May 2018

This dissertation is submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

## Declaration

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as specified in the text.

It is not substantially the same as any work that I have submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for a degree or diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as specified in the text. I further state that no substantial part of my dissertation has already been submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as specified in the text.

It does not exceed the prescribed word limit for the Degree Committee of the Faculty of Earth Sciences and Geography.

**Making Indigenous Futures: Land, Memory, and Silent Knowledge in a Skolt Sámi Community**

**Note about this Thesis Copy**

This PhD dissertation is about experiences of memory, silent knowledge, and indigenous connection to land in Skolt Sámi areas of northern Finland. At the current stage the dissertation serves as a draft for publication as a book, to be edited following further discussion and consultation with community members.

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This dissertation considers experiences of embodied memory and indigenous connection to land by which people reconstitute social life in Skolt Sámi resettlement areas of Arctic Finland. After their Petsamo homeland was ceded to the Soviet Union following the Second World War, Skolt relocation to new areas of northern Finland radically transformed social, political, and subsistence lifeways, including through education in Finnish boarding schools. Continuing out-migration to Finnish cities has contributed to the suppression of identity and threats to community wellbeing, felt in ruptures of practice associated with material culture, language, and relationships with local ecologies. In many cases the resulting sense of loss to identity and community wellbeing became expressed as the forgetting of a "silent knowledge" (Skolt Sámi: *jõõskâs teâtt,* Finnish: *hiljainen tieto*). Silent knowledge refers to practices learned not through formal instruction but through lived experience. These include the skills, techniques and perceptions of craft making, plant use, language, and interactions with local environments.

Though most studies in the region still focus on the reindeer herding and fishing commonly associated with Sámi populations, there is actually resurgence of Skolt craft (boats, tools, dress), as well as collection and processing of wild foods, which form the core of a vibrant cultural revival. Through participant observation and life history methods, I follow the making of things using local materials as a means by which people remake relationships with the land and with each other. It finds that this remembrance of silent knowledge through making is a means by which people strengthen relationships with the land and with each other. The thesis focuses on the first 14 months of fieldwork in Če′vetjäu′rr (F. Sevettijärvi) 2014-2015, out of a total of 26 months of multi-sited research in the Sámi regions.

Scholarship on memory, practice, and displacement examines how memory becomes embodied, reworked, and reconciled across generations, and how material objects and the creation of home in new places create connections to original homelands. Meanwhile, studies among indigenous communities highlight how people establish connections to land despite, and through, displacement and movement. However, to understand the tangible mechanisms of these attachments and interventions, I inquire into the material practices by which people form relationships to resettlement environments. The thesis follows the concept of practical knowledge as transformed and mobilised through revival of local forms of production, to show how practices and memories are selectively rewoven to shape social futures. Furthermore, this dissertation begins a discussion of the diversity of people and organizations that make up Skolt efforts of cultural revitalization and maintenance of community life for future generations. I argue that embodied processes of making, enmeshed in the materiality of resettlement environments, make Skolt community visible and felt in new ways by establishing connections between resettlement area, indigenous homeland, and urban regions where a large percentage of Skolt now live.

Grounding each chapter in stages of reconstruction of a Petsamo-style boat, made with roots, pine, and without metal nails, I weave points of analysis and diverse case studies to explore how processes of production, from collection of materials to building and ceremony, serve as loci of memory and practice by which people establish relationships with land to remake social worlds. In the first chapter, I explore spatial and temporal reconnections among Skolt return migrants and Finnish settlers to the Skolt regions of Finland. The second chapter deals with political and gendered dimensions of cultural revival work, showing how different ways of relating to the environment are negotiated through humour and production. The third chapter examines institutional avenues of reviving techniques of production. In the fourth chapter, I consider politics surrounding the role of non-Skolt actors in Skolt cultural revival. The final chapter examines how these politics are reconciled through ceremony and the making of collective memory, establishing Skolt presence in resettlement areas, as well as spatial and temporal continuity with Petsamo, through the public launching of the root boat. I conclude the thesis by bringing together the stages of boat production and related case studies to show how engagements with the environment through making create ways to reimagine

relationships to people and place. I further suggest the broader contributions of this study for understanding indigenous movements, displacement, memory, and future-making.

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**Acknowledgements**

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## Note on Language

All non-English words are in Skolt Sámi unless otherwise specified, with accompanying Finnish translation where appropriate. A key exception is 'hiljainen tieto' (silent knowledge), which appears as it is most commonly expressed in Finnish based on coinage of the term by Koivunen (1997). Place names may appear in multiple languages; while I preference Skolt Sámi place names, I use North Sámi when referring to predominantly North Sámi places, as well as Finnish or Skolt words written with Finnish orthography when citing literature that appears before the development of Skolt orthography. Therefore, Suõnn′jel sijdd, the original homeland of the Skolt of Če′vetjäu′rr, also appears with Finnish orthography as Suenjel, or in Finnish as Suonikylä.

In most cases I have chosen to use Skolt Sámi even for those words that may have been spoken in Finnish at the time of fieldwork. This serves to emphasise and support peoples' everyday efforts to speak their language for future generations, despite the difficulties of doing so amidst pressures of the Finnish language, as well as social, political, and institutional structures. Furthermore, I do not italicise Skolt words except for emphasis or upon first introduction, in order to centre the language as that of everyday use and practice. To assist the reader, below I outline key differences of Skolt orthography and pronunciation compared to the Latin alphabet on which it is based, and additional characters unique to Finnish:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Â â | /ɐ/ awe | Ǩ ǩ | /c͡ç/ kch |
| C c | /t͡s/ | Ŋ ŋ | /ŋ/ banking |
| Č č | /t͡ʃ/ ch | Õ õ | /ə/ |
| Ʒ ʒ | /d͡z/ | Š š | /ʃ/ sh |
| Ǯ ǯ | /d͡ʒ/ dj | Ž ž | /ʒ/ |
| Đ đ | /ð/ the | Å å | /ɔ/ owe |
| Ǧ ǧ | /ɟ͡ɟ/ joke | Ä ä | /a/ apple |
| Ɣ ɣ | /ɣ/ gh | Finnish: Öö [ø] | |
| J j | /j/ yonder | | |

Finno-Ugric languages such as Sámi and Finnish have singular, plural, and grammatical case forms for the same word, which can be difficult for an English speaker to recognise. In most cases I use the singular nominative form. I have included a glossary below for reference.

## Glossary

Terms in Skolt Sámi unless otherwise specified (F. indicates Finnish language):

Hiljainen tieto (F.) (S. Sámi: Jõõskâs teâtt): Finnish and Skolt iteration of tacit knowledge literally translated as 'silent knowledge'

**leu'dd:** Skolt Sámi song with epic narrative

**pä′ǩǩ-kopp** (F. kuksa): Drinking vessel made from birch burl

**pie′cc** (F. pettu): The inner bark of Scots pine (*Pinus sylvestris*) used to make daily porridge

**SAKK** (F. Saamelaisalueen koulutuskeskus): Sámi Education Institute in Aanar

**sååbbar***:* Skolt Sámi sijdd council, led by a Skolt representative, the ouddooumaž, responsible for mediating between the council and Finnish government officials regarding Skolt matters

**sijdd** (plural nominative, *siid*): Sámi system of social and territorial organisation

**Suõnn′jel** (F. orthography Suenjel, F. Suonikylä): The original homeland of the Če′vetjäu′rr Skolt Sámi

## On Names

While it has been common practice to change names and identifying information to protect individual privacy in anthropological text, research among indigenous communities seeking to reconnect with the stories of their ancestors, has shown that ethnographic writing has been most useful to communities when it includes the actual names of the people photographed or written about. For these reasons, Sámi scholarship also stresses the use of actual names. Therefore, I have consulted with individuals regarding their name preferences and used real names when appropriate. In some cases identifying information has been altered.

Both real names and pseudonyms reflect the diversity of cultural identities in the region, but also the effects of Finnicisation intergenerationally. Many Skolt Sámi have both Finnish and Skolt versions of their names. While those of the oldest generations tend to go by their Skolt names (which also reflect more Russian influence), those of later generations are more likely to use Finnish names, or switch between Finnish and Skolt forms interchangeably. Meanwhile, younger generations especially have begun using the Skolt forms of their names more frequently or for the first time, while mothers increasingly give their children Skolt names. Thus linguistic differences of naming across generations reflect social and political transformations of Skolt life--from displacement and assimilation, to ongoing cultural and linguistic revival.


**Figure 1** *Map of Finland* indicating 1) Če′vetjäu′rr (F. Sevettijärvi) 2) Petsamo region previously occupied by Finland, and 3) Aanar (F. Inari). From Magnani and Magnani (2018).

## Introduction: Returns as Skolt Sámi Futures

*As for the young, regret or hope furrows their brows and they begin to search far back into the past or far ahead into the future, with an equally inexpressible longing.*

Robert Crottet (1949), 'The Answer of the Great Reindeer,' *The Enchanted Forest*

At the converted schoolhouse we sat looking at an array of ethnographic texts, detailed boat sketches, photographs, and handwritten documents spread over a coffee table. It was the nearly nightless nights of early May in the village of Če′vetjäu′rr (F. Sevettijärvi) in northern Finland. Mika, a professional boat maker, had been amassing research materials for 20 years since he first learned about boats sewn together with roots instead of metal nails. From May to August of 2015, he and villagers of Če′vetjäu′rr collaborated to reconstruct a sewn-plank boat last made regionally in Suõnn′jel sijdd[1] of Petsamo in the beginning of the 20th century.

While sewn-plank boats have been produced around the world (Johnstone and McGrail 1988; McCarthy 2005; Prins 1986), including throughout Fenno-Scandinavia (Credland 1984; Forssell 1985a, 1985b; Westerdahl 1985), the Skolt Sámi boats of Suõnn′jel provide some of the most recently documented cases of fishing boats constructed with the sewn-plank technique. Various researchers, ethnographers, travellers, and writers recorded the making of watercraft with pine and spruce roots, or reindeer sinew, on the Kola Peninsula and across the Sámi regions, including accounts by Olaus Magnus and Johannes Schefferus in the 15th and 16th centuries (Luk'ianchenko 1971: 62-63), and more recently by Samuli Paulaharju (1914) and T.I. Itkonen (1948). When Finland ceded Petsamo territories to the Soviet Union at the end of the Second World War, Skolt Sámi communities of the western siid of Petsamo were relocated to new regions of northern Finland. Suõnn′jel Skolts resettled along a stretch of lakes with Če′vetjäu′rr as the village centre, Peäccam Skolts to the Njeä′llem area, and Paččjokk Skolts to Keväjäu′rr.

Mika, from south Finland with ancestry from the Karelian regions, had been apprenticed for six years to a North Sámi boat maker in Ohcejohka (F. Utsjoki), who had learned to make boats from his father. While these experiences connected Mika to the intergenerational

[1] *Sijdd* refers to the Skolt system of social and territorial organisation, comprising multiple households (see Hansen and Olsen 2014: 168-171; Nickul 1948; Tanner 1929).

learning of Sámi boat making, he lacked the roots of Skolt Sámi ancestry to piece together a Skolt Sámi root boat. The project was therefore carried out in the centre of Če′vetjäu′rr, in order to stimulate recollection of stories and embodied practices of Suõnn′jel root boat making. This was articulated as efforts 'to remember,' translated from Skolt Sámi *mu'štted* and Finnish *muistaa*.

In addition to place and bodily memory, archival and ethnographic records also provided means of recollection. Mika gathered general guidelines for making regional sewn-plank boats from T.I. Itkonen's (1948) volumes on Finnish Sámi, and handwritten archival pages from Samuli Paulaharju (1914). However, these texts did not provide sufficient details of construction, and in September 2014 Mika and collaborators from Siida Sámi Museum travelled to the National Museum in Helsinki. There they examined century-old root-sewn boats from Suõnn′jel, one commissioned by T.I. Itkonen and the other commissioned by the museum circa 1910. Not being able to observe the boat-making process, Mika did the next best thing and examined the material product. Through careful scrutiny and a boat-maker's skilled attention to the details of craftsmanship, he determined for example, how to attach the baseboards to the keel using a root sewing technique. The reconstruction of practices of making was not only a way to release the memories of human experience through art, as in Proust's *In Search of Lost Time,* but to reorder them in shaping futures.

In the case of the root boat and other projects of craft making in northern Finland, Sámi institutions provide avenues of collective remembering and reimagining (see Chapter 3). The Sámi-led Sámi Education Institute (SAKK) and Sámi Museum Siida, both based in Aanar (F. Inari), collaborated to sponsor the making of the root boat as a cultural revival and heritage initiative. SAKK is a secondary degree and vocational school promoting Sámi culture through courses in livelihood, craft, and language, while Siida supports indigenous counter histories through the display of Sámi objects past and present (see Chapter 3). Archaeologists and museum specialists at Siida intended the root boat project as community-collaborative, experimental, and documentary. The following objectives were outlined in the final report (Alava and Rantamäki 2016):

1. Restoring a lost crafting technique through experimental, interdisciplinary methods,
2. Building a boat together with the community, and

3. Documenting every work phase carefully and getting this film material for a number of purposes.

Beyond these official goals, the builders sought to rediscover an ancestral engagement with the environment of those who had made root boats--the perceptions and skills of collecting raw materials, moving through forest landscapes, working northern pine, and suturing planks together with roots. They called this embodied, practical knowledge *hiljainen tieto* (S. Sami: *jõõskâs teâtt*), or 'silent knowledge.' Mika explained:

> ‘We are building the boat because of this hiljainen tieto from thousands of generations. Today root boats require research, learning from the beginning. It used to be easier when people grew up with this knowledge. Suõnn′jel was isolated longer than surrounding areas, and tree roots instead of nails were used to join wooden planks. In south Finland this knowledge was lost generations earlier.’

'Hiljainen tieto' is a Finnish translation of the philosopher Michael Polanyi’s (1958) concept of 'tacit knowledge.' Hannele Koivunen brought this expression into academic usage in Finland with a book titled *Hiljainen Tieto* (1997) where the translation of 'tacit' to 'hiljainen' becomes literally 'silent.' The expression refers to deeply embodied skills, attentions, and techniques that cannot be broken down into discrete components. Instead, such nuances of movement and perception are learned through repetition and experiential practice beyond written text and formalised instruction. As the term has been mobilised by the root boat builders and others promoting Skolt Sámi cultural revival, the embodiment of hiljainen tieto subverts assimilative, capitalist forces of the Finnish state. It emphasises subsistence procurement instead of commercial consumption, valuing the embodied knowledge of how much pressure to apply when pulling roots through wooden planks using an antler tool, where and how to draw attention with the eyes and with the fingers. In this way hiljainen tieto also reflects discourse and practice that is temporal and spatial, articulating relationships across generations, and forming geographical imaginaries between north and south. In these conceptualisations, north represents rural, Sámi areas, while the south reflects urban, majority Finnish areas where techniques of production based on gathering of local materials fell out of use several generations earlier.

Reconstructions of boats have emerged around the world as part of global indigenous and social movements since the 1960s emphasising cultural identity and belonging (Niezen 2003). Boat making has marked indigenous movements across diverse populations, including First Nations of Northwest Territories (Andrews and Zoe 1998), Anishinabe (Frandy and Cederström 2017; Willow 2010), Coast Salish (Johansen 2012), and Polynesian groups (Finney 1994). Meanwhile, the reconstruction of wigwams (Willow 2010), totem poles (Rehackova 2017; Stewart 2009: 22-23), and foodways (Giovine, Mabry, and Majewski 2016; Magnani 2016), engage local ecologies to mobilise practical knowledge tied to land. These diverse practices reconstitute relationships with the land as vehicles of community building and wellbeing (Big-Canoe and Richmond 2014), while asserting indigenous presence within and beyond national boundaries.

Museums have further fuelled indigenous reconstructions, especially watercraft, through the exhibition and commissioning of vessels (e.g. Johansen 2012; Magnani and Magnani 2018). The Peabody Museum at Harvard University features the building of a Penobscot birch bark canoe in Maine in the early 2000s, constructed with roots of cedar and spruce, and pegs of maple wood. From 2016 to 2017, the Sainsbury Centre for Visual Arts in Norwich, England, commissioned and displayed a boat from Fiji constructed with wood and coconut fibres, and without metal parts. Meanwhile, artisans and other stakeholders from diverse regions, including Sámi areas, consult museum collections as part of contemporary social and political agendas (Magnani, Guttorm, and Magnani 2018).

As was the case for the Če′vetjäu′rr boat, reconstructions are well documented through written reports, books, and film, often in collaboration with researchers. Moreover, the case studies share a remarkably similar process, with stages of material collection, construction (often through consultation of museum collections and oral histories), and a launching ceremony commemorating continuity with indigenous homelands. Material collection emphasises reconnection with ancestral relationships to the environment, through awareness of seasonal cycles in the harvesting of raw materials, as well as associated spiritual and perceptual dimensions. The construction phase also focuses on reviving a particular engagement with natural materials and ancestral ways of doing and thinking, while highlighting concerns about who does the building and for whom, as the project may involve an instructor from outside the community but local participants (as in the Penobscot and

Če′vetjäu′rr cases). The final ceremony involves a public gathering for commemoration of the building process and resulting form, often with consecration or blessing according to local religious beliefs. From documentation to stages of production and ceremony, such initiatives engage relations to the past to create new futures, reinforcing a sense of community around connections to land and ancestry.

In the thesis I link stages of boat reconstruction--collection, building, and ceremony-- to other case studies elucidating the work of memory and making as assertion of indigenous continuity through relation to land in the building of social futures. I argue that interweaving practices of making with the materiality of resettlement environments, reinforces a sense of community by redefining the nature of spatial and temporal continuity to indigenous homelands. Furthermore, the thesis explores the negotiation of various ways of relating to the environment, and how this mediates intergenerational relationships for populations that migrate and remigrate, to shape what it means to be part of a Skolt Sámi community in the 21st century.

In this chapter I introduce visions of Skolt returns and futures, examining the key role of embodied memory and practice in mobilisations of engagement with the land. First, I discuss transformations of Skolt social, political, and ecological relationships since the Second World War, examining the effects of resettlement and Finnish national reconstruction, 're-education' through Finnish boarding schools, roads and migrations, and more recent cultural and linguistic revival. In this way, I contextualise efforts to rebuild social life through the establishment of indigenous relationships to land. Next I introduce my fieldsite, ethnographic methods, and positionality. I explore the changing role of the anthropologist in the Sámi regions, and how my research seeks an ongoing cultivation of accountability in anthropological practice. I then present a theoretical framework drawing on indigenous articulations, embodied memory, practical knowledge, and environmentally situated production, to understand indigenous mobilisations of practice tied to land as future-making.

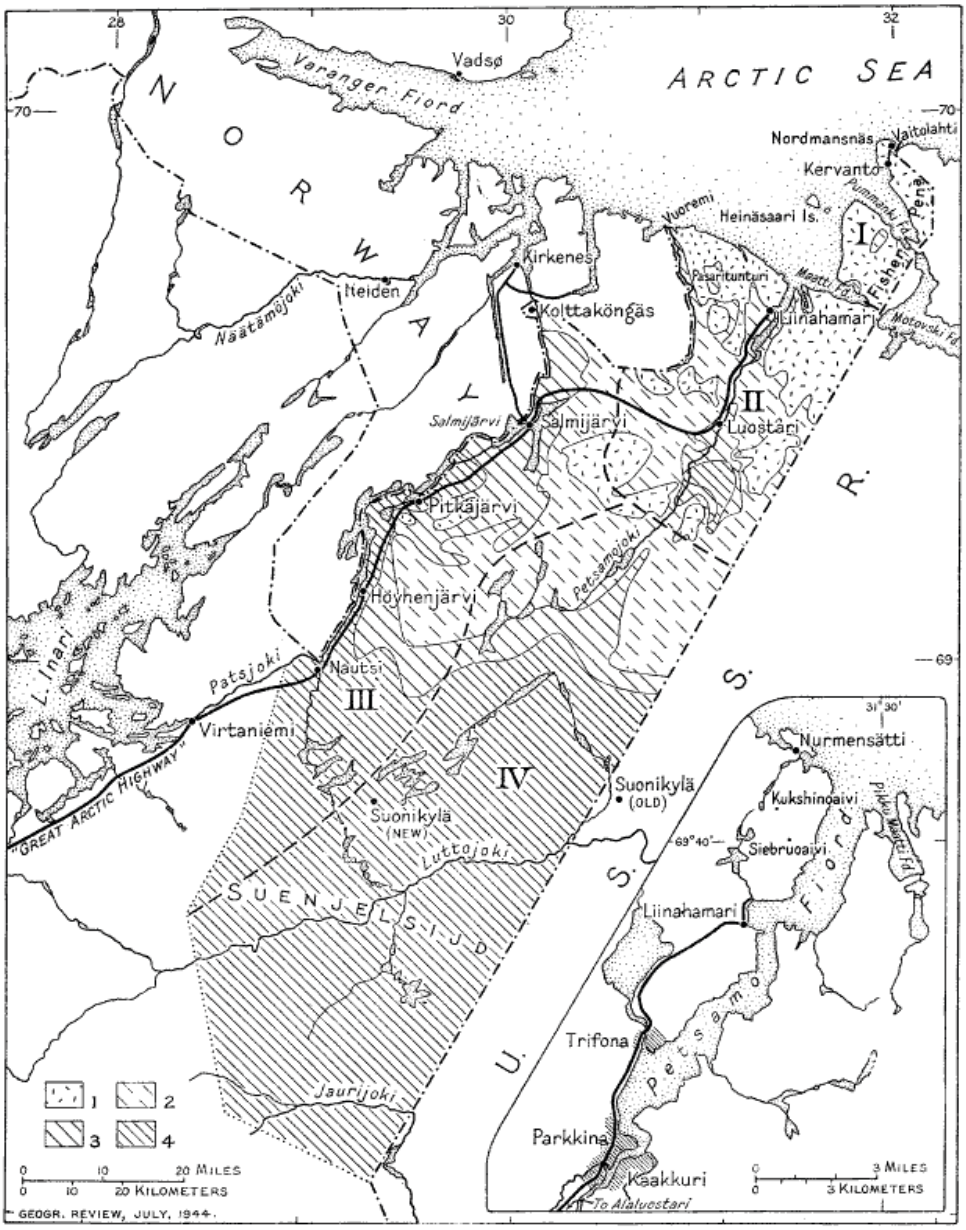


**Figure 2** *Petsamo region*. Area II represents Peäccam sijdd, Area III Paččjokk sijdd, and Area IV Suõnn′jel sijdd. Numbers represent vegetation zones: 1) tundra 2) birch scrub 3) birch-pine transition zone 4) coniferous forest. Map from 'The Petsamo Region' by Kuehnelt-Leddihn (1944).

**Transformations of Skolt life**

The Skolt homeland stretches from the Petsamo region on the Kola Peninsula to the adjacent mainland, and to Njauddâm sijdd on the coast extending into present-day Norway (see Figure 2). These territories were under taxation from multiple states and subject to the redrawing of borders (Andreson 2005; Linkola and Sammallahti 1995; Sergejeva 2000). However, the eastern siid and especially Suõnn′jel sijdd, which were under Russian rule until a treaty between Russia, Estonia and Finland in 1920, maintained their own system of social, economic, political and territorial organisation based on the *sååbbar,* or sijdd council.

The council, attended by household representatives, managed the egalitarian distribution and allocation of family territories (Nickul 1977). Especially in Suõnn′jel until the Second World War, Skolt sijdd organisation resembled most closely older systems of governance of other Sámi communities that had ended due to increased settler pressure (Ingold 1976: 2-3; Hansen and Olsen 2014; Nickul 1977: 1-2). Between 1601 and 1775, Skolt land and fishing rights were recognised and even protected from the Orthodox Church and settler encroachment by Russian royal decrees, documented on scrolls kept in a fir wooden chest (Nickul 1948; Mikkola in Ingold 1976: 4). In 1920 the Treaty of Tartu transferred governance of Skolt territories to Finland, beginning a period of colonial and ambivalent relations with Skolt populations (Nyyssönen, 2009). This period of Finnish colonial acquisition had drastic effects for the way of life of Skolt in Peäccam and Paččjokk siid, especially due to the selling of Skolt fishing rights to Norway, commercial fishing industries, and increased Finnish settlement (Lehtola 1999: 151). Skolt of Suõnn′jel sijdd, more distant from the major roads, continued their own system of governance and migratory lifeways, and kept the scrolls as a reminder of Skolt jurisdiction in Petsamo.

The annual gathering in the winter village, from Christmas until about April, was central to social and political organisation of Skolt territories. In the year 1938 in Suõnn′jel sijdd, before the outbreak of the Second World War, Skolt Sámi migrated between spring, summer, fall, and winter sites according to livelihoods of fishing, hunting, and reindeer herding (Nickul 1948). In the winter village they tended reindeer herds, collected firewood, made tools, dress, and other craft, but most importantly interacted with relatives and other social relations before continuing to dispersed household territories (Nickul 1977: 6). Children went

to school, adults went on trading trips, and everybody played games, visited homes, took part in group dances, songs, church services, weddings, and other occasions (Nickul 1948; Paasilinna 1992: 309; Paulaharju 1921: 40-42). Sääbbar meetings were held to discuss internal matters and interactions with surrounding siid (Linkola and Linkola 2002; Nickul 1977: 6-7; Tanner 1929: 345), as well as to deal with transgressions and punishment (Wallenius and Kännö 1994: 186). I focus in the following sections on the most recent social and political restructuring of Skolt life since the Second World War, in order to understand how Skolt returns and futures are being reimagined in relation to these transformations. At stake is the ability of Skolt to take control of their affairs on their own terms, to build vibrant community futures by establishing embodied memory and practice tied to the land of resettlement areas, while maintaining connections to original homelands in Petsamo.

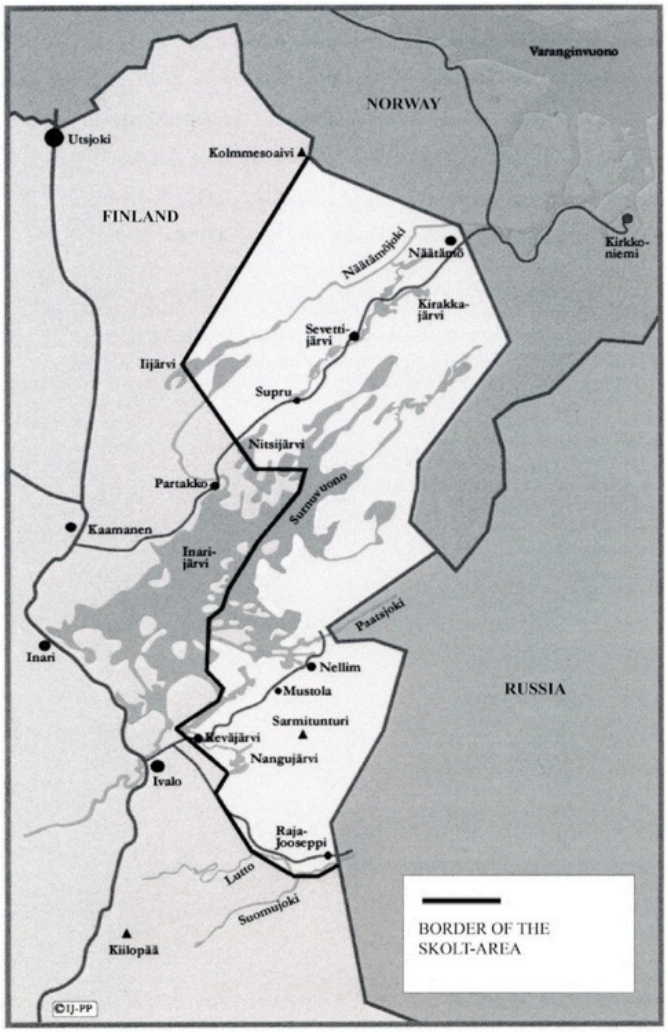


**Figure 3** *Map of* '*Skolt Area*.' This area is defined by the latest version of the Skolt Act (Kolttalaki 24.2.1995/253). The legislation grants Skolt Sámi certain land rights for herding, fishing, hunting, and other subsistence use. The Skolt Area includes the villages of Če′vetjäu′rr (F. Sevettijärvi), Njeä′llem (F. Nellim) and Keväjäu′rr (F. Keväjärvi). The map also depicts roads connecting Če′vetjäu′rr with Aanar (F. Inari), Â′vvel (F. Ivalo), and continuing south. Map adapted from version provided by Irja Jefremoff.

*Resettlement and national reconstruction*

After the evacuations and uncertainties of the Second World War, Finland ceded Petsamo territories to Russia. The Skolt village council voted to relocate to new villages to remain part of Finland instead of becoming part of the Soviet Union. Many of the younger generation had grown up when the Petsamo region was part of the Finnish state, and had fought alongside Finnish troops (Lehtola 1994: 171). Nevertheless, especially among older generations there was a deep sense of loss at the thought of never returning to Petsamo, to familiar reindeer pastures and herds, fishing waters, and migration territories. Skolt from Peäccam sijdd resettled in Njeä′llem (F. Nellim), Paččjokk sijdd in Keväjäu′rr (F. Keväjärvi), and Suõnn′jel sijdd in dispersed homesteads along a 60 kilometre stretch of lakes with Če′vetjäu′rr (Sevetti 'Lake') as the commercial and administrative centre (see Figure 3). The resettlement areas of the Suõnn′jel Skolt incorporated a significant portion of the original Njauddâm sijdd, while situating these populations close to the Skolt village of Njauddâm (Neiden), across the border in Norway. According to these new configurations, Skolt began adjusting to permanent settlement without the social gatherings of a winter village, or regular migrations between household territories. While two thirds of families built seasonal fishing cabins or huts, they nevertheless spent most of the year in the resettlement homes (Linkola and Linkola 2002).

The territories were designated by the Finnish government as the ‘Skolt Area’ (see Figure 3); while the Finnish Forest Service maintained ownership of forest land, Skolt could fish and herd reindeer, and had special rights to collect firewood, fell trees for building or other subsistence activities, construct fishing cabins, and keep and collect resources for livestock. At the same time the Act in certain cases restricted settlement and use of local resources by non-Skolt (Ingold 1976: 6; Pelto 1987: 20-21). Following reforms to the Skolt Act in the 1970s, Skolt are also able to build homesteads in the Skolt Area with subsidised construction costs (Jefremoff 2005: 8).

Following relocation, the role of the village headman was transformed from dealing with internal issues to direct arbitration between Skolt residents and Finnish government officials regarding Skolt policy (Ingold 1976: 219). The sääbbar was no longer the judicial authority in the region, as the Finnish administration managed legal affairs and policing of the area (Linkola 2002). Moreover, the lack of a winter village and the designation of permanent settlements ended previous sääbbar activities of land and resource allocation and distribution

(Sverloff 2003: 30). Skolt nevertheless maintained a certain level of self-governance compared to Inari and North Sámi groups who were also within Finnish borders, although resettlement meant being pulled more firmly into the grasp of the Finnish nation and dependency on the welfare state (Ingold 1976: 8).

The effects of resettlement and subsequent Finnish national reconstruction were reflected in the material transformations of Skolt life. Underlying these material shifts were novel engagements with local environments, as well as a deep restructuring of social organisation through new economic and political relations. After the German burning of the northern province of Lapland, the Finnish state built homes, roads and administrative infrastructure in the Sámi regions, which fuelled the growth of a monetary economy. Across northern Finland, there was a shift from preoccupation with self-sufficiency to efficiency--labour became valued based on profit so that small-scale farming, cattle keeping, and other forms of subsistence were replaced by jobs yielding income to purchase these same goods (Lehtola 2015). New technologies such as snowmobiles were readily adopted in the Skolt villages, making obsolete the production of sleds, harnesses, weaving, dress, seine-nets, and other easily available commercial and mechanised products by the 1970s (Pelto and Mosnikoff 1978). These changes accompanied growing rejection of 'traditionalism,' so that the maintenance of older technologies such as seine-nets became associated with poorer economic conditions (Ingold 1976: 94).

The monetary economy encouraged the supplementation or replacement of reindeer herding with seasonal employment (construction, service industry, forest service, and other wage labour), or social benefits from the Finnish government (Ingold 1976: 129; Itkonen 2012; Pelto 1962; Pelto 1987: 24). In 2001, social benefits constituted a significant portion of earnable income in the Skolt Area, with 23 percent from unemployment (although these numbers may reflect seasonal cycles of employment and unemployment), and 26 percent from retirement compensation. In Sevettjärvi, which is farther from centres with job opportunities, unemployment was higher than in other Skolt villages at 27 percent (Jefremoff 2005).

It is important to note that commercial consumption continues to be heavily supplemented by subsistence fishing, berry gathering, and exchanges of reindeer meat, both for families with

low income and for those of greater means. Therefore, as for other Arctic peoples, new economic and political relations are adapted to dynamic, constantly transforming indigenous lifestyles (Brody 1978; Kulchyski 1989). However, for younger generations seeking to revive lost forms of tacit knowledge and relationships to the land, the material and ecological changes have become symbols of increasing Skolt dependency on, and marginalisation within, the Finnish state.

*Re-education*

While older generations were socialised through the Russian education system, their school age children in resettlement territories were assimilated into Finnish boarding schools. With Finland's education reform in 1947, primary school-age children in remote rural areas had to leave home to attend centralised boarding schools (Lehtola 2015). Skolt children attended boarding schools in the Aanar area, returning only for Christmas and during the summers. This separated them from day to day socialization, as well as cultural and linguistic practices, in the Skolt villages.

At the schools Skolt experienced bullying by Finnish and other Sámi children, and therefore often chose not to reveal their Skolt backgrounds (Lehtola 2004: 67). Many children felt uneasy about being seen with their Skolt mothers, who wore Skolt clothing with the distinctive women's headdress, or *šaamšiǩ* (Linkola 2002; Semenoja 1995). Often teachers and dormitory caretakers forbade children from speaking Sámi (whether North, Inari, or Skolt). Due to these various pressures, most Skolt spoke Finnish and wore Finnish dress to negotiate lives within national structures.

The boarding school situation reflected Skolt marginalisation within an already marginalised Sámi minority (Lehtola 2004; Nyyssönen 2011). As Skolt were resettled in areas with Inari and North Sámi populations, tensions emerged regarding use of reindeer lands, fishing waters, and other resources. Moreover, Skolt faced discrimination as newcomers from territories that had become part of Russia. In northern Finnish regions of majority Lutheran faith and post-war animosity toward the Soviet Union, Skolt became marked by their Russian Orthodox religion, Orthodox icons, and Russian and Karelian influenced dress.

A generational divide emerged as younger people pulled away from material and immaterial markers of Skolt identity. Many adopted Finnish dress and even converted to Lutheranism. Meanwhile, older generations were drawn more closely to practices connecting them to the Skolt homeland. Orthodoxy was a way to 'preserve their own roots in an alien environment,' providing a means of social gathering and community affinity (Sergejeva 2000). In this way the generations educated in Finnish boarding schools were 'caught between scorn for the Skolt Sámi and the older generations' longing for Petsamo' (Linkola 2002: 205).

When the children of parents who attended Finnish boarding schools grew up according to a 'new model' of Skolt culture (Pelto and Mosnikoff 1978), the intergenerational, embodied differences of practice became deeply felt. This 'new model' was marked by the absence of language, distinctive elements of Skolt dress, ceremonies involving song and dance, group games, as well as craft and other skills of production (*ibid.*). The efforts of new generations to re-embody practices of their grandparents and Petsamo ancestors have been formed and narrated in relation to a 'middle' boarding school generation. Today, those of the 'middle' generation, too, have experienced a new cultural consciousness; many recount that while at the boarding schools they were eager to learn the Finnish language and cultural ways, but when they later witnessed a growing pride in Skolt culture, they became aware of the skills and habits that had been lost with Finnicisation. Current efforts to reweave practice and re-embody memory must therefore also negotiate relationships between generations.

*Roads and migrations*

From the late 1960s until the early 1980s, the construction and gradual paving of a road connecting Če′vetjäu′rr with Aanar, Â′vvel (F. Ivalo), and by extension the Finnish south, facilitated the movement of younger generations to southern towns and cities for work and study. In the early 1970s, about 75 of 395 Skolt lived outside the Skolt Area or were migrants (Ingold 1976: 7-8). The majority of these were young women who moved south in search of marriage and work, or married Finnish guards working on the border with Norway (Pelto 1987: 24). As family involvement in herding declined first with the relocation that ended seasonal family migration based on fishing and reindeer herding, women had less opportunity to participate in the herding economy, while the mechanisation of herding in the 1960s left many Skolt men unemployed who could not afford or compete with those with new technologies (Pelto and Mosnikoff 1978; Pelto 1987). Instead of searching for work away

from the northern villages like Skolt women, men rarely left the local area in search of wage labour, and when they did they usually returned (Pelto 1987: 24).

The out-migration has left an ageing and predominantly male population in northern Skolt villages; the area of Če′vetjäu′rr-Njauddâm has approximately 145 men and 103 women (Matinlompolo 2014), and a population decline of about 3 percent, in contrast to Aanar municipality recently experiencing population growth (Väestö alueittain ja vertailu 28.9.2012; Tilastotietoa Inarin kunnasta 2017). This phenomenon reflects common trends accompanying rural depopulation across Finland since the 1960s and 1970s, including demographic shifts of age and sex, and increasing perception of these villages as 'remote' based on distance from basic services (Abrahams 2006: 15). Moreover, constant threats of the cessation of services such as schools create larger obstacles to the perpetuation of Skolt community and language (Mazzullo 2017).

The reduced population of female inhabitants in the Skolt regions means that men are more likely to reside alone, while social and economic marginalisation, combined with assimilation histories, make alcoholism and depression persistent issues. Meanwhile, older people continue to move to nursing homes in Â′vvel 150 kilometres south because no such facilities exist in Če′vetjäu′rr. As houses along Sevetti Road have become more sparsely inhabited, residents report a dramatic decrease in visits with neighbours compared to post-war years. Therefore, much of the yearning for a reconstitution of social life recalls not only pre-war Petsamo, but also the early decades of resettlement in Če′vetjäu′rr before Skolt out-migration to Finnish towns and cities.

Rural depopulation reflects the ‘difficulties of marginality in a modern state,’ wherein as the standard of living increases, so do expectations (Barth 1963). The result is that ‘a disparity tends to persist between what is desired and what can be obtained locally of goods and amenities.’ This leads to the reproduction of migrations to urban centres from one generation to the next. In Finland, significant out-migration from rural areas created new expectations of living interwoven with increased emphasis on education (Abrahams 2006: 41).

Out-migration continues to be driven, and return migration constrained, by limited employment opportunities. Primary employers in Aanar are the municipality government,

border guard, and forest service (Tilastotietoa Inarin kunnasta 2017). In the northernmost province of Lapland overall, female dominated education, healthcare, and tourism sectors are prominent, while male sectors such as the construction industry, agriculture, and technology remain limited despite government funding for their development (Rantala 2013; Kari-Björkbacka 2012). Return migration, although a significant phenomenon that will be discussed in Chapter 1, unfortunately does not reverse the general trend of population decline. However, as these actors often lead cultural revival initiatives, return migration has certainly contributed to the resurgence of Skolt visibility in the northern areas, and therefore also sustained and revived a sense of Skolt community in relation to these places for those who live in other parts of the country. Thus even as statistics indicate population decrease in the northern Skolt regions, a sense of Skolt community grows to reinforce and redefine geographical boundaries of belonging to indigenous homelands.

At the same time that the new road led younger Skolt generations south, it also led Finnish settlers and travellers north. The road brought Finnish teachers, caretakers, nurses (especially women), and storeowners to the village centre (Pelto 1987: 20). Temporary travellers wandered north in search of 'wilderness,' intrigued by reindeer races, round-ups, and the Skolt Sámi people (*ibid*., 25). Meanwhile, researchers could also travel more easily to the places they learned about in ethnographic texts (see Chapter 4).

Like the southward migrations, the arrival of new Finnish settlers often led to marriages between Finnish women and Skolt men. Finnish partners of Skolt villagers are allowed to vote in the sääbbar, and are generally accepted as part of the Skolt Sámi community. Many have collaborated with Skolt in diverse endeavours discussed in the next section, from the development of Skolt orthography to the establishment of cultural organisations. Despite ambivalent attitudes toward more temporary residents--teachers and researchers who stay short-term--many of those who reside for prolonged periods take on valued roles in the advancement of Skolt interests (see Chapters 4 and 5). Meanwhile, Skolt women are more likely to return north along the same roads that stimulated a Skolt diaspora, and become the movers and visionaries of Skolt futures.

*Returns and futures*

In the 1970s a vibrant cultural revival became part of everyday Skolt life, which has continued and transformed into the 21st century. Fuelled by the internationalisation of a pan-Sámi and global indigenous movement in the 1970s (Minde 1996), the Skolt Sámi joined other Sámi within a wider international arena, supporting Sámi agendas in relation to the Finnish state, while continuing negotiation of Skolt-specific issues through the sääbbar. Today, Skolt participate in the Finnish Sámi Parliament (the current president is Skolt Sámi), and are protected by national legislation on Sámi cultural and linguistic autonomy.

Along with articulations of a Skolt Sámi indigeneity, the national boundary between Finland and Russia softened with the collapse of the Soviet Union. Skolt Sámi were able to visit relatives dispersed throughout areas of the Kola Peninsula, who had in many cases been entirely forgotten since the 1920 redrawing of borders, so that genealogies had to be retraced and reincorporated into family networks. Skolt visiting Suõnn′jel sijdd found homes abandoned, and witnessed the consequences of environmental destruction from nickel mines that had become part of a militarised and industrialised zone under Russian governance. At the same time, new social and material exchanges with Kola Sámi strengthened Skolt identity (Sergejeva 2000).

Practices of cultural and linguistic revival serve as loci of social engagement and connection to land, thus elevating the visibility and cohesion of Skolt community in relation to place. In the 1970s, several key Skolt actors collaborated with researchers and church officials to develop Skolt orthography and educational materials, Orthodox church texts (prayer books, songs, and the Gospel according to St. John), and church services in the Skolt language. They also consulted national archives to revive Skolt songs (leu'dd) (Pelto and Mosnikoff 1978). The making of craft and other forms of production using locally gathered materials, especially, anchor people to the land of resettlement areas and Petsamo, thus recentring a sense of belonging in relation to these places to counter assimilation and dispersal across Finland. The paved road facilitates gatherings based around cultural festivals and church events in the centre of the village. However, owing to the spatial restructuring that followed relocation, it has been difficult to achieve the same vitality of social life along the road, beyond organised events (Mazzullo 2017).

These developments are entangled with the expansion of Finnish institutional and financial structures into the northern regions; in the 1970s the government organised vocational courses to deal with rural unemployment through the teaching of artisanal skills. In Če′vetjäu′rr the majority of participants were Skolt women (Pelto and Mosnikoff 1978), who learned weaving, belt and headdress making, and leather working. In the 1980s such courses included basketry, Skolt male hats, and even the making of sweep-seines (Pelto 1987). While to some extent supporting families economically through the sale of craft to tourists, aided by the newly paved road to Če′vetjäu′rr, the initiatives provided institutional structures for Skolt to co-opt as avenues of community wellbeing (see Chapter 3).

The dominance of female participation and leadership in cultural revival reintegrates and transforms the role of Skolt women in subsistence lifeways affected by relocation, Finnish boarding schools and continuing migration away from northern Skolt homelands. Today the collection and processing of raw materials for craft and food complements reindeer herding and fishing, yet may also occur in different contexts than it would have when families migrated together seasonally; for example, gathering may be completed as separate tasks, or during organised courses, instead of as part of another subsistence routine. On the other hand, getting men involved in craft making seeks to repair the impacts of social isolation for those (predominantly men) who did not migrate away from the Skolt regions. Thus one of the main beliefs about the root boat project, as well as other productions of traditionally male craft, is that repairing gender imbalances of Skolt participation in social life, and linking these practices to the land of the resettlement areas, may also heal histories of displacement, assimilation, and out-migration that have radically transformed the ways in which people engage with one another.

As the efforts continue in 2018, supported by various cultural, educational, and political institutions (see Chapter 3), there are approximately 300 Skolt speakers, while cultural projects bring people together in the reweaving of Skolt memory and practice. It is these returns today, in their rearticulations as future-making to assert indigenous continuity and presence on the land, that form the focus of this thesis.


**Figure 4** *Če'vetjäu'rr Road and Centre.* An artist's rendition of Če′vetjäu′rr. Structures/numbers may stand for a cluster of buildings, and represent location rather than actual appearance: 1) Če′vetjäu′rr school, old dormitories, and village workshop, 2) Skolt House (S. Sámi, Sää′mmpõrtt, F. Kolttatalo) 3) Health centre and accommodation, 4) boat site, 5) Orthodox church 6) cemetary, 7) Peuralammen camping, 8) Peuralampi (pond) (S. Sámi Kå′ddlädd) 9) Heritage House and outdoor museum, 10) Sevetti bar, 11) Row house accommodation, 12) Če′vetjäu′rr Road (F. Sevettijärventie), 13) Če′vetjäu′rr (Sevetti Lake). (Image by Dmitriy Danilov)

## Methods against disorientation

*Fieldsite, access, and production*

The research focuses on my first phase of ethnographic fieldwork in Če′vetjäu′rr--14 months from 2014 to 2015--out of a total of 26 months across multiple sites of northern Finland. In July 2014 I arrived in Če′vetjäu′rr and settled into a dorm room of an old school building, in use during post-war years before the building of Če′vetjäu′rr Road (F. Sevettijärventie) in the 1970s. My location was 'Če′vetjäu′rr Centre,' about as central as one can live along the 60 kilometres of quiet and dispersed homes of Če′vetjäu′rr Road. As depicted in Figure 4, I lived in the same building that housed the village workshop owned by SAKK, which had machines and spaces for wood, antler and other craft making. Also in the same building was a seasonal space that in the summer served as the Skolt craft exhibition and shop, selling work by local

artisans, and in the winter provided a space of gathering for craft making or SAKK courses. Adjacent to my dorm room was the primary and lower secondary school, and across the yard the joined health centre and apartment complex. Within short walking distance the Skolt House held offices of the village headman and the Skolt Sámi Cultural Foundation. Down the road toward Aanar stood the Heritage House (the Če′vetjäu′rr post of the Siida Sámi Museum focused on Skolt culture), and the Orthodox Church and meeting house. Tucked away from the road, tourist and row house accommodation (where I later settled) was situated next to the once bustling Sevetti Bar, which closed during my first stage of fieldwork and re-opened during the second.

As I did not have a vehicle for all but two months of the first phase of fieldwork, my daily movements and participant observation extended from the centre of the village out along Če′vetjäu′rr Road. The few public gatherings in the Če′vetjäu′rr area occurred in this centre, including cultural festivals and workshops organised by the Skolt Sámi Cultural Foundation and Siida Sámi Museum, concerts and holiday meals at the school, monthly church services, and craft gatherings at the old school building. I attended all of these events, and as such experienced the organised dimensions of social life that would provide avenues for more informal participation. I quickly became acquainted with school teachers and employees, attendees of cultural events, workers at the Heritage House, taxi drivers, and locals at the bar. Through these connections I left the centre to participate in everyday life along Če′vetjäu′rr Road.

My methods centred on participant observation deepened through semi-structured interview, following narratives and practices of sensory engagements between people and land. Therefore, my fieldwork, analysis and writing methods also explore the multi-sensory experience of such everyday practice in Če′vetjäu′rr (cf. Goodman 2017; Sharman 2007; Stoller 1989). Extending Paxson's (2016) 'ecologies of production'-- engagements with the environment that shape emerging material forms--I explored dimensions of these interactions that establish connections with land, rework practice, and reconstitute social relations. This meant that I both observed and participated in the collection and preparation of natural materials from local environments, focusing on how these efforts reconfigure forms of practical knowledge and interweave them with the land in new ways.

Focus on specific engagements with the environment beyond reindeer herding and fishing was due to reasons of gender and access, as well as the epistemological significance of such ecologies and politics of production for the understanding of indigenous movements. First, while Skolt Sámi reindeer herding and fishing have been extensively studied (e.g., Ingold 1976; Itkonen 2012; Pelto 1987), craft and other gathering-based practices have been sparsely examined since earlier ethnographies by T.I. Itkonen (1921, 1948) (for exceptions see Bergman et al. 2004; Bogdanova 2016; Kytölä 1999; Pelto and Mosnikoff 1978; Magnani 2016). Yet such activities constitute the primary avenues of individual, collective and institutionally driven *reconnection* with the land as political action. Secondly, reindeer herding and fishing in the Skolt Sámi community tend to be male-dominated, accessed through family networks, and practiced across lakes, forests, and fells far from the village centre. As a woman new to the village living in Če′vetjäu′rr Centre without my own transport, I initially had easiest access to community projects in the centre of the village, mostly led or dominated by women, and which focused on the making of craft and demonstrations of local plant use. I was also able to partake in projects like the construction of the root boat, which although male-dominated was more approachable due to its location in the centre of the village.

Initial access considerations also involved the question of language. While I was learning Finnish and Skolt Sámi at the beginning of my fieldwork, the people with whom I connected were younger Skolt and Finns in their 20s and 30s who spoke proficient English. Such language proficiency reflected our common influences from urban and university centres, and therefore overlapping (albeit different forms of) interest in culture and revival. As I attended workshops and gatherings organised or taught by these active young people, and sponsored by SAKK and the Skolt Sámi Cultural Foundation, I learned to make beaded and woven belts, the tanning of reindeer hides with willow bark, knife-making, and of course, how to sew boats together with roots. These institutionally mediated projects provided some of the few opportunities to engage socially in the village in public spaces (see Chapter 3). Therefore, they initially formed the core of my daily fieldwork experience, deepened through conversation and interview that illuminated the meaning of memory, culture, land, and community, and life histories of cultural returns and future-making.

Early interactions with regular attendees and leaders at public gatherings led to individual meetings and friendships. We visited each other to exchange village news and life stories, work on craft, or take trips into the surrounding forests and swamps to collect shoe hay (used for warm stuffing in reindeer fur boots), berries, mushrooms, tea leaves, and pie′cc (the inner bark of pine, *Pinus sylvestris*).

As my language skills in Finnish and Skolt Sámi improved, especially after the first six months, I was able to spend more time with older people in Če′vetjäu′rr and surrounding areas. Over tea or coffee, I conducted semi-structured life history interviews related to experiences of environment, culture, and identity. In addition, I joined older Skolt Sámi individuals and couples on trips to the forest to pick blueberries and mushrooms, slogged through muddy swamps to pick cloudberries, fished in local lakes, and participated at reindeer separations (*S. Sámi, pikalõs*). While the revival of production practices remained the focus of the study, and not fishing and reindeer herding, through these interactions I was able to compare the meanings ascribed to engagements with the land across generations and occupations.

During a subsequent 12 months of fieldwork between August 2016 and 2017 in Aanar, Â′vvel and surrounding villages (including three months in Če′vetjäu′rr), I further examined the politics of Sámi craft production. Aanar attracts Sámi from all over Finland to the Sámi Education Institute to learn Sámi language, handicrafts, and vocational skills (see Chapter 3). It is also the seat of the Sámi Parliament and therefore the political centre of the Sámi homeland. Although much of the material from this latter fieldwork is beyond the scope of the current thesis, it has provided a deeper understanding of the political dimensions of everyday life in Če′vetjäu′rr, and long-term perspective on the effects of projects like the root boat, while contributing to insights and deepening analysis through sharing of work with key interlocutors. The main case studies, with an exception in Chapter 1 focusing on an account from Â′vvel, remain focused on the first 14 months of research in Če′vetjäu′rr.

*Cultivating ethnographic accountability*

Since the 1990s anthropologists have recognised the necessity of courses in anthropological methods to prepare students for fieldwork, and as a subject of study in itself (Hastrup and Hervik 2005; Okely 2016; Okely and Callaway 1992). However, the idea remains that the

unpredictability of specific fieldwork context necessitates a great deal of the ethnographic methods to be worked out *in the field* (Okely 2012). Of course, many things cannot be planned for in advance--my own initial focus on plants, healing, and environmental change shifted to environment and memory when a study of specific plant-human relationships led to everyday efforts of cultural remembering. Yet the expectation that the fieldworker will figure out ethnographic practice in the field may be an extension of the problematised conception of culture outlined by Wagner (1981), who describes the first months of fieldwork being marked by a sense of loneliness, helplessness, inadequacy, and that the anthropologist 'as a person he must start from scratch,' with his 'effectiveness as a person undermined' (*ibid.*, 14). I therefore address my research methods as a sustained effort to subvert potential continuities of historically problematised aspects of anthropological practice, through pursuit of ethnographic fieldwork and analysis aimed toward decolonising methodologies of transparency (Smith 2013), and *against* the social and theoretical distancing of what Wagner describes as 'disorientation.'

Indeed, Wagner's account of the confused fieldworker in *The Invention of Culture* made me laugh with unsettling emotion upon returning to Cambridge University, as I reflected on those early months of fieldwork and my arduous journey. I had settled in a place where I knew no one, and sought to become part of the community, initially not knowing the language(s) (in this case Finnish and Skolt Sámi) to communicate and understand something of peoples' lives. Moreover, like most anthropologists I had to figure out whether the topic I set out to research was researchable, for a viable topic, especially in indigenous communities with a long and difficult history of interaction with outside researchers, depends on finding a common ground between the training of the anthropologist and the interests of the local people.

The process of knowledge production by western institutions has been criticised by indigenous communities around the world (Smith 2013), including the Sámi regions (Lehtola 2005), as historically representing manipulation of power inequalities in the advancement of one's career, and larger colonial structures in which research legitimises national policy, thus further marginalising the people whose narratives inform the academic text. Scholars working in indigenous communities must grapple with this history on an everyday basis; however, during the first months of fieldwork the experience feels incredibly personal, and concerns

about the reproduction of colonial histories become part of an overwhelming anxiety surrounding the potential of existential failure. Wagner (1981:14) states rather humorously:

> ‘The immediate problems facing the beginning fieldworker are not likely to be academic or intellectual; they are practical, and they have a definite cause. Disoriented and dazed as he may be, he often encounters a good deal of trouble in getting settled and making contacts.’

The early sense of disorientation and helplessness was not aided by my arrival in early July, the height of mosquito season. Pulling up in a rental car, which I would have only for a few weeks before relying on travel by foot and carpool, I could see and hear swarms of mosquitoes devising their entrance in anticipation of the door opening. I was greeted by a Skolt Sámi woman who had also recently moved to the village (see Chapter 1 on return migration). 'It’s not luxurious,' she warned, leading me to my room, which had the slight scent of mould, then toward the communal bathroom at the end of the hallway, and the shower down the stairs in a crypt-like basement. I was grateful to have found any accommodation at all in a remote village like Če′vetjäu′rr (Gauriloff and Harju 31.1.2015), within a municipality facing chronic housing shortages (Kivelä 6.5.2013).

Amid the practicalities of settling into a new life in a new place, and the overwhelming sense of inadequacy and loneliness this process entails, one begins making contacts not for the purposes of research but in a desperate attempt to communicate with other human beings and to repair that sense of inadequacy (Wagner 1981:15). In fact, some argue that these initial experiences and emotions, at a desperate time of perceived incompetence, end up determining what material gets drawn out in analysis and writing (Kohn 2003). My research had already begun that day amongst swarms of mosquitoes and an intense need for human connection, influencing my later writing on cultivating relationships with people and the local environment. Moreover, my search for human connection led me to the few large social gatherings in the village--cultural workshops and events intended as means of community interaction and wellbeing.

My efforts at getting to know people in a place where the process of getting to know is always slow, were made more difficult by being a newcomer to the area. As Wagner (1981)

explains, 'All these circumstances stem from the fact that people are usually uncomfortable with a stranger in their midst, more especially with an outsider who may be crazy, dangerous, or both' (14) and who, 'like a child, keeps asking questions and must be taught everything…' (15). In Če′vetjäu′rr and wider Sámi areas, outsiders are associated with a long history of state intrusion into Sámi lives, through taxation, church institutions, state boarding schools, and questionable research (see Chapter 4).

Despite these disadvantages, my integration into village life after the first several months was rather accelerated compared to Finns who had moved to Če′vetjäu′rr from elsewhere in northern and southern Finland. They spoke of the 'three year rule'-- the period of time that must pass before one begins to feel part of the Če′vetjäu′rr community.

There are many factors that influenced my fast acceptance, including being relatively approachable as a young foreign woman. The villagers joked that I was ‘crazy enough’ to move to a place as rural as Če′vetjäu′rr, where the ratio of men to women is approximately 1.5: 1, with the majority of the population middle-aged and older (Matinlompolo 2014). In addition, my studying Skolt Sámi was appreciated, while my Russian-American background provided a level of comradery with Če′vetjäu′rr villagers, who had faced discrimination following the Second World War as newcomers from territories that had become part of Russia.

The main reason, however, was that I sought connection in a place where people reminisced of a time when the community had been more connected. They spoke of life in Petsamo, and even after the relocation, before the exodus of young people to the south in the 1960s and 70s, and resettling of older people to nursing homes in Â′vvel, especially in the past decade. Among those I regularly visited and interviewed, some lived alone, others with a partner, but few routinely made home visits to others along Če′vetjäu′rr Road, or attended village gatherings at the school or church. People appeared pleasantly surprised by my spontaneous visits, recalling how houses used to receive a regular stream of unexpected guests, who would walk through the door without knocking throughout the day and into the evening. I therefore had the sense that my visits were somewhat of a revival, and I gladly called on friends also without knocking, knowing that this often brought joy into lives that had come to be marked by solitude.

In many ways, fieldwork, with an emphasis on participant observation, is a kind of embodied experience of dwelling and movement, marked as anthropological practice through continual reflection on this experience (cf. Herzfeld 2009; Jenkins 1994; Kohn 2003). This means not staying at home with the curtains drawn and food delivered through a portal in the wall (although this may be fruitful material for its own ethnographic account), but quite simply getting out of the house or other shelter, to participate in community events, and take part in discussions of social, political, and economic issues that impact people everyday. The position of the anthropologist is unique from that of a shorter-term researcher, or any newcomer for that matter, because the process of long-term fieldwork creates social relationships that shape not only a written product, but also a sense of allegiance to the people with whom one works (see Chapter 4).

Wagner (1981) recognised there was an issue in a concept of 'learning' during fieldwork, for one does not arrive as a *tabula rasa*: 'the anthropologist cannot simply "learn" the new culture and place it beside the one he already knows, but must rather "take it on" so as to experience a transformation of his own world' (17). The need for reflexive anthropology has been well researched since the 1970s (Crick 1985; Rabinow 1977; Scholte 1972), along with critique on ethnographic writing (Clifford and Marcus 1986; Crapanzano 1976; Geertz 1988), fieldwork relationships (Crapanzano 1980; Dumont 1978), and even the concept of 'the field' itself (Gupta and Ferguson 1997). Furthermore, Wagner's *Invention of Culture* is part of a wider questioning of the concept of culture in anthropology (Clifford 1988; Rosaldo 1989).

In his study of the development of ethnography, Clifford (1988) discusses how practices were rejected only to emerge in new form. Moving beyond such reproduction of poor ethnographic practice historically, this dissertation evolves in dialogue with questioning and negotiation of the ways in which these same issues may be recurring today. Beyond exploring my own position throughout this thesis, especially in the fourth chapter, I consider potential continuities and remediations of problematised ethnographic relationships and conceptions of culture, as well as continued issues of research in indigenous communities more broadly.

Despite reforms to anthropological methods, through rejection of the objectification of difference as culture (Wagner 1981), and the place of research as somehow spatially and

temporally distant (Fabian 1983: 111), the expectation of some form of ‘shock’ remains for the anthropological fieldworker. Wagner (1981:17) postulates that there is risk in fieldwork of ‘subjecting oneself to situations beyond one's normal interpersonal competence and objectifying the discrepancy as an entity’ (the essentialised entity here being 'culture'). Despite modern anthropology's distancing from such essentialised notions of people's lives, I ask whether by continuing to take for granted some level of ‘shock’ and ‘disorientation’ in the ethnographic process, if there remains objectification in fieldwork as a 'self-afflicted right of passage,' entangled with conceptions of authenticity problematic for the anthropologist today seeking to deconstruct, not spectate, authenticity (cf. Theodossopoulos 2013).

Remediation is made more difficult in the absence of clear formula, only guidelines, for the transfer of everyday embodied practice to written text. As such, many things are shaped and reshaped, formed and reformed in that transfer; this occurs in dialogue with anthropological theory, conversations with individuals, and lived experience, both at the place of research and academic institutions. 'I don’t know if you understood what I meant, or if I even meant what I meant,' friends in Finland often warned me, voicing concerns that their spontaneous utterances would be written up as 'facts' for posterity. I took these concerns seriously, and have continued dialogue and collaborative analysis with those whose experiences and voices have helped to shape this thesis. In the written manifestation of these interactions, building on a total of 26 months in the Sámi regions, I reflect on the co-production of anthropologist and informant histories, exploring how they interweave to structure ethnographic text.

Beyond a deepening of ethnographic material and analysis, I took the opportunity in this second stage of research to refine methods of my initial fieldwork. While the initial stage of fieldwork was marked by the uncertainties and introversion of first-time ethnographic research, I revisited this work in the second phase of fieldwork according to decolonising methodologies stressing transparency of ethnographic practice (Smith 2013). This highlighted the co-production of research not only as ethical practice, but also as improvement of insights and analysis. During visits to Če′vetjäu′rr throughout the year, and during a longer stay between June and August of 2017, I shared the progression of written work with key interlocutors, discussed theoretical interpretation of those 14 months in Če′vetjäu′rr, and engaged critical feedback for revisions. Through these sessions I demonstrated anthropological methods as being ongoing--moulded through informal conversation, shared

activity, and more structured interview. Through these processes a constant exchange of ideas shaped emerging research questions, analysis, and the written product. Responses to the dissertation text stimulated insights and reinterpretations that were integrated into the writing, while providing a basis for continued fieldwork, collaborative analysis, and sharing of written work in which the ethnographic process could be further demystified and reflected upon consciously in its progression. As part of these efforts, the chapters of this thesis critically situate and examine the anthropologist within the work of memory in a Skolt Sámi community.

**Indigenous future-making and the material environment**

In countering histories of dispossession by nation states, indigenous movements have become inextricably entangled with articulations of identity tied to land (Clifford 2013; Niezen 2016). The 'environment' as evoked in the Skolt Sámi case by the term luâtt (*Fi. luonto*), meaning nature, expresses relationship to land--forest, fells, swamps, and their materials for everyday subsistence (see Chapter 2). In this sense, environment is a rather broad term referencing the non-built (yet comprising materials used for construction), and the meanings with which it is imbued. Considering Clifford's (2004) 'traditional futures' through the lens of memory and practice, I shall show how establishing connections with resettlement environments draws on the past to negotiate conditions of displacement, and create visions for the future. As such, 'tradition is not a wholesale return to past ways, but a practical selection and critical reweaving of roots' (Clifford 2004). Such reweaving allows people to redefine what it means to live as a community in ways that transform the effects of displacement and movement within national and transnational structures. Experiences of land and ancestry embody and ground these articulations.

In the thesis I argue that the making of things using materials from resettlement environments links contemporary practice with that of indigenous homelands to construct a sense of community. To explore the tangible mechanisms by which these attachments are reinforced, I follow the reworking of memory and practice through the revival of production skills that are embodied and environmentally situated. Such reworkings allow people to mobilise the past to build social futures, and in the process to reconcile competing visions of Skolt Sámi life to form collective efforts toward the distinctiveness and cohesion of Skolt community.

While studies of indigenous movements have focused on connections to land, the interplays of memory and practice are often not the focus of analysis, despite the crucial ways in which they shape identities tied to the land. Moreover, research has centred on memories of lost homelands rather than the physicality of actual resettlement environments as vehicles of emotional attachment and collective remembrance. In the sections that follow, I develop a theoretical framework of memory and practice to explain how people use embodied processes of making to mobilise engagement with resettlement places in the building of social futures. This centres on three interconnected threads: 1) indigenous (re)articulations 2) connections of land and memory and 3) the role of making things in mediating these attachments.

*Reweaving indigenous roots of practice*

In the 1970s, memory discourse coincided with a surge of interest in cultural 'roots.' In his seminal book *The Past is a Foreign Country,* Lowenthal describes how post-war nostalgia led to an arts and crafts movement that focused on the revival of pre-industrial craft (Lowenthal 2015: 17). In the same decade, across the ocean and at approximately 69.5 degress north in the Skolt regions of Arctic Finland, Pelto and Mosnikoff (1978: 210) described a similar enthusiasm for ancestry and culture as critique of rapid social and economic transformations:

> 'The most intangible, yet psychologically real component in the ethnicity picture may still turn out to be the struggle of all modern humanity against the continuing tide of mass-produced anomic, commercially produced life-style. The very widespread phenomenon of 'Roots', the great reawakening of interest, everywhere, in cultural-historical origins on which to base individual and group identification, is too pervasive and captivating to be simply a passing fad.'

Despite the ubiquity of a 'memory crisis' marked by feelings of disconnect from the past (Terdiman 1993), a global indigenous movement seeking the roots of ancestral practice must be explained beyond a notion of the past as virtue in its own right, but showing how and why it is mobilised and reconfigured to enact visions for the future. In writing about 'tradition' and historical continuity, Shils (2006) discusses how people use the past to guide future generations, especially to repair consequences of historical events to 'make their society and its future history entirely in accordance with their desires' (199). But what do these futures

look like, and how can desires be achieved through practice? Among indigenous communities seeking to maintain the distinctiveness and cohesion of community, what historical threads do people weave into contemporary social fabrics, and how are lifeways past, present, and future reimagined in the process? In this sense the work of memory is not just the reweaving of practice, but its very 'roots,' which are regrown to thrive in new lands, as well as novel social and political climates.

More than a response to de-localising global forces (Dove 2006; Scott 1998), from the 1960s a global indigenous movement emerged as part of an international focus on human rights and identity politics (Niezen 2003). It arose through the proliferation of international forums and guidelines on indigenous rights (United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and the International Labour Organisation), and the building of networks between different regional and kin-based groups worldwide who re-defined themselves as 'indigenous' in relation to respective nation states (Dove 2006). What these diverse groups had in common was ‘the notion that they have all been oppressed in similar ways for similar motives by similar state and corporate entities’ (Niezen 2003: 4). These forums and networks have provided means of negotiation between indigenous interests and national structures.

In efforts to define indigeneity, the United Nations and International Labour Organisation emphasise cultural distinctiveness, self-identification, marginalised position within nation states, and prior occupation (Levi and Maybury-Lewis 2012). Within such definitions, common indigenous experiences of displacement and attempted assimilation constitute a paradox; communities must have experienced marginalisation and disruption of lifeways, but not enough to have lost a way of life distinct from majority society, and despite land dispossession must still lay claim to their original homelands. Assertions of continuity with land and ancestry serve to negotiate these paradoxes.

The maintenance of family ties and social relations, especially within a geographical area, or otherwise through language and material culture, ensures the continuing distinction and visibility of an indigenous community in relation to surrounding populations. Therefore, while reconfiguring identity vis-a-vis other groups and state governments, the emergence of a global indigenous movement has also stimulated reaffirmations of attachment to region and family. When the Sámi movement achieved greater influence through global indigenous

forums, Sámi from different regions were unified politically, embracing commonalities while being made aware of distinctions of practice in relation to each other. The rearticulation of Skolt identity within a Sámi and global indigenous movement reproduces existing connections to Skolt populations of the Kola Peninsula, and to specific sijdd and families, while shaping new alliances with Sámi groups across Fenno-Scandinavia, and with indigenous communities globally, in ways that reconfigure political relations with the Finnish state. Parallelling this process, the establishment of relationships to the land of resettlement areas anchors Skolt identity across space and time--from the original homeland to subsequent sites of relocation and diasporic movement.

Scholarship on indigeneity as articulation and political process (Clifford 2013; Li 2000), builds on studies of identity as articulated, positioned, emergent, and 'always in process' (Hall 1990, 1996). According to this orientation, indigenous returns interweave a sense of rootedness to land with the experience of mobility and displacement (Clifford 2013). This critiques and presents an alternative to scholarship on the 'invention' of tradition (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1991) and culture (Hanson 1989), especially problematised when dealing with indigenous movements (Kuper 2003). Instead, tradition reflects process and change, and it is these transformations that create continuity (Lehtola 2004; Toren 2005). As connection to land is entangled with movements toward recognition of indigenous identity and rights (Lee 2006; Niezen 2016), articulations and transformations of this connection, rather than judgements of its authenticity, may be centred as the focus of analysis.

Moving beyond the surface of such expressions, theories of practice provide points of entry into the mechanisms that form and reform social and spatial boundaries of community life. While Odner (1985) described the emergence of Sámi identity based on Barth's (1969) *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries,* exploring economic and political interactions with Finnish-speaking farmers and traders, and Germanic groups before the first millenium, Hansen and Olsen (2014) develop these ideas further by integrating Bourdieu's theory of practice. They argue that through interaction with other groups, doxic ways of doing, thinking, and knowing become sources of ethnic consciousness, and thus stimulate expression of certain material and immaterial elements (*ibid.*, 44). In the thesis I go further to explore the embodied processes by which practice is made conscious to reimagine particular ways of life as loci of community cohesion.

*Lands of memory*

What processes connect land and memory, and how do these connections create a sense of community and continuity across space and time? The reinforcement of relationships between displaced populations and ancestral homelands has often been analysed as the work of memory itself; memories of homelands form as 'imagination of places from a distance' (Gupta and Ferguson 1992), and beyond geographical boundaries (Van Gelder 2008). While this literatiure more often focuses on a sense of loss, for many indigenous populations, displacement and mobility are central to the experience and articulation of indigeneity (De la Cadena and Starn 2007), as well as rootedness to indigenous homelands (Clifford 2007). Experiences of uprooting stimulate efforts to bridge temporal and spatial distance through storytelling (Cruikshank and Argounova 2000), encounters with ancestral spirits (Buyandelger 2013), and continuity of land-based lifeways in new form (Fienup-Riordan 2007). In this way movement orients people more strongly in relation to place (Casey 1993: 286-289). Clifford (2013: 63) argues that rootedness emerges because:

> '[...] people living exiled from ancestral places often sustain and revive a yearning, an active memory of land. The grounding, however tenuous, offers a sense of depth and continuity running through all the ruptures and attachments, the effects of religious conversion, state control, new technologies, commodities, schooling, tourism, and so on.'

However, what are the actual practices of memory that anchor people simultaneously to multiple lands? The materiality of the environment, especially of resettlement areas, provides a unique lens by which to examine the formation and reinforcement of such attachments. Considering the Navajo relocation, Casey (1993: 36-37) describes how loss of land creates loss of memory, especially as people learn by engaging with places that evoke collective memory. But what if the materialities of new environments can also produce collective memory connected to homelands? In this way, displacement does not mean the loss of memory, but rather the formation of new avenues of recollection.

The work of Ingold has especially examined the experience of land among diverse indigenous populations, linking environment and memory through the unfolding experience

of inhabiting the land, and using a relational approach between concepts of ancestry, land, memory, generation, and substance (Ingold 2000: 132-152). Drawing on the concept of 'dwelling' by Heidegger, Ingold (2000) examines engagement with the environment through the intimacy of inhabiting the land, learned through 'education of attention' to seasonal rhythms of subsistence resources (*ibid.*, 22). The thesis explores an engagement with the environment that is active and conscious, mobilised as reconfiguration of practice through new relationships with the land.

In such environmentally situated memory making, landscape and ecological features serve as mnemonics in stimulating recollection (Connerton 1989; Basso 1996). These may be organic and regenerating materialities; for example, trees come to symbolise the continuity and renewal of generation and community (Rival 1998). Trees are also used as metaphors for dislocation. The mourning of destroyed villages and displacement in Palestine is commonly expressed through mapping and depictions of uprooted olive trees and abandoned orange trees (Connerton 2009: 7-8). Thus landscape features do not necessarily evoke memories only through their presence, but through reflections on their absence. Themes of land and memory, continuity and change, presence and absence emerge in the framing of the thesis around the building of the boat and associated case studies, from the training of environmental perception in the collection of trees and roots, to working them to create material forms, and to the renewal of final ceremony.

The new social, political, and ecological environment of resettlement territories, combined with the traumas of relocation and memories of Petsamo, fostered a longing in those who had left Petsamo to return home. They recalled landscapes of familiar place names, associated stories, and ecological features (Pelto and Mosnikoff 1978). At the same time, they were acutely aware of the insufficiencies of resettlement environments--the poorer fishing waters, hunting grounds for game, and reindeer pastures (Pelto 1987: 20-23).[2] While Suõnn′jel had a substantial coniferous zone (see Figure 2), in Če′vetjäu′rr Skolt families noticed that the ground was rockier, and the thinner pine and birch forests not as favourable to the collection of pie′cc, or pine inner bark previously used in daily meals (Magnani 2016). Thus longing for Petsamo became embodied in a sense of lost and damaged homelands (Goodman 2010;

[2] This was especially due to the fact that relocation areas for Suõnn′jel Skolt were selected based on reindeer herding lands instead of fishing waters, even though fishing constituted the core of Skolt livelihood and subsistence (Mazzullo 2017).

Stewart 1996). Trees, lakes, rocks, plants and animals of resettlement areas reflected that which had been lost and replaced by new and relatively poorer ecologies without Skolt histories.

An online exhibit on Skolt life (Skolt Sámi Life 2003) narrates the ‘longing’ for the landscapes of Petsamo, which became articulated through stories and Skolt songs, leu'dd, often in the form of epic narratives: ‘Now and then the longing would burst into a Skolt song, a leu'dd.’ In the Welsh sonnet by R. Williams Parry, feelings associated with the word *hiraeth,* meaning 'longing,' are expressed through the intertwining of song and the material environment: 'There’s longing in the sea and mountains grey,/ There’s longing too in silence and in song [...] And memory’s memory in the heart’s deep sighs.' A leu'dd by Helena Semenoff and Vassi Semenoja conveys such longing for lands left behind--not only through memories of reindeer and 'sandy shores,' but also boats and seines made from the wood, plants, and roots of Petsamo:

Memories of Suonikylä

The sun sets in the west
and rises in the east,
bringing to my mind the dear lands of our childhood.

That's where we left the boats
made by our fathers and uncles,
that's where we left the seines and nets
made by our mothers,
that's where we left our reindeer does, those with
beautiful antlers,
and our draft reindeer, each one so gentle.

They cut our roots,
Through a swirl of snow,
they brought us across Lake Inari.
There were not cars, no gravel roads.

We were taken to the seaside,
replanted like saplings
in the midst of the coldest winter,
leaving our roots in our childhood lands.

We gathered new herds,
We started a new life,
Oh how hard
to leave our childhood homes, Suenjel sijdd!
Oh how hard
to leave the Luttojoki so full of fish
and beautiful sandy shores!

We have not forgotten our language,
taught by our mothers.
We stop to look around and wonder:
So this is the village of Näätämö [Njauddâm],
known to us only in song?
(Linkola and Linkola 2002)

Through these stories and their own environmental engagements in resettlement territories, subsequent generations also came to know the Petsamo landscape in a way that blurs boundaries between narrative and experience: 'we came to know the lakes, rivers, and fjords,' 'we heard all about fishing in those rich waters' (Skolt Sámi Life 2003). Thus the longing transformed across and unified generations: ‘The longing will not leave us, it will be among us as long as there are those who long for Petsamo’ (*ibid.*). For younger generations who moved away from northern resettlement areas to southern urban centres, the longing also became directed toward these new homelands. The thesis therefore examines the rearticulation of memory and practice in relation to new lands, and how this process reimagines the social and spatial dimensions of community life.

*Environments of production*

How are relations to land reconfigured through the revival of craft and related production, and what does this say about the process of making itself? Because memory involves a reconstruction of the past (Winter 2012), when bodily practices are remembered they are also reassembled in new ways (Bartlett 1932: 202). Following the intersection of making with the materiality of the environment provides a framework for explaining how Skolt communities build social futures despite displacement and through movement.

While objects facilitate memorial recreation of a sense of home and identity in new territories (e.g., Barenboim 2017; Barrett 2011; Parkin 1999; Tolia-Kelly 2004), the reconstruction of objects that have been left behind create deeply embodied avenues of reconnection with these homelands among subsequent generations. Although many things had to be left behind in Petsamo, some material reminders of the homeland were transported to new homes in resettlement areas. As children grew up they asked parents about the wooden chest, or the Orthodox icons, and then constructed stories of Petsamo through these objects, often told through leu'dd. Today there are fewer older people to tell stories of the things they carried from Petsamo, yet the making of new things drawing on and transforming older forms and materials establishes connection with ancestors and their lands.

By renewing methods of production, people engage local environments to assert indigenous presence and continuity to homelands, community, and practices (Martineau and Ritskes 2014; McDougall 2014; Norman 2014), especially by mapping indigenous narratives onto spaces in ways that counter separation from original lands. Such practice breaks down temporalities of colonialism by 'connecting present and future to uninterrupted trajectories that retrace a rooted history of aesthetic practice' (Martineau and Ritskes 2014). Practices that engage the land challenge dichotomies between tradition and modernity, and the colonial placement of indigenous people in the realm of the traditional moving toward modernity (Zepeda 2014). Analysis of returns as futures follows such disruptions of colonial temporalities, while the lens of memory and practice facilitates an understanding of how these reworkings and disruptions actually happen.

The 'turn to practice' in anthropology emerged from the need to understand how social practices are produced and reproduced (Ortner 1984, 2006). Bourdieu's (1990) *habitus*

focuses on dispositions--thoughts, perceptions, and bodily postures--that reproduce embodied practices. These dispositions are both structuring and structured, bodily and linguistic, serving as 'depositories of deferred thoughts that can be triggered off at a distance in space and time by the simple effect of re-placing the body in an overall posture which recalls the associated thoughts and feelings, in one of the inductive states of the body which, as actors know, give rise to states of mind,' and are predicated on the concept of 'deep-rooted linguistic and muscular patterns of behaviour' (*ibid.*, 69). Because human action is both structured and structuring, individual actors move through social worlds that they themselves continually recreate (Giddens 1984), so that bodily practice both engenders, and is constituted by, social relations (Brownell 1995; Wacquant 2004). This reflects the broader understanding of practices as social (Reckwitz 2002; Schatzki 2001). The work of memory and production therefore involves situating the body in a position that collapses temporal and spatial distance, in order to reproduce practices and thoughts in ways that rebuild community in new places and social contexts.

When the *habitus* is 'internalised as second nature and so forgotten as history,' it is remembered as 'second nature' (Bourdieu 1990: 56). Thus the continual reproduction of the past in the present often occurs unnoticed. However, traumatic disruptions to these processes, as in the case of Skolt relocation and social restructuring, bring rupture between the *habitus* of older and younger generations into sharp focus. As Connerton (1989: 3) states, 'across generations, different sets of memories [...] will encounter each other; so that, although physically present to one another in a particular setting, the different generations may remain mentally and emotionally insulated, the memories of one generation locked irretrievably, as it were, in the brains and bodies of that generation.' Thus the work of memory and practice toward re-embodiment of 'silent knowledge,' constitutes efforts to 'unlock' the practices of older generations through embodied processes of making.

In these efforts, the body serves as a locus for practices of memory that anchor people across generations, and to places *in situ* or at a distance. As such, the body forms the 'core' of understanding and movement through the world (Merleau-Ponty 1962: 144-147). Memories are articulated through the body (Connerton 1989, 2011; Stoller 1995), carried across generations (Argenti and Schramm 2009), performed and reimagined (Shaw 2007), negotiated as personal memory (Kaplonski 2008), shared collectively to shape group belonging (Halbwachs 1992), or reconstructed as national memory (Anderson 1991; Nora

1989). As habit memory orients and patterns bodily action (Casey 1987: 149), I follow the reorientation of bodily practice toward envisioned futures.

In this reorientation, the remembering of selected practices also involves forgetting others (Carsten 1996; Cole 2001; Connerton 2008, 2009), so that ‘all profound changes in consciousness, by their very nature, bring with them characteristic amnesias’ (Anderson 1991: 204). In Fabian's (2003) aptly titled *Forgetful Remembering*, he explains that the concept of ‘memory work’ allows remembering and forgetting to be considered together, with remembering as not only part of a positive narrative, but 'critical, contestatory, and at times subversive.’ I analyse the interweaving of remembering and forgetting in a rather unusual way--instead of following these processes as they unfold simultaneously, I examine how they become politicised to mark space and time, so that older generations become known by what they 'forgot,' while subsequent generations take on new consciousness as those who 'remember.' In this way, forgotten habits and skills are identified and ascribed new meaning in reweaving the fabric of social life.

Such 'forgotten' bodily practice has become articulated as *hiljainen tieto,* 'silent knowledge.' Hiljainen tieto as tacit, experiential, contexual, dynamic, and informally learned knowledge, diverges from the concept of 'indigenous knowledge' or 'traditional ecological knowledge' as it has been reified in relation to 'western' forms of knowledge' (Johnson 1992), mobilised by environmental movements and indigenous activism in entangled ways to negotiate the exploitation and management of lands and resources (Berkes 1999; Ellen and Harris 2000; Johnson 1992; Hunn 1993; Li 2000), and used to inform development projects (Agrawal 1995; Bicker, Sillitoe, and Pottier 2002; Brokensha, Warren and Werner 1980; Nazarea 1999). It reflects the inseparability of practical and technical knowledge, so that although techniques of silent knowledge can be written down, they can be acquired only through practice (cf. Oakeshott 1962: 9-11). Taking into account the ways in which the term has been used in the Sámi regions in relation to land, hiljainen tieto is closest to Ingold and Kurttila's (2000) concept of LTK, an abbreviation for understandings of 'traditional knowledge as generated in the practices of locality.' They describe LTK as 'environmentally situated practice', an interweaving of both knowledge and practice in the process of 'inhabiting the land.'

To establish continuity and attachment to land, people interweave practice with local ecologies. Efforts to revive environmentally situated forms of skilled practice involve an ‘ecology of production,’ a relationship with surroundings that shape the final product to be invariably variable (Paxson 2016), and imbue the process of making with new cultural and economic significance (Paxson 2012). As making unfolds through an engagement with local ecologies (Ingold 2000, 2012), sensory practices of production create a sense of continuity despite displacement (Dudley 2011).

While the agency of things has received considerable scholarly attention (e.g., Gell 1998; Latour 2005), the process of their production remains more sparsely examined, despite constituting one of the most intimate interactions that produce material and social worlds. Renewed forms of production are central to indigenous movements that harness the creative process as a form of ceremony (Zepeda 2014), and sensory engagement as ‘ceremony of renewal’ (Peers 2013), thus blurring boundaries between everyday practice and formal occasions (Cowan 1990). While practice theory has emphasised human agency and the body as a locus of practice, I want to shift this emphasis to the process of production itself in the remaking of social worlds.

If practical knowledge is about ordering ways of knowing, thinking and doing to understand and move through the world (Reckwitz 2002; Warde 2005), while practices are reproduced through ‘the successful inculcation of shared embodied know-how’ (Schatzki 2001: 3), then the revival of production is about reordering practices to embody particular forms of practical knowledge, and thus recreate lifeworlds. This forms ways of coping with 'crises of practice,' especially intergenerationally, by engendering new 'bodily and mental routines’ (Reckwitz 2002: 256).

In examining flows of production that remake social worlds, I focus on the ways in which properties of materials guide not only habits, movements, and emerging form (Ingold 2007, 2013), but associated mental dispositions that enact an envisioned 'silent knowledge.' This occurs through tactile contact with materials in combination with trained perceptions as one responds to the transforming and emerging material form (Ingold 2000), as well as the social interactions of this process. Discourse surrounding hiljainen tieto reflects an emphasis on a process of ‘feeling’ materials and what to do next (Farrar and Trorey 2008; Paxson 2016),

instead of the rote learning of formalised instruction (Fabian 1983). Therefore, it is not as much the objects and their forms, but material properties and associated processes of making that shape human experience (Ingold 2007, 2013).

In his critique of practice theory, Turner (1994) questioned the assumed universalism of social constructs based on the notion of tacit knowledge. This assumption emerges in a conception of *habitus* as the embodiment of cultural capital that gives one a 'feel' for how to negotiate social situations within familiar environments. Hiljainen tieto also involves a 'know-how,' 'practical sense' or 'feel for the game' (Bourdieu 1990), and bodily techniques consituting practical ways of knowing and navigating social worlds (Mauss 1979). The Skolt case presents an important opportunity to rethink concepts of tacit knowledge as that which can be actively reflected upon and mobilised as political process. While habits and pre-exisiting 'arrangements' structure political action (Oakeshott 1962: 120-124), they are also manipulated to create new configurations of practice that subvert dominant social orders. When people seek embodiment of hiljainen tieto, they refuse to accept that practice eludes consciousness, permanently locked away and forgotten within the bodies of past generations. Thus they invert a concept of tacit knowledge altogether, making it conscious and purposeful, to be reclaimed through environmentally situated and bodily practice.

**Outline of the thesis**

The chapters follow the phases of making and commemorating the root boat, to weave together relevant case studies and analytical themes of memory, practice, environment, and indigenous movements. The first ethnographic chapter considers migrations and return migrations to the Skolt areas, focusing on processes of reconnection through engagements with the land. I discuss conceptions of memory and silent knowledge, how they are constituted socially and in relation to land, and how they shape divergent experiences of Skolt and Finnish identity.

Chapter 2 explores the role of humour and craft making in mediating interpersonal and integenerational relationships entangled with histories of displacement and migration. The temporary resolution of such tensions at the boat site, through space and practice, shows how diverse visions are negotiated to shape collective efforts toward indigenous futures.

Chapter 3 examines the political economy of memory in northern Finland. I examine how Sámi communities are able to co-opt government sponsorship of educational and cultural institutions to further revitalisation agendas, while negotiating constraints of reviving embodied skills within these structures. Furthermore, I demonstrate how individual socioeconomic differences, as well as state funding for cultural institutions and social benefits, reinforce one another to shape what becomes institutionalised as Skolt Sámi memory.

Chapter 4 explores how history is used and by whom, considering the politics of non-indigenous involvement in the furtherance of indigenous agendas. The chapter shows how questions of authenticity– tied to colonial relations between Finns, Skolt Sámi, and even foreign researchers – must be negotiated in remaking Skolt Sámi life on Skolt terms. Furthermore, I ask how authenticity politics shape reparation efforts in dealing with the disproportionate social consequences of displacement and marginalisation for Skolt men. I argue that the search for authenticity provides an avenue of negotiating colonial relationships and histories.

In the fifth and final ethnographic chapter, the events culminate in a public launching of the root boat, entangling the materiality of roots with the temporality and spatiality of ceremony, to bring together diverse actors in the collective re-enactment and remaking of a Skolt Sámi way of life. Thus the final chapter explores ceremony as mediation, examining how it reconciles tensions surrounding non-Skolt actors by positioning them in supporting roles in the background, while Skolt are at the forefront, of a distinctly Skolt history. Moreover, ceremony transfers individual embodied processes of making to collective memory.

The conclusion weaves together the stages of boat building, and related case studies of making, to suggest how memory and practice in new environments connect people to homelands and build community. It follows the continued life of the root boat after its construction and launching, and the symbolism of building different types of boats in reconciling relationships across generations and between diverse actors. Finally, I consider broader contributions to the study of memory, displacement, and indigenous future-making.

**Figure 5** Root sewing technique (Toppari 2015, Yle Sápmi)

## Chapter 1
## Gathering Memory Itself

Racing with sledges pulled by snowmobiles over January lake ice and weaving between frozen trees, the boat makers made it to a stand of tall, thick pine in Vaasseliselkä. They were looking for trees with straight trunks but just the right curve of roots to shape into a boat keel. Locks for oars had to be crafted from stää′llmuõrr (*F. lylypuu*), or reaction wood, extra hard wood of non-vertical cambial cells formed on leaning trunks and branches to compensate for the pull of gravity. Wooden nails were made from especially tar-filled heartwood. Several months earlier in autumn the men had dug up roots for the sewn-plank boat at an old German airstrip in Kaamanen, where the sand-covered surface allowed easy access, and they had grown straight, long, and strong enough to suture planks. Thus to collect materials for the boat, participants had to learn to perceive the trees as had past generations who moved through forest environments attentive to trees for their potential use as boat parts.

When he was not teaching or making wooden and antler craft--knives, drinking vessels, sledges, boats--Arttu was building a log house in Če′vetjäu′rr, made in a pre-Second World War style with hand-sourced pinewood. The home would take him over four years to build, compared to more modern houses in the Skolt areas pieced together in about a year from pre-made parts. There was no written manual for Arttu's home, which is just the way he and his partner, Heini, preferred (Heini is also a craftsartisan living in Če′vetjäu′rr, see Chapter 2).

Arttu learned experientially to look at trees as potential material for logs or window frames, to work wood with hand tools as he moved through the forest, and to think with the grain instead of in terms of machine-driven straight lines. He imagined that his ancestors had engaged with the environment everyday in ways that allowed them to easily identity trees for their potential to supply boat or house parts. Ingold (2000: 22, 2001), drawing on the work of Gibson, depicts this as a process of learning characterised by perceptual attunement, or 'education of attention.' People today also range far through the coniferous forests, fells, and lakes, on snowmobiles to reindeer herds or on motorised boats to summer cabins, but the speed is faster and the senses often not trained on trees as potential wood for boats or houses. Therefore, Arttu had to actively seek older people and the few like-minded builders across Finland to educate his attention to the surrounding landscape.

Having spent years attuning perceptions to the forest in this way, Arttu was able to guide the boat course participants to the right stand of trees for the root boat. Thus a team of four Skolt Sámi men, three Finnish participants, and a foreign anthropologist[3], began the work which would later separate them conceptually and spatially into 'normal boat builders' and 'root boat builders' (discussed in Chapter 2).

For Arttu, as for many other Finnish migrants to the northern Sámi regions, remembering is 'not so much a matter of calling up an internal image, stored in the mind, as of engaging perceptually with an environment that is itself pregnant with the past' (Ingold 1993). Arttu grew up in a neighbourhood of Tampere in south Finland where he was often surrounded by crime and substance abuse. When he was young his uncle would take him fishing to his northern cabin, where he found something restorative in an engagement with the environment disconnected from the chaotic pace of city life. These early experiences led Arttu to move north to Aanar as a young adult, to study wood and antler craft at the Sámi Education Institute. There he met Heini and eventually moved to her family village of Če′vetjäu′rr, had children, and began building a home as much removed from the commercial and electrical grid as they could manage, while working part-time as SAKK craft instructors. The house has a wood-burning stove and compost toilet, making self-sufficient the most essential needs of warmth and bodily function (see Chapter 2). While the act of building using local materials constituted place making (Casey 1993: 146-181), interactions with villagers who would come to observe the progress of construction also reinforced a sense of community. Thus through building and subsequent dwelling, Arttu and Heini create home and community by embedding themselves in the intimate social relations of Heini's family village, and the seasonal fluctuations of natural resources needed to sustain life in an Arctic climate.

For many Finnish migrants to Skolt regions, moving north in Finland constitutes a 'lifestyle migration' to rural areas (Benson 2011, 2013), characterised by renewing particular engagements with the environment shared across cultures. These migrations are part of a

[3] The anthropologist was my husband, Matt Magnani, studying at Harvard University. As a man partaking in a male-dominated task, he was able to participate in the tree-cutting expedition in a way I could not. Unable to help with much of the heavy lifting and wood construction, I peeled roots, sewed the boards, collected moss for joints, and crafted wooden nails and pegs. Chapter 2 discusses such gendered dimensions of cultural revival.

relationship between urban Finns and rural life. The majority of the Finnish population can trace quite recent origins from rural villages which they regularly visit (Abrahams 2006: 169-170), or conversely maintain summer cabins or second homes in country areas where they do not necessarily have family connections. Instead, they establish relationship to place based on engagement with local forests, swamps, and lakes (Tuulentie 2007). As such, berry gathering and fishing are important recreational activities that shape Finnish imaginaries of the ideal life, and reinforce connections to a recent past when the majority of the population was active in agriculture and forestry.[4] Relationships to the environment formed through migration and permanent settlement in Skolt and wider Sámi homelands, in contrast to those emerging through regular visits to family villages, take on particular qualities wherein task-specific interactions with the land shape relations to ancestors not necessarily one's own. Thus the degree of personal connection temporally and spatially to the Skolt regions distinguishes the experiences of Finnish migrants from those of Skolt Sámi return migrants.

Skolt Sámi return migrants often move north to reconnect with Skolt family and identity, and engage in the work of remembering to reshape day-to-day practices according to personal histories. Thus practices of remembering among return migrants take on an autobiographical dimension absent among Finnish migrants, and therefore shape a distinct social and bodily memory. The migration reverses double displacement, both one's own from the Skolt areas of Finland, and that of one's ancestors' from Petsamo. Reflecting not only migration but also dislocation 'rendered internal' (Shaw 2002: 5), bodily processes of recollection are stimulated by purposeful migration to transformed places of memory (cf. Archibald 2002; Bourguignon 1996), while the mobility of such returns shapes a sense of place-based indigenous identity (Clifford 2013).

In this chapter I explore the interweaving of place and bodily memory, introducing spatial and temporal dimensions of returns for Skolt return migrants and Finnish settlers, and how intersections and differences between these experiences shape identity in northern Skolt areas. Through 're-enactment' of the past in present movements of the body (Connerton 1989: 72), a concept of 'silent knowledge' articulating tacit engagements with the environment provides new possibilities for relationships with Skolt lands beyond legislative

[4] According to Abrahams (2006: 168) the percentage of the population active in agriculture and forestry decreased from approximately 80 to 10 percent from the beginning of the 1900s to the end of the century, with particularly dramatic decline occurring in the 1960s and 1970s.

restrictions--moulding cultural identity around memories of memories and a particular concept of memory itself.

**Figure 6** Pine and birch forests, dirt roads and paths, and lakes of Če′vetjäu′rr

**Generations of homes**

‘I loved my life in Helsinki,’ Ä’nn said as we spoke in Â′vvel, the hometown to which she had returned to be with her partner, and reconnect with Skolt language and culture. While Â′vvel has the reputation of being a village of Finnish settlement since the 18th century (Ingold 1976: 9), it is also home to many Skolt Sámi due to its proximity to Skolt areas around Njeä′llem and Keväjäu′rr, and as a centre of administration, healthcare, and employment. After Ä’nn returned north, the way she spoke stood out from common anti-urban sentiment among northern residents, explaining, 'I think most Sámi people say that they don’t feel at home in cities, for some reason I’ve always felt at home in big cities. But of course my sense of being Sámi wasn’t so strong then.'

Ä’nn was referring to the years following schooling in Â′vvel, when she moved south for employment and studies in tourism, working especially in Helsinki and the United Kingdom as she negotiated the uncertainties of her future. She had grown up with a sense of Skolt identity, knowing that her father was Skolt Sámi, and her mother Karelian. Her father was the

Skolt cantor at the Orthodox Church, and although Ä’nn was not taught the Skolt language at home, she attended services and sang Skolt songs. The church constituted a place of Skolt gathering, community, and a sense of continuity to Petsamo life. As such, the Orthodox Church had become an important part of what it meant to be Skolt Sámi, especially after relocation to areas where the Lutheran faith was dominant among local Finns and Sámi. Likewise, singing, as an embodied way of expressing oneself, shaped Ä’nn's sense of Skolt Sámi identity both as a child and after her return north.

In her late 20s Ä’nn moved back to Â′vvel, enrolled in a Skolt Sámi Language and Culture course at the Sámi Education Institute in Aanar, and later began writing music in Skolt Sámi. She says, ‘things just started to happen when I moved back here. I wasn’t planning on starting to do music in Skolt Sámi...’ As she anticipated moving north to be with her partner, she was already considering studying the Skolt language. Her determination grew whenever she would visit Â′vvel, and hear her father and her best friend speaking Skolt Sámi, which her friend had studied at SAKK. Ä’nn recalls:

> ‘I kind of felt like an outsider, like I wanted to speak Skolt Sámi too with them, and I wanted to understand what they are talking about. And even though I was really happy with my life in Helsinki, still I kind of felt that it’s time for a change now. That’s when I really started to think it would be interesting to move back to Â′vvel, but still I don’t think I would have done it if it wasn’t for Lauri [her partner].’

Ä’nn's process of remembering as a return migrant to the Skolt areas diverges significantly from the Finnish migration experience. Both involve place memory and discovery similar to a liminal state of pilgrimage (Connerton 2009:14). However, ‘remembering’ for Skolt Sámi return migrants constitutes recollection of habit memories either personal or those of identifiable ancestors, through engagement with places of memory marked by human traces--the paths created by ancestors as they moved through Če′vetjäu′rr homes, forests, swamps, and along the road. On the other hand, ‘remembering’ for Finnish migrants involves rediscovery of distant ancestral practices that transcend imagined regional and cultural boundaries, through engagement with non-specific forest and other unbuilt spaces.

While places of memory are significant for the formation of cultural memory, displacement fosters identity not bound to any one place (Gupta and Ferguson 1992), so that return migrants maintain attachments between sites. For Ä'nn and other Skolt migrants, the return north connects life histories in south Finland to new trajectories in northern Finland, and by extension to the lives of Petsamo ancestors.

Bodily and place memory draws on the stimuli of sensory engagement with meaningful places. Ä'nn describes the significance of Prestøya for a Skolt music video, in which boundaries between body and place dissolve in a process of remembering. Prestøya was the closest she could get to Petsamo in singing about its memories, and thus her engagement with the place through music and movement was key to evoking collective memory:

> 'We wanted to go on the shore of the Arctic Ocean. Grense Jakobselv would have been the right place because that's the closest place you can go nowadays to where our ancestors were fishing. Because those places are on the Russian side nowadays. It has always been a really special place to me and also to my dad. We used to go there when I was a teenager; we just drove there 300 km and spent a few hours just walking on the rocks on the shore, and in the ocean, and enjoying the waves of this ocean. I thought that when I was younger it's because of our ancestors but I always felt that oh this is my home, although I've never lived there. I've always felt such peace there. That song really belongs to that place.'

The interweaving of body and place occurs in part through narrative, as well as through singing as an embodied storytelling practice. As Ingold (2000:56) writes, 'the imagination, songs, stories and design serve to conduct the attention of performers into the world, deeper and deeper … At its most intense, the boundaries between person and place, or between self and the landscape, dissolve altogether. It is at this point, as the people say, that they become their ancestors...'

The video to which Ä'nn refers begins with one of the performers, Elena, transforming from a Skolt forebear into herself as she walks through the door of her home in Če′vetjäu′rr and into the Prestøya landscape, as Ä'nn walks from the nearest city in Norway, Kirkenes, also to Prestøya. Walking toward each other, they move over rocks and water, as Ä'nn's voice in

Skolt Sámi resonates in the background, telling how ancestors are part of her through an engagement with the physicality of places. Unlike loci of memory (Connerton 2009: 4-5), or ancestral stories recalled through features of the landscape (Basso 1996), the Prestøya landscape, chosen for its proximity to Petsamo, does not comprise loci of specific memories but a feeling of memory itself. However, the lack of specific mnemonic features does not diminish the landscape's ability to evoke memory, instead allowing recollection to expand beyond specific events or stories to the significance of memory itself for displaced Skolt populations. As Küchler (1999: 59) states, evoking de Certeau, 'recollection does not cease when there are no longer any traces of what is to be remembered, but draws its force from this absence.'

This follows Vitebsky's (1993, 2016) study of the Sora, for whom most of remembrance and engagement with ancestors does not leave a distinct material trace. While the Sora initially remember their dead through memorial stones, it is soon forgotten which stone belongs to which ancestor, and the stones serve instead to evoke a sense of community and kinship. Communication then transfers to the bodies of shamans, through which the Sora quite literally engage in 'dialogues with the dead,' or through the illness and recovery of their own descendant bodies. However, I argue that even when memory cannot be located in specific materials or places, this does not make associated kinship and ancestral relations entirely immaterial or placeless. The landscape does not require specificity or concentration in identifiable stones or geological features to evoke emotion and bodily memory. When dialogues with ancestors occur through the body, as in the case of the Sora, these bodies still move through and engage with the material environment.

When Elena and Ä’nn eventually reach each other after walking through the Prestøya landscape, Elena changes Ä’nn’s maiden’s Skolt headdress to a wife’s headdress. Thus as they interact with the environment, they re-enact a Skolt marriage ceremony and evoke memories of ancestral practice. The lands and waters of Prestøya serve as moral and spiritual landscape in which stories of how to live are recalled through places (cf. Basso 1996), and interwoven with rites of passage. Through acts of storytelling and singing linking recollection and ceremony in proximity to Petsamo, boundaries dissipate between Ä’nn and Elena, their ancestors, and multiple homelands (see Chapter 5 for more on ceremony). At the same time, in connecting with resettlement territories as a bridge to Skolt homelands, reconnection

becomes not just about geographical location, but about the historical circumstances of displacement.

Skolt Sámi return migrants re-experience childhood memories through sensory engagement with objects or features of particular places. Such processes are similar to involuntary memories depicted in Proust's *Remembrance of Things Past* or Aristotle's *mneme* (Küchler 1999). Elena, in her early 40s, grew up in south Finland and abroad, regularly visiting her home in Â′vvel where she learned from Skolt Sámi relatives how to move through forests and swamps so as not to disturb plant life or harvest excessive berries and herbs. Moreover, she learned specific uses for plants, ones she would not remember until she returned north. Upon moving back north these plants became loci of memory, so that she was able to recall specific uses through interacting with the materiality of the environment. On warm days in the jiẹ′ğğ, swamps, she noticed the cooling effect of rubbing peat moss, seeu′ter, *Sphagnum spp.,* on her skin. As she repeated these walks and spoke with friends and older people, childhood memories such as using peat moss for stings and olžvuei'vv *(Rhododendron tomentosum)* for inflammation surfaced as latent memory, to be remade to fit new experiences of rediscovery and reconnection. Elena began experimenting with olžvuei'vv and other berries and herbs, using them in sauna footbaths or as cleansing water. In the absence of durable, built features of the landscape to evoke a sense of continuity (Lowenthal 1975), the materiality of plant life, constantly regenerating, creates recollective experience through return migration--the bodily and spatial sensations of returning 'home' (cf. Archibald 2002).

In Plato's concept of anamnesis he describes the surfacing of latent knowledge through non-instructed rediscovery; for Elena, emerging skills and habits begin as novel learning but transform into remembering through the realisation of latent memory. As Elena and Ä'nn engage with the environment as an ancestral landscape, they develop a sense of belonging not only to Skolt areas in Finland but also to Petsamo. The social embeddedness of re-enactment distinguishes their remembering from that of Finnish migrants, in that kinship imbues bodily action with meaning as embodied memory collectively shared by a community, and as 'ceaseless repetition of gestures initiated by others' (Eliade 1974: 5). Due to the potential of kinship to connect multiple places (Pine 2007), return migrants' social and bodily engagement in Če′vetjäu′rr becomes linked to Petsamo through family relations.

Elena describes remembering an already embodied Skolt knowledge, involving an interweaving of body and place, in which revisiting a familiar situation, in a familiar place, while experiencing familiar sensations of the body, reflects a way for 'the body itself, in its sinews and on its surface' to remember what it has enacted previously' (Casey 1987: 147). In these ways the experience stimulates mnemonic topographies of the lived body and surrounding environment (Connerton 2011). Elena says, 'Too many people complain that they were not *given* Skolt Sámi culture because they cannot speak the Skolt Sámi language or make Skolt Sámi crafts;' Elena elaborates how many believe culture to be something transmitted through direct instruction. However when she moved north she realised that one does not need to be *taught* Skolt Sámi culture. Instead one need only recognise the knowledge and skills that have already been embodied through prior engagement with social relations in Skolt places.

Irja, a folklorist from Karelian south Finland living in the Skolt Sámi village of Keväjäu′rr, also describes remembering as recognition of already embodied skills, or patterns that have persisted in social memory. Now in her 60s, Irja arrived to the Skolt Sámi areas in the early 1970s, taking up an administrative position for Aanar municipality. When she was not working for the municipal government, she skied from house to house, documenting Skolt Sámi social and economic life. Eventually she married a Skolt Sámi man and settled permanently in Keväjäu′rr. Referring to return migrants like Ä'nn and Elena, Irja explains that by coming back to childhood environments people *remember* what they had already learned. She describes such recalled practice as 'hiljainen tieto,' silent knowledge:

> 'It is in the body and mind. People travel away for thirty years, come back and realise they can do certain things. The hand remembers. There is also the generation which has never done these things, but their grandma or grandpa have done them, and somehow they [the younger generations] have seen this in the mind when they were children.'

But why do specific skills like collecting plants, and moving through certain landscapes, and not others, become valued as 'remembered' gestures, habits, and experiences of Skolt Sámi cultural transmission? The familiar bike riding example of tacit knowledge (Polanyi 1966), illuminates the attribution of cultural meaning to bodily memory: Imagine forgetting you can

ride a bike. After moving away from your home village to study and work in a large city (as have many Skolt Sámi since the 1970s), you return home to the dirt roads where you once learned to ride. Seeing friends and family riding, you decide to get on a bike yourself. Suddenly you are moving forward on the same dirt roads, propelled by an uncanny ability to balance on two wheels, responding to the pull of the ground and the inertia of the bike. Somehow the recognition of forgotten memories becomes tied to your home village, to the fact that you are *from* there. Of course you could have also picked up a bike in your adopted city. But you did not. Instead it was the stimulus of the dirt roads behind your childhood home that made you pick up that bike. Even if you had ridden a bicycle in the city you would have found yourself on grids of pavement, moving forward over a hard surface instead of familiar roads. In this case the city bike ride would not have taken on cultural meaning distinguishing you from other city dwellers, constituting an identity and family not of that place.

The bike-riding metaphor may be compared to Ä'nn and Elena's sense of 'something deep down always known' (Anderson 1991), again echoing Plato's anamnesis. By moving north, return migrants close the spatial distance between themselves and the Skolt Sámi places of their childhoods, while resolving a kind of bodily discontinuity from ancestors in Petsamo through daily practices of remembering in relocation territories. As return migrants incorporate skills through direct engagement with northern forests and swamps, the body becomes a link to the lived place (Casey 2001). Migration thus bridges spatial and temporal distance by 're-placing the body in an overall posture' recalling 'associated thoughts and feelings' (Bourdieu 1990: 69). As such, remembering is embodied, and the body 'does not memorize the past, it enacts the past, bringing it back to life' (Bourdieu 1990: 73). These memories of memories are relived and reimagined through habitual practices engaging the materiality of the landscape in resettlement places (cf. Buyandelger 2013).

In an online account, a young Skolt woman in the Če′vetjäu′rr area tells a story of her grandmother who would always ask to be returned 'home' to Petsamo. So the young woman would put her grandmother on a sled, drive her around the nearby woods on a snowmobile, and return to the house, telling her that they were home. The grandmother would then thank her for returning them to Petsamo (Merlin and Rebecca 2012). This example reflects that of countless stories of a younger generation of Skolt Sámi, who in reconnecting with Skolt

identity are reconciling multiple levels of displacement--the initial relocation from Petsamo and subsequent migration away from Skolt areas. While older Skolt relocated after the Second World War long for their childhood homes in Petsamo, subsequent generations who left resettlement territories for employment and education consider these northern lands the 'home' to which they seek return.

**Relations of land, ancestry, and memory**

Critiquing state and international pressures to legislate indigenous identity, Ingold (2000: 132-152) calls for a relational approach between concepts such as land, memory, ancestry, and generation, in order to describe the actual lived experience of engaging with the land that shapes indigeneity. Such an approach is useful for exploring how migrants and return migrants constitute different identities through relations of ancestry, memory, and land.

According to Finland's Act on the Sámi Parliament (974/1995), a person is considered Sámi not only if he considers himself Sámi but if: '1) 'he himself or at least one of his parents or grandparents has learnt Sámi as his first language, (2) he is a descendent of a person who has been entered in a land, taxation or population register as a mountain, forest or fishing Lapp, or (3) at least one of his parents has or could have been registered as an elector for an election to the Sámi Delegation or the Sámi Parliament.' Criteria for legal recognition as Skolt Sámi are similar but with less possibility for conflicting interpretation due to the smaller size of the group and traceability of relocation history; anybody self-identifying as Skolt who either has a parent or grandparent who learned Skolt as his or her first language, or who can trace descent from those legally recognised as Skolt, is entitled to rights through the Skolt Act (Kolttalaki 24.2.1995/253). The constitution of identity in everyday life, however, operates beyond the legal realm, nuanced between just 'Finnish,' 'Sámi,' or 'Skolt Sámi,' lived through social relations of ancestry, memory, and land, and predicated on community acceptance.

Whether through ordered revisiting of places (Connerton 2009), or the experiential qualities of walking, movement, and sensory engagement with the land (Ingold 2000; Tilley 2012), memories shape a sense of cultural identity as they are gathered and entangled with social relations past and present. Barth (1969) describes the use of temporal boundaries in marking social relations, especially in the creation and maintenance of cultural groups. Similarly,

temporal and spatial dimensions of memory as practice constitute distinctions between Skolt and non-Skolt identities, while allowing for nuances and fluidity in these relations.

For Skolt return migrants, a sense of continuity and belonging emerges from 'being in the situation itself again and feeling it through [one's own] body' (Casey 1987: 147). As Ä'nn and Elena engage with their material and social surroundings they feel more and more as though they are not learning but 'remembering' an embodied *Skolt* habit memory, something already known from family and ancestors. Meanwhile, through the work of memory in Skolt areas, return migrants assert temporal and spatial continuity with ancestors to create a sense of community belonging (cf. Thiranagama 2007), while negotiating displacement histories.

In contrast, non-Skolt migrants from south Finland often do not attribute the same specificity of memory to the land as do Skolt reconnecting with identifiable ancestors. Instead they are likely to re-enact habit memories of common human ancestors irrespective of group boundaries and not specific to place, but still particular to a northern forest landscape. However, the fact that these processes of rediscovery do occur in the Skolt areas, potentially implicates essentialising links between indigenous populations, concepts of world heritage, and 'global humanity' (Ingold 2000: 135). Furthermore, a sense of kinship to early human inhabitants may be experienced through seemingly untouched features of the landscape (Hoskins 1955: 17). Thus Finnish migrants may form abstract kinship attachments through imaginings of the material environment as temporally continuous with that of early human populations, to whom he or she feels a greater sense of connection in their abstraction than to more recent inhabitants to whom belonging depends on mutual acceptance.

While agriculture and the rural farming family form the core of a Finnish national identity (Abrahams 2006: 169-170), in northern Finland especially this identity is interwoven with the centrality of the forest and associated engagements of fishing, hunting, and berry picking, thus overlapping with Sámi identity in ways that have been used politically to undermine Sámi legislation on land rights (Tuulentie 2003). Such subsuming of indigenous identities within majority identities as part of national projects establishing continuity with the land and thereby a kind of national indigeneity, has been seen from Australia (Lattas 1991), to the United States (Strong and Van Winkle 1993), to a particularly analogous example in Japan where the Ainu forest and hunting identity has been subsumed by the majority Japanese

revival of 'Jomon culture' (Knight 2000). In Finland, these relationships are further entangled with values of self-sufficiency and pioneering in a northern environment encompassed by the Finnish term *sisu*-- the individual capacity for stick-to-itness, independent hard work, responsibility, internal strength, endurance and determination despite adversity (Abrahams 2006: 143-144, 172). It follows then that Finnish migrants to Sámi regions may shape identities not necessarily tied to specific places, but to experiences of the forest as a primordial environment representing self-sufficient engagement with the land.

However, for Finnish migrants participating in Skolt cultural revival and often married into the community, these values and relationships do not serve to undermine, but rather to bolster Skolt visibility and claims to ancestral homelands. Thus through reconstruction of a Skolt Sámi boat, a migrant enacts practices of memory constituting abstract imaginings of land, memory, and ancestry, not to further Finnish national projects but to advance indigenous counternarratives and Skolt community goals.

Such experiences, distinct from those of return migrants with a clear Skolt Sámi identity and memory in relation to the land, are those characteristic of being part of the Skolt Sámi community but not *being* Skolt Sámi. Arttu emphasises that he is *not* Skolt Sámi, but a member of the Skolt Sámi community. Skolt Sámi villagers reinforce this identity by accepting Arttu because he lives with a Skolt woman in Če′vetjäu′rr, raises their children as Skolt Sámi, and participates in community gatherings. While being part of the community involves engaging with and being accepted by social relations in the Skolt Area, *being* Skolt Sámi involves all of these interactions along with traceable Skolt ancestry. To some extent non-Skolt spouses have also been considered Skolt (Hyvärinen 1995), and given rights to vote in the sääbbar. However, there is still recognition of individual origins outside Skolt kinship networks. Therefore, as Arttu builds family connections in Če′vetjäu′rr, engages with the local environment, and furthers Skolt political and cultural initiatives, he becomes part of the Skolt Sámi community, but not Skolt Sámi himself.

**Memory itself**

Memory experiences in the landscape vary between *representations* of memory, and the latent potential of landscape as process by which ancestral or personal memories are

reproduced (Küchler 1993; Morphy 1993). Landscapes are dynamic and changing, spatial and temporal as they mediate politics and identity (Bender 1993), and facilitate negotiation between the way things are and the way one wishes them to be (Hirsch and O'Hanlon 1995). When practices of knowing and doing are not connected to personal or family experiences, as in the case of Finnish migrants, or when they are linked to broader Skolt ancestry and distant homelands as among Skolt return migrants, landscape becomes lived through sites that stimulate a general sense of memory itself.

Nora (1989) analyses the act of remembering 'memory itself' through sites of memory or archival materials. The concept of 'memory itself' is similar to Bakhtin's (1981) 'chronotopes' by which time materialises in space. Yet it is the bodily practices of remembering in these places, and not just the places themselves, that shape experiences of learning and reconnection. When this learning is labelled as 'memory' it becomes evaluative as a 'moral practice' (Lambek 2016)--a way to distinguish degrees of connectedness to people and places, and through this to shape what it means to be Skolt Sámi or Finnish.

The marking of cultural boundaries occurs through an explicitly temporal dimension to memory, in which some are capable of 'remembering' more than others. Through the articulation of knowing as knowledge, 'remembering silent knowledge' constitutes a larger evaluative process (Vitebsky 1993). For those reclaiming Skolt Sámi identity, this knowing becomes expressed as a Skolt Sámi relationship with the land, fostering a sense of connection with past generations (cf. Valkonen and Valkonen 2014).

Return migrations described in this chapter, transform Če′vetjäu′rr, Â′vvel, and even certain locations on the Norwegian coast, into sites of memory that evoke temporally and geographically distant environments of memory (cf. Nora 1989). Here, memory is experienced through movement, whether in places (Casey 2001), or along paths (Árnason et al. 2012; Mazzullo and Ingold 2012). Instead of landscape features evoking narratives (Basso 1996), ancestral ways of doing things are actually reexperienced through ongoing interactions with land and kinship (Morphy 1995). As one places moss on the skin or moves through a landscape engaging with the materiality of plant life, geological features and waterways, personal or intergenerational connection to a particular memory creates a sense of a Skolt way of doing things. It is this general consciousness, instead of a single tool, plant, or feature

of the landscape, that constitutes cultural memory; thus the entirety of movement in a landscape evoking a sense of memory itself, becomes entangled with feelings of belonging to a Skolt community that traces connection from Petsamo.

In this way memory unfolds as a merging of narrative and experience through engagement with the materiality of the environment. According to Nergård (2006:14), narrative is the 'backbone of practical knowledge' and 'lived material.' As such, one cannot exist without the other because expressions and experiences structure one another (Bruner 1986). Experience facilitates the understanding that forms expressions, while expressions in turn influence experience; in other words we understand what we do by doing it (Meløe 1972 in Nergård 2006). In this sense Sámi narratives reflect a 'rhythm' between experience and narrative, between 'the experience and the processing of the experience' (Nergård 2006:94). Walking through a landscape evokes narratives of remembering, while narratives in turn structure the way one experiences the movement--the *feeling* of being Skolt Sámi while moving through familiar pine and birch forest. Thus skilled practice emerges simultaneously as mutually dependent narrative and embodied memory.

Often what is remembered and used to shape cultural identity is not one's personal memories in a particular place but the existence (or loss) of memories themselves. In this way both migrants and return migrants include collective memories not personally experienced among their own (Climo 1995). When memories are relived from personal experience, they are not necessarily stimulated through a childhood site of memory but a general ‘Skolt Sámi Area’ encompassing the environs of Če′vetjäu′rr, Keväjäu′rr, and Njeä′llem. In a distinction between ‘remembering’ and ‘knowing’ as described by Gardiner and Richardson-Klaveh (2000), there are some memories like the recollection of plant uses that return migrants remember through a deeply personal experience of re-enactment, and others like experimenting with herbs which they attribute more broadly to Skolt Sámi cultural memory. Regardless of the provenance of memories, ‘memories of memories’ (Archibald 2002) or ‘memory itself’ (Nora 1989) are no less significant in shaping a sense of belonging to a Skolt Sámi community. By engaging with places as *lieux de mémoire*, sites of memory, the movement itself takes on a memorialising capacity to connect experience diachronically.

**Silent practice**

Although concepts of tacit knowledge and tradition have been contested (Turner 1994), variants of such labelling are significant for indigenous movements. While the phrase 'hiljainen tieto,' or silent knowledge, is used more in everyday discourse instead of official political rhetoric, links between individual and wider political group narratives suggest that one may be used to illuminate the other (Lambek and Antze 2016). Thus the verbal encapsulation of a knowing and doing as 'silent knowledge,' while seemingly a reification in its labelling, actually allows Skolt Sámi ways of being to continue forming and reforming without the need to restrict and define them.

Challenges to indigenous agendas surrounding concerns of reification have come from academic research on 'invented' tradition (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983), culture (Hanson 1989), and indigeneity (Kuper 2003). However, tradition is intertwined with historical change (Lehtola 2004; Toren 2005), constituted in action and dynamic process (Borofsky 1987; Sahlins 1985), and neither 'genuine' nor 'spurious' (Handler and Linnekin 1984). Therefore, the concept of invention of tradition, culture, or indigeneity implicates the authenticity of a very *real,* self-conscious, and meaningful process (Friedman 1992; Jackson 1989; Jolly 1992). There has been a strong response from indigenous communities that in writing about a reconstruction of identity, anthropologists must not 'pretend that they can write from inside' (Wendt 1987:89), as this endangers indigenous self-definition (Trask 1991).

'Silent knowledge' marks community identity around its non-articulable elements without requiring their definition. This is a way of approaching identity as embodied that is gaining recognition in the Sámi context (Valkonen 2014). Like Hansen and Olsen's (2014) argument that Sámi identity developed through the transformation of *habitus* into conscious ethnic distinction, the present social movement articulates a community identity based around previously unspoken, 'silent' ways of being. I show in this section how discourse and practice based in the concept of tacit knowledge shape cultural boundaries around habits and values.

'Silent knowledge' is not distinctly Sámi, Skolt Sámi, or Finnish. Rather, migrants and return migrants seeking certain connections with the environment consider Skolt Sámi to have greater temporal and generational continuity of self-sufficient skills, regardless of characterisation of particular skills as 'Sámi' or 'Finnish.' In these contexts the concept of

silent knowledge reflects preference for lifeways of making root boats by hand or harvesting local materials for medicine and food, over for example, computer programming as craft (Sennett 2008). While hiljainen tieto often constitutes distinction between young and old, urban and rural, the latter purported to have *more* silent knowledge, younger generations who have spent significant portions of their lives in urban environments are still embodying skills that are so ingrained they are never articulated (i.e., walking using city shortcuts, transforming spaces through stories, and various other geographical engagements as described by de Certeau (1984)).

Rather than the codification of indigenous knowledge by research institutions and development projects (Ellen and Harris 2000), discourse surrounding 'silent knowledge' reflects reclamation of labels such as 'indigenous' by the people themselves, amidst increased opportunity for political rights through such avenues. Furthermore, the phenomenon constitutes Sámi agency in articulating complex practices in non-restricting ways, nevertheless within a framework that can be used for political recognition. Such action therefore subverts the paradoxes of legislated identity across indigenous contexts: In the United States, Native Americans must perform a paradoxical identity separate from Christianity and science but meaningful in the context of that same history (Barker 2011: 223). In New Zealand, claim settlements for land and resources fuel politics dividing supposedly 'real' 'tribal Māori' and 'urban Māori' (Gagne 2016). Such phenomena corroborate Ingold's (2000: 12) assertion that it is '...in articulating their experience in a way that is compatible with the discourses of the state that people are led to lay claim to indigenous status, in terms that nevertheless invert their own understandings.' In contrast, through the mobilisation of tacit knowledge as counternarrative, indigenous communities are able to articulate identity as a web of relationships to land and ancestors enacted through lived memory, and encompassed by a notion of silent knowledge, thus asserting recognition based on more abstract understandings of land, memory, and ancestry.

While the shift in 'control of cultural borders' after Finland's colonisation of Petsamo gave Skolt Sámi a chance to represent and define themselves (Nyyssönen 2009), the current movement goes further to define its traditions on its own terms. Thus the term 'tradition' acquires meaning upon recognition of one's 'knowledgeability' and skills based in an active process of 'inhabiting the land' (Ingold and Kurttila 2000), in which 'silent knowledge' serves

as a fitting label for a web of otherwise unwieldy and experiential ways of being. Discourse surrounding the term emphasises that certain lifeways are incapable of articulation, thereby removing the necessity of static definitions and creating potential for political rights based on dynamic practices unrestricted by legislation.

For example, people cannot describe precisely the hand movements employed in sewing reindeer leather, or how to train their attention to locate the right trees for a boat, only that these skills exist and constitute a 'silent knowledge.' The term is therefore only a surface articulation of embodied practices, described by statements such as 'that's the way we do it' instead of step-by-step accounts of subsistence engagements with the land (Bjerkli 1996). This eliminates the need to restrict culture to concrete categories (Tuulentie 1999), thus subverting restrictions of action within contexts necessitating definitions of culture for the attainment of political rights based on group or regional identity (Bjerkli 1996).

It is difficult to evaluate the success of this labelling in removing restricting definitions. In 2013 the Finnish government approved the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage. This initiative could allow practices characterised as hiljainen tieto to be inscribed in government legislation as 'intangible cultural heritage.' The National Board of Antiquities appointed a representative from the Sámi Parliament among its experts for the implementation of the Convention. According to the Sámi Parliament correspondence document with the Ministry for Foreign Affairs (Record number: 55/D.a.2/2015), Sámi intangible cultural heritage comprises skills in handicraft and a 'Saami concept of nature and landscape [...] The Saami cultural landscape is not a built landscape like the Finnish cultural landscape, rather it comes across, first and foremost, in values, myths, place names and history related to the landscape as well as land use visible in the landscape.' The vagueness of this statement leaves room for ongoing processes in 'values' and 'myths' instead of freezing them in time and space. Therefore, the type of restriction described by Bjerkli (1996) would occur only if the Sámi Parliament were asked to define these values, myths and histories beyond referencing their existence as 'intangible cultural heritage.' Whether or not implementation of the Convention will provide actual protection for such intangible aspects of a cultural landscape is yet to be determined.

In the formation of group boundaries, certain features are articulated over others (Barth 1969); in the rhetoric of ‘silent knowledge,’ ways of knowing and learning are articulated only as far as their label but not their process. In this way, Sámi Parliament documents, which express a ‘Saami concept of nature and landscape’ as intangible cultural heritage, create a conception of culture and identity broad enough to allow people to go about as usual according to a dynamic and broadly defined idea of ‘nature and landscape.’ As culture is constantly negotiated and changing (Wagner 1981), continuity of a sense of community ‘depends on the maintenance of a boundary’ between groups regardless of what transforms within and across it (Barth 1969), as well as the attribution of meaning to this boundary (Cohen 2013 [1985]). Therefore, even as people transform what constitutes Skolt Sámi identity by bringing particular practices into cultural consciousness as 'silent knowledge,' what remains is the experience and articulation of belonging to a Skolt Sámi community.

**Conclusion**

In the Skolt Sámi regions of northern Finland, migrants and return migrants are moving north to to reconnect with land and ancestry through a sense of memory itself. Through temporal and spatial differences between intangible experiences of memory of migrants and return migrants, and their connections to land and ancestry, one shapes what it means to be Skolt Sámi or Finnish, indigenous or non-indigenous, in a meaning-laden landscape. As Skolt Sámi enact bodily memory through engagement with land, articulating everyday practice as 'silent knowledge' allows dynamic lifeways to continue shaping and reshaping beyond restricting forms of state recognition. In the next chapter I delve into other forms of embodied practice--humour and production--that mediate competing visions of Skolt Sámi experience to guide Skolt futures.

## Chapter 2
## Unifying the Boat Site

The boat site was set up in the centre of Če′vetjäu′rr in the wooden enclosure of a winter hockey rink behind the village workshop (*Fi. kyläpaja*). Villagers would regularly walk by on their way to the school, health centre, Skolt craft exhibit, or schoolhouse meeting places. Although talk in the village and media focused on the root boat, the project was actually part of a regular SAKK course on the construction of regional wooden boats using power tools and metal nails. The addition of the root boat component divided the project into the building of a 'root-sewn boat' (*Fi. juuriommeltu vene*), and 'normal boats' (*Fi. normaali venet*), defined as 'boats of the traditional northern boat model suited to today's uses' (Alava and Rantamäki 2016). As I discuss later in this chapter, the 'normal boats' were actually not normal at all, but also materially distinctive from the region's commercially produced boats, and laboriously crafted with skills of woodworking.

Soon after the project began, different construction spaces emerged within the boat site; the root boat builders set up closest to the entrance of the enclosure, before a Siida Museum sign describing the root boat project and its ethnographic history for passing tourists and villagers, while the builders of the 'normal boats' worked under a shelter away from the entrance (see Figure 7). A large camera was mounted on a tripod and trained on the root boat building, ready to switch on at a moment's notice to document a stage of building or interactions with visitors to the boat site.

Inside the village workshop next to the boat site the two groups came together to use building tools. Electric machinery dominated the space, beside axes, saws, and various hand tools for working wood, antler, and other materials. People had been using electric tools in the village since the 1970s, when roads connected Če′vetjäu′rr not only to town centres farther south, but also to the electrical grid. When they did not need to compromise due to time constraints (see Chapter 3), the root boat builders tried to use hand tools more often than power tools, in order to recreate the embodied skills of production of a root-sewn boat, and to allow the interplay of materials and tools to guide their hand along a developing form (Ingold 2000: 299-302). The root boat builders and organisers intended the process of making, guided by the material properties of pinewood, to structure dispositions that would reproduce the thoughts, skills,

habits, and perceptions experienced by boat builders in Petsamo. In contrast, the builders of the normal boats were making their own fishing vessels, cost effectively using pinewood collected during the SAKK course (see Chapter 1), and time efficiently with power tools (see Chapter 3).

There were four Skolt men making the 'normal boats' (including Samuli who appears later in this chapter). Among them were two reindeer herders residing in the Če′vetjäu′rr area, who herd reindeer for part of the year and supplement their income with seasonal construction, building, and forest service work. The other two boat builders have family in Če′vetjäu′rr but live in Â′vvel 150 kilometres south--one works in construction, and the other in healthcare.[5] At the time of the boat building they were in their 50s and 60s, of the so-called 'middle generation,' referring to those who grew up after the relocation and attended government boarding schools (see Introduction).

During coffee breaks several times a day all of the boat builders came together in the kitchen adjacent to the village workshop. Spread on one side of the table were archives, books, and internet sources accumulated from decades of Mika's research on boats. During these coffee breaks, Mika and Arttu discussed the documents and project with villagers, media personnel (Sámi radio and television, local Finnish news, and even reporters from Norway), researchers, and other visitors. Villagers identified relatives in photographs and Skolt Sámi words in texts, or tried to figure out solutions to construction challenges missing from existing documents. Researchers, museum, and media staff asked questions pertaining to the history and construction of root-sewn boats.

SAKK funded two months of an instructor's salary and expenses to orchestrate the building of one root boat and four normal boats, with the assumption that while it would take one person two months to make one normal boat, many people would join to help with labour and experimentation for the root boat. Organisers envisioned that time constraints introduced in the novelty of root sewing and guesswork of reconstruction would be alleviated by the participation of more bodies and memories (see Chapter 3 for discussion on time constraints). In the beginning this was far from the case, and Arttu chipped away alone at the keel for days

[5] Names and occupation details have been changed or omitted to respect privacy and anonymity.

while the normal boat builders put up large side boards, staring askew at the half finished root boat keel half the size of their own. The contrast was so marked that the root boat builders decided to enlarge the boat to 3.7 metres from the archival 2.85 metre model. Still, the normal boat builders remarked in jest about the root boat's small size and its tedious construction with hand tools. Quite literally working through the jokes, Arttu continued making initial cuts to the wood, shaping the keel tiresomely with an axe.

The humour was not new to Arttu. Villagers, family and friends had long questioned why he was taking over four years to build his home, using local wood and making window frames by hand, when he could instead have a house ready within a year. Moreover, he was taking extra time to construct a home that would be heated with a wood burning stove and served by an eco-friendly compost toilet.

Scepticism, expressed as humour, surrounding the environmental motivations and extended labour of building and craft, carries a gendered dimension. Arttu's father and other male relatives ask why he builds houses and boats with hand tools instead of power tools, or makes knives and bowls instead of aquiring store-bought ones. Although Arttu makes what is traditionally conceived of as male craft, his family regards any craftsmanship to be a feminine occupation.

Arttu explained that there are two kinds of men. One builds ten houses from pre-manufactured parts, like many of those built in Če′vetjäu′rr in the 1970s for the second generations of relocated Skolt families. The other spends ten years building a structure from handcrafted wood, taking extra time and care with materials so that the home will last through his life, and that of his children.

Drawing me into the story, Arttu asked, ‘Who do you think is a better man?’

‘The man who makes one house,’ I said, thinking immediately of the third little pig who made a sturdy house of brick.

‘Most people think the one with ten houses is a better man. I want to be the man who builds one good house.’

Arttu's everyday practice making a 'good' home in pursuing the 'right' way to live, as a man or otherwise, exist in tension with production practices that do not share the same environmental and anti-industrial values. While Arttu is Finnish, the interplay of humour and production reflects wider debates surrounding engagements with place, language, environment, and activism in what it means to live in a 'Skolt Sámi way.' As the boat site became a microcosm of these broader dynamics negotiating community belonging, it became clear that for the root boat to be built with 'community memories,' it was not enough to situate the boat site in a Skolt Sámi village. Instead, daily practices of root boat building needed to become part of the fabric of Skolt social life during the months of the project. This transformation necessitated the physical dissolution of divisions of production that had materialised at the boat site itself.

In this chapter, I explore the use of humour and production in mediating competing visions of Skolt life, and how these practices ultimately form collective efforts toward community wellbeing. I discuss how cultural activism becomes articulated through material practices that reconnect body and land, thus repurposing ethnographic studies that once relegated these activities to the past, to create visions for the future through new values of environmental care. In contrast, ongoing engagements with the environment predicated on place-based social relations, are asserted through humour directed at the revitalisation of older technologies. The humour does not contest revival efforts *per se*, but rather issues of representation surrounding lifeways selected as depictions of Skolt Sámi culture. I provide a case study of an act of gifting that draws attention to the object's production to unify generations in visions of Skolt life, and then discuss the gendered dimensions of these negotiations. Finally, I demonstrate the diffusion of spatial divisions at the boat site to consider how competing practices converge to shape collective efforts toward Skolt futures.

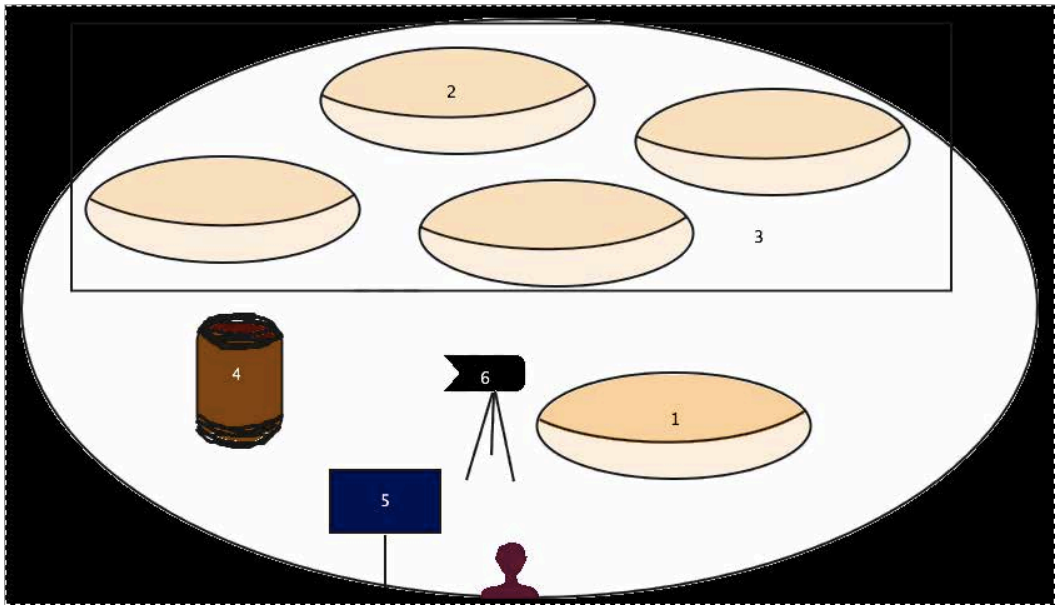


**Figure 7** *Boat site as seen from perspective of visitors* (upon initial entrance). Numbers indicate 1) root-sewn boat, 2) boats made with metal nails, 3) shelter, 4) steam box for bending boards, 5) sign about root-sewn boat history and project, and 6) film camera.

**Humour, production, and the debate of lived experience**

Articulations of silent knowledge indicate shared memory and embodied practice in relation to northern homelands at the intersection of diverse life trajectories--between those who have lived their entire lives in these regions, and those who have travelled between Finland's urban centres and the northern Skolt areas. This allows people to conceive of themselves as part of the same community irrespective of daily face-to-face interaction (Anderson 1991). As discussed in the Introduction, there is much contemporary work on relationships to the environment of Sámi fishermen and reindeer herders (eg. Helander-Renvall 2010; Ingold 1980; Mazzullo 2012). However, cultural revitalisation efforts, often led by women, favour female roles in the collection of plants for food and craft. Initiatives to construct boats, sledges, and similar large wooden objects, seek to engage men in community building efforts (see also Introduction and Chapter 4).

Such renewals of local forms of production assert Skolt community presence beyond, and in relation to, the national boundaries and governance of the Finnish state. This involves gathering plant, wood and other natural materials in order to relearn skills and create ties to the land. On the other hand, many men reinforce land, reindeer and fishing rights in the Skolt

Area through their already established livelihood practice, while participating in the sååbbar, reindeer herding organisations, and the reconstruction of local watersheds.

While fishing and reindeer herding are central symbols of Sámi culture, emphasising relationship and claims to the land, the revival of craft and gathered foods focuses on embodied, social, and environmentally conscious practices unfolding from collection, to preparation and making. Whereas the former livelihood activities centre on practicality and subsistence, the latter emphasise the process of getting there--the production itself--as reinforcement of social connections and visions for Skolt life.

I therefore explore how these converging forms of political action are negotiated through humour and production to ultimately form united efforts toward better futures in the Skolt regions.

*Environment, care, and the 'Skolt Sámi way'*

Links between indigenous populations and environmentalism foster identities tied up with values of care for the land (Ulloa 2013). While such values are crucial for environmental and political agency (Dove 2006; Niezen 2003), they are also enacted through everyday practice linked to social instead of explicitly environmental agendas. I therefore ask how care for the environment can be mobilised to reconfigure patterns of social life marginalised within nation states.

Valkonen (2014), and Valkonen and Valkonen (2014), have argued that the incorporation of conceived Sámi-nature relationships as bodily practice shapes Sámi identity and sense of community. In other words, living a 'traditional way of life close to nature' constitutes efforts to embody 'Sáminess' (Valkonen 2014). In this section, I show how care for the environment interweaves with material practices of production and sense of place to shape visions for Skolt community and futures.

Heini, in her early 30s, is Arttu's partner and mother of their two children. She teaches Skolt Sámi craft for SAKK and the Skolt Sámi Cultural Foundation, leading workshops in Če′vetjäu′rr, Aanar, and occasionally in Helsinki. When she was seventeen years old, Heini enrolled in a Sámi craft course in Aanar, and then completed an apprenticeship with Sandra,

the Skolt Sámi craft ‘master’ of Če′vetjäu′rr (see Chapter 4). Because Heini's mother had not learned many craft and gathering skills from her mother, Heini began learning directly from her grandmother. In this way, she used processes of making to repair generational disconnects of practice.

In her everyday efforts to maintain and revive Skolt Sámi culture, Heini seeks to live in a ‘Skolt Sámi way.’ This ‘way’ involves a conception of culture as active process (cf. Milton 2013: 22), 'reproduced in action' (Sahlins 2013: vii), and working toward futures in which knowledge and mental dispositions are reconfigured, produced and sustained to construct community despite pressures of assimilation within the Finnish state. As such, it does not focus on the final form of what is produced but the process of getting there, thus transforming practical knowledge into purposeful action. For those not visibly active in revitalisation efforts but expressing belonging through everyday engagements with the environment in Skolt places, culture also exists as process but is attributed different meaning than the expression of culture through activism.

Practice theory reinterpreted conceptions of culture away from determining human action and toward the ways in which people give meaning to culture (Ortner 2006). Therefore, this case study shows how different meanings and experiences of culture are negotiated through practice. Culture in this sense indexes not 'what people know and think,' but the 'process by which that knowledge and those thoughts are generated and sustained' (Milton 2013: 22).

In asserting culture as active process, Heini and Arttu attempt to follow seasonal cycles of plant gathering: When the snow melts from the roots of birch trees in the spring, Heini collects mää′ll, or birch sap. In July and August she collects blueberries and bilberries, and locates swamps with an abundance of cloudberries. For tanning hides she collects willow during njâälläi′ğğ *(Fi. nila-aika),* referring to the time (äi′ğğ) when the sap flows through phloem (njâäll), allowing bark to peel easily from the trees. In some years during njâälläi′ğğ she and Arttu also harvest pie′cc inner bark from Scots pine. They use it to make a recipe of porridge fixed with fish fat, distinguished as a unique Skolt Sámi use of Scots pine in the region. Before the shoe hay (kaammisuei′nn, *Carex spp*.) turns yellow in late August, Heini harvests it to keep the shape of her reindeer shoes. Then she waits for lingonberries in later summer and early fall to store them for the winter, and collects mushrooms that appear with early autumn rains. It is in training her attention to the seasonal rhythms and fluctuations of

the pine and birch forests, and cloudberry swamps, that she embodies what she calls the ‘Skolt Sámi way.’ (Of course the realisation of this way of life is constrained by the demands of a modern political economy, analysed in Chapter 3). While Heini's ancestors in Petsamo were perceptive to changing plant life as a means of physical survival, today this way of life allows her to survive in a new way, through the reclamation of identity and community life.

Heini and many other Skolt Sámi of younger generations seek to acquire embodied proficiency in working with tools and natural materials. 'Tieto tulee selkärangasta' (F.), ‘Knowledge comes from the spine,’ Heini told me as we collected and processed shoe hay. She explained that the particular bodily movements and techniques of harvesting shoe hay were *not yet* in her spine. She could feel this incomplete fluency in the hesitancy of moving a scythe or knife against the stalks of the shoe hay, hitting the bundle against a rock to remove the chaff, and twisting it into an elusive knot. In the early stages of learning how to work plants or wooden materials into usable forms, a tool acts as both facilitating and constraining medium rather than as an extension of the body.

Instead of the person, it is the tool, materials, and making itself that have agency, guiding and constraining the hand that initially cannot keep pace with unfolding production enacted between body, tool, and material. The process of learning skills so that they 'come from the spine,' evokes the fisherman's ‘enskilment’ in ‘getting one's sea legs,’ wherein recovery from discomfort leads to a heightened learning and social engagement (Pálsson 1994). Since she first learned craft making through a SAKK course and apprenticeship, Heini has not worked with shoe hay enough to feel a fluidity and assurance of movement in dialogue with the material. Insecurity surrounding this bodily ineptness reflects an awareness of how assimilation histories are lived as embodied and generational rupture.

I asked what *was,* for Heini, already in the spine. 'It is easier to say what isn’t,' she explained, adding that she felt competent with the things she had already been making and teaching for years, like Skolt beadwork on dress and belts. Heini notices only what is not yet embodied, like the making of shoe hay, because ultimately what is ‘in the spine’ as tacit knowledge, is so embodied that it evades conscious reflection. One becomes ‘skilled’ when he or she is able to operate without rules or instructions (Ingold 2000: 415), when intention and movement converge in a ‘bodily intentionality’ (O’Connor 2005), and when tools are experienced as

part of the body (Polanyi 2015: 59). In this way, the successful acquisition of skill is marked by the production of materialities without conscious strain or attention to details of technique.

Efforts to achieve embodied fluency of production practices further intersect with moralities of environmental care to shape what it means to live in a 'Skolt Sámi way.' The 'Skolt Sámi way' implies an environmental, moral responsibility based on a conception of indigenous closeness to nature (Milton 2013). Yet this concept of 'nature' also recalls older Sámi beliefs about spirits in the landscape. For example, Heini follows Skolt Sámi 'rules' that she learned from her grandmother about how to move through the surrounding forest, fells, and swamps. She avoids making noise, disturbing the ground after six o'clock in the evening, harvesting too many plants, or setting up shelter on an old path, in order to not disturb the *čeäkkli*--creatures who are much like people, but who live underground. As people consider ancestral hiljainen tieto to be wrapped up in the land and ways of interacting with it, they elicit embodied memories through regionally specific engagements with the environment, while simultaneously evoking a global indigenous environmental consciousness.

Interestingly, few people actually connect rules of environmental conduct to čeäkkli*,* opting instead for the more amorphous concept of nature (*S. Sámi, luâtt; F. luonto*). Nature has thus become the surrogate for a range of spirits whose names or specific characteristics lost their disambiguation with the adoption of Christianity and assimilation pressures from dominant groups. Vitebsky (2006: 312) describes a similar ambiguity among the Eveny, who could not describe characteristics of spirits but nevertheless made them offerings as they would move through mountain passes. Thus Christianity rearticulates indigenous beliefs while obscuring their origins.

In Če′vetjäu′rr after the Second World War, Pelto (1962: 171-72) observed that people would go to priests to provide the ultimate appraisal of what they called 'pagan superstitions.' Father Petteri, the priest holding Orthodox services in Skolt Sámi areas during my 2014 to 2015 fieldwork (see Chapter 5), explained that Christianity repurposed what was stigmatised as 'superstition' and 'folk knowledge,' thus maintaining Sámi beliefs by repackaging them in new form. For example, the Skolt practice of leaving shovels in the graves of the deceased, took on Christian meaning as the provision of extrication tools for Judgement Day (Paasilinna 1992: 310). While such repackaging perpetuated Sámi practices of caution in a

spiritual landscape, spirits lost names and identifying features that could stigmitise them as 'pagan superstition,' in favor of 'nature' or even 'God.' More recently, many of these practices of caution have been rearticulated as an indigenous care for the environment.

Gell (1998: 17) argues that places and objects embed humans in networks of relationships and intentions, wherein events occur due to an 'intention,' 'lodged in the person or thing which initiates the causal sequence.' Considering that it is not only places and objects, but the embodied practices of mediation that produce materialities (Appadurai 2015), and by extension exert agency and make things happen, I consider practices of making in the unfolding of events. In other words, a causal sequence could not occur without the inertia of the causal sequence itself. Below I present an example in the making of shoe hay.

Heini and I were searching for a site to collect shoe hay when we suddenly heard what Heini said sounded like a bear's whistle. Heini had never heard the sound herself but had heard about the 'bear's whistle' from friends and relatives. A second and third time it echoed through the forest. Unnerved, we decided to abandon the search for this particular shoe hay place and listen for continued sounds while navigating the landscape. Later we arrived at a new shoe hay site next to a shallow stream near Če′vetjäu′rr Road, and began separating the stalks from their hold in the water using handmade knives and scythes. As I pulled and bent the stalks with the awkwardness of inexperienced movement, building pressure at the edge of the blade, I tried to further tug at the strained stalks with the fingers of the hand that was holding the knife. Instead the knife cut sharply into my skin. Heini took this as a sign from 'nature' that we should leave. So we did, but not before thanking the site. *Spä'sseb*, we said, meaning 'thank you' in Skolt Sámi. I asked Heini where she had learned to thank the shoe hay site, to which she replied that it was based on her grandmother's teachings that 'nature' should be 'respected' and 'let to rest.' 'Maybe she thanked it in her head,' Heini added, rearticulating the practices of her ancestors within a new framework of indigenous environmental responsibility.

Both place and tool--shoe hay site and knife--dictated the demands of 'nature' as to where and how to harvest, and when to stop. The 'bear whistle' and knife steered us from one place to another, guided by the agency of 'nature' itself. Thus within structures of indigenous environmental consciousness, objects and places, as representations of 'nature,' exist not as

separate entities but enmeshed with humans as indexes of agency (Gell 1998), interwoven through practices of production.

*The study of culture*

The search for a cultural way of life through engagement with the land, and the use of ethnographic texts and other scholarly documents to inform these initiatives, requires discussion of the study of culture in Finland, and more widely in the Scandinavian regions. While Chapter 4 deals with the racialising legacies of physical anthropology and Lappology, below I briefly discuss the broader implications of ethnology, anthropology, and folkloristics on the selection of practices as representative of culture and national histories.

In the 19th century, George Perkins Marsh encouraged the protection of history, nature, and woodlands (Lowenthal 2015: 6). Predating Scandinavian open-air museums, he advocated for the public display of everyday tools and objects of past lives--farming implements and other materials of the home (*ibid.*, 395). These museums formed the basis for the classification of human life based on tools and objects, and the selection of practices associated with these implements as representative of particular cultures.

In Finland, folkloristics, ethnology and anthropology form separate areas of study (Siikala 2006). Folklore in particular has focused on people within Finland (Siikala 2006). More widely, folkloristics, ethnology, and anthropology have been used to shape national narratives (Anttonen 2005; Gerholm and Hannerz 1982; Hansen and Olsen 2014: 3; Wilson 1976). In these endeavours, the study of indigenous peoples to understand the past has been extensively problematised (Fabian 1983; Hansen and Olsen 2014: 4). As in the case of Scandinavian open-air museums, researchers recorded material culture considered distinctive from contemporary dominant populations, yet reflective of their common past. Skolt today make use of these records to reconstruct craft, production techniques, and ways of engaging with the environment. In this way they repurpose national projects that relegated them to the past, in order to create viable futures.

Beyond texts and museum materials, researchers and local communities interact directly to shape cultural revitalisation in the Skolt regions. Irja, who first appears in Chapter 1, originally travelled north from her university in southern Finland with a passion for

folkloristics, skiing from house to house to document various facets of social and economic life among the Skolt Sámi. Eventually she married a Skolt Sámi man and settled permanently in the village of Keväjäu′rr. We are similar, she said of herself and the Skolts, explaining the common Karelian and Skolt relocation from areas of Russia, and the study of these people by researchers. Today she holds workshops on the making of Skolt food, harvest of pine inner bark, and chaga mushroom (*Inonotus obliquus*), and is regularly consulted by the Sámi Museum Siida and by younger Skolt seeking to revive these practices. These interactions depict how research can be used for its immediate applications toward community interests.

As an anthropologist conducting ethnographic fieldwork in a Sámi village, my work also found resonance and immediate engagement with a cultural revival movement similarly entangled with histories of cultural study. As discussed in the Introduction, I was able to connect most easily with those who shared influences from urban and university centres, and who regularly consulted ethnographic materials to inform their efforts of cultural reconnection. These interlocutors encouraged me to study environmental knowledge and skills critical to their everyday efforts of community building. Attributing 'silent knowledge' to an *indigenous* way of life, they echoed Koivunen's (1997) emphasis on the importance of tacit practice to people and cultures.

*The place of activism*

When I was not harvesting shoe hay or other natural materials as part of an active reconnection with the land, I spent much of my time with reindeer herders, fishermen, and other older villagers, practicing the Skolt Sámi language, fishing, and collecting berries. Often through humour, these interlocutors expressed less public but equally political perspectives on what it meant to be Skolt Sámi. At the same time, they engaged in care for the environment and its resources without necessarily considering or articulating it as such. Such differences of relating to the land are negotiated through nonverbal forms of practice--through humour and production, reflecting a larger debate on the role of activism in Skolt Sámi life.

Tuomas, in his 50s, has worked jobs building houses in the municipality, across the border in Norway, and in southern urban areas. One day in early summer, Tuomas and I were discussing various practices now considered Skolt tradition, for example burial customs in

which axes and shovels used for digging are placed in graves to protect against 'evil spirits' (Rantakeisu 2015), as gifts, or to bury objects that have come in contact with the dead (Storå 1971). Tuomas laughed, 'The cemetery is filled with axes… If you went there with a metal detector it would be beeping everywhere.' He smiled playfully, 'But when I die bury me with a motor saw.' Through a tacit mocking and differentiation from those who insist on using hand tools, he was implying at least equal worth in using a motor saw.

Samuli, one of the men building a boat with metal nails, was working that summer for the Finnish Forest Service, *Metsähallitus,* catching fish and removing them from the lake of Če′vetjäu′rr. The Finnish Forest Service hired Samuli because overcompetition of fish in the lake was preventing any one fish from growing beyond juvenile size. 'There used to be seines, (*S. Sámi, nue'tt)*, all over the place,' he says, referring to the large seines that trap fish over large swathes of water. Samuli's everyday engagement with the environment is based on the practicalities of sustaining viable fishing populations in Če′vetjäu′rr; in this way he enacts environmental action without necessarily articulating it as environmentalism. Scholars contesting essentialisations of an ecological indigeneity have noted that environmental practice need not articulate conservation ethics, using case studies from North America (Krech 1999, 2005) and Amazonia (Stearman 1994).

Tensions between these different ways of relating to the environment debate the importance of activism versus life-long inhabitance of Skolt regions in living a Skolt way of life. A young woman working in tourism near Če′vetjäu′rr emphasised that she is Skolt Sámi because she has lived with her family in the Skolt Sámi Area, and not because she attempts to revive particular gathering practices, although she too engages in these efforts. The difference is that she considers the former rather than the latter to constitute a Skolt way of life. Younger reindeer herders expressed similar feelings, saying that what makes them Skolt Sámi is that they grew up herding in a Skolt Sámi place among other Skolt. Because of these life histories they know the paths, snowmobile and all-terrain vehicle (ATV) routes for reindeer herding, fishing, and other activities in the forests and fells, thus articulating a Skolt Sámi way of life as relation to, and mobility between, specific and meaning-laden Skolt places (see Chapter 4).

Focus on how much time one has lived in the Skolt Sámi villages reflects rural and urban divides, a phenomenon seen among many indigenous communities, including Māori (Gagne 2016) and Native Hawaiians (Linnekin 1983). The rural place embodies a morality in

opposition to the urban (Taylor 2009), marked by particular relationships to natural environments (Mathisen 2004). This can result in a lost sense of belonging among those who live outside the northern Skolt regions. Those who leave long to return north, considering Helsinki too 'big,' 'hurried,' and 'crowded.'

When Heini moved to Helsinki to become a craft instructor, she says she 'lost herself' and her desire to do craft as she suddenly found herself in a non-Skolt Sámi place. This stimulated her resolve to return north to teach specifically Skolt Sámi craft, and in this way to improve Skolt wellbeing and sense of community in the northern regions. Heini's experience represents one of many examples of how perspectives of Skolt Sámi life in relation to larger towns and cities drive cultural revival initiatives. Many return migrants say that it was not until they and other Skolt travelled south that they realised the distinctiveness of their life in the northern villages. Along the way back, they interwove influences from global indigenous and environmental movements with the teachings of their grandparents to inform their everyday practice.

A 'Skolt Sámi way' based on activism therefore also involves practice in relation to place, but not necessarily situated in those places. The village of Če′vetjäu′rr serves as a 'reference point that allows people to arrange their thoughts, emotions and aspirations' (Nakhshina 2012), forming a locus of belonging to a Skolt Sámi community. These attachments need not occur between rural and urban, north and south, but may cut across Sámi regions: As a child Heini grew up in the North Sámi village of Ohcejohka, where her family felt they had to avoid markers of Skolt Sáminess. However, through regular visits to family in Če′vetjäu′rr, she cultivated a sense of Skolt Sáminess through social and spatial attachments beyond Ohcejohka, and in relation to Če′vetjäu′rr.

Heini seeks to create a similar reference of belonging for her children, even if their life trajectories take them far away from the Skolt Area. She explains that although her son may form his own path in a new place, just as generations before him, by bringing him up in Če′vetjäu′rr he will have his 'roots' there, while maintaining further attachments to Suõnn′jel.

As a plurality of ideas about what it means to be Skolt Sámi all involve relation to place, it is therefore not place itself, but the act of purposeful reconnection, that evokes skepticism from

other residents. Like the informal learning by watching and doing described by Pelto (1962: 111) and Ingold (2000) (see Chapter 3), many of those who have lived most of their lives in Skolt areas emphasise that engagement with the environment should be similarly learned and practiced, without trying to revive something of the past in the present. As different forms of 'inhabiting the land' (Ingold and Kurttila 2000), lifeways based on the way things are done (Bjerkli 1996), intersect with efforts to do things differently based on conceptions of ancestral hiljainen tieto.

Nadasdy (2003) describes how Kluane in the Yukon Territory shape a sense of themselves and their way of life through shared practices, beliefs, social relations, and values, despite distinctions of livelihood, or urban and rural environments. Likewise in the Skolt regions, there is general agreement that the Skolt Sámi way of life is about knowing, and not 'knowledge' (cf. Vitebsky 2002a). However, different meanings and relations are attributed to these ways of knowing and learning-- from knowing as actively learned, to unintentionally acquired, through socially and environmentally situated practice. Therefore, discourse surrounding activism and Skolt Sámi life centres not on the politics of knowledge and place, but on how one lives and knows in relation to those places.

‘People don’t like activists and green people,’ Heini explained. Indeed, on several occassions I heard statements like 'I am not a Skolt Sámi activist,' mainly from middle-aged and older Skolt. These articulations reflected the common sentiment that Skolt Sámi already have the rights they need based on the Skolt Act (Kolttalaki 24.2.1995/253), rendering unnecessary any political action beyond responsibilities of the Skolt Council (see Introduction). Even in the late 1950s and early 1960s, Pelto (1962: 199) noticed a similar reaction to the flourishing of Skolt participation in transnational Sámi activism, which at the time was branded as 'deviant' behaviour.

Those facing such scepticism believe that active efforts to revive, remember, and reclaim are critical to countering assimilation histories. At school, Heini did not learn about Sámi history, and at home she did not learn the Skolt language because her parents spoke Finnish. Her grandmother moved from Suõnn′jel when she was 12, and married a Finnish man. Heini laments that because her parents' generation rejected markers of Skolt identity, her grandmother rarely spoke about her culture. Therefore, Heini had to actively seek instruction

about her grandmother's ways of doing things, either from her grandmother and other older relatives, or through SAKK courses. For her and many others who have had to reclaim that which they were not given through informal learning and practice, living in a Skolt Sámi way is no longer about surviving physically, but about healing emotionally and spiritually. The new task of survival is about being active in the present to remedy a collective forgetting of the past. Heini explains:

> 'People must be active in revitalisation because culture is so *thin*. People forgot so much after the relocation. They are different and don't know why. People are dislocated and traumatised. They have had their culture taken from them.'

*A question of representation*

Pulls between different expressions of a Skolt Sámi way of life are enmeshed in a politics of representation. Articulations of a Skolt relationship to the environment create possibilities for international representation by satisfying a rather broad category of indigenous designation (Heinämäki 2009; Lindroth and Sinevaara-Niskanen 2013). However, these representations have also been widely criticised for their essentialising expectations of environmental infallibility (e.g., Conklin and Graham 1995; Ellen 1986; Ellen and Harris 2000; Milton 2013: 109-112; Nadasdy 2005). The restriction on ways of engaging with the environment potentially risks excluding and marginalising those who do not fit the category in its stereotyped form (Conklin 1997; Sissons 2005), and may limit how one can live in order to be considered indigenous (Li 2000). Likewise, romanticisation of Sámi nature-relationships can create unrealistic ideals, deviation from which may be used to undermine Sámi interests (Mathisen 2003; Toivanen 2004; Valkonen and Valkonen 2014).

Root boat production allows assertion of continuity with the Petsamo homeland, Skolt distinctiveness, and ceremonial gathering (see Chapter 5), in ways not possible with individual fishing boats. However, when visions of culture based on older technologies of production become those presented in media and literature, institutionalised and politicised, conflicts can develop over public representations of indigenous culture and interests. Everyday fishing boats and heritage root boats thus become material vehicles for navigating these politics. As Clifford (2004) explains about the reworking of the past in imagining new futures: 'What's at stake is the power to define tradition and authenticity, to determine the

relationships through which native identity is negotiated in a changing world.' In the case presented here, these stakes are negotiated through practices of humour and production.

Cultural, museum, and educational institutions in the region discussed further in Chapter 3, seek to represent the diversity of Sámi lifeways, yet inevitably also elevate certain practices over others. For example, SAKK funds workshops in Če′vetjäu′rr that focus on wood and antler craft, weaving, beadwork, Skolt Sámi dress, plant-based wool dyeing, and other practices based on the gathering and working of natural materials. Likewise, while Siida Sámi Museum seeks to represent the living culture of Sámi people, it commissioned the reconstruction of a root boat based on older production technologies for display at the Heritage House, instead of a 'normal' boat, also made by hand according to Skolt models and equally distinctive from industrially manufactured boats, but used for fishing on local lakes. The power tools used to make these 'normal boats' require different types of skills than hand tools, yet they require an embodied knowledge of woodworking nonetheless. Institutional support for particular ways of life further draws media attention to older practices over those already existing. The interplay of these processes determines what becomes reproduced and represented as Skolt culture.

Despite relative remoteness compared to larger towns and cities, Če′vetjäu′rr is enmeshed in national and global economic and social networks, and connected to roads and commercial infrastructure that facilitate the availability of goods and services. Therefore, rural values exist as part of a way of life sharing commonalities with city life (Taylor 2009), so that living according to these values must be guided by 'moral limitations' that constrain movement within an existing economy (Nakhshina 2012). There is conflict (*Fi. ristiriita*), Arttu explained, between what people want to do and what people should do, at a time of enhanced availability of goods, and possibilities for the exploitation of forests and other natural resources. For example, instead of fully connecting to electrical infrastructure, Heini and Arttu equipped their home with a wood-burning stove so that they would not be tempted to use electric heating, thus effectively removing the possibility of deviation beyond their moral limitations. Such limitations shape social relations between those who set them and those who question their boundaries.

It follows then that the commodification of natural resources in the Skolt Area engenders debate surrounding whether people are living according to a 'Skolt Sámi way,' and what that way is (cf. Nakhshina 2012). Those advocating for an environmental consciousness of indigenous people as caretakers of the land (Mathisen 2003), express disapproval of actions that counter these notions by labeling them as life not lived according to a 'Skolt Sámi way'; this includes taking too much fish from the lakes, cutting down too many trees from the forests, taking trees above the legally permitted width, or taking only parts of trees while leaving the rest. Particular disapproval challenges the use of Skolt Sámi land rights to sell wood contrary to regulations that permit felling only for firewood, building, and other subsistence purposes. In contrast, those who sell wood acquired through their Skolt Sámi land rights feel entitled to such economic use of local resources. Therefore, disagreements about the right way to engage with the land must be negotiated to achieve a shared morality.

In her study on the Terskii coast among Pomor populations, Nakhshina (2012) examines the intersection of place-related identity and values surrounding salmon. She finds that the 'moral dimensions of place-related identity' reveal how people engage with place and conceptualise belonging, and that labels of 'locals' and 'newcomers' develop from tensions between different values surrounding the utilisation of fish resources. In Če′vetjäu′rr, disagreement emerges instead between two different types of 'locals,' both accepted as part of the Skolt Sámi community, but diverging on what it means to live in a Skolt Sámi way. Visions of Skolt life based on environmental care must contend with the fact that these imaginings do not necessarily reflect the lives of all Skolt Sámi, and that many of the same issues that new residents hoped to escape in southern cities are also present in northern villages.

The continual selection of certain embodied practices over others reflects 'time as a moral dimension' (Vitebsky 2002b). While engaging in recollection of specific embodied memories from a valued time and place toward an envisioned future, those who recreate objects made by their grandparents, or displayed in museums, may demote the importance of tacit skills such as searching the internet to purchase ready-made boats. However, for many of the 'middle generation,' engagements with both commercial and handmade objects constitute embodied practices of Skolt Sáminess, as long as they are enacted through social engagement in Skolt Sámi places. Growing up in an era of Finnicisation that fostered an active forgetting of externally perceptible markers of Skolt Sámi identity, what made those who experienced

Finnish boarding schools Skolt Sámi was their belonging to a Skolt Sámi community. Therefore, for many of these individuals, it is the social situatedness of practice that continues to shape Skolt ways of life, instead of conscious material markers (e.g., craft, dress), or environmentalist action.

When the Sámi of Finland first joined international indigenous networks, Ingold (1976: 237-38) noted that the movement seeks to anchor identities based on particular notions of Sámi practice, incorporating those who perform these roles and those who do not. Similarly today, Skolt who do not participate in traditional livelihood or heritage activities nevertheless become part of broader narratives of Skolt Sámi culture.

In these cases, humour directed at hand tools and log houses serves as a way to negotiate public representations of Skolt Sáminess. Although the Skolt Sámi men were building Skolt boats to fish as had their fathers and grandfathers, it was the root boat that was featured in media discussion, film, and ultimate museum display, of Skolt Sámi boats. Therefore, it may be that humour, in addition to the making of things that end up outside the public narrative of Skolt culture, allows those not represented by this narrative to also achieve recognition of their visions for Skolt life.

**New storytellers, old tools**

In the case study presented below, the gesture of a gift highlights generational reversals of learning and teaching in cultural revival contexts, in which younger generations teach older generations how and what to remember by drawing attention to practices of production. Debate surrounding the gift reveals disappointment with parents, and the political, social, and economic factors that left younger generations to drive their own learning. It also reveals how different lifeways and visions for the future can be reconciled through nonverbal material practices.

I was sitting on Heini and Arttu's couch one evening in late summer when Arttu brought out two bowls made of birch burl--*pä'ǩǩ-kopp (F. kuksa)*. One he had crafted with hand tools and sandpaper, and the other he finished more quickly using power tools. Such drinking vessels

are commonly mass-produced for souvenir shops, sold as standard-controlled *Sámi Duodji*,[6] or made during Sámi craft workshops.

'Do you see these cracks?' Arttu pointed to the more regular but more fragile pä′ǩǩ-kopp. He explained how machine tools had physically weakened the wood by cutting across the grain. The other pä′ǩǩ-kopp, slowly worn down with sandpaper, was an odd globular shape and when placed on a table, tipped to one side in a questioning glance at the craftsman. When making a pä′ǩǩ-kopp by hand the artisan must follow the grain into a roughly round bowl and an inevitably unique shape. Arttu was proud of his 'real' pä′ǩǩ-kopp, dictated by the wood and not a preformed mould, and shaped into existence by the labour of hand and time.

Arttu was trying to decide which pä′ǩǩ-kopp to give to his father as a 60th birthday present. His father had often questioned what he perceived as Arttu's 'feminine' interest in craft. He did not understand the value of making by hand what could be made by machine. Through the gift of the pä′ǩǩ-kopp, Arttu wanted to demonstrate to his father that things do not always have to be straight, that a bowl tipped to one side could be the better bowl. On the other hand, he worried that his father would wonder why he had received a broken drinking vessel for his 60th birthday. Arttu and Heini asked my opinion about which pä′ǩǩ-kopp should be given as a gift.

Just like the question about the man who built one 'good' house and the man who built ten, I was again asked to choose between two ways of life. I agreed that the pä′ǩǩ-kopp made with hand tools was sturdier because of its formation along the grain of the wood. But I answered that Arttu should nevertheless give the gift that his father would be more likely to appreciate. After all, I reasoned, if Arttu were to give his father something that he considered broken, the gift would not achieve its intended purpose.

'No,' Heini disagreed with my assessment. 'If you want to tell a story, give him the pä′ǩǩ-kopp that will tell that story.'

[6] Sámi Duodji ry., an association of Sámi artisans, was established in 1975 in Aanar to ensure the quality and authenticity of Sámi craft, as well as to prevent appropriation by non-Sámi commercial interests.

The story that Heini and Arttu were trying to teach with the gift of the pä′ǩǩ-kopp was similar to that of the root boat. Their critiques of a homogenising and infrastructurally expanding Finnish nation state that had marginalised Skolt lifeways, became embodied in notions of the 'straight line.' In making the root boat, Arttu aimed to use older technologies (hand tools), and local materials, to stimulate ways of thinking of past generations, emphasising that 'with an axe there is really no way to make a straight line.' The root boat builders believed that hand tools would facilitate the direct translation of the intention of the hand to the shaping of the wood, while the material properties of Če′vetjäu′rr pine, the process of making, and the final function, would exert agency to guide the emerging material form.

However, Arttu was forced to make compromises in his envisioned methods of production. He tried to work the joint for the rounded part of the keel from a diagonal angle with hand tools, just as past generations had been forced to do in accommodating potential error. When he encountered difficulties he switched to electric tools, just as earlier generations had swapped their implements for electrically powered machinery when it was first introduced, eliminating factors of error so that an exact cut could be made instead of working the joint more slowly and indirectly. Thus after Arttu's efforts to re-enact an ancestral process of boat making, rough and following the grain, he instead re-enacted a historically specific moment of technological transformation of practice by cutting the joint straight.

Ingold argues that lines are not necessarily straight, and that conceptions of lines as straight developed with the history of scientific thought that dichotomised modern and non-modern, nature and culture (Ingold 2016: 152-155). As such, colonialism is not the imposition of linear systems on the non-linear, but the 'imposition of one kind of line on another' (*ibid.*, 2). Heini and Arttu's critique of straight lines extends generationally, to the boarding school 'middle generation' for not teaching their children skills of subsistence gathering, craft making, and related production, and to the Finnish state for imposing its own ways of thought in shaping Finnish citizens. Because Heini never learned certain skills from her parents, she must invest time and effort around the limited affordances of salaried work to learn skills she could have already incorporated into bodily routines from childhood (see Chapter 3). Thus the gift of the rough-shaped pä′ǩǩ-kopp aims toward a different kind of line disrupting those imposed by the Finnish state, which dichotomised linear and nonlinear, modern and traditional.

Similar to the intergenerational continuity pursued by disrupting the straight line as a manifestation of assimilation politics, the root boat project enacted continuous processes of production to break down perceptions of materials and forms as linear. As I used my own hand-made knife to angle the tops of wooden nails, Mika instructed me to allow communication directly from the eyes to the hands, to bypass 'the brain' in order to 'not think in straight lines.' In other words, he did not want me to have a preformed image of the line I was to make, or to preoccupy my attention with the tool in my hand (cf. O'Connor 2005; Polanyi 2015: 54-59), but instead to allow my visual attention on the wood to transfer directly to hand motion in a fluid and continuous response to the grain.

Arttu hoped for hand tools and materials to both constrain and guide his hand in relation to the developing form (cf. Ingold 2000: 299-302). In other words, the use of non-electric tools allowed him to adjust his hand movements to the curves of the grain of wood instead of cutting across them. This facilitated re-enactment of envisioned bodily techniques and mental processes of past generations who used similar tools and materials (cf. Portisch 2010).

These active efforts to acquire a practical knowledge in dialogue with natural materials, seek repair of intergenerational relationships, marked by guilt among younger Skolt for not learning, and older for not teaching, skills needed to thrive in present social, political, and economic contexts favouring culturally distinct practices as avenues of indigenous empowerment. While Finnicisation and marginalisation drove an active ‘forgetting’ among the generation of Heini’s parents, who rejected the culturally marked practices of their own parents to create viable futures in Finnish society, young Skolt Sámi now rework their parents’ and their own Finnicised practices by recalling those of their grandparents. Both reworkings are assertions of Skolt agency--While Heini’s parents risked mockery for not being Finnish or the right kind of Sámi, Heini must contend with both external and internal questioning of her Skolt Sáminess based on how much she *knows* about Skolt Sámi ways of interacting with local environments. Still, in the disappointments there is also understanding and forgiveness. Pauliina Feodoroff writes, ‘My generation has to forgive our parents for their silence. All of their energy, all of our energy, has been directed to surviving’ (Mustonen and Mustonen 2011: 19). Younger Skolt understand that their parents’ lifeworld was different than their own, that amidst pressures to be more Finnish and less Skolt Sámi it did not favour

learning from *their* parents. Thus they engaged different practices of 'survival' in their respective worlds. Bourdieu (1977: 78) provides a fitting explanation for such generational differences of practice:

> ‘Practices are always liable to incur negative sanctions when the environment with which they are actually confronted is too distant from that to which they are objectively fitted. This is why generation conflicts oppose not age-classes separated by natural properties, but habitus which have been produced by different modes of generation, that is, by conditions of existence which, in imposing different definitions of the impossible, the possible, and the probable, cause one group to experience as natural or reasonable practices or aspirations which another group finds unthinkable or scandalous, and vice versa.’

Reproducing the *habitus* formed by different conditions of their respective growing up, Heini and Arttu chase ever emerging ideals of locally-sourced timber, hand-made windows, and hand-touched finishes year after year, while Heini’s parents construct a home of their own in the adjacent plot of land, using commercially-bought materials to complete the structure in under a year. Building and making thus mediate nonverbal, intergenerational communication, and an urging directed toward parents to join in the work of remembering and rebuilding. In many cultural revival contexts children have become the teachers--for example, younger Skolt like Heini are often craft instructors for all age groups (see Chapter 3). As Pauliina again writes of her parent’s generation, ‘They will remember, if we encourage them to remember’ (Mustonen and Mustonen 2011: 10).

Arttu told me that he used to value only old stories told by old storytellers. But at some point he realised that he, Heini, and other young people are today’s storytellers. 'We have to talk to our children,' he says. As young people build a log house next to homes made with industrially-manufactured parts, a root boat alongside commercially-purchased boats or those also handmade with local wood but joined with metal nails, and give the gift of a pä′ǩǩ-kopp to teach their parents about life not lived along straight lines, children are telling stories to their own children, and at the same time to their parents.

**The place of gender**

Gender biases of out-migration and subsequent return migration (see Introduction), as well as gender norms, have contributed to a gendered division of roles in Skolt ethno-political leadership. While men are active in ensuring Skolt Sámi reindeer herding, fishing, and other land rights, it is women who do more of the 'cultural' work characterised by the learning and teaching of craft, stories, and other activities intertwined with an envisioned Skolt Sámi relationship to the environment. The female gender bias of cultural and linguistic work seeking intergenerational healing parallels the situation among other indigenous groups, for example First Nations in Canada, thus suggesting cumulative effects of colonial disruption of male roles and constraints of current masculine gender identities (Castellano and Archibald 2007).

Those engaged in indigenous activism are few and may reside not only in the Sámi homeland, but throughout Finland. Among other groups such as Russian Sámi, such selective involvement has created mistrust of indigenous ethno-political leadership (Overland and Berg-Nordlie 2012: 103-104). In its early years in the 1970s, the Skolt movement also faced questioning as to whether it accurately represented Skolt interests (Ingold 1976: 215-221). Such scepticism continues in new gendered form.

Indigenous movements are often accompanied by transformations of gender roles (Castellano and Archibald 2007; Clifford 2004; Overland and Berg-Nordlie 2012). Indigenous political leadership may be skewed toward female, urban, and educated participation, for example across the border among Russian Sámi (Overland and Berg-Nordlie 2012). In the Skolt regions the situation is different because the sääbbar, or Skolt council, holds its meetings in the northern villages and not in urban areas, and deals predominantly with local matters of land and fishing. Therefore, rural men, especially reindeer herders with particular stakes in the management of the land, are involved in the sääbbar as much as women.

In June of 2015, the sääbbar elected approximately half men and half women as Skolt council representatives. Not by coincidence, most of the women elected were those who had resettled in Če′vetjäu′rr and were now active in village cultural and social life. The men, on the other hand, were two reindeer herders (including the former village headman) who had lived most

of their lives in Če′vetjäu′rr. While not as active in cultural revival intiatives, they focused their political efforts toward advocacy for Sámi herding and fishing rights.

Although Heini, one of the elected, prefers teaching craft to holding political positions, she nevertheless considers the sååbbar work necessary for the wellbeing of the Skolt Sámi community and therefore accepted her nomination as council representive. While all members of the sååbbar advocate for environmental policies as they relate to herding and land rights, women like Heini are also more likely to invoke the intrinsic value of environmental protection not directly linked to ownership of the land but to its preservation. According to such perspectives, forests, fells, and lakes must exist so that the hiljainen tieto of a Skolt Sámi way of life can be re-enacted and remembered.

Since 2006 the Skolt Sámi cultural organisation *Saa'mi Nue'tt* has been dedicated to the 'continuation' and 'transmission' of Skolt Sámi culture, stating: 'Our goal is to remember who we are, what makes us Skolts and our role and rights among other Sámi groups.' Following this mission, *Saa'mi Nue'tt* annually honours a man, woman, or organisation as 'Skolt Sámi of the Year' for promoting Skolt Sámi culture and community wellbeing. Men most often receive awards for advocacy related to language, land and reindeer herding, while women are recognised for the 'transmission of traditional knowledge' through song, craft, language, and art (see also Chapter 5). Despite overlaps between genders for leu'dd mastery and language work, the general pattern reflects gendered forms of cultural and political efforts.

The gendering of different spheres of cultural political activity reflects divergences of life trajectories as a result of out-migration from the Skolt villages. For those who have grown up or moved away from core indigenous areas, the weakening of linguistic skills can result in heightened material expressions of cultural identity. Many of those leading cultural revival efforts did not learn the Skolt language from childhood, and resided away from the homeland for a significant number of years. They are therefore more likely to seek alternative and often gendered avenues of reconnection beyond livelihood, focusing on material production and gathering practices that engage local environments to repair the effects of uprootedness. This allows people to 'reinscribe memory and anchor indigenous identity to significant places'

(Cruikshank and Argounova 2000), not only to Petsamo but to the resettlement areas that now also constitute Skolt collective memory.

The first female ouddooumaž, leader of the Skolt council, was elected during my fieldwork in October 2015. She was in her mid 30s and had returned north after a ten year absence, the only one of her Če′vetjäu′rr class to do so. As a piece in the Finnish national news, *Helsingin Sanomat,* asserted, the first female ouddooumaž 'does not fit stereotypes.' She is a 'plane engineer, sergeant, master of arts in industrial design and a reindeer herder' (Sorjanen 11.8.2015).

However, the headwoman's victory as the first Skolt female political leader was shortlived. Immediately after securing the majority vote in the election, three Skolt men contested the results by appealing to the Administrative Court of Northern Finland, citing the headwoman's inadequate Skolt Sámi language skills according to the Skolt Act (Kolttalaki 24.2.1995/253). The three men comprised the incumbent ouddooumaž and successful reindeer herder, a Skolt Sámi man from Keväjäu′rr, and a Skolt Sámi politician. In response, the new headwoman suggested that the allegations reflected a gendered discrimination, referring to the complaints as the result of an 'old boys network' (*hyväveliverkosto, F.*), and adding that 'In the future I will not tolerate any intolerance' (*Suvaitsemattomuutta en tule jatkossakaan sietämään yhtään, F.*) (Näkkäläjärvi 13.11.2014). The appeals fuelled factions between those in support of the new headwoman and those backing the incumbent headman. People debated whether the former headman was retaliating for losing the election, and the legality of the headwoman's linguistic skills.

The controversy over the headwoman's election served as a register to debate the role of place, language, and activism in Skolt community life. Although the Administrative Court of Northern Finland eventually dismissed the appeals, tensions did not immediately diffuse. This is because the dispute was entangled with pre-existing debates. The Skolt Act stipulates that the headman speak Skolt Sámi *and* reside in the Skolt Sámi area, thus intertwining place and language in a single definition of qualified Skolt Sámi leadership. The headwoman justified her qualifications as a Skolt Sámi leader in an interview with the news network YLE:

> ‘I have lived my whole life in Če′vetjäu′rr’s Skolt-speaking community, my family’s native tongue is Skolt, and I have worked in reindeer herding--where the work language is Skolt--my whole life.
>
> Yes - I am Skolt Sámi (My family name [...] is my grandfather’s Finnish translation of the Gerasimoff family name), [...] I live in the Skolt area, I built my house [here] and yes - I am suitable in all respects to work as the Skolt Sámi headman (Näkkäläjärvi 13.11.2014).’

Indeed, the headwoman's family name is characteristically Skolt Sámi, she did grow up in a Skolt Sámi village, and during her political tenure she resided in Če′vetjäu′rr according to the Skolt Act. But she also spent some ten years outside the Skolt Sámi areas, and therefore criticism of her language abilities may also reflect debate about how much time one must reside in the Skolt areas to officially represent Skolt interests. Life in Finnish-speaking cities is not only geographically removed from the Skolt Area, but also often lacking a Skolt language environment. One of the men who filed the complaint against the headwoman explained that he considers himself Skolt because he has lived his whole life in the village of Če′vetjäu′rr with Skolt relatives. These claims exist in dialogue with experiences of Skolt Sáminess beyond, but in relation to, northern Skolt regions.

The headwoman advocates for broader conceptions of Skolt Sámi culture through her work as founder and editor of the Skolt Sámi culture magazine *Tuõddri Pee'rel*. The magazine, brilliantly coloured with images of Skolt Sámi people, dress and craft, both in the northern areas and throughout Finland, is written primarily in Finnish with shorter sections in Skolt Sámi, and includes articles about being Skolt Sámi while living in southern cities or speaking Finnish. Such articles advocate for a notion of Skolt Sámi culture beyond language, toward more abstract embodied experiences such as a Skolt 'connection to nature.' In this sense, evocations of a Skolt Sámi relationship with the environment represent another way to transcend boundaries of belonging based on language and geographical location. Recognising that the demographics of Če′vetjäu′rr have grown older, the headwoman has told news media that she wishes for young people to maintain connections to the Skolt areas, and at the same time to a broader Skolt community, regardless of where they live. And as someone who returned north, she wants to communicate Skolt Sámi culture 'out to the world from Inari.

Skolts now live uprooted all around. They should be informed of who they are' (Sorjanen 11.8.2015).

*Degendering and building*

Due to the intersection of factors described above and in the Introduction, the boat course was an exception among Skolt craft initiatives attended largely by women. In an interview with Skolt Sámi radio, Mika talked about the unfortunate paucity of courses for traditionally male crafts while the amount of boat builders continues to steadily dwindle (Harju and Gauriloff 20.5.2015). The root boat making was one of the few cultural revival efforts focusing on male craft, and as such it was expected that it would draw significant interest from local men. To the extent that the project did comprise mainly men, albeit a limited number, it did accomplish its goals of reversing the usual gender demographics of such activities in this particular instance, and of bringing people together through the practical tasks of boat building.

What constitutes 'traditionally male craft' requires greater discussion here. Representations of Sámi craft in books, museums, and educational texts and institutions, have been strongly gendered. SAKK course programmes draw a distinction between 'hard materials' (*Fi. kovat materiaalit*)--wood and antler work mostly associated with men, and 'soft materials' (*Fi. pehmeät materiaalit*)--weaving, beadwork, rootwork, and sewing mostly done by women. Indeed, ethnographers in the late 1930s documented Skolt women doing most of the knitting and dress making during long months at the winter village (Nickul 1948). However, women have also worked with 'hard' materials to make containers and other household implements (Itkonen 1948). 'Hard' and 'soft' refer not only to the perceived gender roles of revived crafts, but also to the physicality of materials and their degree of adaptability to human manipulation--'hard' wood, antler, and reindeer bone cannot be shaped as easily as 'soft' cloth. Therefore, 'hard' materials constrain and guide the process of making more than 'soft' materials on which a form may be more easily imposed.

Although gendered roles have transformed as women learn to make knives and men make an entire range of hard and soft craft through formal courses (see Chapter 3), boat building has remained a predominantly male domain. However, because Skolt Sámi women specialising in ‘soft materials’ are more likely to be participants and leaders of any heritage project, there

are increasingly fewer Sámi boat builders, while more women are weaving woollen belts, making beadwork, and sewing dress as symbols of Skolt culture. Thus the things that are revived usually reflect female domains within new social roles, while male roles in cultural revival remain limited.

Beyond the gendering of materials, conflict emerges due to discrepancies between cultural revival discourse and masculine identities based in practical know-how and action.[7] Descriptions in local media surrounding the root boat and other cultural projects highlight themes of 'revitalisation' (*elvyttäminen, F.*) and 'heritage' (*perintö, F.)*, instead of the kind of competance and knowledgeability in practical tasks that often constitute male identity in northern Finland.

While Matt was able to physically help with boat construction, he nevertheless felt incapable of performing the male role expected of him by the other men. While in the forest to fell trees for the boat, he was given the task of chopping thick stumps into firewood. Comparatively outdoorsy among peers in New York suburbs, Matt was not worried. After all, he was an avid hiker and always the one making the campfires. And so he picked up the axe confidently and swung. As he usually does with large stumps, he hit the wood over and over, wedging it open along emerging crevices, until giving it a final blow to split the piece in two. This took about a minute; meanwhile several of the Skolt men watched in amusement and impatience. Eventually one of the boat builders took the axe from Matt and split the stump in one swing.

Upon returning from the forest, Matt recounted the sense of emasculation he experienced in his North Face parka and inability to splinter wood in one swift motion. Not only must one split a stump in one blow, but he must also be able to bear the cold in non-name brand clothing bought from the local hardware store while doing so. Therefore, the North Face parka made Matt's axe swinging appear even more comical. Amusement surrounding Matt's relative competence with an axe, Arttu's use of a hand axe to make a boat, and the fact that he spent four years building his home, communicates beliefs about what it means to be a man living in northern Finland. Meanwhile, the making of root boats and normal boats mobilise

[7] Chapter 3 discusses further dimensions of social roles, as well as occupation and livelihood, that influence who participates in cultural revival initiatives. The expectation of objects to serve a function compared to aesthetic or display purpose thus reflects a relationship between employment, unique life trajectories, and personal preference (Bourdieu 1984).

different techniques of production to negotiate which aspects of everyday life will shape futures in a Skolt Sámi community.

**Making a Skolt Sámi place**

Over the course of the project, spatial divisions at the boat site gradually dissipated. The men building regular boats became more active in the root boat discussions, especially once they had completed their own boats. In the workshop and at the boat site they tried out the hand tools, and at the coffee table they looked at the scattered archives, diagrams, and models. After the first month of construction, the root boat was moved under the same shelter as the normal boats. As already discussed, these developments are supported by the argument that it was not older production methods on their own account that were contested, rather their role in representations of Skolt culture. Following discussions of competing visions of Skolt life throughout this chapter, I would like to stress in the remaining text that the negotiation of these views can act as a unifying instead of divisive force. I suggest that everyday practices articulating varied visions of Skolt life are actually complementary, and thus ultimately form collective efforts toward Skolt futures.

Even for Mika, the normal boats were not any less Skolt Sámi than the root boat. After all, they were both the result of two months of woodworking labour instead of instantaneous purchase. Mika told local media that he does not consider there to be a big difference between the 'new' and 'old' boats, both based on traditional northern river and lake boat models, and constructed using local materials. Moreover, the regular boats reflect histories and continuities of Skolt agency in adopting new technologies of boat making: Skolt Sámi in Petsamo continued using roots when iron nails first became available, replacing only the upper boards with iron nails and not the lower boards. The partial replacement revealed preference for the relative strength and flexibility of roots, which prevented the boards from flexing to allow the boat to withstand collisions with rocks (Itkonen 1948). Eventually however, iron nails became so easy to obtain that they replaced all of the boat joints, demanding material hegemony as sheer abundance and accessibility outweighed the advantages of quality and endurance.

Mika also emphasised that when researchers like Itkonen documented material culture, and transported objects for museum display, they selected everyday examples rather than specialist craft. Therefore, ethnographic documents and museum models informing reconstruction of objects such as the root boat, in all likelihood reflect the 'modern' techniques of a different era. In this way the reconstructed root boat is actually the equivalent of the functional 'normal boat' of the early 20th century--made with the most current technologies and materials.

The key difference then, between today's root boats and normal boats, is the meaning attributed to the tools and materials of production. Particular tools and their interplay with natural materials engender practices, ways of thought and perceptions as subversion of 'straight lines' imposed by an assimilative Finnish state. This reflects an active cultural reconnection through the unmaking and remaking of dominant practice. In contrast, focus on the procurement of boats for fishing using efficient tools and cost-effective materials, reflects notions of Skolt life based not in reconnection, but ongoing connection. Skolt men experience the environment in a diversity of ways--as reindeer herders, fishermen, or contracted builders, working with snowmobiles, ATVs, and power tools, but usually not as craftsartisans seeking to re-embody ancestral practices of production.

Because what it means to be Sámi is far from uniform and cannot be generalised (Lehtola 2012), it is important to understand how such varieties of experience converge to shape indigenous movements. For those seeking reconnection and those emphasising ongoing connection, the landscape is filled with memories, rules and stories, but in different ways and for different reasons (see Chapter 4). Similarly to Ä’nn and Elena in Chapter 1, Tuomas, who appears earlier in this chapter describing how he wishes to be buried with a motor saw, often recalls rocks and other landscape features from childhood, each eliciting personal memories. Like Heini, Samuli (a reindeer herder and one of the normal boat builders) also follows certain 'Skolt Sámi rules' of being in local environments. While we were fishing in late August, he recounted the events of a day during the second week of July. He was out in the middle of a lake when suddenly his boat got stuck and began filling with water. Luckily, he managed to navigate back to shore. When he later communicated the incident to the older Skolt craftsartisan Sandra (see Chapter 4), she asked why he had not remembered that it was *vedenneidon päivä (F.)*--literally translated as 'water maiden day'--the time of year that

nobody swims or fishes to avoid drowning, and when the hair of the water spirit appears wrapped around nets (cf. Wallenius and Kännö 1994: 179). Following that conversation, Samuli began to 'remember' the cautionary stories he had been told as a child. With this newfound awareness he stopped going out on the water on *vedenneidon päivä.*

Another middle-aged Skolt Sámi reindeer herder, Mikko, recounted a similar process of remembering. After the drowning of a Skolt man due to an alcohol-related motorboat accident in July of 2014, Mikko realised that the event had occurred around the time of *vedenneidon päivä*. Connecting the incident with stories from childhood, Mikko suggested that people were dying because they had 'forgotten' the narratives meant to protect and sustain them. Christian rearticulation and the loss of specificity described earlier in this chapter, had transformed *vedenneidon päivä* as a reference to Saint Peter, while general lack of agreement about the actual day in July that this phenomenon occurs, further fostered a sense of forgetting regarding when and how to protect oneself. By recalling the cautionary stories that kept his ancestors alive, Mikko complements the efforts of those actively evoking memory in relation to land.

Finally, there is a shared sense of embodied knowledge among everyday fishermen and reindeer herders, and those leading cultural revival intiatives. On an otherwise ordinary day at the boat site, Samuli and I were drinking coffee when he began flipping through the latest issue of *Tuõddri Pee'rel*--the Skolt culture magazine founded by the headwoman discussed earlier in this chapter. First, Samuli commented on images of reindeer fur shoes and shoe hay, telling me that he too had made reindeer boots, before proceeding to recount the process of making them. He told me that the laces (*S. Sámi vuõdd, F. paula*)--wrapped around the tops of the shoes, must be tied in one direction when a person is alive, and in the opposite when buried. Then he turned to my article about life after Skolt Sámi relocation: 'Little by little people got to know new fishing places, reindeer herding lands, and berry places. Again the land became their own.' After making a point of glancing at my article (which it appeared he had already read), he told me that the embodied knowledge of engagement with Petsamo and resettlement environments, like the practices surrounding reindeer shoes, were *in* him through the stories and lives of older generations. Although this sentiment resembled the notion of hiljainen tieto expressed by those seeking to revive practices of production and engagement with the land, Samuli did not laugh as he might about hand tools and log houses. A

multiplicity of experiences, from using hand tools with his father as a child, to power tools in boat making as an adult, had shaped his embodied knowledge as a Skolt Sámi man. For him, to know things and for those things to be embodied, made uncomical sense.

Further spatial and social convergences at the boat site occurred through language. Initially, the normal boat builders who lived in Če′vetjäu′rr spoke to each other in Skolt Sámi on their side of the boat site. Meanwhile, the Skolt Sámi men from Â′vvel spoke in Finnish, yet often referred to themselves in relation to the core Skolt Sámi villages. They talked about having forgotten many Skolt words since moving to Â′vvel because of better job prospects, and how they wished to return to Če′vetjäu′rr. These conversations set Â′vvel against Če′vetjäu′rr as a non-Skolt Sámi place, and therefore the different languages spoken at the boat site initially separated those from Skolt Sámi and non-Skolt Sámi places.

At the beginning of the course Mika, who had learned North Sámi during his apprenticeship with a North Sámi boat builder in Ohcejohka, listened unobtrusively to the men speaking Skolt Sámi with moderate comprehension (depending on the level of linguistic closeness and prior exposure to other Sámi languages, there can be comprehension and communication across Sámi languages). By the second month of the boat course Samuli began speaking to Mika in Skolt Sámi too, and Mika responded in North Sámi. Thus blurring spatial and social boundaries through communication in Sámi languages, the boat site became imbued with a sense of community incorporating those from Skolt and non-Skolt places.

These experiences demonstrate that in order for the project to be successful in producing a boat interwoven with 'community' memories, participants needed to build a sense of community at the construction site itself. Just as it is not enough to live in a Skolt Sámi village to be accepted as belonging to a Skolt Sámi community, similarly a boat built in a Skolt Sámi place will not necessarily *belong* to that place. Initially there was insufficient social entwining of the project with the place of memory in which it had been purposely situated. However, the gradual formation of relationships between individuals at the site, engagement of local residents in project discussions, as well as later participation of Skolt men in root boat construction (Chapter 4), imbued the boat site with a sense of Skolt community and memory, and made the root boat a Skolt Sámi boat.

## Conclusion

In Če′vetjäu′rr and the wider Skolt Sámi regions, practices of humour and production are used to negotiate conflicting visions of culture to ultimately form unified efforts toward the healing and strengthening of community life. Thus the making of log houses, wooden drinking vessels, and root boats, interwoven with values of indigenous care for the environment, occur in dialogue with humour directed toward the use of older technologies, and expressing issues of representation. Debates surrounding notions of activism, language and place reflect the pressures of displacement and Finnicisation on intergenerational relationships. Such dynamics shape different forms of political action, and inadvertently gender these debates. In the next chapter I consider institutional avenues of memory and production, analysing the political economic constraints and affordances of making traditional futures.

**Figure 8** Multiple generations hammer wooden nails (Toppari 2015, Yle Sápmi)

## Chapter 3
## Institutionalising Memory

*Compromises, time*: the root boat builders repeated these words again and again, as they used a table saw to cut boards for the boat, instead of an axe and wedge to split them along the grain of pinewood, as they held an electric instead of a hand plane. Boards cut with power tools had to be thicker to achieve the same strength of thinner boards shaped along the grain. The builders had two months, four days per week, ten to twelve hours per day, to complete the project, yet it was precisely these markers of the passage of time that emerged as obstacles in the construction of the boat. At the boat site, 'time' had presence indeed, determining how the boat would be built, or whether it would be built at all.

Time was the reason the root boat builders bent the boards with steam, instead of soaking them in water and then bending them gradually with rock weights, as documented in early ethnographic accounts among Finnish Sámi (Itkonen 1948: 472). Mika crafted a bone hammer to tighten root seams and used handmade wooden clamps to hold boards together. He wanted to use a bow drill to understand past methods and how they affected the form of the boat. But again and again the builders felt outpaced by time, and over and over they had to use electric tools to make the larger preforms, finishing the surface with hand tools for a rougher, older-looking finish intended for museum display.

At other points the builders actually spent more time on parts of the boat that would have been completed in minutes, even seconds, a century earlier in Petsamo. For example, they made purposeful asymmetrical markings on the prow to resemble the original model, which ironically had been hacked roughly with an axe. Unlike factory-produced distressed jeans that give the impression of the passage of time (Miller 2009), painstaking woodwork mimicking rough axe marks marked not duration but fleetingness, the quick work of a Petsamo boat builder, most likely to create notches around which to wrap rope. In this way, the builders continuously negotiated institutional constraints of time and aesthetic, with personal goals to hone bodily techniques based on non-mechanised technologies.

Even with shortcuts and compromises, the two months of May and June and the midsummer launch date came and went. The Sámi Education Institute (SAKK) had allotted extra hours

for the project based on collection of materials, and removal of one 'normal boat' from the programme so that a root boat could be built instead (Alava and Rantamäki 2016). However, the root boat required significantly more time for construction than a normal boat. Eventually, Mika was forced to ask SAKK for more funded instruction hours, and a new launch date was set for the Saint Trifon Festival in late August (see Chapter Five).

Arttu was frustrated by the constant compromises, which appeared to be as many as there were steps of construction. If only there was more funding for more time, he thought, such shortcuts could be avoided. Arttu had joined the project not just to reconstruct a Petsamo boat, but to think like those who had made such boats, guided by the grain of the wood to form imperfect curves instead of power tools to form straight lines.

Industrial capitalism has been described as a restructuring of an 'inward apprehension of time' (Thompson 1967). Although anthropology has since heavily criticised the essentialism inherent in sharp divisions between a 'traditional' time based on seasonality, and regulated, linear time of 'modernity' (eg., Gell 1992; Ingold 1995; Shove et al. 2009), the division nevertheless emerges ethnographically in social imaginaries of a better life. This is especially the case for indigenous populations negotiating colonial histories in which the development of clocks represents a wider process of European colonial expansion (Cipolla 1977; Landes 2000: 11). In this way, the reconstruction of wooden boats sewn together with roots, constitutes an active use of technology to subvert existing political and economic structures.

Remembering must often occur through institutional pathways, which may fund, organise, and supply materials to make an object of cultural memory, but demand constant compromises of production. Pierre Nora (1989) suggests that *lieux de memoire,* places of memory, may be established by institutional means in the absence or decline of *milieux de memoire,* environments of memory. In the making of the root boat, archival photographs and models could only compensate for bodily memory as 'secondary, prosthesis memory' (*ibid.*). However, by using inscribed (written) documents, the builders could reinvent embodied memories that had been replaced by inscribed practice (Connerton 1989: 75; Bourdieu 1990: 125): boat builders reduced the keel gradually while referencing archival sketches, and consulting villagers experienced in woodworking. They made test boards only to find that the resulting boards would not bend the way they anticipated due to improper material, and

therefore the toothed edges of the archival model had to be left out on the second sideboards. Instead of moving quickly with the pre-existing habit of boat making, Mika hesitated in the usual certainty of his movements as he experimented sewing the boards together and tightening the roots, or figuring out in which direction to insert the tenons. During a two-month boat course it was not possible for the men to embody the fluency of movement of Suõnn′jel builders a century earlier. However, through ongoing consultation and improvisation they could imbue archives with living memory.

But who has the means, both socially and economically, to participate in such institutional projects of memory? The normal boat builders dedicated two months to build a boat for their own fishing use but not to give away to a museum. Meanwhile, builders of the root boat were Finns and Skolt Sámi with flexible government work or diverse forms of social benefits from the Finnish welfare state, as well as two researchers funded by the universities of Cambridge and Harvard.

I ask in this chapter to what extent it is possible to achieve embodied fluency with techniques of non-mechanised technologies within the constraints of a political economy favouring commercial production, and how communities can repurpose state funding to enact indigenous agendas through institutional avenues. Sámi institutions provide opportunity for labour-intensive craftsmanship and embodiment of cultural capital, but must to some extent compromise intended revitalisation practice according to schedules guided by allocation of government funding. Meanwhile, negotiations of social roles and economic affordances, intertwined with benefits from the Finnish welfare state, facilitate participation in these programmes. This creates a feedback loop between different forms of state sponsorship. I argue that while state control necessitates compromises of practice, indigenous communities are able to co-opt institutional structures to achieve social, economic, and political goals through material production.

**You yourself know**

SAKK, based in Aanar, was established in 1978 (1993 in its current state) as a secondary degree school. It began as a grassroots movement to create spaces of craft learning that could repair intergenerational ruptures of practice caused by state boarding schools (Stevenson

2001). Today, it is run by a Sámi director and advised by Sámi organisations and the Sámi Parliament, while the Finnish government, through the Finnish National Agency for Education, provides funding for the Institute to serve the needs of the Sámi regions, to alleviate rural depopulation and unemployment while promoting Sámi culture. The Institute offers courses on Sámi language, livelihood, and craftsmanship, as well as vocational training such as wilderness guiding and nursing. While aspects of the curriculum are guided by scheduling constraints determined by availability of government funding, SAKK utilises its institutional platform to promote experiential learning connecting Sámi generations.

As discussed in the Introduction, jobs are a clear limiting factor in maintaining Sámi populations in the northern areas; although the unemployment rate of Aanar municipality has decreased from 17 to 13.4 percent in the past few years (Tilastotietoa Inarin kunnasta 2017), it is still five percentage points above the national average. Over 60 percent of approximately 10,000 Sámi in Finland live outside the northern Sámi areas, especially in southern Finnish cities, and this number has risen by 13 percent from 1992 to 2011 (Saamelaiset Suomessa 2014). SAKK holds courses and workshops in Sámi villages like Če′vetjäu′rr, which has one of the highest unemployment rates in northern Finland (Jefremoff 2005, see also Introduction). In this way, SAKK seeks to create conditions for multiple generations to live together in the Sámi homeland through employment and entrepreneurial opportunity, as well as through everyday practice of Sámi craft, language, and other social and cultural activities.

In Če′vetjäu′rr, SAKK workshops are often held as local craft gatherings. Each week, from five to seven in the evening, during *keskiviikkokäsityöt (F.)*, handicraft Wednesdays, several women and I would gather in Če′vetjäu′rr's old school building, attached to the village workshop (see Figure 4). They would either participate in a Skolt Sámi craft workshop sponsored by SAKK and taught by the artisan Heini, or work on their own craft. The evening brought together Skolt Sámi across generations, from younger cultural activists to retirees, as well as Finnish schoolteachers and temporary visitors, and myself, a researcher coming to participate in daily life in a Skolt Sámi village. The structure of the SAKK course fit somewhat awkwardly around the unstructured flow of handicraft evenings, yet made it clear that schedules had become an inextricable part of what had for past generations constituted daily practice of craft production. At the same time, the evenings reconstituted a school building meant for formal instruction, into a space where people of different generations and

skill levels could learn from each other through socially situated practice of observation, imitation, and experimentation.

During these evenings I often felt as though I could not guide my hand to do anything that could be called 'skillful.' In his account of learning to play jazz and improvise melodies, Sudnow (1978) describes a similar estrangement between hand and person. Explaining the ineptness of his hand movement, he states, 'I discovered from the outset that if you don't know where you are going, you can't go anywhere, except incorrectly' (18). During the handicraft evenings it appeared that it was only I who did not understand where my hand was going, persistently dependent on others to guide it. I would arrive at the old schoolhouse precisely at five in the evening, ready to work on a Skolt Sámi woven or beaded belt (see Figure 9). Each time I would sit waiting for Heini's instruction, while the other women knitted, wove, or stitched away at their crafts for two to several hours, commenting on one another's work, and sharing stories. Although the women were experimenting with new techniques and forms as I was, they consulted Heini only after they already seemed to know what they were doing. It appeared that even if they had not done the particular craft before, they had more applicable prior experience that provided a base of dispositions to restructure according to the new task at hand (*sensu* O'Connor 2005). I however, had no craft experience on which to base the beading of a belt except rudimentary knowledge of sewing.

One day in early September of 2015, as I was getting ready to return to Cambridge, I sat at Heini's place as she helped me finish a beaded belt I had begun at one of the SAKK courses many months earlier. Now I was finally ready to sew on the leather trimming. Reflecting on the many evenings that we had sat in the schoolhouse working with Skolt Sámi materials, I expressed to Heini my long-growing concerns about the pedagogical process.

Heini looked at me for what felt like several breaths too long, then answered, 'Well I cannot teach somebody who does not yet know what they are doing.' Immediately I thought of the Skolt Sámi phrase *jish tiedak*, meaning 'you yourself know' described by Pelto (1962: 118) as an attitude emphasising individual will and responsibility, and by Ingold (2013: 1) as 'know for yourself':

> '[...] they [Sámi of north-eastern Finland, presumably the Skolts] wanted me to understand that the only way one can really know things – that is, from the very inside of one's being – is through a process of self-discovery. To know things you have to grow into them, and let them grow in you, so that they become a part of who you are. Had my companions offered formal instruction by explaining what to do, I would have had only the pretence of knowing, as I would find out the moment I tried to do as I was told.'

The process of 'growing into' follows an envisioned 'guided rediscovery' of knowing through socially situated practice characterised by imitation and improvisation (Ingold 2000: 356). The practice inverts dominant pedagogy based on the 'teachability' of knowledge served by print and rhetoric (Fabian 1983: 114-18), and further formalised through classification systems (Ellen and Harris 2000). Such ways of teaching and learning have been studied among indigenous communities across Arctic and sub-Arctic regions (Briggs 1999; Nadasdy 2003). Consistent across these and the present study is that the act of learning through experiential practice shapes the ways that people conceive of themselves and their cultures in relation to formal education systems imposed by national goverments.

Sámi institutions in northern Finland, whether teaching Sámi or Finnish students, facilitate such indigenous pedagogical practice. In this way they paradoxically use institutional platforms modelled on national education curriculi to subvert western systems of pedagogy. Full-time SAKK courses (compared to part-time courses discussed in the context of handicraft Wednesdays), involve instruction on the history of craft based on the national curriculum, as well as commercial emphasis that follows the guidelines of Finnish vocational training (Stevenson 2001: 52-54). However, students also learn how to collect local materials to make things like wooden *pä'ǩǩ-kopp* drinking vessels, and to shape them with both chisel and electric sanders (see Chapter 2). Instructors demonstrate the process and students imitate, gradually gaining skills in the negotiation of tools along the feel of the grain.

Heini's partner Arttu learned such concepts of teaching and learning while training to become a craftsartisan through SAKK. Rarely told exactly what to do but nevertheless guided by occasional demonstration and corrections, Arttu came to understand that learning and teaching require that students *figure it out for themselves*. In southern cities where the class

sizes are significantly larger, students are given specific instructions but have limited opportunity for experimentation. What happens in these city classrooms, Arttu explained, is 'not really teaching.' After finishing his training, Arttu was hired as a SAKK instructor; in this way he reproduces Sámi ways of knowing, learning, and teaching through his own pedagogical practice.

Formal avenues of experiential practice nevertheless require craftspeople to adapt their pedagogies to a bureaucratic framework. Connerton (1989: 75) argues that a shift from incorporating to inscribing practice hinders improvisation and institutionalises innovation. Instead of 'guided rediscovery,' students and instructors often encounter what I call an institutionalised rediscovery, one in which Sámi ways of learning and teaching must occur according to time slots dictated by funding from the Finnish government. The shift from the everyday production of Sámi objects to their commodification in a cultural economy means that possibilities for improvisation, or 'guided rediscovery,' must fit within institutional schedules.

In the making of my beaded belt, eventually there was no longer enough time for continued experimentation as the university PhD calendar required my return to Cambridge. This forced Heini's hand to sew much of the stitching on the leather trim during my last days in Če′vetjäu′rr. I did not have extra months to work the material according to the mantra of *jish tiedak,* to realise what I myself knew, or what I had yet to know. When I examined the belt back in England, I could see Heini's skilled stitching beside that of my unsure hand.

**Figure 9** Beaded belt made by the author

**Sámi Museum Siida and indigenous pedagogy**

Siida comprises the Sámi Museum (established in 1959) and the Nature Centre of the Finnish Forest Service, which present Sámi culture and the nature of northern Finland through exhibitions, workshops, and cultural events. Through these avenues the Sámi Museum advocates a method of 'museum pedagogy,' as stated on its webpage:

> 'The pedagogical program of Siida is based on the pedagogical thinking and narrative tradition of the Sámi. The narrative tradition plays an important role in passing down traditional knowledge from one generation to another. Knowledge and skills have also been passed down by doing. The guiding and teaching products of the Sámi Museum are based on these methods (Siida 2010).'

During the boat course, there was limited time to prepare the root boat for display at Siida's Skolt Sámi Heritage House in Če′vetjäu′rr. Therefore, Siida promoted learning by doing based on improvisation and embodied memory through its mission of 'museum pedagogy,' but also allowed for shortcuts giving the boat surface a 'museum' finish with hand tools while pre-forming pieces with motor equipment. Paradoxically then, the museum's indigenous pedagogy was forced to operate within its own institutional structures, at various points prioritising display over use.

Root boat builders attempted to embody past ways of knowing and doing that continuously conflicted with time constraints set by sponsoring institutions. The 1910 model on which the boat was based was made with axe, drill, handsaw, and sheath knife. Ideally the boat would have been made solely with these instruments, splitting the pinewood by wedging instead of band sawing, yet the power saw was repeatedly used to cut straight lines across the grain. Instead of rounding the keel with an axe, an electric saw guided the wood toward the top of the keel into rounded form. The aim was to think with the wood in the way of past generations who had used only hand tools, and to feel the wood flex like those who had sutured boards together with roots. Instead, 'time' wielded its own agency, demanding the use of power tools and forcing the root boat builders to cut and think in the way of straight lines that they had sought to evade.

As I was often recording the boat construction behind a video camera for SAKK instructional materials, the builders joked that I should turn the camera off when the power tools appeared. Sometimes my hand rested unsteady on the camera, unsure what was meant as humour, and what was intent.

**Bureaucracies of Remembering**

The Skolt Sámi Cultural Foundation holds its main office in Če′vetjäu′rr, in conjunction with its operations in other Skolt villages of Njeä′llem and Keväjäu′rr. Established in 2008 and funded by the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry as well as private sponsorship, the Skolt Sámi Cultural Foundation works with other local governing bodies and institutions. It is headed by the Skolt Sámi council leader, and includes representation from the Njauddâm and Njeä′llem-Keväjäu′rr area Skolt village councils, the Sámi Education Institute, the Sámi Museum Association, the Sámi Parliament, the Finnish Forest Service, the Orthodox Church, and Aanar Municipality. While the main mission of the organisation is the revival of Skolt Sámi language and culture, and the social and economic vitality of Skolt areas, the organisation often finds itself hindered by the same bureaucratic structures that facilitate its operations.

Staff at the Skolt Sámi Cultural Foundation must spend time submitting grant applications, especially for the yearly renewal of funding to sustain the Foundation. This inevitably takes them away from the way of life they seek to encourage through their programmes, thus institutionalising embodied cultural capital in order to enact it. Other indigenous communities, for example First Nations peoples in Canada, must also deal with the paradoxes of bureaucratic aboriginal-state relations in achieving their political goals:

> ‘First Nation people now have to spend their days in the office using computers, telephones, and all of the trappings of contemporary bureaucracy. This necessarily takes them off the land and prevents them from engaging in many of the activities that they continue to see as vital for their way of life. Day in and day out, they have to talk, think, and act in ways that are incompatible with (and even serve to undermine) the very beliefs and practices that this new government to government relationship is supposed to be safeguarding (Nadasdy 2003: 2-3).’

Like First Nation peoples, Skolt Sámi administrative bodies must reconcile the bureaucratisation that has become a necessary part of efforts to practice a 'Skolt Sámi way of life' tied to the land. On a broader scale, the Sámi Parliament must contend with a similar paradox in dealings with the Finnish state regarding Sámi land rights, from the ratification of international indigenous legislation (ILO Convention no. 169), to the contestation of environmental conservation measures by the Finnish government to limit fishing in local water bodies. To deal with these issues, representatives of the Sámi Parliament must compromise: they travel to political meetings across the Sámi regions, to southern Finland and abroad, and are inevitably pulled away from the land.

Still, Sámi communities use these social and political institutions, and negotiate their paradoxes, to improve everyday life in the northern Sámi areas. The Skolt Sámi Cultural Foundation organises Skolt Sámi culture days, plant dyeing and other craft workshops, often in conjunction with Sámi Museum Siida. While increasing visibility for a Skolt Sámi identity tied to such practices, the activities create avenues of social cohesion through group dance, song, games, and craft, evoking a Skolt way of life revolving around daily subsistence patterns. Cultural days feature demonstrations of shoe hay (*Carex spp.*) for insulation in reindeer boots, pine inner bark (*Pinus sylvestris*) for nourishing porridge, and chaga mushroom (*Inonotus obliquus*) for tea (Magnani 2016). Once simply means of daily subsistence and warmth, pine inner bark, chaga mushroom, and shoe hay gather villagers to engage in a new Skolt Sámi sociality celebrating relationships with these materials as Skolt Sámi heritage and identity.

Since its construction, the root boat has become a fixture of Skolt Sámi cultural events, not as a means of transportation but as a vehicle for new forms of social interaction. Participants may row the boat out onto the nearby pond or Sevetti Lake, or watch a demonstration of the root sewing technique. Often two people will row out onto the pond of Peuralampi (see Figure 4), laughing as they struggle to maintain balance on a boat about a third the size of today's fishing boats on Če′vetjäu′rr waters.

Due to social and political transformations following the Skolt relocation (see Introduction), people rarely visit homes not directly adjacent to their own along Če′vetjäu′rr Road, and

many do not attend village gatherings such as Skolt Sámi culture days (attendance at these events ranges from 25 to 50 people). Occurring only on particular days of the year, the events nevertheless provide limited but valuable avenues of social engagement. Dancing and games, once part of daily life in the Skolt winter village, now constitute special occasion performances seeking to rebuild and commemorate a shared sense of community remembered of Petsamo winter gatherings (see Chapter 5 for discussion on ceremony).

Of course, the events provide avenues of social engagement only for those who choose to participate. They are attended primarily by women from the Če′vetjäu′rr area and other Skolt villages of Njeä′llem and Keväjäu′rr. Reindeer herders and other middle-aged men are fewer, and often the participating men are either those involved in Skolt Sámi political administration, or the accompanying husbands of participating wives. Women, who often have higher education qualifications, are more likely to be hired by educational and cultural institutions such as SAKK, the Ä´vv Skolt Sámi Museum across the border in Norway, the Če′vetjäu′rr school and 'language nest' (Skolt Sámi day care), or the Skolt Sámi Cultural Foundation.

Due to the limitations of cultural events, and perpetual bureaucratic scrambling for self-sustaining funding, the Skolt Sámi Cultural Foundation seeks a permanent structure to serve as a social and cultural space--an extension of everyday life in Če′vetjäu′rr. Since its founding, the organisation has sought (thus far unsuccessfully) 3,263,000 euros to build a Skolt Sámi Cultural Centre in Če′vetjäu′rr. The built structure would serve as a meeting point for generations dispersed between the Skolt villages, Â′vvel, and towns and cities in the south. It would also contain a Skolt Sámi language nest, library, and exhibitions, as well as administrative offices for the Village Council, Finnish Sámi Parliament, the Sámi Museum Foundation, SAKK, and the Finnish Forest Service, whose rental payments would finance ongoing operations beyond initial construction. Through its use as an intergenerational meeting point and language nest, the centre hopes to serve as a locus of social, economic, cultural, and linguistic vibrancy, part of wider social life in the Skolt Sámi village. However, it is important to recognise that even in the realisation of this centre, there will be constant bureaucratic upkeep to maintain administrative offices and financial support, and thus to sustain the the flow of intergenerational engagement animating the building as an extension of Skolt life.

**Skolt hour**

In Če′vetjäu′rr, growing into a Skolt Sámi way of life occurs not only at home with parents and grandparents, but at school with teachers. In the early 1970s, the addition of a lower secondary school in Če′vetjäu′rr meant that that young children no longer had to leave to Aanar boarding schools. In addition, the school began teaching the Skolt Sámi language during 'Skolt Hours,' with instruction on religion, handicraft, Skolt Sámi song (leu'dd), dance, berry picking and fishing. The lessons emphasise practice over rhetoric, and the children learn by exploring surrounding forests and experimenting with materials.

Under the Sámi Language Act in Finland (1086/2003), children are entitled to instruction in their native language:

> 'Separate provisions apply to the right of the Sámi to receive primary and lower secondary education in their mother tongue, to instruction in the Sámi language, and to the status of the Sámi language as a language of teaching, a discipline and a degree language.'

However, the Language Act requires instruction only for those students registered with Skolt Sámi as their native language; as the number of such students, and overall student population (21 students in 2017), has declined, Skolt 'Hours' have transformed into only one weekly Skolt Hour.

One autumn afternoon I attended a Skolt Hour. The teacher was a Skolt Sámi woman in her 60s who had grown up in Če′vetjäu′rr. She took the children to pick blueberries (*Vaccinium myrtillus*) and crowberries (*Empetrum nigrum*), speaking to them in Skolt Sámi even as they answered her in Finnish. She told them that Skolt Sámi walk quietly and respectfully in the forest, and that therefore the children must walk quietly too. The children followed instructions to move gently through the forest, gingerly exploring the bushes, assured by the teacher that the darker crowberries were an edible Skolt Sámi food.

The Skolt Hour provided an avenue to engage with Skolt lifeways beyond a classroom setting. However, it was temporally restricted, and not long enough to encourage speaking of

the Skolt language associated with berry picking and movement through the forest. This can be looked at from multiple angles: While to some degree the government-sponsored lessons schedule and compress diverse Skolt lifeways into one hour time slots, they nevertheless enable brief windows of Skolt Sámi experiential learning, with flexibility for innovation by a Skolt Sámi teacher, in an otherwise structured state curriculum.

**Beyond institutionalised memory**

An older Skolt Sámi woman told me about growing up at a time when the most effective way to get what you needed for daily subsistence was to go to the forest, what she called the 'rabbit shop.' 'The only thing you have to do,' she said, 'is have energy to go to the rabbit shop and collect things yourself.' Today Če′vetjäu′rr residents work in government, service, educational institutions, or other salaried employment--more often than not this precludes regular visits to the 'rabbit shop' as seasonal harvest cycles must be balanced with the schedules of salaried employment. Inability to merge these competing lifeways lead many younger people to feelings of stress and failure, but also to understandings of spatial-temporal constraints and time as a resource (Gell 1992: 195-197). In Če′vetjäu′rr, such stresses are particularly pronounced for women like Heini, with limited job options due to the distance of Če′vetjäu′rr from the majority of employing institutions, compounded by the demands of staying close to the village to care for her two children. Thus attempts to transcend institutionalised time makes time itself a resource whose fluctuations in availability and uneven social distribution determine overall well-being.

Heini talks about the anxiety of being a craftsperson within a political economy hostile to such work. Salaried projects or craft teaching for Sámi museums or SAKK inevitably come with a deadline or replace time she would otherwise be spending collecting, processing, and working local materials. 'We must *bow* to the money,' she says of the tendency of deadlines and prioritisation of monetary benefits to hinder seasonal collection and preparation of handicraft materials, berries, and mushrooms. As we collect shoe hay too late in the season--after instead of before it has yellowed--Heini laments the temporal opportunity costs (Gell 1992: 213, 217-218) forcing her to constantly struggle to catch up with seasonal harvest cycles that carry on regardless of the demands of salaried employment.

Without denying ‘coevalness’ by relegating groups of people to a different time and place (Fabian 1983), indigenous communities seek decolonisation through subversion of capitalist economies and assertion of continuity between past and present. Anxieties ensue when instead individuals encounter an ‘awareness’ of being embedded in secular, serial time, with all of its implications of continuity, yet of ‘forgetting’ the experience of this continuity (Anderson 1991: 205),’ and the need to engage in a continuous ‘reformatting’ (Sennett 2008: 221).

Meanwhile, integrating aspects of a subsistence lifestyle around schedules of salaried work configures practices of everyday life as tactical subversion of institutional structures (De Certeau 1984). In compromising between the demands of employment and the reclamation of identity and community, one must select practices (eg. harvest of shoe hay and pine inner bark) which foster a particularly involved, and culturally meaningful, engagement with the environment.

Efforts to make traditional boats especially reflect the emotional stress involved in negotiating schedules of salaried employment with work-intensive craftsmanship. In Jalas’ (2006) study of wooden boating in Finland, he describes the upkeep of the boat as a source of ‘temporal strain’ in which ‘boat-owners face an always extending list of things-to-do.’ Instead of the slow meditation of boat building, owners of the wooden craft feel an increasing sense of ‘busyness’ in attempting to maintain the boat. Apparent here are the contradictions between wooden boating as a ‘flow-like state, in which means and ends merge and time features at the back-stage,’ and the fact that ‘professionals of the trade navigate between these orientations and seek, modestly, to make a living on the conditions spelled out by the practice.’

Through commercial manufacture and institutions promoting Sámi culture, there has been a shift from daily subsistence-based production to expert production. Within a subsistence economy, objects like dress, wooden cradles, and bowls were present in every home when hours in the day existed, unpaid, to make these objects; the labour to make them constituted the primary ‘occupation’ of the producer. Today institutions, as well as private and commercial businesses, have shaped a system of compensation for the labour needed to produce these products. In the Sámi regions, certification of artisans through SAKK guides

entrepreneurial marketing of Sámi craft based on institutionalised expertise. As such, it can be said that institutionalisation has raised the economic value previously embodied in everyday labour, and reinforced it as cultural capital (Bourdieu 2011). This has occurred through the conversion of cultural capital into monetary resource 'at a determinate cost in labour and time' (Bourdieu 1977: 187).

However, those engaged in craft production do not necessarily want to go back to a time when labour was cheap, and emphasise the importance of compensating artisans for their labour. Materials for Sámi objects are often not purchased from stores but collected by hand, requiring time for harvest subservient to seasonal fluctuations and rhythms for the collection of pinewood, birch, and burl, reindeer antler, hide, and fur. When this labour is applied to an hourly system of compensation, production may become unattainably expensive for those who do not do the work themselves.

Day-to-day tensions surrounding Sámi dress and other markers of Sámi identity are inherently political and economic, a relationship in which politics connect value and flow of commodities (Appadurai 1986: 57). Post Second World War suppression of Sámi identity and growth of a monetary and commercial economy contributed to a decline in the production and circulation of Sámi objects. Current political and institutional support for indigenous culture, language, and identity has fostered renewed value in such objects, while economic cost has risen owing to paucity of producers, with the elevated cost of labour determined by time (Ingold 1993). As such, time investment has become the key resource facilitating the embodiment of cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986), in the Sámi case enacted through production. Objects that have risen in cultural and monetary value such as the *ǩiõtkâm (F. komsio),* or Sámi cradle, therefore embody tensions at the intersection of politics, value, and exchange.

Before her child was born, Heini made a ǩiõtkâm of pinewood and reindeer leather. The costs of materials for a ǩiõtkâm including silver pieces, combined with the labour of making such a cradle, are unaffordable for many. As a Sámi handicrafts student, and later an instructor at SAKK, flexible work compensating labour-intensive production allowed Heini the means to make such costly objects herself. However, after countless hours of crafting a ǩiõtkâm, it evaded her attempts to use it. She found she was reluctant to place her child in the cradle

persistently enough that it would get used to the materials and contours. Eventually the child rejected the ǩiõtkâm altogether, not used to the feel of the reindeer leather and pinewood. Heini realised that she may have been embarrassed by the unwanted attention of displaying an object that reflected economic and social status. Heini had not bought the cradle, but made it herself, and the time she had poured into its making communicated economic value as the ǩiõtkâm swayed back and forth over her shoulder.

By resisting the desire of human possession, manifesting in distance between consumer and object, the ǩiõtkâm has grown in economic value (Simmel 1978: 63). Resistance arises not only through the cost of personal time otherwise salaried, or monetary cost contingent on somebody else's labour, but the social restrictions of displaying an object representing these qualities. As the ǩiõtkâm sat on Heini's shelf, to be touched, looked at, yet resisting attempts to use it, Heini could not fully bridge the distance between the cradle and herself, and resolve the desire to carry her child in its carved cavity.

In a related case, Heini made Skolt Sámi dress for her young son--a shirt, belt, and winter hat with intricate Skolt Sámi beadwork that appeared on the cover of *Tuoddri Pee'rel*, the Skolt Sámi culture magazine. Spending money or time to acquire Skolt dress for a still growing child may be perceived as a mark of exceptional privilege. However, unlike her discontinued use of the ǩiõtkâm, Heini continued dressing her son in Skolt Sámi clothing for special occasions despite potential judgements of ostentation, emphasising the importance of the dress for encouraging pride in Skolt Sámi identity among the youngest generation.

**Bridging expectation and experience**

What becomes clear in the above examples is that 'compromises' could not exist without a medium to accommodate them. In other words, without SAKK, Sámi Museum Siida, the Sámi Parliament, and even the Finnish state, which fund and organise the making of root-sewn boats, there would be fewer boats and therefore less shortcuts. Such enablement in constraint emerges both in working with materials, and the larger political economic framework of these experiences. When Arttu 'thinks along the grain,' he learns to experience wood not according to its points of resistance but according to its 'yielding elements' (Sennett 2008: 221). Likewise, he 'remembers' past ways of life not by resisting institutional

constraints but by *working with* them through his role as both participant and instructor in institutionally supported programmes. This 'working with' is a bridging of expectation and experience (Koselleck 2004: 272), in which memory and expectation are part of the 'dialectical present' (Ricoeur 1984: 11). Therefore, institutions serve as major avenues of bridging expectation and experience, while overlapping dimensions of facilitation and constraint guide individual social roles and economic means to engage in labour intensive craft production. I now develop this point further by discussing social and economic factors of participation in institutionally mediated cultural revival initiatives.

*Time for normal boats or root boats*

'I can afford nostalgia,' Arto told me one day, as we were discussing the question I pose in this chapter, of who has the 'time,' in its implication for economic positions and social roles, to participate in cultural revival initiatives. Arto, a Finnish man from Â′vvel in his early 40s, who moved to Če′vetjäu′rr about five years ago, has a government job on the Finnish-Norwegian border that grants him flexibility in his work schedule; he may work for longer hours for half the week and join a boat-building project for the rest of the days. Taking as a starting point that social and economic affordances are spatial and temporal, guided by 'spatio-temporal expectations' in the performance of roles by which one is 'confined in space and time in a particular way' (Gell 1992: 195-196), I examine what this means for cultural revival in the Skolt Area.

Economic and social possibilities for participating in unpaid heritage work are invariably wrapped up with experiences of belonging, power, and social status. Arto believes that compared to other local men, he is less likely be questioned for behaviour incompatible with expectations of a man living in northern Finland, in part due to his authoritative position as a customs officer for the Finnish state, but also that of a relative newcomer still negotiating a sense of belonging and not yet beholden to the same social roles as Če′vetjäu′rr men. Vuojala-Magga (2011) describes social distinctions in northern Finland between those who have regular and irregular income. The former are often those from elsewhere--from 'the South'--educated church, administrative, and Finnish Forest Service officials, teachers, and hospital personnel, while the latter are reindeer herders, part-time construction and Finnish Forest Service labourers, fishermen, students and seasonal tourist workers. Magga emphasises: 'Mainly, people in the region (*maakunnan ihmiset, F.*) make their living off

practical work; practical know-how and irregular income connect people over boundaries of livelihood and ethnicity.' As a government official from Â′vvel, Arto falls somewhere between these categories, with the power and social status of those who educate and administrate, with regular income, but undoubtedly a local with 'practical know-how' connecting him to others in northern Finland, thus surpassing 'boundaries of livelihood and ethnicity.'

In Če′vetjäu′rr, there are similar socio-economic divisions between families with reliable employment and those with irregular or no employment, especially as a result of herding mechanisation in the late 1970s and early 1980s (Pelto 1987). These differences were further exacerbated by a system of government subsidies for reindeer herding in the 1990s as part of Finland's incorporation into the European Union (Itkonen 2012). In the 1970s and 80s especially, the stratification was reflected spatially in the construction of large new homes in Če′vetjäu′rr Centre, compared to more modest, dispersed, and older houses along Če′vetjäu′rr Road. Families in the centre of Če′vetjäu′rr were mostly those with 'regular, salaried, or wage-labour employment and increasingly Finnicised lifestyles,' including school employees and teachers, store clerks, caregivers for the elderly, and those with government jobs, for example in construction (Pelto 1987). Such distinctions continue into the present-day, both spatially and materially, between Če′vetjäu′rr Road and Centre, in the socially and economically privileged positions of those with regular employment living closer to services in the centre of the village. In addition to a persistent pattern of teachers from southern cities or other areas of northern Finland residing for temporary periods in the vicinity of Če′vetjäu′rr Centre to work at the local primary and secondary school, the centre also has a concentration of large homes owned by wealthier reindeer herders. Therefore, social and economic distinctions are not only between those originally from Če′vetjäu′rr and those who moved from elsewhere, but also between Skolt due to the socioeconomic consequences of mechanised reindeer herding and government subsidy policies (see next section for more on government administration, transport mechanisation, and reindeer herding in a discussion of the Finnish welfare state).

When Arto talks about 'nostalgia,' he emphasises 'control' and 'freedom.' He describes standing on a hill, a vantage point to the valley below and its provisions of food, clothing, and shelter. Far from this vision, Arto acquires subsistence resources through his day job at the

border, and provisions for the future through stock investments. In this latter arrangement especially, events far from his vantage point hill direct economic earnings and losses. He admits that the past was certainly not a static era of 'good old days,' and that 'most lives have been a near-death experience.' However, he still prefers the uncertainties of such lifeways to those of salaried labour, marked by disconnect between labourer and product and thus a sense of precarity despite commercial flows and welfare services ensuring base-level needs (as discussed in the next section). The work of boat building translates directly to boat ribs and keels, thus presenting concrete yields of time and labour in relation to the ambiguous success or failure of job stability, indirectly determined by the subjective criteria of 'being a good worker.'

Anxiety in such contexts comes from a sense of economic ambiguity, the result of homogenisation and disconnect in the breakdown of spatial barriers of production and movement of capital. Harvey (1989: 240), drawing on Marx's 'annihilation of space by time,' calls this process 'space-time compression.' As connections between institutions grow, abstraction or 'virtualism' makes it difficult to coordinate intentions and results (Miller 2005), especially as the anonymity of market supply chains replace personal relationships of exchange (Simmel 1950). The closest thing Arto has to the envisioned vantage point hill is 'freedom' from bank loans and debt. He rents an apartment instead of taking out a loan on a house so that in theory, he may quit his job at a moment's notice, end his rental agreement, and move on to life elsewhere. However, herein lies the paradox that salaried income, bank savings, and the virtualism of investments, as subsistence resources, create a sense of freedom through detachment from place-based obligations--in effect the opposite of the desired and inherently place-based imaginary of a 'vantage point hill.'

This contradiction of the 'vantage point hill' as an imaginary of detachment from economic and social restrictions of daily life represents a 'subordination of form to function' (Bourdieu 1984: 4). In moments of conjuring this image, Arto is able to temporarily escape his work at the border and dependencies on global investments; however, it is also these earnings that allow the accumulation of savings ultimately facilitating a sense of 'freedom.' Ironically then, it is the abstract economic obligations preventing Arto from living a self-sufficient way of life that also allow him to envision, and work toward it.

The case study supports a concept of nostalgia linking imaginaries of place with negotiations of instability and dislocation. Arto says:

> 'People used to be born where their grandparents were born; they used to live in the same place as their grandparents. Today people live very different lives from their grandparents, and often do not remember who their grandparents were or how they lived.'

Nostalgia in this sense involves longing for a constant in many ways counterintuitive to scholarly understandings of continuity as change. Arto's childhood town of Â′vvel has been settled by Finnish farmers and migrants since the 18th century, who have interacted with surrounding Sámi populations (Ingold 1976: 9). Â′vvel's history is thus one of migration, transformation, and intercultural exchange. Arto's grandmother, for example, moved to Â′vvel from Petsamo after it was ceded to Russia, forced to negotiate belonging and identity in new areas of Finland.[8] Therefore, just as Arto did not grow up as did his grandmother, neither did his ancestors who migrated to live new lives in new places necessarily carry on as had *their* grandparents. In this way, Arto's family history reflects continuity characterised by *continuous change* from one generation to the next.

Boym (2001: 10), drawing on Koselleck's 'space of experience' and 'horizon of expectation,' describes nostalgia as a 'longing for that shrinking "space of experience" that no longer fits the "new horizon of expectations."' This seems to depict nostalgia as a symptom of irreversible social, economic, and political changes, a continuously narrowing 'shrinking space.' Yet it is important to consider that the 'shrinking' of experience is perceived in large part when other conditions are expanding, namely institutionally mediated possibilities to realise envisioned forms of practice.

For example, the replacement of wooden boats with fibreglass by the 1970s in Finland, coincided with the emergence of venues for wooden boating. However, wooden boating in an age of fibreglass requires 'investments of time and money, skills on the part of the practitioners, and committed institutional constituencies such as schools of boat-building,

[8] Although there is family speculation about Arto's grandmother's actual background, while she was alive she always emphasised that she was *not* Skolt Sámi, but had moved as part of the broader migration of Finnish citizens from Petsamo.

associations and publishers of dedicated books and magazines' (Jalas 2009). The lack of such institutions in 19th century northern Fenno-Scandinavia, when root-sewn boats appeared on every shore, would ironically preclude a root boat heritage project, favouring instead the everyday making of boats. To explain the conditions facilitating such projects today, beyond the realm of Sámi educational institutions, political bodies, and government funding agencies discussed in the earlier sections of this chapter, I now turn to the Finnish welfare state.

*The Finnish welfare state*

Transformations in Finland's welfare system are particularly exemplary of how a system of social benefits responds to, and even subverts, economic pressures. In the early 1990s an economic recession, trade consequences of the Soviet Union's collapse, and currency shifts resulted in cuts to social benefits. However, these changes did not increase inequality; instead the welfare state made Finland strategically poised to implement controlled funding shifts and cuts so that by 1993 the Finnish economy began improving steadily (Kuhnle 2000). Despite continued issues of decentralisation, particularly in the realm of healthcare (Mattila 2011; Kaarakainen 2008), the present welfare state provides a range of social security benefits to Finnish citizens; expenditure is allocated for unemployment, family and children, disability, healthcare, illness and retirement. Considering intersections between state social benefits, time, and cultural revitalisation initiatives, I will discuss the Finnish welfare state in the context of a cultural economy in the northern Sámi homeland.

Along with welfare reforms by the Finnish government in the 1960s and 1970s, unemployment as a concept went from being largely unknown in Skolt Sámi communities, to a major source of compensation for villages plagued by particularly high rates of unemployment--in 1984 government statistics reported the rate of unemployment in Skolt areas at thirty-seven percent (Pelto Preface 1987). Therefore it follows that decades later, the Finnish welfare state indirectly provides the means, both in time and money, for projects promoting Sámi culture in the region. Of the two Skolt participants who joined later in the project (see Chapter 4), one was retired and the other not working due to disability. As such, both had flexible schedules not tied to salaried employment, and received compensation from the Finnish government. Meanwhile, Arttu was also balancing part-time employment and government compensation with efforts to follow an ancestral engagement with the environment.

Although Arttu occasionally worked as a SAKK handicrafts instructor, the year of the boat project he could not take on too many teaching roles in SAKK courses because of a rush to finish building his house, already in its third year of construction (see Chapter 1). While the Skolt Act (Kolttalaki 24.2.1995/253) granted a free plot of land (due to the Skolt Sámi status of Arttu's partner), and provided building materials subsidised by the Skolt Act, state benefits provided *time,* countless hours for Arttu to labour at his one-man construction site. It also allowed him to work on the root boat during the months of May and June, in between runs to the house to fix one more log, or complete one more window frame.

Benefit schemes within a welfare state provide institutional ways for governments to remedy economic consequences of rural depopulation, yet require compromises of increased dependency, marginality, and reliance on bureaucratic structures (Barth 1963). In such areas where there is limited opportunity for employment by large-scale corporations or the government, welfare states provide a system of loans and subsidies to support cultural practices that may be converted to employment opportunities, in order to ensure the economic vitality of a region. While this provides opportunities in entrepreneurship through craft production and instruction for the promotion of Sámi culture, it also risks that 'traditional inequality in economic relations is thus confirmed and maintained in new form' (*ibid.*).

This give and take of state benefits, and the relationship between unemployment and sponsorship of cultural initiatives, can be seen in the operations of SAKK, which receives funding from the Finnish government to teach employable and entrepreneurial skills in language, craft, and other vocations. Due to still limited opportunity to find regular salaried employment with such certification in the Sámi regions, SAKK often employs students as instructors after their graduation, in this way ensuring a stimulation of the local economy through its programmes. At the same time, many who take these courses do so through support of student grants and loans from the Finnish government, subsidised room and board provided by SAKK, or compensation and flexible schedules through other forms of state benefits. In Če′vetjäu′rr, the revival of handicrafts began in the 1970s when 'unemployment schools' run by the Finnish government's education and labour departments sought to teach work-transferrable skills to ease unemployment, especially among women, in villages like Če′vetjäu′rr. Beadwork for Skolt Sámi dress and belts, weaving for blankets, leatherwork, all

became mediums through which villagers acquired new employment skills (Pelto and Mosnikoff 1978). Thus various benefits of the Finnish welfare state intersect to sustain their own operations, while supporting efforts to reclaim visible forms Sámi culture and identity.

Workshops and courses run by SAKK and the Skolt Sámi Cultural Foundation are also primarily attended by women, not necessarily for reasons of unemployment, but the time affordances of salaried jobs or retirement; not restricted by reindeer herding, seasonal jobs, and fishing, but working in relation to these schedules, these women (and some men) must follow the constant demands of collection and making in the harvest of handicraft materials, berries, and mushrooms. For example, leatherwork depends on the slaughter of reindeer and harvest of tanning (especially willow) materials. Those who also have salaried jobs in museums and as SAKK instructors, often have difficulties fitting craft--itself a way of life and full-time job--with the scheduled hours of regular employment. In this way reindeer herding and cultural heritage work (salaried and non-salaried) come to guide the rhythms of daily life.

Taking two months to build a root-sewn boat with no monetary compensation means that compensation must come indirectly through other avenues. In other cultural initiatives in Če′vetjäu′rr (ie. SAKK-sponsored handicrafts workshops), there are often one to two regular retiree participants; in a generally low attendance setting of 5-10 they therefore make up 10 to 20 percent of participants. The low attendance may be linked to an incongruence between today's economic demands and the time demands of labour-intensive cultural initiatives based on past subsistence patterns. While institutions like SAKK and Siida Museum act as enablers of such programmes by funding their instructors and housing full-time students, participants in part-time courses must nevertheless purchase their own materials, and allocate their own time, to engage in activities of cultural but not economic value. As in the case of the normal boat builders, it is cheaper to build one's own boat, especially when the building materials are felled and free through the course, assuming that one is not missing paid work hours or compromising reindeer herding activities. Thus social and economic affordances for most Skolt are perched at the interface between striving for the 'traditional' as marker of quality, stability, and durability, and concessions to the economic.

Individuals such as the normal boat builders are active participants in courses that provide tangible material and technological support for lifestyles of fishing and related subsistence and recreational activity, but do not participate in cultural courses for culture's sake alone, as echoed in Tuulentie's (1999) article, 'Culture alone cannot put bread on the table.' In the article, Tuulentie argues for a 'material' conception of culture based on economically sustaining livelihoods. The normal boat builders are reindeer herders, fishermen, wage and salaried labourers, who spent two summer months making a wooden fishing boat instead of purchasing an industrially manufactured boat. Making their own watercraft meant a more durable, and less expensive, boat for use on the fishing lakes. For the reindeer herders, this project replaced or complemented summer months of decreased reindeer work, normally spent supplementing income with part-time construction, tourism, or forest service employment, including managing fish stocks and collecting firewood. In contrast, between late autumn and winter, when they collect herds from the fells and round them up in fence enclosures, herders must spend whole days gathering the reindeer, remaining ready at a moment's notice to sort reindeer for marking or for slaughter. Thus the herders' lives are guided by material and social demands of schedules split between reindeer herding, wage, and salaried labour, so that if they construct a boat it will be one for practical use in fishing, consistent with a conception of Skolt Sámi culture as experiential and lived.

The mechanisation of transport technology has transformed the herding landscape so that snowmobiles, and more recently helicopters, and their economic costs, social impacts, and entanglement with the cash economy, are an inescapable part of modern reindeer herding. When snowmobiles were introduced to Finland in the early 1960s, reindeer herding became restricted to smaller groups of herders who could afford the new technology, while introducing dependency on a cash economy[9]. Delocalisation of transport technology created greater economic inequalities and social stratification (Pelto 1987); those who had access to cash reserves from wage or salaried employment continued herding and benefited from the new technology, while other herders were forced to either purchase snowmobiles in order to compete, or discontinue herding altogether (Müller-Wille and Pelto 1971). Even then, snowmobiles often had to be maintained through various forms of social benefits from retirement, veteran status, or unemployment (Ingold 1976: 117; Pelto 1987: 167), thus

[9] From 1960 to 1980, the percentage of Skolt practicing reindeer herding as their main occupation dropped from 80 to 10 percent (Semenoja 1995).

fostering a greater dependence on the Finnish government. Not only do the snowmobiles require money for gas and repairs, but the cost of the machines has created an emphasis on 'speed and efficiency' so that roundups and collection of herds must happen much faster to manage costs (Pelto 1987: 125-126, 199). The resulting dramatic transformations in relationships between herders, reindeer, and the environment means that it would be nearly impossible to return to using skiis and draught reindeer (*ibid.*, 167-168).

Moreover, herding is now intertwined with state subsidies and administration, especially following the integration of Finland within the European Union in 1995 (Itkonen 2012). Young herders are able to begin herding through subsidies for starting costs (of reindeer), and loans, from the Finnish government (Pelto 1987: 206). Overall, the management of finances, accounting, and subsidies is as much a part of herding today as the actual practice of collecting and managing reindeer.

The reindeer herders cannot afford to set aside a schedule dictated by the movement of reindeer herds, its management with snowmobiles and helicopters, and its accounting to the Finnish state. They moreover cannot reconfigure social roles entangled with recent technologies to re-establish the material culture of a pre-snowmobile era. The newer technologies are part of a new, empowered, Skolt Sámi way of life. Therefore the herders must go faster, and faster still, in their own way, into a Skolt future.

**Conclusion**

Educational, museum, and community organisations constitute a complex political economy of remembering in the Sámi regions, creating spaces to repurpose government programmes for Skolt community building through reclamation of practice, while nevertheless constraining the ways in which this may happen. While the Finnish government provides monetary and organisational support for education, regional development, and cultural programmes, it also supplies funding in the form of government jobs and social benefits, allowing people to engage in various events, courses, and initiatives promoted by these same institutions. These economic factors, combined with social positioning, determine who ultimately participates in, and moulds, remembering through institutional means. The politics of outside actors entangled in initiatives to reclaim indigenous practice, will be discussed in the following chapter.

## Chapter 4
## Searching for the Right History

*...I was*
*Building a boat with wisdom*
*Making a craft with singing;*
*I sang one day, I sang two*
*Till on the third day*
*The poemsledge smashed*
*The phase-runner snapped: I've come*
*To Tuonela for a spike*
*To the Dead Land for a drill*
*To build my sledge with*
*To make my song-sleigh.*
*Now bring a little boat here*
*Make ready your raft for me*
*To get me over the straight*
*Reach me across the river!"*

Elias Lönnrot, 'To Build a Boat,' *The Kalevala*

'The boat needs to have to have a history, it cannot be a Mika or an Arttu boat.' In searching for the right history for the root boat, the project sought participation from Skolt who could imbue the boat with a distinctly Skolt history. While migrants from south Finland and researchers all had key supporting roles in the project, they were not meant to be more than a conduit in the weaving of Skolt collective memory and community life (see Chapter 5). Building on Clifford (2013) that articulations of indigenous identity unfold as political process, I suggest that the search for authenticity of the 'right' builders became a way to negotiate colonial legacies of research in Skolt territories, in order to move forward with the making of history on Skolt terms.

From the beginning, villagers came to the boat site to observe and share stories of their grandparents making boats, join conversation and browse archival documents at the coffee

table, and recall Skolt Sámi words associated with boat craft. Mika consulted the village leader, who decided on a Suõnn′jel model for the root boat documented in archives by Samuli Paulaharju (1914). While the sharing of stories and the leaning of bodies over archival documents became woven into the history of the root boat, it was not until the second month of the project that villagers joined the actual building. They were older Skolt reindeer herders and retired construction workers who had learned to work wood with hand tools as children, before electricity came to Če′vetjäu′rr in the 1970s. Thus embodied memories and social interactions of boat making became inscribed in the construction and narrative of the boat's 'history.'

Such cultural projects generally rely on female participation, a phenomenon entangled with the social and economic impacts of Skolt displacement and out-migration, as well as gender roles. As discussed in Chapter 2, despite hopes that a male-dominated activity like boat building would encourage greater male participation, the root boat initially had few participants in part because it was being made for use at cultural events and display at the Skolt Heritage House, instead of for a functional purpose. At the same time, lack of male participation reflected a larger issue of social detachment in Skolt areas, as displacement affected men differently than it did women (see Introduction). While women sought education and employment in the south, men were more likely to remain in the rural villages, unmarried, and working in subsistence economies, construction, or forest service jobs, or to be unemployed and retreat gradually from social life. Projects like the root boat reconstruction may ameliorate such impacts by bringing people together through practice tied to the land of resettlement areas and connected to lifeways of original homelands.

It has been theorised that the concept of authenticity, as genuineness of expression, and accuracy of representation, emerged with social transformations of individualism and mobility (Handler 1986; Lindholm 2013; Trilling 1971). Attempts to define authenticity and its counterpart, inauthenticity, according to analyses of the ‘invention of tradition’ (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983), have faced criticism on the grounds that such concepts cannot be defined according to bounded, essentialised ideas of tradition and culture (Handler and Linnekin 1984; Wagner 1981). Neither may culture be reduced to a narrative of political manipulation (Sahlins 1999). Bounding practices as authentic or inauthentic is not only counter-productive to the work of anthropology, but potentially damaging to indigenous self-

representation (Briggs 1996). It reflects a pattern of problematic relationships between anthropology and indigenous populations discussed through research in places like Hawaii (Linnekin 1991), South America (Conklin 1997) and the Pacific (Jolly 1992).

While anthropologists have rejected roles as 'spectres of inauthenticity' (Jolly 1992), the concept of authenticity remains meaningful in shaping everyday lives and politics. Therefore, there exists a call for a multidimensional approach examining the multiplicity of conceptions of authenticity (Banks 2013; Benson 2013; Carse 2014; Field 2009; Theodossopoulos 2013). Rejecting misconceptions of objective evaluation, anthropologists instead examine how experiences of authenticity of identity shape social and political processes (Clifford 2013; Fillitz and Saris 2012; Friedman 1992; Jackson 1989; Van de Port 2004), and the meaning this has for the people themselves (Oakdale 2004).

In this chapter I ask what it means to search for the right history, and how the seeking of authenticity of who participates in cultural initiatives constitutes political process to negotiate research and state involvement in Skolt regions. I look at how the participation of Če′vetjäu′rr reindeer herders in root-boat construction highlighted divergent experiences of Skolt culture across occupation and gender, and how the search for Skolt builders became a way to repair the social consequences of displacement and out-migration disproportionately suffered by men. This provides the social context for a discussion of ambivalent attitudes toward researchers and their often unrealised potential to address community needs, and how ongoing relationships seek to rectify earlier practices of 'Lappology.' Finally, I analyse continued concerns about continuity of knowledge and external involvement in the making of Skolt Sámi history as these converge at a birthday, a funeral, and the boat's private testing.

**On 'masters,' herders, and builders**

In guiding the building of the root boat, there emerged in the boat builders' consciousness and movements a hierarchy of knowledge favouring indigenous practice, whether inscribed in texts and archives, or incorporated into the body (Connerton 1989). In other words, they favoured Skolt Sámi craft skills revealed through archived boat models, or through actual practice by Skolt, over the inclinations of Finnish builders. This orientation reversed the tendency of such collaborations to preference scientific knowledge (cf. Cruikshank 2007).

For example, Mika thought that hammering the tenons in the same direction in which the roots had been inserted would make the stitches tighter; yet the tenons in the model boats at the National Museum of Finland had been inserted in the opposite direction. Villagers could not recall which way to do it either, so in the end all of the wedges were inserted from the inside out to resemble the model at the National Museum. In another situation, Mika thought that a flatter bottom for the boat would make it steadier; however, he built the boat base according to the curved bottom of the National Museum model. Therefore, although Mika had a boat builder's understanding of woodworking developed over decades practicing the craft, in this case he deferred to specific boats and the decisions of the Skolt Sámi who had made them, inscribed in models brought by ethnographers from the Skolt regions.

In the second half of the building, Matti joined the project, a Skolt reindeer herder married to Auli's aunt. He had learned woodworking from his father, who had learned from his father in Petsamo. Matti also had experience working with the particular qualities of pine in Če′vetjäu′rr forests, harder and more twisted than farther south due to slow growth in a northern climate. Arttu admired the depth and specificity of ecological knowledge of reindeer herders like Matti. Working for Matti at the pikalõs (*F. erotus*, meaning reindeer 'separation' or round-up) in late fall and winter, he wondered at Matti's ability to recognise individual reindeer and their offspring without being able to explain how he had done so. The root boat report produced by Mika and a museum archaeologist at Siida Sámi Museum reflected these sentiments:

> 'In his work, [Mika] has applied traditional crafting methods for 30 years and built boats for 20 years, so he took the search for solutions with a relaxed but determined attitude. A participant of the course, [Matti], was among the oldest craftsmen of the village. He was familiar with the Skolt Sámi crafting tradition, and his skill was of importance when alternatives were tested (Alava and Rantamäki 2016).'

Thus Matti's environmentally situated skills and knowledge, or hiljainen tieto, guided the process of making and therefore the 'history' envisioned for the boat.

For Matti, there is not the same tension between 'tradition' and 'modernity' felt by Arttu and Mika. In addition to being a reindeer herder, Matti is a retired border worker. Since he was a

child he built log cabins and sledges alongside his father, and today continues building because he has the time as a retiree, and because building is cheaper than paying somebody to build, or purchasing the finished product. At the same time he occasionally attends SAKK courses to build sledges or learn techniques to incorporate into his building work, while taking advantage of SAKK's workshop space and equipment. For Matti being Skolt Sámi is about being embedded in kinship relations with other Skolt Sámi, in a topography of specific Skolt Sámi places. This constitutes a kind of personal, everyday experience of cultural identity not consciously tied to politics (Briggs 1997), yet nevertheless shaping politics of authenticity and community belonging.

Politics of authenticity are lived through meaning-laden landscapes of stories tied to places, set in contrast to the land as experienced by those who have spent many years outside the Skolt areas due to southward migration. Since Skolt populations moved to Če′vetjäu′rr, or were born in the resettlement areas, they began giving names to new places, forming oral histories by which to move through the forests, fells, and swamps (Magnani 2015). While collecting cloudberry, *lue'm* (*Rubus chamaemorus)*, lingonberry, *joŋŋ* (*Vaccinium vitis-idaea),* bilberry, *sââ'rr* (*Vaccinium myrtillus)*, and mushrooms, with Skolt Sámi who had lived most of their lives in Če′vetjäu′rr, I was often told stories of events in specific places; human traces on the landscape served as loci of memory (Connerton 2009: 21-22). In one place a Skolt man was reminded of a night he had spent in the forest as a young boy while tending reindeer, marked by remnants of the old structure and hearth. Other times people directed my attention to old dwelling places, scattered across the landscape and sought out by archaeologists through guidance by locals. While motor boating across lakes toward favourable berry picking sites, older Skolt would indicate small islands where they had picked berries, and where their ancestors had kept sheep. In these ways, different parts of the land carried stories guiding continued movement (cf. Basso 1996, Vitebsky and Alekseyev 2015). My own untrained perception of this particular environment was revealed in stark contrast. When asked on which island I had picked berries just the week before, I often could not recall, for the islands and waters were for a long time difficult for me to distinguish.

Older residents have taken on new social roles as select practices tied to the land have acquired cultural and economic value (Magnani 2016). It is especially younger generations in their 20s and 30s reconnecting with Skolt identity who are key to the ascription of cultural

meaning to select practices. For many of this generation who had moved away from the Skolt areas, a broader relationship to the environment marked by the inseparability of discrete tasks remains the ideal but not the reality (cf. Mazzullo and Ingold 2008). For example, the processing of pine bark has been institutionalised through courses and demonstrations (Magnani 2016). Older residents provide instruction on such organised occasions instead of through everyday engagements with the land, in which the collection of pine bark constitutes just one of many tasks.

Furthermore, tasks that were previously done alone or with family are continually made public and visible as they are transformed into forms of cultural capital. Leila, Matti's wife, harvests plants by herself and with her husband, engaging in similar practices to those highlighted at cultural demonstrations. One day as we were talking over tea, freshly picked blueberries, and Norwegian cheese, Leila brought out jars of dried pie′cc from her cabinet. I gasped, for I and others in the village knew of only a handful of people who collected the inner pine bark, presented as a Skolt food tradition for nourishing porridge crucial to subsistence-based lifeways Suõnn′jel (Magnani 2016). At first Leila shrugged, saying of course she collects pie′cc, but then, seeing my enthusiasm, explained about her gluten allergy and the alternative of pine bark. Through this and similar exchanges, select practices of older peoples' practical engagement with the pine trees of their backyard and current health trends, gradually transform into culturally meaningful practice.

Older people who not only find new social and economic value in their practical engagements with the environment, but who actively make Skolt culture visible through these practices, become known as Skolt ‘masters.’ Born in 1949, Sandra is one of the first of the displaced Skolt Sámi population to be born in Če′vetjäu′rr. She lives with her husband, Miklai, a past sååbbar leader, in Nje′ʒʒjäu′rr, 30 kilometres from the village centre in Če′vetjäu′rr. Sandra's and Miklai’s driveway is marked by a sign for local handicrafts, *käsityö (F.)*. Their home features an eclectic collection of objects: the inner bark of pie′cc hanging to dry over the wood-burning stove, a hand-made wooden boat next to a motor boat, bracelets made from pine roots and beer caps. Unlike the rather quiet home of Matti and Leila, Sandra and Miklai regularly receive visitors from local, national and international media and museums, who interview Sandra about Skolt craft, food, plants, and stories, while villagers come to learn how to use the trees and plants of Če′vetjäu′rr. Sandra knows when a pie′cc tree should be

felled according to the yellow hues of its bark, or when the inner bark layers are the right shade of red to be taken off the fire during roasting. She is known to have a kind of tacit knowledge, or hiljainen tieto, about how to manoeuvre the fingers in weaving a belt or preparing fish skin into a pouch. Across the Sámi regions, Sandra appears on postcards in Skolt Sámi dress, the face of a Skolt community and its hiljainen tieto.

But even older people like Sandra had to learn anew, drawing on childhood memories to do those things that have become known as distinctly Skolt practice. Sandra was a child when she watched relatives collecting wild herbs and craft materials. After her mother's death she spent much of her time with Anastasia Moshnikoff, who was highly respected locally, and even nationally, as a Skolt handicrafts 'master'. Sandra grew up at a time of Finnicisation pressures and general disengagement from locally sourced materials in favour of commercial products. Although she watched and imitated other Skolt harvesting plants, by the time she was old enough to do these things herself she says she no longer 'had to.' She explains, 'I have seen pie′cc methods since I was a child. I know how it is taken, when it is taken...I have always had the knowledge and skills, but [it was only] as an adult that I started to do it myself.'

The concept of a Sámi 'master' has been institutionalised more widely in the Sámi regions, mediating conversion of an embodied cultural capital into economic benefit through a process of certification (Bourdieu 1977: 187). Sandra studied Skolt craft at SAKK as an adult, in order to receive the certificate of 'handicrafts master.' In an accompanying apprenticeship to the course, she was taught by two older women, Helena Semenoff and Domna Fofonoff. These women also received official recognition as 'masters'; the Sámi Parliament recognised Domna Fofonoff as a 'traditional knowledge transmitter,' and the Skolt organisation *Saa'mi Nue'tt* named Helena Semenoff (and later Sandra) *Vuoden Koltta (F.),* or Skolt Sámi of the Year, for 'managing the almost impossible task of transmitting Skolt Sámi culture to the next generations.' Although the rhetoric of 'knowledge transmission' may appear to be reflecting a 'genealogical model' as critiqued by Ingold (2000), the awards acknowledge a complexity of learning forms, from watching and doing amongst relatives, to reading books and attending formal courses. These awards and certifications, although in some ways objectification of embodied cultural capital, grant legitimacy and visibility to experiential

forms of knowledge, thereby facilitating the learning of craft skills in present-day social and economic contexts.

While the majority of those designated as ‘masters’ are women, Skolt men who work as reindeer herders, or labourers for construction and Finnish Forest Service administration, are also often regarded as those who have hiljainen tieto but not always as ‘masters.’ In part, this is because the learning and teaching of skills involved in activities like reindeer herding are more difficult to mediate institutionally through formal and public instruction. Although reindeer herders and builders (construction workers) teach younger generations through tacit processes of observation and guidance, many have not adapted this teaching to larger forums of cultural demonstrations and courses.[10]

These overlapping forms of instruction and recognition reflect the ways in which Skolt culture is experienced and articulated differently by 'masters,' herders, and builders. Discrimination on the margins of Finnish and Sámi society fostered shame in Skolt identity, discouraging markers of Skolt Sáminess such as dress and language, and distancing Skolt living in cities in the south from social relations in the north. Therefore, for 'masters,' Skolt culture reflects social relations built and rebuilt through visible acts of remembering. On the other hand, reindeer herders and builders tend to consider culture most authentic when not articulated (see Chapter 2). These approaches to culture interweave, with 'masters' making visible the unspoken perceptions and skills of herders and builders, and through this visibility reweaving the fabric of social life.

[10] While SAKK organises a reindeer herding training course, it often enrols students who are already reindeer herders, and have therefore been learning from other herders and not through formal instruction. As a result, many of the 'students' say they take away skills in bureaucratic accounting for government subsidies and European Union regulations, rather than practical skills involved in the process of herding itself.

**Figure 10** Harvesting pie′cc

**Grandmother said never leave home without a knife**

The lower visibility of men in community social life reflects consequences of Skolt relocation and female out-migration, which has resulted in a disproportionate amount of men residing alone in northern Skolt villages (see Introduction). Cultural projects seek to reconstitute engagements with the material environment to strengthen a sense of social connectedness.

Heimo, in his 50s, recently suffered an illness that drastically affected his daily movements. Before the incident, he balanced herding of a small number of reindeer with work in Â′vvel building houses and cabins for Aanar municipality. Moreover, the illness made Heimo's arms too weak for prolonged physical activity, so that other herders and family members had to tend his reindeer. Gradually, previous social relationships weakened. Pelto (1987: 170) describes how Skolt men may experience damage to self-esteem and identity when they are no longer able to herd reindeer, leading to withdrawal.

Yet instead of withdrawing, Heimo started participating in various cultural events where he could interact with people who were not reindeer herders. For example, he attended weekly Skolt language gatherings, where younger and retired villagers sought to relearn 'forgotten' Skolt words that had fallen out of use or were replaced by Finnish, especially related to subsistence-based engagements with the land. As a native Skolt speaker and reindeer herder,

Heimo was well positioned to assist with these goals, and thus transform an embodied cultural capital into a social capital among those active in cultural and linguistic revitalisation (*sensu* Bourdieu 2011).

Similarly, Heimo participated in the root boat project, which provided means of social engagement through embodied skills of woodworking. One day we were at the workshop carving wooden nails with handheld knives; I had made my *nei'bb (F. puukko,* or sheath knife) just months earlier of birch wood and bark, in the regional style, during a SAKK course with Arttu (see Figure 11). As we engaged in the rather unusual activity of using hand tools to make a root boat, Heimo stated, 'My grandmother always said, never leave home without a knife.' We laughed, only later realising that the phrase articulated the transformed meanings and social contexts of making root boats and using hand tools.

Heimo was raised by his grandmother, who was born in Petsamo and taught him how to move through the forest and harvest materials, always carrying a knife for practical tasks, whether to make fire, collect wood, or gather plants for food and medicine. With his grandmother, Heimo learned how to fish, how to use olžvuei'vv (*Rhododendron tomentosum*, wild rosemary), as a poultice for pain relief for feet and hands, to breathe the steam of tâ′rvv (pine tar), and liiunj (*Calluna vulgaris,* heather)*,* for flu, or to receive pain treatment from niiusiǩčäänn, *Fomes fomentarius*, a bracket fungus burned on the skin (see Itkonen 1948; Nickul 1948). His grandmother told him that he should not disturb the ground in the evening (see Chapter 2), and of course, to never leave home without a knife.

The knife and axe have been essential tools for everyday life, without which it was said that Skolt would not leave their cabin (Paasilinna 1992: 310). Today, technological, infrastructural, and economic transformations reflected in the use of power tools and commercial products have reduced dependency on the axe. Interestingly the knife, while not as critical as it once was for survival, has maintained its place on the belt as a practical tool for making fires, as well as social activities like grilling sausages around a campfire, described by the Skolt verb *tolstõõllâd*. Likewise, Heimo, Arttu, Mika, Arto, and I gathered in a workshop, using knives to craft wooden nails, not as tools of material subsistence but of social wellbeing. Using these tools in new ways, we remembered the lives of grandmothers and grandfathers who could not, even if they had wanted to, have left home without a knife.

**Figure 11** Handmade knife (S. Sámi nei′bb, F. puukko)

**Why researchers are not boat builders**

As researchers participating in the making of the root boat, Matt and I were faced with the sense that we were not the intended builders, and that the project's achievement of its social goals depended on the participation of Skolt villagers. During interviews with Sámi and local news media, Arttu and Matti were cited as the main boat builders, while Matt and I worked behind the scenes carrying out supporting tasks. To assist with documentation of the project, we manned the video camera for a film to be displayed at the Heritage House, and used for future reconstructions through the Sámi Education Institute. Matt worked the wood with chisel and plane, and I tightened boards together with roots, collected seeu′ter moss (*Sphagnum spp.*) to make seams watertight, and crafted wooden nails with my handmade knife. While these efforts were valued, we could not substitute as Skolt Sámi contributors to the project.

Similarly, although T. I. Itkonen’s (1948) and Samuli Paulaharju’s (1914) documents formed everyday materials of remembering at the boat site, Mika and Arttu lamented that these past researchers were not boat builders. Itkonen and Paulaharju documented everyday Sámi life in northern Finland, from the harvesting of pie′cc to the building of root boats, yet they were not experts on any one of these things, and did not write with sufficient detail and consideration that future generations would want to reconstruct this material culture. On the other hand, many households have copies of Itkonen's and Paulaharju's books, and value the information

as material for ongoing projects of history making. The entanglement of ambivalent relations to past ethnographers whose material traces marked the boat site, and to contemporary anthropologists with trajectories from external institutions, revealed the prevailing sentiment that researchers were researchers, not boat builders.

In order to understand the context of these ambivalent attitudes, it is necessary to analyse the history and continued role of researchers in the Sámi regions. Instead of stopping at a point in the past when things supposedly got better, I follow continuities of this history to current researchers and their social and political trajectories to the Sámi regions, in order to understand how and why researchers are still on the 'outside' of communities, and what it takes to transform oneself from researcher to project participant, as I did over the course of my fieldwork in Če′vetjäu′rr, and especially when I returned for the second time in 2016.

In the Sámi regions, all academics regardless of discipline are most often referred to simply as 'researchers,' or *tutkijat.* The grouping is based in global histories of inquiry into indigenous communities linked to colonial projects, predicated on power inequalities between researchers and the researched, regardless of differences in theory, method, and history between disciplines. As the oft-cited opening of Smith's (2013: 1) *Decolonizing Methodologies* asserts, 'the word itself, "research," is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world's vocabulary.' Researchers share common trajectories from universities, and therefore are part of a system of unequal power relations between ethnographic regions and the institutions writing about them, which set the research questions and perspectives.

The popular image of the Sámi researcher with callipers measuring heads has become associated with the 19th century academic tradition known as 'Lappology.' Stemming from disciplines of ethnography and philology, Lappology provided descriptive accounts of Sámi society (Hansen and Olsen 2014). From the mid-19th century, researchers carried out studies according to social-Darwinist conceptions of Sámi as primitive relics from a Stone Age past, drawing on phenotypic and physiognomatic conceptions of race (Baglo 2001). Physical anthropologists used skull measurements to index psychological features, obtaining Sámi skulls to compare with those of graves in southern parts of Fennoscandia (Schanche 2002). Such academic orientations led to controversial excavations of Sámi burial sites in Njauddâm

in Norway (Svestad 2013), Aanar, Ohcejohka, and other areas of northern Finland (Ruohonen 2012).

Among Skolt Sámi, Finnish colonial acquisition of Petsamo stimulated multi-disciplinary research mapping the territory and its people. Land and geographical surveys, such as those of Väinö Tanner and Karl Nickul, incorporated detailed studies of Skolt culture and social organisation (Lehtola 2017). However, research did not end after Finland lost the region to the Soviet Union at the end of the Second World War. Morphological, physiological, and health studies, especially in the 1950s and 1960s, measured Skolt mental characteristics in highly racialising and infantilising terms, for example as 'primitive traits' belonging to a 'gradually disappearing culture' (Forsius and Seitamo 1970, for more examples see Helkimo, Carlsson, and Helkimo 1977; Kirveskari et al. 1978; Lewin, Jürgens and Louekari 1970). Many of these encounters have become part of the autobiographical memory of older Skolt Sámi, as well as broader collective memory.

The Scandinavian International Biological Programme conducted in the 1960s analysed human adaptability to Arctic environments, especially targeting the Skolt as a 'unique cultural and genetic isolate supposedly doomed to extinction' (Ingold 1976: 12). Data from these human adaptability studies continue to be reanalysed and published even in recent years, although such measurements may no longer be collected (Armstrong, Woodley, and Lynn 2014; Forsius, Eriksson, and Fellman 2012). Older generations remember being measured and tested, for example in their ability to withstand submersion in cold water. Moreover, many of these studies were conducted using school buildings as research bases to systematically target Skolt populations (Ingold 1976: 12), thus linking education and research experience within Skolt collective memory.

Despite the results of some morphological studies in actually deconstructing concepts of racial determinism (Skrobak-Kaczynski in Schanche 2002), the corporeal experience of being subjected to these studies can become embodied as traumatic memory (Casey 2000: 164; Connerton 2011; Young 2016). Due to the role of race research in Nazi ideologies during the Second World War, the population census in Finland does not survey according to ethnic categories--a similar shift in practice seen across Nordic countries (Axelsson 2010). However, this does not mean that racialised distinctions do not continue into the present-day

(Schanche 2002). As Lehtola (2004: 105) explains, literature has typically reproduced external portrayals of Sámi from earlier texts. It is therefore logical to question to what extent current Sámi research, which draws on pre-existing literature, reproduces negative depictions and methods in new form.

Criticism of ongoing research in the Sámi regions is most often directed at those who are not Sámi themselves. First, there is the issue of research relevance for Sámi communities, and second, the collection of material without sharing its contents, analysis, or use. This follows histories of encounters in the 1800s, when external researchers served as experts in policy regarding the exploitation of Sámi areas (Lehtola 2005), especially as part of an ethno-cultural shift in governance of minority groups (Pyykkönen 2015). Today, scholarship retains a level of power when it is shared outside the region, potentially influencing national or international policy (Vuojala-Magga 2011).

Imbalances in the 'power of definition' (Nyyssönen and Lehtola 2017), have been especially damaging when anthropologists have challenged indigenous narratives of continuity and authenticity of practice in ways that threaten national and international recognition of indigenous rights (Smith 2013). The analytical lens of ‘invention’ of tradition (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983), undermines the rights of marginalised peoples to their own cultural narratives and political projects (Theodossopoulos 2013). Contemporary anthropology seeks to redress damage to indigenous representations of their own histories by rejecting authenticity judgements based around essentialised notions of ‘culture,’ and instead focusing on the role of cultural narratives in social and political processes (Clifford 2013; Jackson 1989). By doing so, the discipline attempts to counter histories of visualist mapping and ‘observation’ of cultural traits within discrete societies (Fabian 1983: 107-109), and thus to break down the very stereotypes that anthropology helped build.

While anthropology’s critical reflection on its own history is positive, focusing too much on the ‘bad’ past of anthropology may result in lack of evaluative assessment of present anthropological methods. Instead we must consider potential contradictions and problematic approaches in the discipline as they occur, especially when they may have troubling implications for constructions of race (Ifekwunigwe et al. 2017). Matt especially grappled with the difficulties of putting such ongoing disciplinary reflection into practice during his

visits to Če′vetjäu′rr during my initial fieldwork, and in the years that followed that led him to anthropological research in Kenya, and back again to the Sámi regions. He laughed at the convictions of some colleagues that they were entirely disconnected from anthropology's race-reinforcing history. One day in the winter of 2017, Matt made a provocative statement as we were discussing this issue with one of our Sámi friends:

> 'It would be hard to find an anthropologist, at least social anthropologist, who was doing things like people were 60 years ago. Which means that we are on the cutting edge of doing something really bad. Like what I'm doing right now, me sitting down with you, is racist in ways that I can't even imagine yet, but in 50 years they'll be like holy shit. Right now it's progressive, if we write about healing and all of these things, but historically people will look back on this the same way as if I was going around with a pair of callipers.'

Indeed, in the 20th century, researchers considered chosen methods of morphological measurement to be 'self-evident.' Schanche (2002) writes, 'Today we can only marvel at the fact that serious researchers so wholeheartedly embraced the idea that major scientific breakthroughs would be made by performing elaborate measurements on skulls.' In considering the entanglement of academic inquiry with the historical moment, Thomas (2017) states that 'the history of our discipline reflects the issues, questions, and practices of the particular historical moments' and that 'whether or not we intentionally engage these moments, we are always implicated within them in complex ways.' Thus it is dangerous to regard the present to be a progressive age of research disconnected entirely from the blunders of its past.

Instead, we may begin by considering how the history of the discipline still leads anthropologists to places with a long record of anthropological study, where they must negotiate how they got there, and therefore address potential continuities of the discipline's criticisms occurring in new form. Often the anthropologist may arrive in a place because of its 'privileged' position as a site of ethnographic research (Siikala 2006). For example, a linguist whom I accompanied to Če′vetjäu′rr during undergraduate years, and the reading of major ethnographic literature already written about the village (eg. Ingold 1976; Pelto 1962), guided me toward research in Če′vetjäu′rr. Similarly, countless others have travelled to these

places following the experiences of those who came before them, perhaps most notably the writer Robert Crottet. After a spell of turberculosis, during which he dreamed of an 'invitation' from a small Arctic indigenous group, Crottet consulted the ethnographer and geographer Väinö Tanner, who had conducted research in the Arctic regions of Europe. Not coincidently, Tanner informed him that the people of his visions resembled the Skolt Sámi, among whom he had lived and worked, thus directing Crottet toward Petsamo (Susiluoto 2003: 169). In this way places that have already been written about build around them networks and paths of return that develop a kind of mystical quality. Gradually I came to comprehend, and problematise, such forces of continuity leading researchers to places like Če′vetjäu′rr. But do these returns have the power to mitigate the racialising consequences of previous encounters? It is critical to ask these questions in the early stages of research, instead of decades later.

Increasingly, Sámi themselves conduct studies of their own histories and cultures, seeking to disrupt colonial structures of Sámi research. As such, these studies have implications for the reorganisation of various institutional bodies, including education (Keskitalo 2010), political decision-making (Valkonen 2010, Valkonen, Valkonen, and Koivurova 2016), and representations in media and tourism (Valkonen and Valkonen 2014). The efforts seek to shift indigenous discourse from periphery to mainstream (Kuokkanen 2000). By establishing indigenous perspectives on historical documents connected to issues of land and water rights, Sámi are reclaiming 'the right to one's own history' (Lehtola 2004: 104).

When research is done by non-Sámi scholars, it involves a continuous building of trust, a constant negotiation of histories and personal memories of interaction between researchers and Sámi people, in the building of present relationships. Several years ago Irja (see Chapters 1 and 2) and other researchers held a seminar at Sámi Museum Siida about experiences of *kohtaaminen*, meetings and encounters, between researchers and Sámi. When Irja shared her story, standing before a large local audience, a young Sámi woman asked, ‘Haven’t you ever thought that you don’t get *real* information from these Skolt Sámi people when you don’t understand their language?’ Irja collected herself and replied, ‘No, I don’t think so. I think we have good relationships and understand each other.’ Poised at the time, she recounts the incident tearfully. Driven by the conviction that her research developed through positive relationships with local people and ‘respect’ for Sámi culture, she was disturbed to hear these

relationships undermined on the grounds of language ability. The woman who spoke out questioned the nature of her research 'encounters' as mutually rewarding relationships, due to continued issues of Sámi research driven by external institutions. In these ways, histories of Sámi research are shaped and reshaped through ongoing dynamics, with ‘encounters’ between researchers and interlocutors continually redefined through critical questioning and seeking of genuine collaboration.

However, local collaboration and the sharing of research still leaves the question of power imbalances on which the initial endeavour was founded. What does eventually transform these dynamics is the passage of time living and engaging as part of a community, similar to what Vuojala-Magga (2017) describes as the mitigation of social distinctions and power inequalities when a researcher resides permanently in the Sámi regions. In this way, 'the region, too, has power' (Vuojala-Magga 2011), as researchers who stay for prolonged intervals, or indefinitely, become entangled and invested in local networks of social accountability through a sense of belonging. When researchers like Irja move to and marry into a community where they conduct research, ethnography becomes governed in part by acceptance and relationships within the community, as accountability to those with whom one works interweaves with that of university institutions. Wagner (1981:14) asserts, ‘the simple facts of being human and being in a place generate certain dependencies on their own account.’ These relationships encourage ethical scholarship, so that interlocutors are able to trust the written work, have the opportunity to read it, and actively engage in discussion surrounding the production of knowledge. Therefore, fieldwork-based disciplines have the advantage of social contract with the place of research, while the heaviest criticism of knowledge ownership faces those who research peripherally from sites of institutional power, instead of within networks of community relationships.

When I returned to Če′vetjäu′rr during my second phase of fieldwork, such entanglements of continual dwelling contributed to my change of title from ‘researcher’ to ‘builder’ of the root boat. In June 2017, Matt and I arrived for a cultural event at the open-air museum portion of the Heritage House, which displayed the boat as part of a reconstruction of a Skolt summer site. The boat was regularly brought out at community gatherings, while a film of the project played inside one of the recreated cottages and listed our names as filmmakers. Several Skolt villagers and Mika were tarring the vessel, and Mika called out, 'The boat builders have

arrived!' In this way Matt and I became part of village discourse surrounding the boat's making once we had demonstrated that we would in fact return to continue sharing the research as dialogic process, and thus participate in the social fabric of Če′vetjäu′rr.

**Figure 12** Annual tarring of the root boat

**Leu'dd for a birthday and a funeral**

In May of 2015 an older Skolt man and woman died within a few weeks of each other. Local and national media focused especially on the death of 91 year old Vassi Semenoja, a Skolt 'master' recognised locally, nationally, and internationally for her performances of traditional Skolt music, leu'dd, development of Skolt orthography, and translation of literature into Skolt Sámi. She was respected for the richness of her Skolt vocabulary, as she used words less commonly heard since decades of Finnicisation in resettlement territories. In 1986 the president of Finland recognised Vassi's work in Skolt Sámi cultural revitalisation, and in 2007 the Skolt organisation *Saa'mi Nue'tt*, awarded her *Vuoden Koltta,* Skolt of the Year, for ensuring the continuity of language, music, and literature for future generations.

A leu'dd is a traditional Skolt Sámi song known for its epic qualities, its narration of animals, places, or people, sung while rowing a fishing boat, tending animals, or at social gatherings such as birthdays, weddings, and funerals. It may tell about a significant event, like marriage or death, or the tasks of everyday life to accompany meditative sewing of clothing or the making of a boat. During my 14 months of fieldwork from 2014 to 2015, a series of deaths represented the departure of valued 'knowledge holders,' or 'masters' from the Skolt area. Again and again villagers told me that I was ten years too late. With the resettlement of older people born in Petsamo to nursing homes closer to health services in Â′vvel, and younger people to southern urban areas for study and work, every year there were fewer individuals to tell stories and sing leu'dd about life in Petsamo. Every year, villagers feared, it would become more difficult to 'remember.'

The day before the funeral a reindeer herder had a birthday celebration. The gathering was therefore for both a birthday and a funeral. One younger Skolt woman visiting Če′vetjäu′rr from south Finland, remarked sombrely that the passing of two elders marked a loss of knowledge for the entire Skolt community. Sometime late in the evening of an Arctic nightless night, as we sat in a kååvas *(F. laavu)*, Sámi tent structure, the mood infused with the cheerful haze of beverage, an older reindeer herder stood up and began to sing leu'dd. While leu'dd has traditionally been sung at both weddings and funerals, in recent decades it has been unusual for leu'dd to be performed outside programmed cultural events, especially by middle-aged Skolt men at private celebrations. For the rest of the night, Mika reflected wistfully that the event marked exceptional continuity of practice, not institutionally scheduled like root boat making, but instead emerging spontaneously through the desire to narrate everyday life in melodic, epic form.

When Heimo was a child he was surrounded by leu'dd as spontaneous storytelling. Friends and relatives visited his grandmother's house to drink tea, and tell stories through leu'dd. In the years following relocation, the meeting of relations often involved reminiscence about life in Petsamo. Leu'dd was a way to articulate longing for specific sites of the homeland, lakes where parents and grandparents had fished, and forests where they had herded reindeer (Jefremoff 2005, see Introduction). Heimo tells that when younger generations moved away, and older generations followed, there were fewer people left to tell these stories, and to gather around their narration. Since the 1970s people have used institutional avenues to revitalise

leu'dd, often performed at cultural events by older female leu'dd ‘masters’ like Vassi, or younger singers like Änn (Chapter 1).

Extemporaneous leu'dd by Skolt men demonstrated that cultural practice commonly organised institutionally, can also emerge unexpectedly through ordinary social engagement, as during winter village gatherings in Petsamo. The singing of leu'dd for a birthday and a funeral, facilitated by the fleeting courage of drink, brought people together in the memorialisation of Skolt lives and their continuity with Petsamo, while allowing momentary resolution of social uncertainties.

**Conclusion: The boat’s maiden launch**

The night before the boat was to be launched in a public ceremony, Mika, Arttu, Arto, Matt, and I gathered to test if the boat held together with roots would really take to water. Mika and I were the first ones to test the boat on the lake of Če′vetjäu′rr. As we pulled away from the shore, the boat began to fill with water. I kicked my shoes off ready to swim. However, Mika assured me it was normal for the boat to take on water as the boards expanded, and that the next day at the ceremony the boat would float.

The final testing completed, we returned to the workshop for a celebration, and in the Finnish tradition, took turns passing around a celebratory bottle. Conversation lingered around leu'dd for birthdays and funerals, and the passing of older people with hiljainen tieto. Mika lamented that Petsamo root boats and associated experiential learning often appeared as singular occurrences enacted through institutional means, and attracted limited participation.

As the articulation of authenticity shapes political process (Clifford 2013), in this case the search for authenticity sought to ensure that the boat project benefited the Skolt community. During the actual building, the boat site did serve as a place of village gathering, especially for Skolt men who would stop by to observe the work and share stories. Yet the fact that these villagers were not present for the boat’s testing, brought particular anxieties about the continuity and authenticity of knowledge, the involvement of non-Skolt actors in the making of a Skolt boat, and therefore the achievement of the reconstruction's social goals. In the next chapter, I shall discuss events like the public launching of the root boat, as a ceremony in the

transfer of experience, and the making of collective memory, for those who are Skolt themselves.

## Chapter 5
## Transferring Ceremony

On a bright morning the 25th of August 2015, the air cool against the skin with the onset of autumn, an audience gathered along the lake of Če′vetjäu′rr near the school, around a rather unusual scene: the root boat, Finnish and East African Orthodox priests present for the boat's blessing, Matti and Arttu the root boat builders, Mika the boat instructor, representatives of Sámi Museum Siida, and the Skolt Sámi village leader. It was the last day of the three-day Saint Trifon Festival, the annual Orthodox pilgrimage shaping collective memory of Skolt resettlement and religious heritage (Rantakeisu 2015).

The festival celebrates Saint Trifon of Petsamo, a monk who founded the Petsamo Monastery, and who has been associated with Eastern Orthodox practices among Skolt Sámi since the early 1500s. More importantly, the pilgrimage re-enacts the relocation from Petsamo to new territories in Finland, as participants move between church services and social gatherings in Skolt villages of Njeä′llem, Keväjäu′rr, and Če′vetjäu′rr, following relocation sites from the Russian border. One of the sites, the Travellers' Cross near Njeä′llem, in Čarmmjäu′rr (F. Tsarmijärvi), a wooden memorial in the shape of an Orthodox cross, enables remembrance and prayer for Skolt homelands and relatives buried on the other side of the redrawn Russian border in Petsamo. Additionally, Čarmmjäu′rr is one of the sites where Skolt lived in temporary structures after relocation while awaiting permanent settlement.

After moving between these places of memory, the Saint Trifon pilgrimage culminates in sanctification of the Njauddâm River on the Norwegian side of the border, an area belonging to Skolt Sámi ancestral homelands. The act physically returns participants to original Skolt territories after re-enacting the relocation journey. While commemorating continuity with Petsamo, the pilgrimage also establishes resettlement areas as environments of memory. At the same time, the event deals with subsequent migrations that have depopulated Skolt areas, by providing impetus for Skolt living in south Finland to travel annually to the northern villages, thus constituting a larger scale pilgrimage traversing all of Finland.

The Saint Trifon Festival of 2015 was unique because that year it was not just people, but also the root boat, taking part in commemoration of the relocation and Skolt Orthodoxy. On the last day of the ceremony, the same day as the Orthodox service in Njauddâm, an audience gathered to witness the blessing of the reconstructed 20th century Petsamo boat on the new shores of 21st century Če′vetjäu′rr, thus drawing attention to the lived history of Skolt Sámi relocation through the material presence of a Petsamo-era boat. As such, the root boat became a 'commemorative creation' (Lowenthal 1985: 324), making durable ancestral practices intertwined with Petsamo environments, and Skolt ability to adapt these skills to new forests and waters, while maintaining a distinct Skolt Sámi identity.

The ceremony brought together more people than had participated in the building of the boat--Skolt residents of all generations and across Finland, political leaders and cultural activists, Finnish newcomers, schoolteachers, sponsors of the boat project from Sámi Museum Siida and SAKK, and researchers. Every possible news organisation was there, from Skolt Sámi radio, to wider Sámi television, to the national Finnish media. The cover of the Če′vetjäu′rr Facebook page featured a photograph of the occasion for several years after the event.

The visiting orthodox priests represented the entire hierarchy of the Finnish Orthodox Church, and an African priesthood in Burundi and Kenya where the Finnish church has a strong missionary presence. Before multiple film cameras the priests sprinkled the boat with holy water to consecrate the vessel before its onward journey to the Skolt Sámi Heritage House and future appearances at cultural events. They splashed some of the holy water on the audience, blurring boundaries between observation and participation in performance (Schechner and Appel 1990), so that those watching the ceremony also participated in the consecration of the boat and its continuation.

Because of their approximately 500 year history with Orthodox Christianity, many Skolt Sámi consider the Orthodox faith integral to the experience of belonging to Skolt community (Rantakeisu 2015). Priests often consecrate watercraft, houses and other built structures in the Skolt areas. As such, the root boat's blessing during the Saint Trifon Festival was a way to imbue it with meaning as a vehicle of Orthodox pilgrimage and Skolt culture. Matti and Arttu, as the principal village root boat builders, entered the wobbly vessel and rowed it

steadily onto the water. Applause enveloped them, seemingly pushing the men toward the lakes of Suõnn′jel. Then the Finnish and Burundi priests in their wide gowns also took turns rowing, nearly tipping the vessel to the delight of an amused audience.

After many more in the crowd had tested the root boat, and the film cameras dispersed, it was again Matt and myself, just as the evening before at the boat's testing (see Chapter 4). Together we rowed the boat onto the water.

Connerton (1989: 70-71) argues that commemorative ceremonies involve more than remembering and recollection, but also re-enactment and embodiment made possible by participants. As such, they combine narrative and embodied practice to commemorate a continuity with the past, through re-actualisation of historical events continuously made present (Eliade 1959: 68-70, 1996: 388-397).

Debates have questioned to what extent ceremonies actually seek to transmit social memory, or whether there is another, 'real,' reason behind the ceremonies, whether historical, sociological, or psychoanalytical (Connerton 1989: 48-51). Instead, Connerton calls for studies of commemorative ceremonies to consider the possibility of ritual to do precisely that which participants intend, that is, 'to transmit social memory.' The ceremony and boat launching commemorated continuity despite displacement, through the making and placement of a Petsamo-era boat on the shores of Če′vetjäu′rr. Furthermore, the events honoured the journey and not just the destination, by drawing attention to the skills acquired in the process of making, incorporated into collective memory to share with those who had not participated in construction.

However, the reconstruction of the Suõnn′jel boat on the shores of Če′vetjäu′rr meant that things could not be exactly the same as they were before. In addition to social, political, and economic transformations, the shores to which the boat was reconstituted had also changed--in fact they were new shores entirely. A century ago there were root boats in every Skolt household territory. Now there was a single boat of a particular model documented by Petsamo ethnographers on the lake of Če′vetjäu′rr. Instead of using the boat for fishing, people gathered to commemorate historical events, religious and material practices as Skolt heritage, and thus to 'transmit social memory' (Connerton 1989: 52). As continuity implies

constant movement, so too the boat, while commemorating the past, propelled memory forward to shape Skolt lives into the future.

In this chapter I look at the potential of ceremony to negotiate uncertainties of displacement, southward migration, research and Finnish settlement histories. The analysis focuses on embodied re-enactments of continuity between places and people. I first consider the ways in which ceremony collapses temporal and spatial distance to cope with issues of displacement and movement. Then, I follow the transfer of individual embodied practices to collective memory--everyday performances of creation to formal ceremony. In the cases presented, ceremony established the secondary, mediating role of institutions, Finnish settlers, instructors, and researchers, while asserting those of the Skolt community as leading actors shaping their own cultural memory and futures.

**Space and time of ceremony**

The root boat ceremony, and the Saint Trifon Festival, established continuity between Če′vetjäu′rr and Skolt homelands in Petsamo, while bridging distances of migration across Finland by bringing Skolt north for the event. The boat's inclusion in an Orthodox pilgrimage commemorated continuity with the people and places of Petsamo by re-enacting the actual relocation journey from lost homelands. Yet it was also the material properties of the boat, and its symbolic associations, that served to connect multiple places and temporalities. I thus return to the question posed at the beginning of the thesis: Why a boat? Why do boat reconstructions occupy prominent roles in indigenous movements around the world, and what does this say about how the material, temporal and spatial dimensions of indigenous craft establish continuity and connection to land as reparation for uprooting and disruption of lifeways under state governance?

To answer this question, we must consider the role of ceremony. While relationships between boats and those who use them are mediated by emotional attachments and obligations (Jalas 2009), mutual exchange cannot explain the case of the root boat and similar heritage objects not destined for an individual owner, but community display, occasional use, and ceremony. Instead it is the spatial and temporal dimensions of ceremony, both in making and final

launching, that constitute the boat's saliency as an idiom for continuity and a vehicle of collective remembering.

Compared to other objects and materials of cultural memory discussed throughout this thesis, the boat has a higher potential for group participation during its making and use. While the scale of the boat makes it suited as a centrepiece of ceremony, its size also creates conditions of construction in a public space, gathering people and building community. Thus the months of building constitute 'creation as ceremony,' a process of material and visual production that engages land and people through everyday performance (Zepeda 2014). For Coast Salish populations in Washington, revival of canoe building and journeying fostered intergenerational connection and rehabilitation from substance abuse (Johansen 2012). Boats thus represent stability (Medvedev-Mead 2005), serving as vehicles of social engagement and memory from collection of materials, to construction and ceremony, to their continued lives through display and use.

At the same time, the capacity of the boat for transport has made it a symbol of connection around the world and across human history. Boats are commonly associated with movement, subsistence, and social connection between places, at once 'rootedness and journeying' (Tilley 2004). They have been used in burial practices as vehicles of rebirth and renewal, from Egypt to northern Europe (Medvedev-Mead 2005), Melanesia (Tilley 2004), and First Nations territories (Johansen 2012). In the Sámi regions, boats have been studied on rock art as representations of liminality (Mulk and Bayliss-Smith 2007), serving as a means of contact between different Sámi groups and Nordic populations, and transport of souls to a spirit world during trance or boat burial (Bayliss-Smith and Mulk 1999).

Many indigenous communities today use boats and similar cultural objects to mediate international networks and relations with nation states (Herle 2005), as well as in contemporary revival contexts such as canoe journeying (Duffek and Townsend-Gault 2008: 13). For example, the reconstruction, inter-island voyage, and launching ceremony of a Polynesian canoe in the 1970s, emphasised continuity with ancestors, while validating historical claims concerning the key role of Polynesian navigation skills during the settlement of islands (Finney 1994; Linnekin 1983).

In the making of the boat, the age of the material (i.e., old-growth Če′vetjäu′rr pine), older techniques using hand tools, and the qualities of trees representing renewal (Rival 1998), established temporal continuity with past generations who used similar methods of making. Meanwhile, the 'roots' of the root-sewn boat also mediated connection and renewal, drawing on the significance of seams in Skolt burials; coffins used to be sewn together with pine roots (Wallenius and Kännö 1994: 178), while the continued tearing of seams on clothing and shoes worn by the deceased prevents prolonged entanglement with the world of the living (Rantakeisu 2015; Storå 1971: 86, 168, 215). The suturing instead of tearing of seams in the making of the root boat thus entangles ancestral and living worlds to create a sense of continuity.

Ceremony for reconstructed objects occurs not only with boats but also with other sizeable items used for visible assertion of continuity and indigenous presence. Among Pacific West Coast groups, the making of totem poles involves the blessing of felled cedar trees, and final raising ceremony. In such cases, blessing and ceremony reclaim relationships with local environments suppressed by colonial governments, and impacted by social and economic transformations. A totem pole titled ‘Reconciliation’ raised at the University of British Columbia marked efforts of postcolonial repair with the Canadian government. For larger built structures, for example in the repatriation of an Indian school building in Miami, ceremony asserts indigenous presence by establishing connection between people and the surrounding landscape (Nesper 2001).

Explaining commemoration not just as narrative but as re-enactment, Connerton (1981: 70) argues that ‘if there is such a thing as social memory, we are likely to find it in commemorative ceremonies.’ Considering the Saint Trifon pilgrimage and root boat launching as part of a commemorative ceremony, the relocation emerges as a major historical event of Skolt social memory. The pilgrimage leading up to the launching ceremony established continuity through the piecing together of the relocation journey, commonly associated with uprootedness and displacement. People drove between church ‘ceremonies’ in each Skolt village, which involved formalism of speech, gestures, postures, movements, and repetition characteristic of Orthodox services, thus ‘ordering thoughts and suggesting feelings’ through repetition of practice and bodily disposition (Bourdieu 1990: 69). Finally, the joining of these Orthodox rites with movement between relocation sites, collapsed

temporal and spatial distance between Petsamo and resettlement territories through temporal recollection and spatial re-experiencing, albeit by a new mode of transportation (cf. Küchler 1999: 60).

The pilgrimage culminated with the launching and consecration of the root boat on the lake of Če′vetjäu′rr, materially reconstituting Skolt life on new shores. At the same time, as relatives from south Finland visited for the Saint Trifon festivities, the events negotiated out-migration from the northern Skolt areas, by bringing people back north along the same roads that they or their ancestors had travelled to leave for new lives in Finnish centres (see Introduction).

One of the main Orthodox priests who blessed the root boat, Father Petteri, a middle-aged man from Karelian areas of Finland, regularly holds services and funerals in Skolt areas, and consecrates Orthodox homes and other built structures. According to Father Petteri, religion is one of the most critical components of cultural revitalisation. Indeed, scholarship on 'revitalisation' deals with both cultural change (Wallace 1956; Harkin 2004) and religious awakening (Turnbaugh 1979; Mooney 1965).

Father Petteri describes religion as a critical part of reconnection for displaced populations globally. The first generation, he says, dwells mentally in the old homeland, the second focuses on social advancement in the new region, while the third seeks to 're-root' to the homeland through practices in new territories. In this process, religion serves as a way for people to strengthen a sense of continuity and community in new places. For example, some return migrants and Finnish newcomers to the Skolt areas have converted to Orthodoxy from Lutheranism. Those who marry into Skolt families use religion to build a sense of belonging, while return migrants also actively counter pressures that led their families to assimilate into Lutheran congregations (see Introduction). The Orthodox chapel and accompanying service, as a space of meeting between human and spiritual worlds, and people of diverse life trajectories, facilitates the temporal and spatial bridging necessary for cultural reconnection.

Similarly, through Orthodox blessing, religion animated the root boat with spiritual associations of renewal to collapse felt spatial and temporal distance between the Petsamo homeland and Skolt resettlement territories.

**Bodies of ceremony**

As the re-enactment of the relocation journey and the launching of the root boat emphasised spatial and temporal continuity with the Skolt homeland, the bodily aspect of ceremony transferred everyday experiences of boat building to collective ceremony, from those who built the boat to the wider Skolt Sámi community, while establishing bodily connection between the rowers of root boats in Petsamo with those of Če′vetjäu′rr. This made clear the blurred boundaries between performance in daily life and formal ceremony (Goffman 1949; Turner 1986). Furthermore, just as boats facilitate contact between different groups (Bayliss-Smith and Mulk 1999), and negotiation of social and power relations (Tilley 2004), the blessing of the boat, collective witnessing of the audience, and succession of people rowing the boat onto the lake, mediated relations between diverse actors in the commemoration of Skolt heritage. I shall discuss how such initiatives collapse individual actions and motivations into collective memory, merging personal trajectories to elevate Skolt voices in shaping what it means to have 'something of one's own.'

*Something of our own*

Irja told of an incident that happened with the *Nellimiin kansantanssi- ja perinneryhmä*--the Njeä′llem folk dance and tradition group, which gathered villagers--Skolt and non-Skolt--to learn and perform Skolt dance. At one point, Finnish researchers contacted the Njeä′llem group, inquiring whether its members would be willing to teach them Skolt dance. This resulted in a moral dilemma for Irja and other members, who weighed the potential positive impacts of increasing visibility for Skolt Sámi culture, and the more likely extraction inherent in teaching Skolt practices to those who will leave the area, without potential benefit for the Skolt community (see Chapter 4). After much deliberation, the dance group decided not to teach the researchers, explaining that Skolt Sámi must have something of their 'own,' because so much has already been taken.

Similar arguments arise in controversy surrounding the wearing of Skolt dress by non-Skolt, or the teaching of certain practices such as medicinal healing, stories, and spiritual beliefs. Newcomers and return migrants to the Skolt areas describe things that were not told to them until they became part of the community--for example not to add coffee to a cup that is more than half full, or to continue knitting on a knot that has been tied by someone else. Building

on discussion of colonial interactions and history making in Chapter 4, past and ongoing relationships with researchers and settlers suggest that there are circumstances when outside involvement acts in alliance with Skolt interests and initiatives, while particular practices must remain for Skolt Sámi to determine access.

There are many examples of outside institutions and individuals who are well regarded for collaborations that further Skolt Sámi interests. Accounts and experiences of their lives are often woven into Skolt collective memory. Karl Nickul and Väinö Tanner are recognised for their advocacy for the rights of Skolt Sámi to determine their own cultural affairs (Susiluoto 2003: 184). The Swiss writer Robert Crottet continues to be memorialised almost seven decades after he led the *Skolt Lapp Relief Fund* to restore livelihoods and material possessions after the relocation (*ibid.*, 179-180). In 2016, the great granddaughter of Kaisa Gauriloff produced a nationally acclaimed film following the friendship between Crottet and Kaisa. It celebrated the historical events and personal exchanges that led Kaisa to recount, and Crottet to write down, oral histories that would be read by future generations of Skolt Sámi.

As narrative and experience are mutually structuring (Bruner 1986), and entangled and embodied through ceremony (Connerton 1989: 43), how experiences are narrated is just as important as the actuals events. Therefore, ceremony shapes the ways in which experiences and narratives become incorporated into collective memory:

In 2015 the Skolt organisation *Saa'mi Nue'tt* honoured the National and Sámi Archives as 'Skolt of the Year.' Researchers at the archives and Skolt community organisers worked together to restore the Skolt Sámi scrolls to the northern Skolt areas; the scrolls present decrees by Russian authorities detailing Skolt rights to the land and waters of their homeland (see Introduction). Similar to the centring of Skolt leadership at the root boat launch, this project culminated in a ceremony and unveiling at the Če′vetjäu′rr school, along with celebration of the acceptance of the scrolls to the UNESCO Memory of the World Register. The event was led by village and Skolt project leaders, staff of the Sámi Archives, and attended by a large community audience.

At the opening of the Skolt Sámi museum in the summer of 2017, there was a large ceremony attended by Skolt Sámi, the wider Sámi community, and media organisations across the Sámi regions. A Finnish researcher and curator worked in collaboration with Skolt Sámi artisans and language workers to create the exhibits. Again, the ceremony incorporated the diversity of actors who had helped put together the museum into an overarching Skolt Sámi narrative.

Teachers from southern parts of Lapland and Finland can take on similar supporting roles in Če′vetjäu′rr. Their pedagogical approach seeks to foster self-esteem among the students, so that children will then be more likely to embrace a Skolt identity, speak the language, and build community around a shared sense of Skolt practice. For example, children are encouraged to wear Skolt dress during dance and leu'dd performances organised by the school, and to speak their family language through courses led by an older Skolt woman (see Chapter 3). Skolt cantor Erkki Lumisalmi (1996) considers such support for Skolt identity crucial to the work of cultural and linguistic revitalisation.

Within Skolt families, Finnish women who moved north for jobs as teachers, nurses, administrators, and even researchers, have married Skolt men and taken on active roles in cultural revitalisation to better conditions in the northern villages. One former schoolteacher collaborated with her Skolt husband in the 1970s to create the first Skolt language educational materials and orthography, and continues work on linguistic revitalisation today. Since the 1980s, Irja has organised courses on Skolt food traditions together with Kati, a chef from Helsinki also married to a Skolt Sámi man. Irja continues to teach such workshops through SAKK and the Skolt Sámi Cultural Foundation (Magnani 2016; Chapter 3).

These women also conduct interviews and explore textual material to draw attention to particular Skolt narratives and practices. In this way they actualise the potentiality of ethnographic texts and archives to shape cultural memory (Assmann 1995). In his exploration of Sámi musical practice, Hilder (2014: 173) follows Taylor (2003) to show that the transformation of archived materials of memory into embodied knowledge reverses the original intention of many ethnographic and archival texts and objects, which sought to 'preserve' Sámi culture by inscribing it within material forms. Thus in the textual mediation of collective memory (Wertsch 2002), it matters less who unleashes the potentiality of an archival text, than the purpose it serves and for whom. If communities are built when

experiences are remembered or forgotten as one's own (cf. Anderson 1991), then these Finnish women work with materials of memory not for themselves, but for a collective remembering that becomes something of the Skolt's 'own.'

It is also important to note that ethnographic texts and archives were not formed separately, but in dialogue with indigenous communities. For example, Northwest Coast art was shaped by the 'synergistic impulse' of 'scholarly inquiry with hands-on experience' (Berlo 1986). Interactions with diverse actors, from traders, to tourists, to researchers, 'suppressed certain indigenous forms and gave rise to others.' While Northwest Coast art was being produced in large quantities for the tourist market, ethnographers were commissioning large and more laboriously crafted objects such as totem poles and canoes (Wyatt in Berlo 1986).

Materials produced through such interactions may also inform revitalisation movements decades or even centuries later, especially if certain skills of production are not passed down to younger generations. In their interplay with bodily expressions of memory (Nakata 2012; Taylor 2003), and transformation into embodied knowledge (Hilder 2014), archives and texts are powerful mediums that connect generations and establish continuity for displaced indigenous populations. Along with ceremonies and institutions, they transform everyday forms of 'communicative' memory into cultural memory with lasting duration (Assmann 1995). In addition to textual materials, indigenous artisans may be trained by craftspeople outside their community (MacNair in Davis 1990). In these ways, interactions between various institutions, individual actors, and indigenous communities, are reproduced in new form and unfold 'synergistically' with grassroots mobilisations.

In de-emphasing the individual and elevating the community in a discussion of collective memory, outside actors are subsumed within a larger actualisation of potential materials of memory as community narrative and experience. Assmann (1995) describes how archives may not achieve their potential to inform collective memory until they are mobilised toward this goal. In this way the role of Sámi Museum Siida and the root boat builders in accessing archival models and documents at the National Museum of Helsinki, piecing together material and embodied practices to construct the boat, and translating these processes to a public boat launching, become part of a wider Skolt agency in the making of collective memory.

Following Halbwachs, Assmann (1995) describes everyday, communicative memory by which personal memories form by relating to other people and their memories, shaping social groups through understandings of a common past. This 'everyday form of collective memory' takes on greater duration as cultural memory through texts, archives, ceremonies, representations, and institutional practices. Thus the ceremony, and its textual, institutional, and material mediators are key to transforming everyday, individual forms of memory to create a lasting sense of group commonality. Interpersonal negotiations involved in the formation of collective memory bring together a plurality of visions and actions toward Skolt futures discussed throughout the thesis, and link them to broader claims about indigeneity:

> '[...] indigeneity encompasses much more than identities and social movements. It is a worldwide field of governance, subjectivities, and knowledges involving both indigenous and nonindigenous peoples in their own different ways. Indigeneity itself materializes in an intricate dynamic among converging and competing agendas, visions, and interests that transpire at local, national, and global levels (De la Cadena and Starn 2007: 12).'

Such dynamics can also reflect 'converging and competing' ideas of individuality and community. Individuality discourse in the context of Skolt Sámi cultural revitalisation often equates individualism with western colonialism and globalisation. Heini asserts that being Skolt Sámi means acting according to the interests of the wider community, instead of solely following individual desires. This is of course difficult, because a 'community' often comprises diverse perspectives on what it means to be part of, and further the interests of, that community (see Chapter 2).

Ceremony serves as a way to direct individual interests toward collective action through bodily practice. The movements of the gathered crowd for the blessing of the root boat, collective observance of those rowing on the lake, bodily sensations of uncertainty and sound of oars as participants rowed the root boat of relatively small size and unusual construction--all of these experiences shaped a sense of togetherness in embodied and sensory practice. In these ways the ability of the boat to carry and transport people allowed movements and techniques of the body to become incorporated as Skolt collective memory.

The rowers, their uncertain movements, and the circumstances that led them to row a root boat on the lake of Če′vetjäu′rr that day in late August, were different from the people, movements and motivations of those who would have been rowing root boats in Petsamo. Yet these actions celebrated continuity with Petsamo generations through habit memory perpetually selected and reinvented. As such, the desires of ancestors were expressed into the present and future (Anderson 1991:198), and the root boat, as a multi-sensory embodiment of mobility, provided a vehicle of continuity through continuous change.

**Conclusion**

In the ceremony surrounding the root boat, re-enactment of spatial and temporal connections to the Petsamo homeland commemorated continuity despite pressures of displacement--both initial relocation to new territories of Finland, and continuing out-migration. Everyday practices of embodied rediscovery discussed throughout this thesis, in combination with formal ceremonies dealt with in this chapter, recreate relationships not only to homelands, but to the historical circumstances of displacement, making the displacement event itself part of Skolt collective memory. The root boat launch also served as a medium for dealing with concerns about who participates in community projects, and the entanglement of this issue with colonial histories of state intervention and settlement in Skolt areas. Ceremony translated individual acts of remembering into Skolt cultural memory, so that uncertainties leading up to this event could temporarily fade in the space, time, and bodily practice of ceremony.

**Figure 13** Root boat ceremony (Länsman 2015, Yle Sápmi)

## Conclusion: Remembering and Awakening

*It is time to be awake again.*

*[...]*

*When the work began I did not remember anything. Those who remembered could not remember what they remembered...These things we have remembered again.*

Pauliina Feodoroff in *Eastern Sámi Atlas* (Mustonen and Mustonen 2011: 10-11)

The above concluding quotes by a key Skolt Sámi political actor, articulating remembering as awakening, reflect the intention of this thesis to understand the remaking of practical knowledge as conscious practice in striving for vibrant community futures. When people mobilise 'silent' knowledge to repair intergenerational ruptures felt in the fabric of social life, embodied practices of making and engagement with the land become part of an emerging political consciousness. I have argued that reworkings of bodily and environmentally situated practice mediate connections between homelands and resettlement areas, but also interpersonal and intergenerational relations, to redefine the social and spatial dimensions of community life.

Such reworkings of practice have implications for indigenous articulations of cultural distinctiveness, which negotiate the paradox placed by international statutes for the protection of indigenous peoples contingent on simultanenous visibility of a distinct cultural community, and state threats to any form of cohesion. For populations that have experienced displacement from indigenous homelands and to urban centres, thriving socially depends on maintaining these connections to land and ancestors.

‘Awakening’ establishes memory as future-oriented--a process by which people 'imagine themselves as awakening from sleep' (Anderson 1991: 195). O'Connor (2005), drawing on Bourdieu, suggests that proficiency in practical knowledge is marked by the ability of anticipation. Just as 'corporeal *anticipation* [...] can directly bring forth the envisioned object of the practice' (*ibid*: 201), a bodily anticipation engaged with the surrounding environment allows for the realisation of envisioned futures.

In this thesis I have explored everyday processes of embodied rediscovery through which people enact 'traditional futures' (Clifford 2004), marked by the reweaving of selected practices to reimagine relationships of social life. These futures are created in relation to land, connecting memories interwoven with resettlement areas to those of Petsamo. At the same time, they extend socially beyond these places, linking Skolt across Finland and between generations, while negotiating the role of Finnish and institutional actors that have also become part of the social fabric of Skolt Sámi community. Acts of making create avenues to form and reform these connections.

The chapters followed the ways in which production creates ties to land to remake social relations, from collection of materials, preparation and construction, to public ceremony. While the thesis followed all stages of boat making to frame the analysis, it drew on other case studies along the way to elaborate on various dimensions of making. Chapter 1 considered how a sense of memory itself can connect lived experience with the materiality of the environment, and to distant lands and ancestors, and how the degree of personal connection to these memories constitutes Skolt and Finnish identities. Chapter 2 showed how humour and craft work structure a politics of practice in unifying diverse visions of Skolt life across generations. It suggested that seemingly competing forms of political action and ideas of community belonging can be complementary in the creation of better futures.

Chapter 3 delved into the institutional mediation of such everyday acts of memory, making, and intergenerational reconciliation. Education and museum establishments, government-funded and privately sponsored organisations, as well as the Finnish welfare state, create avenues of cultural memory. These pathways are utilised and rewoven by local actors to realise indigenous agendas toward community wellbeing. The phenomenon demonstrates that despite constraints created by institutional structures, the same structures can serve as crucial mediums for reworkings of practice that drive indigenous movements.

Chapter 4 considered another example of interpersonal interaction mediated by processes of making--that between researchers and indigenous communities. Through the making of Skolt objects, people grapple with histories of research connected to state efforts to control and exploit Sámi regions. Chapter 5 demonstrated how ceremony serves to resolve some of these uncertainties, by transferring individual acts of making to Skolt cultural memory. Gathering

on the shores of Če′vetjäu′rr translated individual rediscoveries to collective memory for future generations--an 'immense antiquity behind the epochal sleep, as the dreams of one generation are rethought and transferred to the next' (Anderson 1991: 193).

**The social life of the root boat**

While the thesis followed the social life of the root boat as it was being constructed, here I would like to say something about the boat's journey after being removed from the boat site, and the shores of Če′vetjäu′rr, to the outdoor museum of the Skolt Heritage House.

At the Heritage House a film about the boat plays continuously in one of the structures of the outdoor museum. In this way there is constant reminder of the actual process of making the boat, encapsulating all stages of production from collection, to construction, to final ceremony. During cultural events villagers participate in the annual tarring of the vessel (see Chapter 4), and Arttu demonstrates the root sewing technique so that people can re-enact embodied skills learned during the boat's construction. As discussed in Chapter 5, such events transfer not only individual practice to collective memory, but actual bodily techniques between individuals. Moreover, the boat is repeatedly brought out during cultural events to row on the pond near the Heritage House, or even on the lake of Če′vetjäu′rr. In these various ways, through film display following the boat making, re-enactment and teaching of root sewing, annual renewal of tarring, and the creation of new stories for the boat through journeys on local lakes, a sense of continuity emerges through ongoing acts of ceremony.

The continued life of the root boat is best evinced by its potential for material regeneration. Although he has not yet done so, one of the Skolt root boat builders, Matti, intends to construct a boat of his own using the root sewing technique. Meanwhile, Ä´vv Skolt Sámi Museum across the Norwegian border in Njauddâm, has funded travel for some of the root boat builders to examine sewn-plank boats held in Norwegian museums, thus beginning anew the process of research for ultimate reconstruction, and extending the work across national borders of Skolt areas. As the experience of the root boat stimulates new productions, certain things will be remembered, other things inevitably forgotten, and practices rewoven.

The work of memory, involving the conscious embodiment of practical knowledge entwined with the making of root boats and associated engagements with the land, continues beyond the initial construction of the boat. Throughout the year people gather around the re-enactment of bodily skills connecting them to Petsamo generations, while creating new stories for the boat in resettlement environments. Thus social relations are strengthened and rewoven through practices tied to the land.

**Two Boats**

Among some Native American groups, boats symbolise negotiation of colonial relations. In the two-row wampum belt used to establish treaties between Haudenosaunee and European settlers, parallel rows of purple wampum beads represent 'two paths or two vessels, travelling down the same river together. One, a birch bark canoe, will be for Indian People, their laws, their customs and their ways. The other, a ship, will be for the white people [...] We shall each travel the river together, side by side, but in our own boat' (Ames in Davis 1990: 20). However, for Skolt Sámi interacting with Finnish settlers and researchers in Petsamo, and negotiating new relations with the Finnish state, education system, and other northern residents (Sámi and Finnish) after relocation, the question is not as much about travelling side by side, but about travelling in the same boat. Furthermore, in the blurring of material, spatial, and temporal boundaries of Skolt Sámi political consciousness, craft work tied to a distinct sense of place also creates ways to negotiate estrangements between Skolt generations, whose visions of Skolt life are guided by their different experiences of displacement, Finnish boarding schools, out-migration, and participation in a global indigenous movement.

Throughout the boat project there were two types of boats being built--the 'root boat' and the 'normal boats.' As the building continued, separations between these boats blurred, while remaining on their own distinct trajectories. After leaving the boat site, the two types of vessels carried on lives as Skolt boats, albeit in markedly different ways. The root boat became a means of social gathering around the building of collective memory and Skolt relation to land. The normal boats appeared on local lakes, used to drag nets full of fish in everyday activities of Skolt life. Thus both types of boats had their place and cultural meaning in Skolt collective memory. Despite being constructed in different ways, and

engaging different memories, the practices associated with the root boat complemented those of the normal boats, and vice versa. They were vehicles of transport all moving in a similar direction, toward the shaping of Skolt futures tied to the land of resettlement areas, to Petsamo, and to wherever movement may take the generations to come.

Thus indigenous future-making reflects a deeper negotiation of interpersonal and intergenerational relations that drive these movements. Materialities and ecologies of production serve to unify social and political actors in ways that complement each other in shaping futures. This means that visions of Skolt practice do not need to be homogenous, and that instead it is the dynamism of different ways of perceiving the world, and the work of memory as constantly negotiated practice, that reinforce a sense of community by continually remaking its social and spatial boundaries.

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