish and Russian Karelias

a grand duchy of the Russian Empire, and the Karelia region was annexed in its entirety to Russia. In 1917, when Finland became independent, Karelia was divided between Soviet Russia and Finland. During the twentieth century, the Finnish–Russian border was re-drawn several times, moving to current position in 1944.

Each time the national border moved, the new borderlands and their inhabitants became the targets of new drastic changes in administration. Each time the border moved it destroyed the old regional, ideological, and cultural unity and connections between the borderlands and its old administrative centre. Instead, new forms of unity and new relations between the margin and administrative centre were established (Katajala 2005, 13–37). Because of these border processes and administrative changes, the Finnish–Russian borderland can be defined as a discursive multi-voiced space where traces of previous ideological, political, and administrative discourses, as well as narratives based on individual experiences and silenced narratives, have survived for centuries (Kurki 2012a, 42–49).

Figure 2. The multi-voiced borderland
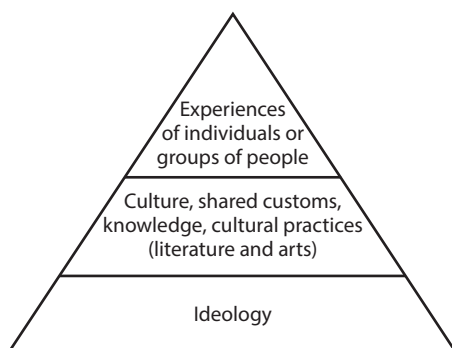
The use of power is essential in the discursive construction of the multi-voiced borderland (see Figure 2). Discursive construction consists of particular ways of representing particular aspects of social reality (Fairclough 2003, 27). In this reality, discourses are either centralised or marginalised. In the multi-voiced borderlands, discursive constructs create a space where the various discourses of the national borderland are positioned in hierarchical relation to each other. Multiple discourses fight for the dominant position in order that one of them will come to represent that version of social reality as officially 'true'. At the same time, other discourses of social reality are pushed into marginal positions (Foucault 2003, 300–318). In this chapter, the highest level that a dominant discourse can reach is the ideological level. Ideology refers here to those systems of beliefs, ideas and values that are represented as 'true', 'natural' or 'universal' so that they appear as self-evident and given (Eagleton 1991, 5). The systems are created and maintained by groups of people who use them to support and maintain their own positions in the power hierarchy.

A good example of an ideologically guided representation of a national borderland is nationalistic discourse that aims to establish an independent nation and a national culture. These discourses created a symbolic unity between the margin of the nation state, its inhabitants and the administrative centre (Sihvo 1973, 353–361). This connection was justified as 'natural' and 'self-evident' because the national margin was made the symbolic origin of national culture. This kind of ideological signification of national margins for national purposes occurred, for example, in nineteenth-century Finland, Ireland, Italy, Germany and Sweden, where nation states were formed in the Hegelian spirit (Ó Giolláin 2000, 76–93; Briody 2008, 51–56).

The second layer in the multi-voiced discursive space is the cultural level of discourse. On this level, discourse is institutionalised forms of writing, research and art. These discourses represent those cornerstones that construct learnt, embedded and shared knowledge of collective social reality, and cultural consciousness. These discourses are significant because they invite audiences to accept the value systems and main principles that are included in these discourses. For example, literature and art form specific representations of national borderlands that are widely known and shared by the members of a mainstream culture.

The third layer, and the one of the weakest position in the power hierarchy, consists of the experience-based narratives of individuals and groups of people. This weak position in the power hierarchy stems from the fact that these discourses are oral or written narratives, for example life-stories and memoirs, which neither have the acceptance of large groups of people, nor are accepted within the institutionalised forms of literature or art, as they rather live in the context of everyday life (see Kurki & Laurén 2012).

All the layers of the discourses are present when, for example, the Finnish–Russian national borderland is represented through various media. However, the power relations between the layers determine which discourses may become public, more audible, and which are silenced. The dominant ideological discourses have often dictated the representations of national borderlands, and experience-based narratives of certain groups of people have been silenced for political and administrative reasons. Experience-based trauma narratives are good examples of silenced narratives. Many of these narratives reflect upon the Civil War in Finland in 1918, and the fates of those thousands of Finns who defected from Finland to the Soviet Union. The novels and memoirs written by these 'defectors' narrate the traumatic experiences of Soviet prison camps, negative features of Soviet society, and other negative aspects of the Soviet Union, such as Stalin's purges (Vettenniemi 2004). However, these novels and memoirs were silenced for political reasons in Finland between 1944 and 1958, during which time the relationship between Finland and the Soviet Union was strained (Ekholm 2000, 58–59).

The multi-voiced borderland is not only culturally but also historically layered. Culturally shared knowledge in literature, art and oral tradition about the national borderland, which is transmitted from one generation to another, has influenced the ways in which the Finnish–Russian borderland is represented today, along with previous political and ideological discourses. The various meanings of the borderland can be made audible and visible by quoting and referring to the remaining traces, fragmented expressions, and the words and phrases of historical discourses. The multi-voiced and historically layered borderland thus

appears in intertextual references and quotations, and therefore many historically and hierarchically layered significations of the borderland can be heard simultaneously. As a result, it can be claimed that the multi-voiced borderland space is a polyphony of voices (in Bakhtinian terms) and a cacophony of meanings. The multi-voiced borderland space can be characterised using Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of heteroglossia. According to Bakhtin (2011, 301–331), heteroglossia refers to many layers of a single language: social layers, various dialects, jargon, and the written language. In a novel, these layers of language interfere with each other without blending. Therefore in the text of a novel there are always many voices and viewpoints, as the author uses other languages to express his or her ideas.

The multi-voiced, discursive character of the borderland has influenced how the writers studied in this chapter have written about their own traumatic experiences in the Finnish–Russian national borderland. Furthermore, the multi-voiced character of the borderland has had a great impact on how these novels have been received by literature criticism.

Under Hammer and Sickle and silenced personal trauma

Kirsti Huurre, alias Kerttu Eurén, migrated from Finland to the Soviet Union in 1932 and returned to Finland in 1941. Moving to the Soviet Union was part of a larger movement in Finland in the 1920s and 1930s when approximately 15,000 Finns, mainly representatives of the working class, crossed the border into the Soviet Union (Vettenniemi 2004, 47; Rislakki & Lahti-Argutina 1997, 17–19). Emigration was often for political reasons. Political emigration was especially accelerated by the Civil War in Finland in 1918. After the war, the political atmosphere was not favourable to socialist and communist ideology. The other significant reason for emigration was the dream of a better life in the Soviet Union. Socialist propaganda in Finland strongly promoted an image of the Soviet Union as an ideal society where power belonged to the people, and this tempted young, working class Finns to leave Finland. Like thousands of others, Huurre wanted to contribute to building socialism and establish a better life in the Soviet Union even though she had a well-educated, economically stable family in Finland. However, Huurre was a divorced woman with a small child, and having very limited prospects to support herself and her son she decided to move to the Soviet Union. After returning to Finland, Huurre wrote about her traumatic experiences in the Soviet Union, where the trauma was caused by the Stalinist purges and deaths of her family members. The novel *Under Hammer and Sickle* was published in Finland in 1942. The author's motive to write this novel was "to truthfully tell what she had experienced under the Stalinist sun" (Huurre

1942, 5). The novel also functions as a means to reconstruct her identity after traumatic experiences through the protagonist Kaarina's survival story. Writing about traumatic experiences, and trying to arrange them into a coherent life story, gave her a sense of clarity and an understanding of the sequence of the terrible events that constituted her past.

The structure of *Under Hammer and Sickle* and its trauma narrative are typical of defector novels in Finland (Vettenniemi 2004, 34). The novel starts with the crossing of the national border from Finland to the Soviet Union and ends with the return to Finland. The author describes crossing the border into the Soviet Union as a painful and emotional experience because it meant a cruel separation from her family and former life. Furthermore, in the 1920s and 1930s, it usually meant permanent and irreversible separation from one's former life: only a few defectors returned to tell their stories. Furthermore, Huurre had decided to leave her child in Finland, which made her decision to emigrate even more difficult emotionally.

In the Soviet Union, the novel's Kaarina establishes a family with another Finnish emigrant and they have a child. Soon Kaarina's life becomes overshadowed by Stalin's purges, and life in the Soviet Union is described as a continual traumatic experience. Kaarina and her family's lives change permanently when, in the mid-1930s, Kaarina's husband is sentenced to death. Later on Kaarina remarries, although her second husband is also imprisoned. In addition, her social network is destroyed by the purges when her friends disappear mysteriously. Kaarina herself is perceived as the wife of an 'enemy of the people', which alienates her further from society. The narration of these traumatic events focuses on Kaarina's emotions and internal reflections as well as her observations on the surrounding social reality. When the terror reaches its most intense phase, between 1937 and 1938, Kaarina's whole existence revolves around the fear of imprisonment and subsequent death sentence. The mental stress she suffers becomes so extreme that she loses her ability to function. However, her fear is not realised, and she is not arrested. Instead, the wave of terror wanes when the Winter War breaks out between the Soviet Union and Finland in late 1939. Thus Kaarina survives the terror years but has to carry the scars for the rest of her life.

The novel ends when the Continuation War between the Soviet Union and Finland begins in the summer of 1941. Kaarina decides to stay in the Soviet Karelian border region, although the area is evacuated. When the Finnish Army occupies the area, Kaarina is moved back to Finland. Returning to Finland is again emotionally demanding. Crossing the border signals the end of one traumatic experience and the beginning of a new phase in her life. Kaarina feels that after returning to Finland, she is able to wake up from the fear, passivity,

numbness, and submissive existence that has lasted for years. However, after surviving the terror and war years, her ideas of who she is have changed. Her dreams and utopias have died and she changes from an advocate of socialism to one of its critics. Nevertheless, Kaarina does not want to deny her original enthusiasm for socialism despite understanding that many Finns regard her as a person who made a great error believing Bolshevist propaganda. In Finland, Kaarina has to renegotiate her identity and her position in relation to Finland. The renegotiation starts at the border when Kaarina faces Finnish soldiers who represent a capitalist worldview and ideology. When standing in front of a Finnish soldier, Kaarina refuses to behave like an arrested criminal just because she had wanted to build her own life in the Soviet Union:

> Should I put my head down like a criminal because of my mistake? Or should I try to avoid answering the question? No, never! My whole existence resisted. It is true that I came here, and I had to bare hard blows one after another, my work was hard […] I lived like a shadow for years, I lived in fear and I was defeated. I swallowed the bitter lessons – of those I could not be judged any more. I can finally breathe freely and deeply! (Huurre 1942, 252).

Kaarina is not willing to deny her initial interest in socialism, her reasons for migration or the terror she has witnessed. Instead, she uses her past hopes, lived experiences and observations of the Soviet society as essential ingredients in rewriting her identity: she has survived and become a stronger person. Therefore, the meaning that Kaarina gives to her traumatic experiences and trauma narrative clashed with the meaning that literature criticism gave to these experiences in Finland in the 1940s.

Under Hammer and Sickle created noticeable attention in the Finnish media although it was not the first novel to discuss life in the Soviet Union. One factor that certainly increased interest in the novel was the time of publishing. It was published during the war between Finland and the Soviet Union, and the Finnish reading audience was hungry for information about life on the Soviet side of the border and the faiths of the emigrated Finns. *Under Hammer and Sickle* became a bestseller in Finland during the months that followed its publication. It was reprinted five times in a fairly short period (*Suomen Heimo* 1942; *Helsingin Sanomat* 1943).

In total over fifty reviews were written about *Under Hammer and Sickle* in Finnish newspapers. Although the novel focused mostly on Kaarina's reflections and her traumatic experiences, it was read in ways that emphasised its political significance from the point of view of 'White Finland'. This point of

view promoted Finnish nationalism, patriotism and right-wing ideology (Sii-ronen 2004, 12–13). The politically loaded readings clearly tried to diminish or even rewrite the meanings of Kaarina's personal trauma narrative. The literature critics, who often wrote anonymously in the newspapers, represented the ideo-logical viewpoint of 'White Finland' and used the novel as a tool with which to mock Bolshevism and the Soviet Union. Furthermore, the press stigmatised the emigrated Finns and their belief in Bolshevist propaganda as a stupid mistake.

One of the ways in which the literature critics read *Under Hammer and Sickle* was as 'shocking evidence' of life in the Soviet Union and Bolshevism (*Varkauden Lehti* 1942). The novel was regarded as an 'authentic' (*Turun Sanomat* 1942), 'hon-est' (*Uudenmaan sanomat* 1943), 'unembellished' (*Suomen Heimo* 1942; *Pirkka* 1942) narration and was said to reveal the true nature of the Soviet leadership and the lives of the Soviet people (*Ylä-Vuoksi* 1942). The political reading clearly did not give recognition to Kaarina's personal trauma and suffering.

The second way in which the literature critics read *Under Hammer and Sickle* was to define it as a personal confession about the great mistake Huurre had made in believing Bolshevist propaganda. According to this reading, Huurre appears as a young, naive woman who simply followed her dream of a better life in the Soviet Union. Reading the novel as a personal confession transformed her extremely difficult and traumatic experiences into a 'necessary' lesson that forced her to 'wake up' from a delusion (*Kauppalehti* 1942). Furthermore, treating the novel as a personal confession manifests Finland as a country – a homeland – that warmly welcomed Huurre back because she had first confessed that she had made a mistake and then repented (*Helsingin Sanomat* 1943). This type of reading strongly opposed the meaning Huurre herself gave to her novel. Huurre's inten-tion was not to repent or present herself as a criminal. She had written her novel and the trauma narrative as a means of reclaiming her identity.

For those who read *Under Hammer and Sickle* as a personal confession, the novel was seen as a warning story. Huurre's trauma narrative was used as an example of what could happen if Bolshevist propaganda was believed. If taken seriously, Bolshevist ideology could influence even educated people to make ill-advised choices, and therefore by choosing Bolshevist ideology, these people caused their own suffering. The most vicious reviewers stated that they "wish that everyone who believes in Bolshevism and leaves for the Soviet Union faces Huurre's destiny" (*Salmetar* 1942). This reading also shifted the reader's atten-tion away from Huurre's personal trauma narrative. Furthermore, the critics' unsympathetic and ironic attitude silenced the idea that personal trauma must be recognised publicly, and trauma writing should be understood as a brave act to reclaim one's life and identity. They rejected the idea that trauma writing

should be supported rather than used ruthlessly for political or ideological purposes. The published literature criticism included the idea that a person could 'come to his or her senses' and integrate into the societal order and norms guarded and followed by the majority of Finns. In this way, the literary reviewers made Huurre, and people with similar experiences, 'the other' of Finnish society and its dominant ideology. At the same time, the critics engendered a feeling of guilt in the minds of these 'others' by claiming that these traumatic experiences could hardly happen to the obedient citizens of White Finland.

Literature criticism emphasised the political significance of Huurre's novel. Rather than recognising Huurre's trauma as her personal trauma, politicised reading converted her personal experience into a collective trauma that victimised all Finns who lived in the Soviet Union. According to Estonian cultural researcher Aili Aarelaid-Tart (2006, 55), collective trauma as a discourse is "signified by many people wishing to talk in public about the negative events that play a crucial part in shaping their lives and that they think these experiences are similar to those of their fellow citizens". Reading Huurre's novel from the point of view of collective trauma narrative again stressed the Finnish nationalistic reading of the novel (see *Uusi Suomi* 1942). For some critics, Huurre's experiences of the terror of the 1930s were secondary when viewed from the wider perspective of the Finns:

> However, Kirsti Huurre's personal destiny remains secondary even though it is shocking – the horrible destiny of Finns and Soviet people in the Soviet Union becomes the dominating idea in reader's mind. The author has witnessed the "great terror", which has destroyed hundreds, perhaps thousands Finnish communists and defectors or scattered them in the large steppes of Russia or Siberia's tundra, where they have slowly but surely met their deaths (Ruusuvuori 1942).

As this critic, among many others, shows, Huurre's role is more of an observer than of an individual who has lived through and survived trauma. Huurre's experience has faded into the background while suddenly those Finns who have been condemned for their political ideology are now raised to the status of martyrdom and have therefore become a source of propaganda for a justified hatred of the Soviet Union when the war was raging between the two countries.

When World War II ended in 1944, a change in political atmosphere altered the public reception of *Under Hammer and Sickle*. With peace came A. A. Zhdanov, director of the Allied Control Commission, who ordered that all books that showed a hostile attitude towards the Soviet Union and which were

politically dubious be removed from libraries, book shops and public distribution (Ekholm 2000, 59, 68). *Under Hammer and Sickle* was included in the list of banned books together with over one-thousand other titles in 1944 (op cit). The books that found their way onto this list were the ones that supported nationalistic ideology or the expansion plans of White Finland, or National Socialism, and the books that criticised the Soviet Union and socialism (op cit, 58–59). When Huurre's novel was banned, its political and ideological significance increased, and its voice as a personal trauma and identity construction narrative was completely silenced. In 1958, the Ministry of Education and Culture in Finland gave permission for a return of banned books to libraries and bookshops, although debates about the political flammability of these publications continued even into the 1970s (op cit, 59).

From personal trauma to entertainment

Taisto Huuskonen defected illegally with his fiancé Enni to the Soviet Union in 1949. The Cold War was already freezing relations between the political East and West as well as between the Soviet Union and Finland. Although defectors had been numerous during the 1920s and 1930s, in the late 1940s defecting was illegal and rather unexpected (see Kurki 2012b). Huuskonen's motive for defection was his interest in communism and his wish to start a better life in the Soviet Union. However, his illegal entry into the Soviet Union caused the couple to be sentenced to two years in a forced labour camp, and later to internal exile for two years in the Ural region. After being released from exile, Taisto and Enni Huuskonen settled in Soviet Karelia. After international relations were mitigated through the Conference on Co-operation and Security in Europe in 1975 (Helsinki 1975), they were able to return to Finland. During the years that followed, Taisto Huuskonen wrote his novel *Child of Finland*, which was published in 1979. The novel narrates Huuskonen's defection and life in the Soviet Union over a twenty-six-year period. Similarly to Huurre, Huuskonen's motive for writing was to tell the truth about Soviet society.

Child of Finland starts with crossing the national border between Finland and the Soviet Union and ends when Taisto and Enni Huuskonen cross the border again, returning to Finland. The border crossings frame the trauma that the couple experienced during their stay in the Soviet Union. In the novel, narration first focuses on the traumatic experiences of Taisto and Enni Huuskonen when they face the Soviet authorities, work in a forced labour camp, live in exile, and generally face harsh Soviet reality, which differs greatly from their utopian expectations. Fear of violence, death and constant uncertainty as well as experiences

of otherness and alienation dominate the tone of the narration. Taisto and Enni Huuskonen survive the extreme conditions, but the experiences lead to changes in Huuskonen's ideas about his own existence, his identity, and his viewpoints on Soviet society and communist ideology. Throughout the novel, Huuskonen defines himself as the 'other' in relation to the political and societal systems both in the Soviet Union and in the West. The following examples show how much Huuskonen was disappointed after these traumatic experiences that completely destroyed the utopian expectations he had maintained about the socialist system. Socialist and capitalist systems, which are symbolised by Stalin and Hitler, appear equally repulsive to him:

> I was an eager Communist and therefore surprised and depressed about how I was treated: I went to the Soviet Union with a sincere heart. During the interrogations I understood that they had no idea about my eagerness or sincerity (Lysmä 1979).

> When I left for the Soviet Union, I had been a devoted admirer of Stalin, but I knew nothing about him. Now I knew, and I knew too much. And it was very hard. I had hated Hitler from the bottom of my heart, and I still did, but I had to admit that Hitler destroyed his enemies, while Stalin destroyed his best and most faithful sons (Huuskonen 1979, 215).

Huuskonen's severe disappointment in socialism, which had been his last hope for a better life, and the brutal experiences of the forced labour camp and exile, as well as everyday life in the Soviet Union, makes Huuskonen question his own identity and worldview. Huuskonen finds himself in an ambiguous position, as an alien in Soviet society, and detached from the political East and West. A similar experience of ambiguity and homelessness is expressed at the end of the novel, when Taisto and Enni Huuskonen are able to return to Finland. On the day of departure, Taisto Huuskonen looks at their home in Soviet Karelia for the last time. Feelings of both disappointment and relief cross his mind simultaneously:

> I walked in the snow and turned to look back. I felt a need to swallow suddenly. For five years we had built the house, and now, when it was ready we left it. […] This was the last time I looked at the result of my work, which should have become my home, although I never felt it was my home. Feelings of safety and freedom belong to home, but I had never felt either (Huuskonen 1979, 346).

For Huuskonen the significance of writing *Child of Finland* was that he was able to rewrite his identity after the traumatic events that befell him and restructure his viewpoints on different ideologies and worldviews. In the writing process, traumatic experiences are arranged in narrative form, which leads to a new resolution and discernment. The traumatic experiences, and reflections on them, make Huuskonen admire his own past, and he regards this past as a rich and unique source for his creative work.

In the context of the 1970s, Huuskonen's novel was exceptionally critical towards the Soviet Union because it revealed major social evils and injustices in Soviet society. Despite politically problematic content (or perhaps because of it) the novel received attention both in Finland and in the Soviet Union. In Finland, fourteen prints were made, and over 60,000 copies were sold even though the novel was not advertised because of its politically explosive content. According to WSOY, the publisher, the reputation of the novel spread among people very efficiently, like a rumour (*Helsingin Sanomat* 1981). *Child of Finland* became one of the best-selling defector novels in Finland for several years. Despite popularity among readers, literature criticism considered *Child of Finland* politically incorrect and offensive towards the Soviet Union (Lysmä 1979). Many critics regarded Huuskonen as a liar and a traitor to communist ideology (Junnila 1991) and were very restrained in their comments about his observations on Soviet society (Huopainen 1979; Nokela 1979; Huuskonen, A. 1979; Rissanen 1980; Ranta 1980). In addition, the Soviet embassy in Finland tried to make WSOY reject the novel. Public discussion of *Child of Finland* quickly expanded to newspapers, magazines and the so-called popular magazines. The popular magazines highlighted Taisto and Enni Huuskonen's survival story, and the tone in the reviews changed from doubt to amazement: to the Finnish audience the details of the Soviet prison camp, the KGB, and the everyday struggles of life in the Soviet Union seemed unbelievable, and, furthermore, surviving them was considered almost miraculous. The basic aim of these review articles was often to contrast Finland and the Soviet Union with each other in order to emphasise the difference between 'us' and 'them'.

On the one hand, the cautious comments of the literary critics, and on the other hand the popularity of the novel among readers, reflected the political atmosphere of the late 1970s. The Cold War and Finlandisation (which lasted from 1968 to 1982) were still in progress. Finlandisation meant that the Soviet Union was able to influence Finland's internal politics. For the Finnish media, it meant self-censorship and the rejection of negative descriptions of the Soviet Union (Finlandization 1972). Public discussion of Huuskonen's novel was possible despite Finlandisation. According to Finnish historian Erkki Vettenniemi

(2004, 126), the group of Finnish intellectuals who had supported Soviet ideology crumbled in the 1970s. Therefore, the voices that expressed the negative aspects of Soviet society and its ideological system were able to become public in the Finnish media. However, the change in the Finnish intelligentsia does not completely explain the success of Huuskonen's novel. One reason for its success could be that the majority of Finnish readers did not have reliable information about the Soviet Union. The official and media reports of the Soviet Union were still under heavy censorship and had to be politically correct. The only unofficial channel that mediated information about life in the Soviet Union was slowly developing tourism. Although the majority of the Finnish population did not have much knowledge of the Soviet Union, interest in knowing more about the country behind the Iron Curtain was strong. Therefore, novels such as *Child of Finland* became very popular among Finnish readers. The other reason for the novel's popularity could be that thousands of Finnish families had gone through similar experiences to Huuskonen's and by reading his novel could process their own pasts, which had not been voiced in public before.

Child of Finland was publicly received in the Soviet Union when the USSR Writers' Union decided that they had to respond to the novel. The USSR Writers' Union thought that Huuskonen's presentation of the Soviet Union was so damaging that the novel must be given a public counter blow (Timonen NARK 1075, 2, 112). The chairman of the Soviet Karelian Writers' Union, Antti Timonen, was chosen to plan and execute this counter blow. Timonen's very critical review appeared in two newspapers, first in the *Neuvosto-Karjala* in the Soviet Union, and then in *Helsingin Sanomat* in Finland (Timonen 1984a; 1984b). According to Timonen, Huuskonen had vilified the Soviet Union and propagated anger towards communism with no reason. Timonen claimed that Huuskonen's own behaviour had been the cause of all his problems in the Soviet Union. Timonen concluded that the only reason for Huuskonen to write this novel was to "serve the right-wing conservative agenda in Finland" (Timonen 1984a). The debate continued in the Finnish tabloid newspaper *Iltasanomat*. It became very personal and the novel itself was hardly discussed (*Iltasanomat* 1984). Huuskonen and Timonen did not evaluate Huuskonen's book as a novel but discussed its truth value and each other's personal qualities in a very negative way. In the wider context, the discussion can be seen as representing the juxtaposition between the political East and West in the context created by the Cold War. In this juxtaposition, Huuskonen and Timonen started to symbolise the East and the West, different worldviews and ideologies. In their discussion, one of the important meanings of the novel, the processing of Huuskonen's personal trauma and the painful reconstruction of his identity, was completely ignored.

The nature of the reception of *Child of Finland* changed between the late 1970s and the early twenty-first century. When the novel was first published in the context of the Cold War, it was read as a documentary account of the Soviet Union, although its truth value was questioned. During perestroika and the post-Soviet era, *Child of Finland* was considered a survival novel in which survival and eyewitness narratives were emphasised, and the novel was recognised as credible. Regarding *Child of Finland* as a survival story is in accordance with the fact that survival and eyewitness narratives suddenly became public late in the perestroika period and in post-Soviet Russia (Marsh 1995, 41, 98–109; Gershkovich 1989, 1–11). The growing number of survival and eyewitness narratives made the discussion of trauma gradually more multi-voiced and popular. In this way Huuskonen's trauma was also given public recognition.

The public reception of *Child of Finland* took yet another tone in the 1990s. During the post-Soviet era, fiction writing for entertainment purposes became a means of describing and analysing the Soviet era in literature. At this time, for example, the prison camp experiences, the secret police (KGB), and spying became themes in popular fiction writing.[1] In Finland, the public audience found aspects of Huuskonen's novel entertaining as well. Consequently, several theatre plays and even a musical were made based on the novel. The plays were advertised as 'humorous' and 'picaresque' and thousands of people attended them (*Forssan Lehti* 1990; Haapavaara 1990; Anttila 1990; Aulavuo 1991).

How did the humorous and picaresque elements change Huuskonen's personal trauma narrative? Would this type of humorous adaptation of Huuskonen's novel make discourses on Finnish–Russian border-crossing and life experiences in the Soviet Union more multi-voiced? In the 1990s, immediately after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Finland's past and present relationship with the Soviet Union, as well as Finland's official policy of either supporting, or stating indignation at its citizens' personal experiences of the Soviet Union, was ambiguous to say the least. In one of the plays based on Huuskonen's novel, the humorous and picaresque tone dulled the sharpest edge of criticism against the Soviet Union but allowed subtle political bickering. In addition, mixing elements of humour and tragedy made Huuskonen's trauma narrative easier to receive and process. Furthermore, the play can be seen as a 'carnivalisation' of the hierarchical power relations between official and unofficial political opinions on the Soviet Union in Finland, and in that way the play could comment critically on the Soviet Union (see Bakhtin 2011, 58–82).

However, in the theatre plays, Huuskonen's personal trauma narrative was made a collective trauma narrative. The performative dimension of art, such as a play, enacts a humorous and picaresque interaction of various levels of meaning

which serve as 'a middle voice' (see LaCapra 2001) to convert a personal trauma into a collective trauma. This was done by inviting the audience to question why these traumas, experienced by Huuskonen and by thousands of other Finns, occurred in the first place. Huuskonen's trauma, which was previously seen as a trauma of the 'other' because Huuskonen was a Red and a supporter of pro-Soviet ideologies, was seen to represent a more collective trauma relating not only to the relationship between the Soviet Union and Finland, but also to Finland's own social ills, such as social inequality, unemployment and poverty, which had caused many to migrate to the Soviet Union (Polvinen 1967, 196–227).

Fictionalised experiences in the border area

Soviet-Karelia-born writer Arvi Perttu has written about border-crossing experiences in the Finnish–Russian national borderland in his novel *Skumbria* (2011), which is the third example of trauma narrative in this chapter. Although *Skumbria* is more of a fictional than testimonial novel or memoir, it is influenced by Perttu's experiences in Russian Karelia near the Finnish–Russian borderland, as well as Perttu's migration from Russia to Finland in 2001. The world that Perttu describes in *Skumbria* is the urban world of the twenty-first century. However, echoes from the past concerning the borderlands, for example memories of Stalin's purges and Cold War tension, can be heard in the novel. These echoes are filled with irony and black humour.

    Skumbria describes the development of a relationship between a Finnish woman, Katri, and a Russian man, Pauli. One of the central themes in the novel is Katri's and Pauli's movement across the national border between Russia and Finland, and between the towns of St Petersburg and Petrozavodsk in Russia, and Lappeenranta in Finland. The novel portrays the consequences of border crossing and how these consequences disrupt the personal history and sense of self of the main protagonists. Therefore *Skumbria* can be defined as a trauma narrative. Crossing the national border is a daily routine for Katri and Pauli. It does not require secrecy or involve strong emotions as in Huurre's and Huuskonen's novels. However, crossing symbolic borders and facing an alien culture and society has great significance to the protagonists' identity construction. It ignites a process in which the protagonists have to redefine their identities. In the example below, Pauli thinks about his new identity as a migrant in Finnish society. Formerly in Russia he had been a macho man with a job that involved weapons and co-operation with the criminal world. In Finland he felt that he could escape his dangerous past, although at the same time his masculinity was stripped away

from him because he had to work as a postman. This caused profound anxiety and depression for Pauli:

> It felt like all oncoming people stared at me contemptuously. Was this what I wanted or was this the only way to live down my previous job? I hated my old job, but it gave me some self-esteem at least. I was a man in a Jeep on a fire-road with a gun in a holster, but now I was a missis who pushes around a baby stroller filled with flyers (Perttu 2011, 243).

Another literary device Perttu uses to construct the protagonists' identity in the borderland is alienation. When Katri crosses the national border from Finland to Russia, she sees ordinary everyday life as exotic and strange. When she returns to Finland, she sees her former home, everyday life and friends as equally distanced and alien. The alienating process makes Katri question her identity and her sense of belonging. The same change in perception happens to Pauli. By alienating ordinary phenomena, Perttu stresses the differences between the cultural perspectives on each side of the border. He also makes the reader question his or her own view of the 'other' on the other side of the border. Furthermore, through alienation Perttu stresses the feeling of loss of home, lack of regional identity and lack of belonging that the main characters experience.

In the novel, the protagonist's identity is constructed as a border crossing identity that does not belong to the political East or West, but is something in between (Bhabha 2007, 54–56). This vacillating identity reflects the current geopolitical situation in Europe in which national borders have become easier to cross and more permeable. This change is reflected in the identity construction in national borderlands where people have to constantly negotiate their position in view of past and present discourses of 'us' and 'others' every time they cross the border. Therefore Perttu's novel represents a very different border-crossing identity in comparison to Huurre's and Huuskonen's novels. In Huurre's and Huuskonen's eras, the strong emphasis on national identity prevailed due to post-war and Cold War tensions. The national emphasis prevented the vacillating, or hybrid, identities that defy national definitions to emerge in public discussion, and therefore the protagonists' identities in both Huurre's and Huuskonen's novels were seen as politically problematic.

Perttu explicates the protagonists' position in the multi-voiced national borderland further with the concept of 'skumbria'. The Russian word *skumbria* means canned smoked mackerel, but in the novel, Skumbria symbolises a utopia in the borderland. In the novel, Katri, who does not speak Russian, thinks that the word skumbria sounds like the name of a country. Therefore, Skumbria

starts to represent an imagined world for Katri and Pauli. This world is a place of happiness where dreams come true. However, Skumbria is also an ironic world: it emerges from alcohol fumes and from the mouths of beer bottles, and is divorced from reality. Furthermore, Skumbria is in danger of collapse when it comes into contact with the difficulties of the real world, such as cultural stereotypes and prejudices (Kurki 2013, 106–110).

Skumbria can be understood as Perttu's ironic comment on historical discourses directed at the Finland–Russia borderland (Kurki 2013, 106–110). First, *Skumbria* comments ironically on the romanticising Finnish national discourse of the borderland. The romanticising discourse idealises folk tradition and past peasant life in the border area but refuses to recognise the contemporary challenges. Second, *Skumbria* directs irony towards the Soviet era and socialism. At the end of the novel, Skumbria becomes Hell, a place of trials and tribulations and deep personal problems. The transition from Skumbria to Hell comments ironically on the idea of constructing socialism in the 1920s and 1930s in the Soviet Union and in Soviet Karelia in the borderland. At that time, many Finns moved across the national border from Finland to Soviet Karelia to make this socialist utopia real. However, for many of them, reality turned out to be quite grim: many were imprisoned, or doomed to live in poverty. Pauli equates his own faith with the faith of the builders of socialism. Pauli moved from Russia to Finland with Katri to make his dreams reality, but crossing the border and chasing the dream ends with heavy disappointment:

> Was this Katri's Skumbria? It did not feel like paradise anymore, it felt like Hell, where no words were spoken. […] When I moved to Finland I thought that I would be freed from fear, but soon life felt like a prison sentence (Perttu 2011, 233).

Skumbria, as a fictional novel, represents an 'indirect' narration of trauma that approaches it from a distance with the help of invented protagonists. *Skumbria* also applies several other registers in narration, such as irony and black humour, which are missing from Huurre's and Huuskonen's novels. In this way, *Skumbria* gives the trauma multi-voiced meanings and is able to problematise the dominant interpretations of traumas related to the Finnish–Russian national border and border crossings. Furthermore, through fiction the novel is free to reveal and criticise those political, social and cultural forces that either allow trauma to be voiced or silenced.

The public reception of *Skumbria* was neutral in Finland. It received modest attention in the Finnish media. In the context of increased migration and

mobility in Europe, the novel was seen as a humorous and clever commentary on migration across the Finnish–Russian border. Perttu's comments on the formation of a migrant's identity, encounters between the two cultures and the way he played with stereotypical representations of Finns and Russians were particularly appreciated in the reviews (Stranius 2011; Ropponen 2011; Viitala 2012; Mäkelä 2012).

Conclusions

This chapter studied how writing and public significations of border-related trauma narratives have changed in Finland between the 1940s and 2010s. The analysis of the three novels and their public reception shows how border-related traumas have changed from a description of trauma events to more insidious traumas in the borderland. Furthermore, the identity of the narrating 'I' constructed in the trauma narrative has changed from someone who is 'almost criminal' and who must defend his or her views to a person with hybrid and vacillating identity who does not define him- or herself in terms of national or ideological identities. During the time period studied, the public signification of trauma narratives has changed from silencing and censoring towards a more open discussion in which the truth-value of the trauma narrative is a secondary question, and the individual's identity-forming process has come to the foreground. The change in trauma narratives and identity formation reflects the subtle changes that have taken place in the power relations between the layers of ideological, cultural, and individual discourses directed at the Finnish–Russian national borderland.

During the post-war and Cold War eras, border-related trauma narratives mainly focused on violence, imprisonment and death in the Soviet Union. The writers tried to narrate the 'truth' of their experiences and to have their personal traumas recognised. The mission of testimony also served as the justification for writing trauma narratives during the time when criticism of the Soviet Union was significantly censored in Finland. The dominant nationalistic discourses in Finland denied and silenced these personal trauma narratives. From the perspective of dominant White Finland, the narratives of defectors exposed individual mistakes and the dangers that were the result of believing in the alien ideology of Bolshevism, and therefore their traumas were not acknowledged. This was clearly shown in the reception of the novel *Under Hammer and Sickle*. Alternatively, the dominant discourse silenced personal traumas altogether. It either converted the personal trauma into a collective trauma suffered by all Finns, which ignored individual suffering, or claimed that the trauma narratives were not true, as was shown in the public reception of *Child of Finland* in the 1970s.

Censoring and partial silencing of these controversial novels continued until the end of the 1980s under the influence of Finlandisation. Finlandisation gave rise to the sharpest criticism against the Soviet Union, and led to further denial of border-related trauma. The definition of defectors' identities in public discussion was also problematic. Defectors were seen as unfaithful and disobedient citizens and therefore they were treated almost like criminals. Furthermore, defectors were expected to somehow erase the trauma from their identities before they could re-join Finnish society. This severe strictness towards defectors becomes explicable in the context of the nationalistic and unifying discourses that dominated in Finland. However, denying and silencing border-related trauma could function as a source of new trauma that could profoundly affect the lives of returned defectors.

During perestroika and the post-Soviet years, the traumatic narratives of defectors were recognised as 'true' in the Finnish media. The era of openness allowed memoirs about Stalinist purges and other atrocities and flaws to gradually become public in post-Soviet Russia. This allowed more direct criticism of the former Soviet Union in the Finnish media. The new openness was seen for example in the changed reception of *Child of Finland*, when the individual traumas of thousands of defectors were publicly recognised.

Until the post-Soviet era, the truth-value of the trauma narrative had been one of the most debated questions in the Finnish media. During the post-Soviet era, the discussion about border crossing, trauma and identity shifted to another level. Traumatic events, such as Stalinist purges and war, had already been discussed openly. Now the discussion about border crossing and identity formation in the borderland focused more on feelings of alienation, ambiguity, and hybridity than on the truth-value of the narrative, as was shown in *Skumbria*. This is possible because the dominance of the nationalistic discourses directed at the borderland have decreased. Furthermore, nationalistic discourses have lost their dominance in determining individual identities, which allows hybrid identities to emerge. At the same time, border-related trauma has become more insidious. It is part of everyday life, and caused by the cultural and societal conditions and structural power relations within society. Nevertheless, the insidious trauma has had profound consequences on the re-construction of individual identity.

During the post-Soviet era, border-related trauma in the Finnish–Russian national borderland should be understood in the context of other national borderlands globally, where similar migration processes take place. The role of the writers and intellectuals as discussants of these traumatic experiences is known worldwide (Sadowski-Smith 2008). For example, a writer can give a voice to a larger group of people, whose experiences, even traumatic ones, are perhaps

not voiced for political reasons. Furthermore, a way of reading that stresses the individual or collective trauma and identity formation process at the borderland also opens up older literary works to new ways of reading.

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Sources of illustrations

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Notes

    1 Recent examples of these works are Sam Eastland's *Eye of the Red Tsar* (2010) and *Red Coffin* (2011), and Tom Rob Smith's *The Secret Speech* (2009).

Magazine texts portraying contacts between Finns and Soviets in the 1970s and 1980s

Tuija Saarinen

Abstract. This chapter analyses how Finnish popular magazines treated the tourist trips Finns made to the Soviet Union between 1972 and 1991, the incidents on the trips and the relationships Finns and Soviets established. The main question is how Finnish attitudes towards the Soviet Union were presented in the articles analysed. Special attention is paid to the power relationships the texts represent through different discourses. This chapter looks at popular magazine articles regardless of their journalistic genre. These magazines were popular for three reasons: language (choice of words), style, and the everyday subject matter. The magazine texts are related to oral culture, and the language they use is close to spoken Finnish. The readers were not from the educated elite but from the middle and lower middle classes.

The behaviour of Finns is in the focus of the magazine articles. They describe conflicts between Finns and Soviet authorities. They also underline the carnivalesque character of many tourist trips. The Soviet Union appears as a 'Wild East' where a different value system and different conventions prevail, and where Finnish values, morals and norms of behaviour are not valid. Thus the traveller could behave in a way that might appear divergent or morally dubious. The articles also reflect an arrogance towards different political systems and peoples. In the period of Finlandisation, the Finns could show their suspicion, fear and mistrust of, and arrogance towards, the Soviet system only in oral tradition or on magazine pages.

Introduction

This chapter analyses how the Finnish popular magazines *Hymy*, *Nykyposti* and the soft-porn magazine *Ratto* treated the tourist trips Finns made to the Soviet Union between 1972 and 1991, the incidents on the trips, and the relationships Finns and Soviets established. The main perspective is the question of how Finnish attitudes are presented in the articles. Special attention is paid to the power relationships the texts represent through different discourses.

The main source of this chapter, the magazine *Hymy*, has been published since 1959 and has long been one of the most popular Finnish magazines. *Hymy*'s popularity was highest at the turn of the 1960s–1970s. Its founder Urpo Lehtinen idealised the British *Daily Mirror* and wanted to establish a magazine that was similar in Finland. *Hymy* has identified itself as a magazine that 'tells the truth'. It has since exposed politicians' secret contracts and caused sensations with its articles about sex and famous people. These themes became more and more common after the middle of the 1960s (Kosonen 2006, 21). *Nykyposti* was published between 1977 and 2004 (*Kotimaa* 2004) and *Ratto* between 1973 and 1987.

Finnish public libraries do not subscribe to popular or pornographic magazines. As far as is known, libraries have not subscribed to *Hymy*, as their selections contain more factual magazines and newspapers. Researchers can study *Hymy* in the National Library of Finland, which files every publication that appears in Finland. Copies of *Hymy* are partly available on microfilm and partly as original copies. I have copied all *Hymy* articles that deal with or even refer to the Soviet Union, its citizens and their relations with Finns between 1972 and 1991. According to folklorist Laura Stark, a corpus is usually created by content with sub-sets grouped for more detailed analysis (Stark 2013, 238; see also Apo 2001, 28–30). I found 224 articles that deal with the Soviet Union during the aforementioned period and selected some of them as sources for this chapter regardless of journalistic genre.

The 224 magazine articles covering the years 1972 to 1991 are separated further into 20 categories if a certain theme is repeated more than twice, as presented in Figure 1.

It is possible to divide each category, for example "marriage, relationships, love affairs, dating", into subgroups. These can, for example, be: (1) happy marriages between Finns and Soviets, (2) a cheating (Finnish) spouse, (3) divorce, (4) engagements, (5) bureaucratic problems relating to marrying a Soviet citizen, etc. In this case each subgroup contains only few articles. More information on the respective themes is available in other magazines, like *Nykyposti* and *Ratto*. They, however, published far fewer texts dealing with the Soviet Union.

The above categories of source article form a basis for a text typology, which is typical of narrative research (Saaranen & Eskola 2003, 145). It is possible to form narrative types from texts located in different categories. I will analyse here the narrative types, and interpret the material as well as draw conclusions on this basis (op cit, 152–153).

How should one deal with data that treats a certain topic from different perspectives? Laura Stark has discovered in her study of old newspapers as sources of folk life, that we lack a generally accepted folkloristic methodology on how

Figure 1. Categories of magazine articles concerning the Soviet Union
Magazine *Hymy*, 1972–1991

Tourism	20
Politicians, monarchs	13
Emigration from the Soviet Union, escape	12
Marriage, relationships, love affairs, dating	12
World War II	12
Alex Lepajõe and Raivo Roosna – Soviet Estonian defectors, bank and jeweller's robbers	12
Parapsychology, miracles of Soviet medicine	11
Smuggling, illegal trade	11
Drugs, AIDS and other social issues	11
Jokes, fiction, humorous essays, columns	11
Sport	8
Artists, musicians	8
Parents separated by the border	6
Espionage, spying, agent stories, submarines	6
Eastern trade, Finnish building projects in the Soviet Union	5
Criticism towards the Soviet Union	5
Prostitution	5
Organised marriages	3
Mathias Rust, the young German who flew to Red Square in Moscow in 1987	3
Embassy	2

to use newspapers as research material (Stark 2013, 238). Folklorists usually classify archive texts according to their form and content. This is how folklore genres were initially created. When different genres deal with the same theme, they differ from each other by what they say and how they say it. Genres are thus taken as different means of expression (op cit, 240). It is possible to place texts published in *Hymy*, *Nykyposti* and *Ratto* in different journalistic genres and categories according to their content. In this case these categories are, however, used flexibly and information is sought across category borders when needed.

Figure 1 shows that the focus of the articles about the Soviet Union varied considerably. Thus it is important to select sources carefully to answer the questions examined at a given time. The sources of the present chapter contain 16 articles from *Hymy* from the following categories: (1) marriage, relationships, love affairs, dating, (2) tourism, (3) organised marriages. Five of the analysed articles are from *Ratto* and three from *Nykyposti*.

What is the main aim of the *Hymy* articles? In accordance with the principles of populism, the purpose of the texts is to entertain and surprise the reader, or

alternatively to reveal malpractices. Often the texts express a negative attitude towards the ruling power, with ordinary people presented in the role of victim. Typically, *Hymy* introduces either people living at the margin of society or the so-called average citizen in extraordinary circumstances (Kosonen 2006, 22; Aho 2003).

Statistics on popularity

There was a huge demand for *Hymy* in Finland in the 1970s and 1980s, decades during which Finland underwent great social change. A large proportion of the population had moved from the countryside to towns and cities, and the economic structure had changed from agriculture to industry. Additional changes in moral standards and a loosening of taboos reflecting the sexual revolution in the West, which started in the 1960s, were the basis for the popularity of a magazine like *Hymy*, which achieved an extensive circulation (Malmberg 1991, 166; Aho 2003, 318). *Hymy* sold more than any other publication in Finland at the beginning of the 1970s.

The circulation of *Hymy* increased from 150,000 in 1967 to 435,407, the highest ever, in 1970 (Aho 2003, 332; Kosonen 2006, 21). In comparison, the most popular national afternoon paper sold only 100,000 copies at the time (Westman 1982, 143). According to Marko Aho, researchers usually estimate the number of magazine readers by multiplying the circulation by six. If Aho's information holds up, most popular issue of *Hymy* had more than three million Finnish readers (Aho 2003, 332). Raili Malmberg, who has studied Finnish press history, has made a more cautious estimate. According to her, more than two million Finns read *Hymy* (Malmberg 1991, 166). Estimates that every subscribed or bought issue of *Hymy* had more than one reader are plausible. The standard of living was relatively low at that time in Finland and it was a common habit for friends, family members and relatives to share newspapers and magazines (Stark 2013, 231). Hairdressers and barbers also subscribed to *Hymy*, aiming to please their clients. I remember reading *Hymy* many times during my childhood although my family did not subscribe to it. Despite the fact that the contents of *Hymy* were not suitable for children, I read the magazine wherever I could.

Thus the estimated number of *Hymy* readers fluctuated between two and three million, which constituted a significant proportion of literate Finns. There were 3.5 million Finns older than 14 at the turn of the 1960s–1970s,[1] the population of Finland being 4.5 million at that time (SYF 1970, 39). From this perspective, Aho's estimation (2003, 332) that in practice the whole literate population of Finland read *Hymy* might be too high, and is in any case approximate, although

the statistics do show that the circulation of *Hymy* was significant in relation to the population. At the beginning of the 1970s, *Hymy*'s most serious competitors were the magazines *Apu* and *Seura*, which, however, did not reach *Hymy*'s circulation (Malmberg 1991, 172; Kalemaa 2006, 99). The status of *Hymy* as leader among Finnish popular magazines faltered at the turn of the 1970s and 1980s, when *Apu* and *Seura* started to sell more copies. *Hymy*'s circulation reduced during the 1980s and was 137,646 in 1990, much less than the record of 435,407 in the 1970s (*Joukkoviestintätilasto* 1991, 129, 131). *Hymy*, *Apu* and *Seura* are still published today (Malmberg 1991, 181; Kalemaa 2006, 223).

Journalism and folk narrative tradition

This chapter approaches magazine articles regardless of their journalistic genre. Its premise and perspective is in collective and popular writing. Folklorist Kirsti Salmi-Niklander describes in her research on collective writing in handwritten magazines how collective writing was an organised and regular activity in small communities. All members of the community were able to take part in the process. Collective authorship was peculiar to this, with many people involved in the creation of single texts (Salmi-Niklander 2004, 46). The marketing policy of *Hymy* was based on popularism. According to the editor-in-chief: "We do not show off. There will be no more than four foreign words in each copy of *Hymy*" (Kalemaa 2006, 46). *Hymy* was popular for three reasons: language (choice of words), style, and subject matter (everyday life).

Popular magazines have a stronger connection with oral culture than other journals. The language popular magazines use is close to the spoken language. The content of *Hymy* was not, however, totally consistent with oral tradition. It included texts written by professional editors and texts sent by readers. From the latter, the editors chose the texts they wanted to publish and edited them. For example *Hymy* published a column called "Paluupostia" ("Postbox") which contained stories written by readers (see *Hymy* 1980a). In addition, two texts by readers were published per issue in sections called "The event I am ashamed of" and "My love story". Both of these contained two-page stories illustrated with photos. More often than writing articles themselves, readers contacted the editors by letter or telephone, proposing that they be interviewed. People wanted, for example, to introduce their difficult living conditions (Aho 2003, 319–320; Kalemaa 2006, 44).

The topics of *Hymy* articles centred on everyday life. *Hymy*'s readers belonged to the tradition of collective and popular writers. They were not from the educated elite but from somewhere between the educated and unlearned populations

(Lång 2010, 80–81). According to folklorist Tuulikki Kurki, collective and popular writers were goal-oriented and well-informed (Kurki 2002). *Hymy*'s practice mixed the publisher's goal of constantly increasing circulation and (the writing) readers' desire to get publicity for their experiences and aspirations. This policy joined seamlessly with a market-centred approach. The publisher earned unequalled profit, and a reciprocal efficiency was created (Aho 2003, 323; Kalemaa 2006, 185).

Hymy offered its readers a channel through which to publish experiences and impressions that were normally imparted in oral fashion. The texts sent by readers contained certain narrative features that connected them to the folk tradition of narration (Koski 2007, 5). This chapter examines the written version of narratives only. In the given texts, readers rely on their personal experiences, for example events from their recent past. Magazines and other media take part in this narration in different discourses, maintaining and creating cultural conceptions and mediating between public and private. This could be described as a form of collective remembering (Fairclough 1995, 37).

Magazine texts are possible sources for narrative research, focusing on the published stories as creators and means of communication (Saaranen & Eskola 2003, 148; Heikkinen 2007, 142). Discourse analysis offers a route by which to explore media as it pays attention both to text and practice. According to Norman Fairclough, media texts can illuminate three sets of questions about media output: (1) How is the world represented? (2) What identities are given to the subjects involved in the story? (3) What relationships are set up between those involved? (Fairclough 1995, 5).

Different media are not separated from the surrounding culture and society, they follow societal conditions. Political and ideological factors have limited the possibilities for popular description (Kurki 2006, 47). Finland's special situation as it related to the Soviet Union restrained the Finnish media because, according to the Finno–Soviet Treaty of 1948, Finland had to avoid any policies and statements that could be interpreted as anti-Soviet, a phenomenon that was known as Finlandisation. Officially, negative or even sceptical attitudes towards the Soviet Union were not made public and newspapers practiced self-censorship on sensitive political issues based on a series of ambiguous instructions (Häikiö 1991, 77; Salminen 1980, 147).

Privately Finns could discuss the Soviet Union more freely and did not need to worry about individual punishment. The threat of penalty for newspaper editorials existed only theoretically. As far as is known, no editors or individuals were punished in Finland for comments they made about the Soviet Union. Finnish self-censorship prevented publishers from exceeding the tolerance of the Soviet

Union, and the Finnish media image of the Soviet Union became rather monolithic (Vihavainen 1991, 33–34, 39; Mylly 1995, 54; Lounasmeri 2011, 9–10). Popular magazines like *Hymy* could perhaps publish more freely because they were not qualified as a serious foreign political threat. When popular magazines are used as sources, one has to perceive that exaggerated texts were also published which may have overstated different phenomena. *Hymy*'s main goals were orientation towards scandals and the search for a wide circulation (Aho 2003, 327, 336). If the researcher knows the specific cultural context and shares knowledge of this, it is possible to estimate the connections the analysed texts have with the collective tradition.

Tourism across the Iron Curtain

The curiosity Finns had towards the Soviet Union and its citizens was vast, but the information given officially created a politically correct picture of the country. It represented only certain aspects of Soviet society and its reality. Many Finns, however, wanted to see the country with their own eyes and establish private contacts across the Iron Curtain, if possible. Finns started travelling to the Soviet Union at the end of the 1940s. The first visitors mainly travelled to the Soviet Union in official roles. The Soviet Union wanted to improve tourism because the country needed foreign currency. Tourist trips from Finland began in 1955, but it was not until the 1960s that the Soviet Union started to invest in mass tourism; only in the 1970s did the Soviets build hotels on a mass scale (Kostiainen et al 2004, 267; Salmon 2006, 188).

Tourism from Finland to the Soviet Union increased rapidly in the mid 1970s, although tourists were prevented from making contact with locals as much as possible. Soviet tourism was planned and took the form of carefully scheduled group activities, rather than letting tourists wander about on their own (Gorsuch 2011, 27–28; Kostiainen 2002; Salmon 2006, 189). One task of Intourist (the official travel agency) guides was to report both tourist activities and the contacts they had with local Soviets (Gorsuch 2011, 29, 74–75). Travellers' activities and contacts varied a great deal. The largest Finnish group were the so-called ordinary tourists who spent their holidays in the Soviet Union. Others were those on official journeys, such as politicians and businessmen, and exchange students and friendship society tours on different kinds of excursion. Many Finnish trade union and student organisations travelled to the Soviet Union. These tours were very popular (Kostiainen et al 2004, 271; Hentilä 2004, 229–230).

Articles about the Soviet Union

The sources of this chapter are selected texts from *Hymy*, *Nykyposti* and *Ratto*. The texts deal with tourism and private contacts between Finnish and Soviet citizens. All kinds of contact are included, from marriage and family life to one-night stands. Usually contacts were established during tourist trips and developed further afterwards. Some texts deal with the Soviets who settled in Finland.

Conflicts with the Soviet authorities

Next, attention is paid to the articles that illustrate the conflicts between Finns and the Soviet authorities. Every now and then Finns ran into situations that caused them trouble. These situations were the results of their own behaviour, differences in culture, or ignorance of or indifference to the laws of a foreign country. Some of the Finnish tourists were so-called 'vodka tourists' who drank cheap Soviet vodka, and every now and then caused serious disturbances. Smuggling across the border was common: Finns smuggled forbidden material, for example propaganda and Bibles (Kostiainen et al 2004, 275). The temptation to change money illegally in the streets or to peddle clothes or other Western products was great.[2] In comparison to the official exchange rate, tourists could get many times more roubles in illegal exchange, and thus have a luxury holiday on a rather small budget. Some travellers who did not spend their earnings on alcohol sometimes took part in illegal trading instead (op cit, 277).

In the first sample, a conflict is described as follows: "A 32-year-old motorist with long hair travelled to the Soviet Union for the weekend. During his stay in the Soviet Union he did not only lose his hair but was imprisoned for 12 days" (*Hymy* 1973). *Hymy* reported that rigid Soviet discipline for Finns was not an invention. The article was based on an interview that revealed how Mr Lampinen had raised his voice in his hotel because he had not received his room key. The receptionist responsible for his floor was not the same person as previously, and consequently the new receptionist did not know him. Because Mr Lampinen did not understand a word of Russian, he did not know why he was not able to get the key. As a result, Mr Lampinen started to shout, and the receptionist called the police, who arrested him for hooliganism. Mr Lampinen was held for 12 days in a Soviet prison, during which time his head was shaved.

In the second story a Finn called Pasi Laine tells how he was imprisoned for four months for illicit trading, which was popular among both travellers and people who worked in tourist services (*Hymy* 1987a). Many guides, for example, tried to exchange foreign currency or buy clothes and other products from Western

tourists (Salmon 2006, 186). Soviet citizens might also have spare money, but domestic industry did not offer them enough products to buy. The black market for Western products thrived around tourism. Hotel employees bought clothes or other Western consumer products from individual tourists for their relatives or for themselves. Waiting outside the hotels was an army of semi-professional hucksters willing to do business (Nupponen 2007, 114–115).

Pasi Laine's case, described above, was not unique. Such 'international trade' did not, according to texts published in the magazines under study, always bring the desired results. In 1972 *Hymy* published a humorous essay called "Tere, tere" ("Hello, hello"), which describes, with the aid of self-reflective irony, the different kinds of mishap that befell Finnish tourists. Among them was the case of a tourist who discovered that he had lost his jacket and camera while illegally changing currency in a dark gateway (*Hymy* 1972). A column called "Boogerperestroika" (*Hymy* 1989) showed how recklessly and carelessly Finns acted in Soviet Estonia. This kind of text forms a separate narrative group.

Finnish men such as Mr Lampinen and Mr Laine criticised their treatment at the hands of Soviet bureaucracy, but showed no self-criticism when it came to breaking the law in a foreign country. Neither did they recall that bureaucracy also exists in Finland and that it can make life very complicated, especially for a foreigner (Sirkkilä 2005, 132–133). This type of story about conflict with the Soviet authorities became very popular. In international travelogues and popular magazines visitors recount numerous tales of being chased by Soviet black marketeers, for example (Salmon 2006, 187).

Finnish magazine articles commented on street peddling and other activities Finns carried out in the Soviet Union. The attitude seemed to be contradictory: the punishments were, on the one hand, regarded as unreasonable, such as in the case of Pasi Laine, while on the other hand the Finns' partying was considered exaggerated (see for example *Hymy* 1989; 1979). Sometimes the local residents of Soviet Estonia were also given the floor. Estonian TV journalist Hardi Tiidus stated in an interview published in *Hymy*: "I am ashamed of Finnish vodka tourists." According to this article, drunk Finns harass mothers outside grocery shops, peddling them things and boasting of the wide variety of products in Finnish shops (*Hymy* 1978).

In the article "Why are only Finns getting wasted in Tallinn? 'Swinish behaviour will be avenged'" militia headman Zupsman crystallised Soviet feelings about Finnish behaviour: "You drink and blow up too much. If you drank less, there might be no problem at all" (*Hymy* 1988a). Already in 1979 a poem published in *Hymy*, "Leningrad song", contained all the notable stereotypical and problematic features of Finnish tourist trips to Leningrad (*Hymy* 1979). Academic

research (Åström 1993) also noticed these features, among which were smuggling pornographic magazines across the border, buying and drinking vodka immediately after crossing the border, changing currency illegally, peddling tights, searching for local female company, losing wallets during nocturnal wooing trips, and getting a hangover with diarrhoea as a souvenir. The "Boogerperestroika" column published 10 years later (*Hymy* 1989) repeats the clichés this poem contained. It tells of a voyage to Tallinn and illustrates how some Finns had already started a drinking competition during the trip out of Helsinki. After entering Soviet Estonian customs in Tallinn, these drunken males groped a female customs officer. Other mishaps included considering every female attractive enough to be a prostitute, and throwing up in an ashtray.

This type of story, dealing with conflicts with foreign authority, is also interesting from the point of view of power relations because they question the customary power structures. Finns considered that because their living standards were higher than those in the Soviet Union they were superior to the Soviets. Western consumer products functioned as symbols of power – both to Finns who had access to them, and also to those Soviets who managed to purchase them. These products became status symbols and made them more prestigious, at least in the eyes of those who respected, envied, and desired these products (cf Foucault 1998, 340). Buying and selling these products was a game in which both parties tried to profit or cheat one another skilfully and subtly, although both parties nevertheless benefitted from the trading.

Peddling also had a negative effect, especially on the Soviets who considered this type of activity shameful. However, Soviet Russia had a different attitude towards illegal trading to that of Soviet Estonia, and today many former traders who carried out such business in Soviet Estonia are respected businessmen. During the Soviet period trading was a micro level power struggle that was closely connected to the recent war between the Soviet Union and Finland. Trading was used to compensate the losses incurred during and after the war. Finns had not forgotten the cession of Finnish territories to the Soviet Union with the peace treaties of 1947 and 1948. Finland's material affluence had developed after World War II when Finland started to industrialise quickly. After paying reparations to the Soviet Union, the standard of living improved greatly in Finland. The Soviet Union, however, constantly lacked all major consumer products (Vahtre 2010, 70–71). Thus the trade in illicit consumer goods was a side effect of tourism. It continued until the stores in Russia and the former Soviet republics started to sell Western products after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Women crossing the Iron Curtain

The form of tourism described in the previous section, in which travellers fell into conflict with authority, seemed to be a rather masculine phenomenon according to the gender of the characters mentioned in the articles: the people identified were predominantly men. But what kind of women crossed the border between Finland and the Soviet Union, according to these magazines? I will cite some examples and analyse how Finnish women saw and experienced the Soviet Union and what kinds of relationship they created. In addition, some interviews with Soviet citizens living in Finland will be highlighted.

The first sample of this category is titled "Eija lives in Leningrad. She often gets in trouble when trying to explain that there is no prohibition law in Finland" (*Nykyposti* 1978). This article is also based on an interview and tells the story of Finnish Mrs Eija Afonchikova, who had moved to Leningrad several years previously to study language and culture. She then married a Russian and settled down in Leningrad.

Finnish women had relationships with Russians and other Soviet citizens long before the Soviet Union collapsed, for example during WWII when many Russian prisoners of war worked on Finnish farms, although these stories have not been told in public in Finland (Wilms 2010, 141). Mrs Afonchikova was one of the few Finns who had moved to the Soviet Union and set up a family there. Usually Finnish–Soviet couples settled down in Finland (Reuter & Kyntäjä 2006, 104). In the 2000s, Russians became the most common foreign husbands to Finnish women. Other common nationalities are Britons, US citizens, Swedes, Turks and Germans (Heikkilä 2004, 4).

Mrs Afonchikova said in her interview that life is not dreary, and that there is more to life than work in the Soviet Union. Instead of lying on the sofa, people have different hobbies. She particularly emphasised that there is much more to do than just drink vodka. In turn, Mrs Afonchikova constantly had to correct impressions that Russians had of Finland. Russians believed that there was a prohibition law in Finland, because Finns, when visiting Leningrad, drank alcohol as if there was no tomorrow. According to Mrs Afonchikova, there was a rumour going around the Soviet Union that Finns were able to buy alcohol only once a month. Thus they were forced to travel to Leningrad to drink more openly. Mrs Afonchikova explained to her Soviet acquaintances that alcohol was so expensive in Finland that people preferred to drink it in the Soviet Union. It was cheaper especially if they financed their alcohol consumption by selling clothes or other Western products.[3]

The magazines noted other Finnish–Soviet marriages where the wife was Finnish and the husband a Soviet citizen. One article talked about a Finnish TV announcer, Saara Karhu, who had married a Soviet-Estonian, Oleg Ljadov. The article wondered why Mr Ljadov did not want to move to Finland at a time when, according to *Hymy*, "every second Estonian wanted to move to Finland". Mr Ljadov, a successful sportsman, thus challenged this stereotype and surprised *Hymy* readers, who shared a nationalistic education that emphasised how it was a privilege to have been born in Finland (*Hymy* 1990a).

One article, called "Wedding in Estonia" (*Hymy* 1990b), is a story written by a reader, Mrs Katriina Sermat, about her wedding in Tallinn. She explained that she was warmly welcomed to Soviet Estonia despite the enormous bureaucracy she had to pass through because of her marriage to an Estonian. Another Finnish lady, Leena Rautavaara, was planning to marry her fiancé from the Caucasus mountains. Miss Rautavaara was sorry that he lived in an area away from the usual tourist attractions and that she therefore had difficulties getting permission to travel (*Hymy* 1980b). The third lady who married a man from Soviet Estonia was Sinikka Lehto-Ojaste, the man in question being her sixth husband. An article reports a beautiful wedding ceremony, but also the couple's unawareness of whether the newlywed husband would get permission to move to Finland. Finnish–Soviet marriages did not always end in a happy family life, as some stories (*Hymy* 1982; 1990c) explained. According to one such story, Aleksander Balmages had first married one Finnish woman and then, after a divorce, a second. Astonishingly for newlyweds Mrs and Mr Balmages disappeared immediately after the wedding ceremony without even eating the wedding cake. The marriage was soon annulled because the Finnish authorities stated that Mr Balmages had married his bride only to get a Finnish residence permit. According to these articles, Mr Balmages was a professional marriage organiser who arranged marriages between Soviet citizens and Swedes. Sometimes the Soviet authorities prevented a planned marriage, as in the case of a Finnish man who was not given a visa to Soviet Estonia and thus could no longer meet his fiancée. The man, however, did not give up his plan to marry, and borrowed someone else's passport. He visited Tallinn twice using this identity. During his third visit his borrowed passport was noticed (*Hymy* 1987b).

Magazines also published stories about women who moved to Finland from the Soviet Union. *Nykyposti* published an article called "Alja Garpenko is a model in the Soviet Union and lives in Loviisa: 'I would like to continue my career here

▶ **Figure 2.** Two belles from Soviet Estonia, Piret Kruusimäe and Anu Jalava (*Hymy* 1988, 1, 70–71).

kaunotari Eestist

KAKS

■■ A voi! Ettei vain iskisi perestroika suomalaisen mallimaailmaan, kun eestiläiskaunottaret Piret Kruusimäe ja Anu Jalava astuvat mallimarkkinoille.

HMV Mailburssi on käyty ja Piret ja Anu odottelevat kauniin kuvauksin. Ja työhuipin, kun ne viipyvät ja vispyvät. Kaikenlaista hommaa oisi tarjolla, mutta kun ei ole lupa tehdä.

Ulkomaalaistoimiston sisolesti Anulle sosialoloisuus kervaisen saamen oisi kuuluna helpompaa kun uykuven.

— Vaikka missä selitin, että paikkoja olisi tarjolla, ihmetteler Anu, jota on menny mm. mallausmisviraista arvo sisun.

— Ouneksi on voidi sen verran rahaa täljellä, etta ole tarvinnut menna sosialoiomistoon.

Piret muuni itinsä kansaa Suomeen seitsemän vuota sitten. Nyt hän on 21 ja sanoo tuntevansa itsensä eremmin suomalaiseksi kuin eestiläisisi, vaikkei kasakinuttamaan ole viela samnikaan. Julkisuutta kyllä muutaman vuoden takaisen Tilinäde-jupakan yhteydessä.

25-vuotias Anu on asunut Suomessa vuoden. Tutuja ei ollut vuin yksi sukulaispoikkinuna, nyt jo enemmän.
Kertokaa, mistä asutte ja kotoisen kanssa?
PIRET: Töölsesä, yksin.
ANU: Kruuusissa, ja yksin. Olen uvalian rahomehenä erikkäsi tunkoistoissa, sillä laila sain asunnon.
Onko poikaystäviä?
PIRET: Ymm... on...
muta en minä haltu sitä ker-tos enempää.

Neidot avoilla. Anu maastoaha-lookkiissa ja Piret kasakkahenkisenä.

in Finland'" (*Nykyposti* 1979), which consisted of an interview with Mrs Garpen-ko, who married a Finn and moved to Finland. She explained that she had already learnt Finnish, but did not receive a work permit.

The next two ladies were well known in Finland in the 1980s. An article, entitled "Two belles from Soviet Estonia" (*Hymy* 1988b; see Figure 2) presented two women, Anu Jalava and Piret Kruusimäe, who had moved to Finland. Anu Jalava is today better known as Anu Saagim and is famous both in Finland and in Estonia. Her first marriage in Finland was supposedly a sham in order to get a residency permit. Piret Kruusimäe was the fiancée of Raivo Roosna, well known in the mid-1980s both in Finland and Estonia because he escaped from Estonia in a rubber boat in 1984 with another young man, Alex Lepajõe. Their escape was considered heroic because crossing the sea in a rubber boat and trying to avoid Soviet border guards was an almost impossible task, and it was also con-sidered a political manifestation. Being men of conscription age they were thus able to avoid being drafted into the Soviet army, evading service in Afghanistan. Both men relocated to Sweden where they received refugee status. In 1985, these same men robbed a bank and Tillander jeweller's shop in Helsinki. The money from the bank was retrieved, but jewels stolen from Tillander's, valued at 1.4 mil-lion Finnish marks (equivalent to 235,000 euros), have never been found. Piret Kruusimäe was sent back to Soviet Estonia after Roosna's arrest.

Hymy interviewed Jalava and Kruusimäe because they both had emigrated from Soviet Estonia. They talked in an article about their lives in Finland in com-parison with their former lives in Estonia. According to Jalava, Finland was a sur-prisingly bureaucratic country: she had to wait for three years for permission to move to Finland. However, life in Soviet Estonia was becoming freer. The maga-zine also published many photos in which the women were given a stereotypical appearance and demeanour, closely connected to Russian culture. Anu Jalava wore Russian matryoshka doll-style clothing in one photo, and Piret Kruusimäe Cossack-style clothing, despite the fact that both ladies were Finno-Ugric Esto-nians, not Russians. Even in the article it was reported that the two women were from the steppe despite the fact that steppes exist in Russia, not in Estonia. *Hymy* maintained the conception that all culture in the Soviet Union was identified with Russia.

Both Jalava and Kruusimäe had taken a modelling course in Finland and were budding models who were probably paid for their interviews. However, this setup of grouping and stereotyping Estonians as Russians must have been painful, if not even traumatic, because the article was published in 1988 after the period when masses of Russians and other Soviets had moved to Estonia. Estonians worried both about their survival, their status as a nation, and their language.

Estonians had not lost their own national identity within the Soviet Union but upheld an idea of independence (Aarelaid-Tart 2003, 79–81). Many Estonians also emigrated from the Soviet Union, as was the case with Jalava and Kruusimäe. Yet the Finnish media categorised these women as *homo sovieticus*. This kind of symbol labelling and to some degree the dehumanising of people followed the official national policy of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union promoted the idea that the people living on Soviet territory were automatically fused into one Soviet people. A systematic enforcing of this kind of policy of assimilation illustrated Russification in its essence (Laur et al 2002, 298, 301).

Jalava and Kruusimäe had, however, learned to navigate between cultural and political expectations while still living in Soviet Estonia. Aili Aarelaid-Tart has observed that people at that time had been shaped to be the carriers of two cultural configurations. Skilled people had learnt to master two languages, bilingualism being a version of the double consciousness that was spreading at the grass-roots level. This meant that the majority of Estonians considered, for example, membership of the Communist Party to be an original sin. On the personal level, Estonians often resented Soviet power but were unable to express it in public (Aarelaid-Tart 2003, 87). Balancing these national expectations while living in Finland became even more complicated because the Finns had their own national expectations for emigrants, and Finland's official definitions of Soviet emigrants added to the complexity when it came to finding a balanced view of one's national identity.

Sexual adventures

Ratto, which was a soft porn magazine for men, published several articles that constituted a guide for sex tourism in the Soviet Union. In 1982 it published an article called "Riga is the Paris of the Baltic Sea" (*Ratto* 1982), written by a reader who was also a professional author. The writer reported on the possibilities of sex tourism: according to him, it was possible to exchange a blouse or other piece of clothing for sexual services. A sample of sexual contact is later itemised in detail as a demonstration of an excellent and discreet service. Being loyal to the characteristics of the magazine this article demonstrates Riga exclusively as a target of sex tourism, overlooking other types of tourism.

Another article "Moscow maidens in full swing" (*Ratto* 1973) asked in its introductory section: "What is sex like in the Soviet Union? How many prostitutes are there in the Soviet Union? Where to find them and how much to pay?" Later on the article explained in detail all the possibilities for contacting prostitutes and gave some hints. It also informed on the differences in customs:

according to the article, it was polite to offer the prostitute something to eat and drink after intercourse. In 1978 *Ratto* reported on the nightlife in Tallinn, Murmansk and Leningrad (1978a; 1978b; 1978c). *Ratto* (1978a) even gave the reader an essential sexual lexicon in Estonian, while reminding readers that there was a fiery epidemic of syphilis in Tallinn. *Hymy* also reminded its readers of the dangers of sex tourism. In the *Hymy* article "Did Olga give you a death sentence?" (*Hymy* 1988c) the magazine described the case of a Russian prostitute who died of AIDS and who had had many Finnish customers. To warn possibly infected Finns, the magazine even published a photo of the deceased and cited the Soviet magazine that advised Olga's possible customers to be tested for HIV.

What kind of adventures did the magazine articles report in detail? A story published in 1981 told of how robbers ruined a Finn's visit to a local woman: "Bandits ruined Matti's midnight wooing trip: He had to run naked along the streets of Murmansk" (*Ratto* 1981). It all happened when a young man met a nice Russian woman in a restaurant and went home with her. They started to make love, but while they lay naked in bed, three men broke into the flat and threw the naked Finn into the street.

The second example of this category is a story from Leningrad called "A night with Sasha and Kolja" (*Ratto* 1979). The story's structure is based on a reader's letter and tells of a young man who was sitting in a park in Leningrad and was invited to visit a man whom he had met there. The story continued by explaining homosexual contact between three men. This story can be defined as an international example of the 'holiday shag diary', its purpose to function as a guide to how to contact local gays in Leningrad (Clift & Forrest 2000, 183). Public toilets, parks, and boulevards acted as sexualised territories providing a venue for the sex market between men (Healey 2002, 161, 164). This story might as well have been a fantasy story, although it certainly maintains the myth that the mass media perpetuates of homosexuals seeking casual sex (Ryan & Hall 2001, 103).

Colin Sparks has noted that sexuality – both hetero- and homosexuality – served the stereotypical thinking of social and political relationships and conducting these relationships in the Soviet Union (Sparks 1992, 41). Power is used and strongly represented in these sexual relations. This story functions as a guide to finding Soviet men and then penetrating their bodies. This story can be interpreted allegorically as sexual penetration equating to the penetration and occupation of a former enemy's body. Having sex with a single Soviet citizen can be described as the penetration of the whole nation (Majuri 1999, 271). This kind of story thus displays how Western culture is able to invade the Soviet Union (Nagel 2003, 180–181).

Conclusions

What did these texts say about Finnish tourism to the Soviet Union? First they underlined the carnivalesque character many tourist trips had. Several articles described conflicts between Finns and the Soviet authorities. It has been observed that tourism is a socially sanctioned escape route for adults to play, live a fantasy or have a sexual adventure (Ryan 2000, 27). Social norms of behaviour seemed to vanish when the border was crossed. One was able to behave in a way that was unacceptable in one's own country. The Soviet Union appeared as a Wild East where a different value system and different conventions prevailed. Finnish values, morals and norms of behaviour were no longer valid. Thus the traveller could behave in a way that could appear divergent or morally dubious (Marttila 2006, 38). Both the Finnish collective tradition and magazine articles talked about colourful events during tourist trips, whereas the narrators presented themselves as heroes in these stories.

Not only Finns, but also some Soviet citizens, such as Aleksander Balmages, were represented as a political, social and even moral problem. The behaviour of Finns themselves, however, was at the centre of these magazine articles. Self-criticism could be very useful when conducting a deeper analysis of Finland's relations and attitudes toward other countries. *Hymy* maintained the discourse of Finnish travellers' dubious behaviour and its results. It was also noted in other sectors of culture, for example in a theatre play called *Vodka tourists*, or in television series.

Within the context of the Cold War, Finland and the Soviet Union represented different political systems. My analysis reveals that the examined articles showed arrogance towards different political systems and peoples. Finns had material supremacy – at least in terms of consumer goods, luxury items, and Western technology products. Many of these products and their availability functioned as status symbols on both sides of the Iron Curtain. Finnish oral tradition contained a lot of wondering about the quality of Soviet products, although some Soviet products were bought because of their exoticism or cheap price. Some even represented status and luxury in the West, like champagne and crystal, although they could be cheaply bought with illegal currency. The difference in standard of living was great even for a long period after the collapse of the Soviet Union causing strong emotions on both sides of the border (Kiin 1996, 522).

This stream of goods is only one aspect of mutual relationships. Not all Estonians, nor other citizens of the Soviet Union, received goods with unconditional joy. Some authors reacted with biting criticism towards this exchange. One of the most eloquent critiques was that of Elo Viiding (2008), who wrote a long list

of all imaginable artefacts that Finnish visitors had brought to her family. She explained in detail how her parents reacted towards the outspoken and quite often humiliating comments of foreign visitors about their lives, their standard of living, and even their physical appearance. It was as though the commentator's status as a Westerner had given him or her the right to abandon the politeness, sensitivity and empathy necessary in normal interaction. Arrogance like "it was natural that the example of Western countries was followed" is, unfortunately, rampant in many texts published in *Hymy* and other 'yellow' magazines. It seems, however, that some authors of these articles realised that tourists considered the higher Finnish standard of living as a sign of power, and criticised this attitude.

Gender makes a difference when analysing the writers of these articles or people who have been interviewed. Women did not talk or write about their one-night stands (Thomas 2000, 204), while men did, and even boasted about them. Both short and long-term sexual relationships also occurred between female tourists and locals, although these relationships were either concealed or somehow belittled (Sánchez Taylor 2000, 45). Finnish women did not present themselves as independent sexual subjects in the context of 1970s and 1980s magazine articles, although those who were of a sexually active age belonged to the generation of the sexual revolution in Finland (Kontula & Haavio-Mannila 1997, 32). I did not find examples of readers' letters talking about women's sexual experiences in the Soviet Union, despite the fact that they definitely took place. *Hymy* and *Nykyposti* were published for both male and female readers. A discourse on women highlighted that Finnish women's relationships were based on romance, not sex, and often ended in marriage. This discourse prevented the magazines from dealing with other themes.

In the context of the 1970s and 1980s the living standard of the Soviet Union was lower than that of Finland – at least when analysed using such criteria as availability of toiletries, etc. Sex tourism usually afflicts countries with a lower level of income even today, with the most popular target countries for Finns being those of South East Asia (Grönfors 1999, 234). Reports of sex tourism to the former Soviet republics have been replaced by reports relating to exotic countries.

What was the main function of popular magazines like *Hymy*? It is obvious that they offered the readers entertainment and a forum in which more serious phenomena could be discussed in an easily understandable way. By publishing both interviews and the texts that readers sent to the editors, *Hymy* in a way reproduced narrative patterns characteristic of oral and collective traditions. Finns could show their suspicion, fear and mistrust of, and arrogance towards, the Soviet system only in oral tradition or in the pages of magazines like *Hymy*.

Newspapers

Hymy 1972 = Tere, tere, *Hymy* 11, 112.

Hymy 1973 = Arvatkaa missä Jarmo Lampinen on käynyt? Aivan oikein – Neuvostoliitossa, *Hymy* 5, 2-4.

Hymy 1978 = Ystävämme Hardi Tiidus, Tallinna: häpeän suomalaisia vodkaturisteja, *Hymy* 7, 110-113.

Hymy 1979 = Leningradin laulu, *Hymy* 5, 111.

Hymy 1980a = Paluupostia, *Hymy* 8, 94-95.

Hymy 1980b = Leena Rautavaaran kaukaasialainen rakkaustarina, *Hymy* 6, 130.

Hymy 1982 = Neuvostoliiton naimapakolaisilla hyvin organisoitu rikollisliiga, *Hymy* 5, 18-21.

Hymy 1987a = Jobbauksesta ei selviydy aina sakoilla Leningradissa. Pasi Laine neljä kuukautta vankilassa, *Hymy* 15, 34-39.

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Hymy 1988a = Miksi vain suomalaisia hakataan Tallinnassa? "Sikailu kostetaan", *Hymy* 12-13, 18-20.

Hymy 1988b = Kaks kaunotari Eestist, *Hymy* 1, 70-73.

Hymy 1988c = Antoiko Olga sinulle kuolemantuomion, *Hymy* 20, 32.

Hymy 1989 = Räkäperestroika, *Hymy* 1, 55.

Hymy 1990a = Miten käy avioliiton? Saaran mies ei halua muuttaa Suomeen, *Hymy* 11, 60.

Hymy 1990b = Häät Eestissä, *Hymy* 8, 106-107.

Hymy 1990c = Avioliittohuijari ja 'mafia' pomo Aleksander Balmages: "Lennätän juutalaiset Tallinnasta Israeliin", *Hymy* 7, 40-43.

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Ratto 1978a = Tallinnassa on piukat paikat!, *Ratto* 2, 22-25, 72-73.

Ratto 1978b = Reportterimme testasi Murmanskin yön, *Ratto* 4, 29-31.

Ratto 1978c = Leningrad on mahtava kaupunki! ,*Ratto* 5, 10-11.

Ratto 1979 = Yö Sashan ja Koljan kanssa, *Ratto* 5, 67.

Ratto 1981 = Rosvot pilasivat Matin tyttöreissun: hän joutui juoksemaan alasti pitkin Muurmanskin katuja, *Ratto* 8, 74-75.

Ratto 1982 = Riika on Itämeren Pariisi!, *Ratto* 5, 14-16, 78.

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Sources of illustrations

Figure 2 – Photograph: Peter Lindholm. Reproduced with the permission of *Hymy* magazine.

Notes

This chapter was written as part of research project "Writing cultures and traditions at borders" (SA131578).

1 In this chapter those older than 14 are given as accustomed readers of *Hymy*.

2 I remember how my boyfriend of the time was arrested in Leningrad having changed money illegally. He was, however, released after he had paid a fine.

3 This legend of a prohibition law in Finland has a historical background. Finland is a country where the rate of alcohol abuse is among the highest in Europe (Häikiö 2007, 42). There actually was alcohol consumption control in Finland until 1969. In addition, selling medium strength beer was limited until 1969. A special card was issued by the authorities to every Finn who wanted to buy alcohol. A person who wanted to get a card had to pay a tax and all his or her purchases were reported on the card. This restricted an individual's alcohol consumption and served as a tool for the government to monitor Finnish drinking behaviour. The card was in use in Finland until 1971. Even since 1971 Finland has still enforced some control over individual alcohol consumption (Häikiö 2007, 135, 455).

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