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Ruptured Landscapes

Landscape, Identity and Social Change

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Landscape, Identity and Social Change

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Contents

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Chapter 1
Introduction—Ruptured Landscapes

Jonathan Miles-Watson, Hugo Reinert, and Helen Sooväli-Sepping

"Sotteraneo destinato al supplizio de' rei" (c. 1832) by Alessandro Sanquirico (1777–1849), Teatro alla Scala Milan. Getty Open Content (http://search.getty.edu/gri/records/griobject?objectid=466990497)

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Uaibhreach a nochd na coilich ghiuthais	Proud tonight the pine cocks
a' gairm air mullach Cnoc an Rà,	crowing on the top of Cnoc an Ra,
dìreach an druim ris a' ghealaich –	straight their backs in the moonlight –
chan iadsan coille mo ghràidh.	they are not the wood I love.

Sorley MacLean, "Hallaig" (1952)

Abstract This chapter outlines the ambitions and key theoretical terms of the collection, and presents the various themes explored over the following chapters.

In his celebrated Gaelic poem *Hallaig*, the Scottish poet Sorley MacLean captures, with poignant succinctness, a particular ambivalence in his relationship to the landscapes of his youth. The pine trees he describes are aliens in the landscape of his ancestors, vanguards of a more profound transformation—of changes that have ruptured not just the landscape itself, but also the relationship between memory and the present, and his own relationship to a cherished and once-familiar landscape, now rendered discontinuous. The sense he describes, of dislocation in a once-familiar landscape, is one among the manifold forms of spatial rupture and discontinuity that we, and our contributors, set out to explore with the present volume. Taking a broad understanding of rupture as a strategic opening on the study of complex interactions between landscape, value, history, identity and social life, we wanted to question established theories regarding the relationship between social change and landscape change. With case studies ranging from the Caribbean to the post-Soviet Baltic to the coast of Japan, the essays we have collected here examine how abrupt rupture, discontinuity and change may reflect changes in the landscape—variously understood as a material, social, political and symbolic entity—and how these landscape changes may, in turn, affect both human and nonhuman life.

The collection is structured around the two central terms *landscape* and *rupture*: each term has its own genealogy, long and contested, but the two have been brought together only rarely. More than simply the physical setting for human activity, we take landscape here as an object of human perception and practice—and as a medium that interactively expresses changing cultural, social and political attitudes. Social groups and landscapes are mutually constitutive; each influences and shapes the other. Natural and social processes produce material transformations in the physical landscape, which in turn feed back into on-going natural and social processes. If new social and political formations are associated with new landscape patterns, and vice versa, then time also becomes intrinsic to the landscape concept—and never more so than at present, in a time of seismic ruptures, defined by dramatic upheavals and continuous, unpredictable change: social, political, economic, environmental and climatic. On the one hand, this tumultuous present moment confronts us with the need to document and analyse the increasingly dramatic and unpredictable changes

taking place, at all scales. On the other, the sheer speed and scope of the changes we are witnessing challenge the very categories we use to describe them, threatening to overwhelm our descriptive powers. More than ever, new and hybrid modes of description, analysis and interpretation are required. Taking this as our backdrop, we have included in the volume a broad range of theoretical and disciplinary perspectives on landscape, including discursive, ethnographic, phenomenological, performative and autobiographical approaches.

One of the briefs we set ourselves with this book project was to explore the notion of landscape rupture with a broad geographical lens, drawing in case studies not only from Europe but also from Asia and the Americas. As a result of this broad focus, our chapters also explore a timely and diverse range of current global issues: from species extinction and industrial pollution, to ethnic and sectarian violence, religious conflict and the management of colonial or military legacies in a postcolonial age. Overall, our contributors draw strongly on recent approaches in anthropology and cultural geography that treat landscape as a processual, material and perceptual engagement between body and world. Individual chapters describe landscapes that are multivalent, historically contingent and emotively charged: landscapes which both deeply affect and are affected by the lives of the individual actors, human and nonhuman alike, that interact with them and in them.

The notion of *rupture* primarily takes two forms in these landscapes: one, as abrupt, sudden or explosive change, either in the material landscape or in the social and political structures associated with it (e.g. Annist, Cubero, Basu, Saar); and two, more figuratively, as a disruption or interruption in the patterns, trajectories, distributions and relationships that constitute the landscape as a complex, organic and heterogeneous entity (e.g. Reinert). The former modality of rupture is more easily identifiable, and in analytical terms more straightforward: our overall aim has been to try bringing rupture as abrupt material and political change into conversation with less obvious forms of rupture, including ruptures of time, movement or relationality. To the extent that we have succeeded, the chapters included here highlight the multiple and overlapping complexities of landscape rupture—and point also to the need for planners, managers and policy-makers to pay attention to the nuance and textures of the landscapes they manage.

1.1 Rupture and Conflict

We have organised contributions to the volume into three separate sections, each with three chapters. The first section explores what is perhaps the most obvious point of entry to the subject—namely, landscapes that are ruptured by war and human conflict. The first chapter, by Carlo Cubero, focuses on Flamenco, a beach on the Caribbean island of Culebra. The beach is today a popular and idyllic tourist destination, but as recently as 1975 it also still served as a bombing range for the US navy. Presently, it is also undergoing rapid and unchecked real estate development. By combining historical data with ethnographic fieldwork, Cubero is able to unpack

a complex set of signifiers embedded in the contested landscapes (and "sea-scapes") of Flamenco beach, and of Culebra itself. Guiding us through the flotsam and jetsam, the unexploded shells, the disused tanks and the thorny trees, Cubero reveals this superficially pristine holiday destination as a complex topography of hidden conflict and contestation: a multifarious and dynamic site that is perhaps best read (and deciphered) as a collage of the various conflicts and encounters that have shaped it over time.

Sukanya Basu then takes us from the Caribbean to the other end of the Gulf Stream, to Northern Ireland, where her chapter uses poetry to explore landscapes ruptured by sectarian violence and paramilitary conflict. Drawing on a close reading of the work of the poet Seamus Heaney, she explores the emergence of poetry in the space between the personal and the political landscape, in the interplay between landscape as lived experience and landscape as imagined. Often, the landscape of childhood—the *omphalos*, the "first place"—is associated strongly with identity. When the security of this landscape is threatened, when marching drums disrupt the homely serenity of the babbling Moyla River, the repercussions are thus felt all the more severely. Heaney's own writings indicate how strongly he felt the desire for resolution to the conflicts he lived and witnessed. At the same time, by "digging" into the hidden histories of the war-torn landscape, he also brought to light new meanings that allowed that landscape to be reclaimed, the rupture healed. Exploring this tension, the chapter illustrates how poetry can simultaneously draw strength from rupture, and offer a way beyond it.

Reinert's chapter, finally, explores the notion of rupture in a relational, inter-species frame, focusing on a case study from Northern Norway where conservationists, intent on saving a highly endangered species of migrating geese, antagonised the inhabitants of the area where the geese bred—to the point where local hunters threatened to exterminate the geese themselves, to nullify environmental restrictions and "take back the fjord". Efforts of bird conservationists to understand and manage the local landscape from a "goose perspective"—taking into account complex interdependencies between sites along the migratory flyway for the species—served to amplify tensions between human stakeholders, and between humans and the geese. Reinert takes this situation as a basis for exploring some limitations he identifies in the landscape concept itself, as a political device that reproduces human privilege at the cost of denying nonhuman actors the constitutive power to define the landscapes they inhabit.

1.2   Ruptured Cities

The chapters in the second section all explore how urban landscapes capture, reflect and re-articulate social action. All three also connect the matter of rupture to issues of urban design and architecture in post-Soviet Europe. The section opens with Printsmann, who presents an account of her own efforts to develop a townscape map of Kohtla-Järve, a former mining town in the northeast of Estonia.

Approaching rupture as a particularly broad set of significations, Printsmann combines her training in geographical information systems and human geography with an auto-ethnographic approach, drawing from her own experiences of Kohtla-Järve and those of her parents, who moved there during the industrial heyday of the Soviet era. Rupture occurs here in the reordering violence of the Soviet spatial economy, which produced Kohtla-Järve as a topographical anomaly; in transitions and changing use, in the casual destruction of familiar buildings; in the haunted space between uncertain memory and present reality; in the problematic relationship of "objective" to "subjective", data to experience, mental to physical, cartography to walking. The resulting text is a complex hybrid: a juncture, awkward and rich, between quantitative and humanistic approaches to space, geography, memory and perception.

Staying in the same corner of the world, Saar also engages with the impact of the Soviet period on urban design and city planning in Estonia, but she focuses instead on a Russian-speaking minority suburb of the national capital Tallinn. Her chapter draws on archival data, interviews and media analysis to explore issues of heritage, memory and ethnic identity in this particular urban area, presenting the voices of local inhabitants in a manner that challenges hegemonic constructions of Estonian history. Post-independence politics in Estonia have tended to portray the Soviet period as a rupture or discontinuity in the history of the country. By extension, architectural traces of that period are often treated as ruptures in an otherwise Estonian-identified landscape. With their distinctive style and layout, the "model towns" that surround the older centre of Tallinn are a particularly salient example of this—and their classification as "other" or "foreign" has real, tangible consequences for their inhabitants.

In the third chapter of this section, Kadri Kasemets moves us from the Baltic to the Japanese island of Hashima, an abandoned industrial heritage site off the coast of Nagasaki—but retaining the Estonian focus, as she presents Hashima to us through the eyes of an Estonian architect who visited the island in 2011. Combining in-depth interview with analyses of his subsequent written work and architectural designs, her argument explores how the experiences of this architect on the deserted island have influenced his work and affected his thinking on issues such as heritage, temporality and human habitation. How did the ruined structures of this abandoned island travel to the other side of the world, to embed themselves in architectural re-appropriations of Soviet-era architecture? In closing, her argument presents a plea for the preservation of ruins qua ruins, and for attention to the potentials they embody as resources for imagining alternative futures.

1.3 Healing Rupture

The final section of the book presents case studies where landscape ruptures have been somehow overcome, mediated or healed. Based on historical research and fieldwork with the Estonian diaspora in Australia, Siberia, South America and the

Caucasus, Jürgenson explores how understandings and dwellings of landscape are disrupted by the experience of migration—and how such disruptions can, in turn, be creatively overcome, through practices of re-envisioning and adaptation. Drawing on theoretical discourses of hybridity, his argument describes how the experience of displacement, of finding oneself in new and unfamiliar landscapes, can open up a creative space that provides immigrants, particularly in the second generation, with new imaginative opportunities—transforming the potentially disruptive experience of physical displacement into a creative opportunity to reweave, and reinvent, the landscapes and narratives of "home".

Writing from within Estonia, Aet Annist examines how political and national borders may divide space, while also reinforcing existing social and political divisions. Drawing on the example of the indigenous territories of the Seto minority group, in the border region between Estonia and Russia, her argument outlines how shifting and volatile political realities can rapidly transform a vital, thriving region—an area located at the heart of complex flows of goods, people and ideas— into a marginal and depopulated periphery. National agendas that fail to align with local concerns and realities can, in turn, be re-appropriated as resources for cultural innovation and expression—rooted in new understandings, and identities, that celebrate precisely the ruptured status of the indigenous landscape.

The section concludes with a chapter by Jonathan Miles-Watson, who draws on research with religious communities in Europe and Asia—particularly the Christian minority in Shimla, in North India—to suggest that such groups have the potential to act as guardians of wider civil society, by obviating historical traumas through their activities of worship. His chapter focuses on what he terms churchscapes, or church-centred landscapes that bear within them a trace of historical trauma that can be transformed, through worship, into a symbol of continuation and peace. Combining this empirical material with an understanding of phenomenological approaches to landscape, he refines the concept of *landscape capital*—from a rather fixed and limited description, to a widely applicable idea that captures something of the way that the past and the present can be woven together within the landscapes of worship. Based on his account, Miles-Watson calls for a rethinking of the role that minority groups in general—and religious minorities in particular—play in maintaining social stability.

1.4   Ruptures in Perspective

The final chapter, by Hannes Palang, draws together some of the overall themes in the collection and situates the chapters in an academic, historical and policy context. Overall, our hope with this book has been that the case studies may help expand the combined conceptual purchase of both rupture and landscape, opening up new avenues for research that brings political and historical relevance into conversation with exploratory, even speculative analytical approaches. Taken together, we believe the individual chapters provide a persuasive demonstration of

the possibilities that the concept of rupture makes available to us, as we continue to rethink the manner in which human action, social change and material landscapes are interwoven. We hope that the book will serve as a useful guide and introduction to some of the rich analytical complexities presented by ruptured landscapes— and perhaps, also, for the task of grappling with the practicalities of life that they present.

Chapter 2
Caribbean Ruptures—Making Sense of a Demilitarised Beach

Carlo A. Cubero

Flamenco Beach. Photo by Carlo Cubero

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Abstract Flamenco Beach, on the north-eastern coast of the Caribbean island of Culebra, has been constituted through a series of rupturing processes, resulting in a landscape characterised by an anachronistic and inconsistent set of signifiers. This chapter addresses different renditions of these complex signifiers as they are manifest on the beach. My intention with these renditions is not to unravel or deconstruct the contradictions that are suggested in the landscape, but rather to address them on their own terms. For most of the twentieth century the beach was used by the United States Navy as a bombing range, displacing the peasantry that lived there for generations, who in turn were sponsored by the Spanish crown in the late nineteenth century to settle on the island in order dissuade more marauders from settling on the island. The US Navy base on Culebra closed in 1975 after a lengthy legal process, paired by legal and illegal protests on the island, in Puerto Rico and in the United States. Post-Navy Culebra revealed another set of ruptures in the landscape, primarily by the re-marketing of the island as a tourist destination. This chapter renders the complexities suggested when discrepant discourses and imagery—tourism development intermingling with unexploded ordinance and military infrastructure—come together in one location. Central to this reflection is the question of the power of attraction of beaches. What is it about beaches that they embody such complexity and draw so much interest from sojourners of the Caribbean?

2.1 Flamenco Beach: A Twentieth Century Crucible

Flamenco Beach, on the north-eastern coast of the Caribbean island of Culebra, has been constituted through a series of rupturing processes, resulting in a landscape characterised by an anachronistic and inconsistent set of signifiers. For most of the twentieth century the beach was used by the United States Navy as a bombing range, displacing the peasantry that lived there for generations, who in turn were sponsored by the Spanish crown in the late nineteenth century to settle on the island as a means to stem the flow of squatters, marauders, maroons and other elements that did not represent Spain's interest from settling on the island. The US Navy base on Culebra closed in 1975 after a lengthy legal process, paired by legal and illegal protests in Culebra, Puerto Rico, and United States. Currently, Flamenco Beach is the main tourist attraction of Culebra and serves as the main economic engine of the island, with up to 12,000 visitors coming in one weekend. The white sandy beach with clear waters attracts tens of thousands of tourists a year. It also attracts investors, developers, and wealthy westerners who have built luxurious villas along the north coast of the island. The result is a landscape where unexploded ordinance, radioactivity, marine life, nature lovers, tourists, military infrastructure, environmental activists, hotels, and luxury villas co-exist in one bay.

In this chapter, I will historicise the montaged quality of the Flamenco Beach landscape. My intention is not to unravel the complexities of Flamenco Beach—the contradictions that constitute it are hard to reconcile. Rather, I wish to give equal value to the various constituting elements that converge on the beach. I will start from the premise that the transients that have populated the beach have left evidence of their passage in the landscape. I take this evidence as the result of the different claims that have been made on the island: claims which, arguably, continue to be reproduced once the agents have departed. The result is a montaged landscape, layered by contrasting paradigms converging through the shore. I will argue that this curious effect is the result of a place that is constituted in movement. In other words, that the sense of place of islands and beaches are stochastic rather than sedentary and linear. They are spaces of mobility and flow and yet they have an obduracy to retain and recall attention, provoking claims of ownership and identity.

Contemporary imagery on Flamenco Beach overwhelmingly depicts the bay as an untouched landscape that evokes a fantasy refuge on the margins of modernity. However, these representations are new to the Culebra experience. The descriptions and images on Flamenco Beach that circulate the Internet rarely mention the fact that when the US Navy base closed the military did not take their shrapnel and military infrastructure with them. Pictures of Flamenco Beach rarely depict the military tanks, bullets, unexploded bombs washing up on the shore, radioactive contamination, and fences that close off large portions of the peninsula due to the presence of unexploded ordinance in the area. Nor do they suggest the unresolved land tenure issues that emerge when tourism development projects and projects carried in the interest of seasonal residents impinge on islander's access to the bay. Nor do they address the amounts of flotsam and jetsam that drifts on the north shore of Culebra; items that speak to another network of relations and associations that cross through the beach. I will attempt to address these complexities using three methodological approaches. First, I wish to evoke the sensual expectation of a recent arrival to the beach who is confronted with a complex and confusing scene. I mean to stress on the naive gaze of the expectant anthropologist, to give value to the first impressions of a field-site, take these first impressions seriously, and hold on to them as they are layered on with other kinds of knowledge that I accumulated in the process of fieldwork. Taking a cue from Mary Pratt's contribution to *Writing Culture* (1986), I will reference arrival scenes as a trope that offers more than an introduction to the site and more than an articulation of the ethnographer's reflexive position towards his or her research. In an arrival situation, the newly arrived anthropologist's sensorial experience is overwhelmed by the possibilities of the field-site. The arrival moment offers a kind of knowledge that is untapped, latent, and waiting to be narrativised. It creates a felt impression and a sense of things that may or may not come.

The experiences of a newly arrived anthropologist that I wish to evoke are akin to the experience of the flâneur. Benjamin writes of the flâneur as a kind of scout, an explorer that looks into the "physiologies of the time" (Benjamin 1999). Benjamin references Balzac's work as a "flâneried" experience where the first encounter with a passer-by creates such an impression on the senses that it sparks a curiosity to go beyond the typification and ordinariness of the place and strive to understand

its singularity. The observations on which the following section of this chapter is based were initially informed by walking the coasts of Culebra, skin diving the reefs, photographing surfers from the perspective of the waves, sleeping on the beach, patrolling for leather back turtles, and hiking the island's hills. An impression is created; an impression that fosters curiosity and the desire to capture the beach's singularity and understand its power of attraction.

Secondly, I will draw from the remembrance of one of the protagonists of the struggle to expel the US Navy from Culebra. For Flores Soto, my main informant in this instance, the struggle for the expulsion of the US Navy was a struggle for access to the waters that surround the island, which is inextricably linked to its social life. Flores' story is compelling because, by centring island life on the beach, it opens up the island to include non-terrestrial and non-human narratives in the constitution of island social life. In this sense, the beach does not represent the limits of island life, nor a threshold or window that separates sea (as if it were neutral or "natural" space) and land (as if it were social and historical place). Rather, Flores' narrative includes the sea in the network of relationships that constitute island life.

The third narrative that I will discuss in this chapter concerns itself with the attempts of an artist, resident of Culebra for over 15 years, to render with a painting the simultaneity of histories and discourses that are conjured on Flamenco Beach. Jorge Acevedo's portrait of Flamenco Beach draws from what can be labelled as a neo-expressionist aesthetic to come to terms with what he calls "the open contradiction" of Flamenco. His stated intention is not to unravel, reconcile, or come to terms with the beach. He is more interested in displaying the contradictions of the coast and leaving them bare as they present themselves to the islanders and its visitors. With this example I wish to make the case for the artist as a chronicler of island life. My analysis of this painting will try to make a connection between the complex temporality of the beach's landscape and the themes suggested in its style, composition, and aesthetic effect. Crucial, here, is that the painting depicts a specific historical moment. As such, it is self-consciously presentist. However, my reading of the painting is not intended to harness the beach into a specific temporality. Rather, the painting's narrative is based on the fluctuating and unfolding of time and its consequences on the landscape. My goal is to present another instance of an attempt to make sense of the multiple narratives that constitute Flamenco Beach. The methodology of chroniclers like Acevedo resembles Lévi-Strauss' "bricoleur" who re-configures mythologies by re-assembling their structure through events (Lévi-Strauss 1962). The "event" in this case is a painting that depicts Flamenco Beach in relation to its parts, leaving each part to speak on its own terms.

These three narrative tropes are intended to present a layered landscape that is constituted in movement. These approaches do not contradict each other, nor do they deconstruct or unravel the contradictions of a Caribbean coast. Rather, the informants that I reference in this chapter contribute to an understanding of the discrepant imagery that characterises the beach experience on its own terms. Ultimately, my intention is to critically engage with simple politics of representation that have characterised the Caribbean island of Culebra. In doing so, I will argue for the compelling power of attraction that beaches have in the Western imaginary.

2.2 Beaches

In her contribution to *Writing Culture*, Mary Louise Pratt identifies and critiques "arrival scenes" as narrative tropes that have become hallmarks of the ethnographic genre (Pratt 1986). Pratt suggests that arrival scenes offer the reader an evidentiary source of the presence of the fieldworker—a literary strategy that places the scientist's body on site. It is curious to note that in Pratt's list of arrival scenes there is a compelling presence of beaches as locations of arrivals. If we follow Pratt's suggestion, to read these scenes as literary tropes rather than actual statements of facts, the preponderance of beaches as locations of arrival scenes transforms beaches into discursive and metaphorical sites of encounter. As places of continuous encounter, beaches, coasts, and coastal communities are sites of transience—each transient making their own contribution to the landscape. These transients leave behind a collaged landscape, whose overlays can be seen as a metonymy of modernity.

Beaches also have a peculiar double condition of being simultaneously marginal and central to the modern experience. In the context of the Caribbean, the beach is located on the physical margins of the islands. Caribbean colonial historiography, for example, has concentrated on land narratives as units of study, going as far as to group islands according to their linguistic practices, which is reflected upon its colonised history (Mintz 1996; Lewis 1983). Central narratives of the historical development of the Caribbean such as plantations, slavery, creolisation, linguistic practices, religion, national awakenings, and creative practices such as music and literature are consistently located on land. In this sense, the coasts are constructed as marking the contours of the island experience; as such they are marginal and limiting.

On the other hand, Caribbean coasts were also sites of resistance to colonialism and slave labour. In the Lesser Antilles, for example, coasts were the locations of the more successful maroon communities and, by a similar token, coastal communities were known to engage in contraband trade with merchants and corsairs that did not represent the colony's interest (a practice that arguably continues today, with the contraband being marijuana, heroin, and cocaine). Caribbean pirates often hid from imperial powers in coastal coves and Victorian writers have them burying their riches in beaches. In a global context, the Caribbean has historically been reduced to its beaches and images of Edenic gardens. Images like these, incidentally, fuelled the colonial process and reproduce analogous caricatures through tourism and popular culture (Pattullo 1996; Sheller 2003). From this perspective, beaches become central to the Caribbean experience and its role in globalisation, with beaches becoming the main source of income for many islands.

The beach as real estate, as a site of violence, a site of resistance, a non-place, and as a pleasure ground recalls a carnivalesque landscape where the violent and the pleasurable, heavenly and hellish, the liminal and central converge in a fantastic set of relations (Taussig 2000: 258):

> As a site of such fantasy production, the beach's job is not to conceal but reveal and revel in revealing just such play, announcing itself as playground and transgressive space par excellence, displacing by far all previous rituals of reversal and pleasure. The beach, then, is the ultimate fantasy space where nature and carnival blend as prehistory in the dialectical image of modernity.

Taussig here evokes Benjamin's notion of dialectical image as indicative of the complexities of modernity. A surreal object, a dynamic commodity, shape-changing, and yet of such cultural influence that it invokes mimetic strategies and claims of ownership from its transients. The irony here is that the power of beaches, in the context of modernity, lies in their capacity to attract people that do not settle on them. The beach as a site exists regardless of its transients, yet it is constituted by them. In a reverse process, many anthropologists initiate their fieldwork experience—and are constituted as professional anthropologists—on beaches. From this perspective, beach landscapes can be read as montages and overlays that have been set down by bricoleurs/transients. For Taussig, the overlays and montages that play out at the beach are reminiscent of Freud's depiction of fantasy as a play of contradictory memories where the real and fictional, past and present, the archaic and the relevant coexist (Taussig 2000).

This approach can be extended to Caribbean islands in general, which also harbour a double condition of open and closed, insular and mobile. While tourist promotional materials isolate the islands—characterising the islands as untouched and undeveloped natural beauty—and Third World discourse marginalises the Caribbean from global affairs, I will argue that this kind of isolation is only half of the story. Rather, I will contribute to the notion that Caribbean islands, like beaches, are constituted in movement (Cubero 2011a). I will also propose that the networked history of the Caribbean is embedded in the landscape, specifically its beaches. I will acknowledge flotsam and jetsam as constitutive elements of the landscape and suggest that the island's associations are not contained by the shore. In doing so, I want to encourage the notion that the surrounding waters of the islands are an extension of the island's space—a part of the landscape and a participant in the constitutive process of the island space. My intention with this chapter is to suggest a complex view of the formation of Caribbean landscapes, characterise the sea as a facilitator and inhibitor of connections and associations and represent Caribbean islands as simultaneously open and closed, insular and connected.

2.3   The Setting

Culebra lies some 27 km east of Puerto Rico and 19 km west of St. Thomas, at the threshold of the Virgin Islands in the north-eastern Caribbean. The most common form of transport is a ferry operated by the Department of Port Authority of Puerto Rico, which docks on the eastern city of Fajardo, Puerto Rico. On any given ferry load, the majority of people on the boat will be tourists. Tourists whose sole reason is to visit Culebra is Flamenco Beach, one of a series of stunning white sandy beaches

on the north coast of Culebra. The ferry docks on the southern end of the island, in the village of Dewey, named after Admiral George Dewey who, in 1898, was in command of the fleet that destroyed the Spanish fleet in Manilla, ushering in the Spanish-American War. The harbour area will be packed with tourists carrying tents, coolers, sleeping bags, and radios. They will be met by private bus drivers offering to give them a lift to Flamenco Beach for two USD. The rhythm of the village will slow down to a near stop once the last tourist has left for the beach.

The ride to Flamenco Beach is a short one, mostly because the drivers speed through town, past the airport, and whisk through the straight road that heads north alongside one of the residential areas of Culebra. The approach to Flamenco is stunning. After speeding past the residential area the bus climbs a steep hill, at the top of which the occupants of the bus have a total view of the bay. The sun reflects on the white sand giving the impression that the beach is shining. The road winds down the steep hill to the coast, through a forest of thorny trees. The bus leaves the passengers on a clearing and darts back to the pier. The newly arrived walk through a series of broad leaved bushes before making it to the shore. On a sunny day, the white sands are blinding. After the eyes adjust to the glare, the expanse of the beach becomes apparent. It is a crescent shaped bay with some internal curves, which make it impossible to get a whole perspective of the size of the bay. The amount of sand on the bay adds to the impression that the beach is endless. Tourists converge on the centre of the bay, close to the clearing where the bus left them.

To the right (eastward), there is the largest expanse of the beach. The tide is usually stronger on this part of the beach than in the other direction. It is the windiest part and where the waves are strongest. Surfers ride these waves on days when the surf is strongest. Otherwise, they'll head out to a reef a few kilometres off shore. At the end of the beach there are two hotels (the hotels of Culebra are concentrated in Dewey) and an abandoned pier made of cement, which is crumbling. The remnants of the pier stand in stark contrast with the rest of the beach that has only one other cement structure, the second hotel. The fact that the pier is crumbling also bears the question of why is it not being used anymore. The beach ends close to the pier.

Turning around and walking back westward the beach turns narrower. On the other side of the beach grape bushes is the camping site. Sounds of radios, smells of BBQ, and the slamming of dominoes on plastic tables mix with the softer rumble of the beach. The beach gets thinner and the water is so still, it resembles a pool. At the end of the bushes, on a clearing, on the top of a small hill, there is a rusting Sherman tank. Occasionally, there will be children playing on it. Close to the end of the beach lies another tank. This one is on the water's edge and it is more corroded than the first one. It is painted with what seems to be a graffiti depicting fish bones and "2005" in Roman numerals. While inspecting the tank, my gaze is taken to the top of the hill where there are two cement buildings at the top. They look like observation buildings.

I reach the end of the sand and I venture inland. After a few metres, I encounter a fence with a "Danger: Unexploded Ordinance" sign, warning me not to continue. I scale the fence and continue walking along the north-eastern peninsula and see at least a dozen more tanks strewn about the landscape. The difficulty of going through

these paths is posed by the ubiquitous presence of a thorny bush, whose thorns pierce through the sole of my shoes and cut my skin like a razor. I return to the camp-site with torn shoes, torn shirt, and bloodied by the bush.

The elements that struck me during my first visits to Flamenco Beach continue to interest me. The presupposed isolation of the island, informed by the inconsistent ferry service, and the marginality of the beach, isolated by the steep hills and surrounded by a forest of thorny tress. And yet, there are signs that indicate a high degree of connection and manipulation of the landscape. The tanks, observation post, the abandoned pier, and warning signs speak to a past where the sights and sounds that characterised the beach contrast with the beautiful and peaceful imagery that visitors confront on Flamenco. There is a multiplicity to the beach itself, with its radically different sections with strong currents and waves—suitable for surfing—and pool like tide, suitable for snorkelling and wading through. And finally, the thorny bush, a tree that offers a contrasting sensation to the rest of the beach.

In the following sections, I will expand on how this landscape's montaged, multivalent, networked and ruptured qualities are integral to its existence. Any given rendition of this beach is more akin to a work-in-progress, only making sense as an unfolding field of discontinuity, rather than a snapshot, a representation frozen in time that can be read as a text of events past. I will argue that the enduring quality of these discontinuities and ruptures are the effects of numerous transients developing a sense of belonging, engaging in dwelling practices, and staking a claim on the beach. I am interested in coming to terms with the power of attraction that beaches have. How is it that travellers develop powerful relationships with sites that they are consciously "passing through"? What power does Flamenco Beach, and the north coast of Culebra, have that it elicits such a variety of interests, all claiming it on their own terms? The effect, I suggest, is the constitution of a site with an abundance of significance, a kind of hyper-place, in opposition to Auger's formulation non-place that addresses similar locations as lacking a broader significance than their consumption value (Augé 2009). In this location, sojourners stake their claim, fashion the site in their image, and their agency continues to resonate on the site long after they have left.

2.4   Colonial Conflicts in Flamenco Beach

I met Flores Soto during my first research trip to Culebra in the summer of 2002. I was making an ethnographic documentary about the island's relationship to the sea. Not having much success in accumulating the footage that I set out to get, I spent my days lounging about in the Fishermen's Association. Flores' sister was the Director of the Association and he would come by often to visit. Flores and I hit it off quickly. Our conversations would address random themes, changing topics as we saw fit, and we quickly found out how we tended to agree on general themes on life.

One of the jobs that Flores had was a contract as an independent surveyor of Culebra's coasts for the Fish and Wildlife Service. His responsibility was to monitor the coasts of Culebra and adjacent islets for nesting places of leatherback turtles (*Dermochelys Coriacea*). When he would find a nesting place—either a new nest or a nest that had hatched—he was to document it. The trips where I accompanied him and the conversations we had during these trips were very revealing for me and were very inspiring for me in gaining an understanding of different affectations that are invested onto the surrounding waters of Culebra. What followed from these conversations, was the understanding that the sea was the site that enabled a networked quality to social life in Culebra. This was fascinating for me because it spoke against the notion of islands as insular and isolated.

For example, during our first trip, soon after leaving the bay of Culebra and heading north-east towards Culebrita, the islet where the local lighthouse is, I spotted a yellow butterfly fluttering over the dark blue water. I pointed it out to Flores and he mentioned to me how these butterflies can be seen throughout the archipelago. The comment prompted me to re-focus my gaze to the seascape and appreciate the physical proximity of Culebra in relation to Puerto Rico, Vieques, St. Thomas, St. John, and St. Croix. This was a revelatory moment because St. Thomas, St. John, and St. Croix are written as corresponding to a different historiography of colonialism. These islands are the product of Danish colonialism, in opposition to Puerto Rico, Vieques and Culebra that are associated to Spanish colonialism. Caribbean research writes these colonial histories as having developed independently one from the other (Cubero 2011a). This accounts presumably for different markers of island identity such as linguistic practices, different racial make-up of the islands, and musical practices (Mintz 1974). The experience of sitting in a small dinghy in plain view of discursively different islands spoke against traditional scholarship on the Caribbean that groups the islands according to linguistic practice and colonial history. It made me consider ways in which the island experience is actually constituted in reciprocal relation to the rest of the islands of the region.

As we continued in our patrols, we would come across flotsam: ropes, hats, bottles, shells, items of clothing, sandals, life preservers, sunglasses, and cushions. Flores would collect these items and state how he has never bought a single hat in his life and that most of his ropes are collected from the shores that he patrols. The flotsam that arrives to Culebra is not limited to quotidian items. I collected many stories of how people have found cargoes of marijuana and cocaine on the shores of Culebra, presumably jettisoned from passing drug traffickers eluding the Coast Guard. I encountered a more surreal image one morning in Flamenco Beach when there were thousands of milk cartons washing up to the shore. I found very provoking the way in which the landscape of the island, far from being constituted in isolation from its neighbours, was actually being peppered by things and animals that circulate the currents of the Caribbean Sea.

A more sinister flotsam is unexploded rockets and bombs that wash up on to Flamenco Beach and other beaches on the north coast of Culebra. These rockets are an extension of the agency of the US Navy on the island. The arrival of the US Navy to Culebra in 1904 resulted in the immediate displacement of the residents

of the main town, San Ildelfonso, located on the north section of Culebra's main bay, to the south of the island. The infrastructure of the town was either destroyed, transplanted south or put to use for the service of the Navy. San Ildelfonso was founded in 1880 by orders of the Spanish governor of Puerto Rico. The concern at the time was the uncontrolled movement of people through Culebra, mostly escaped and freed slaves, colonists from the English and Danish Caribbean, and pirates. A call for settlers was made on the east of Puerto Rico, inviting peasants to move into the island with promises of free access to land. These settlers built a village and renamed the island San Ildelfonso de la Culebra. In 1898, Spain transferred its interests in Puerto Rico to the United States and within 5 years the US Navy had settled in Culebra. The settlers of San Ildelfonso founded another town in the south of the island and called it Dewey, after Admiral George Dewey who captured the Philippines for the United States during the Spanish American War (Feliciano 2001).

The peasants living on Flamenco Beach were not displaced as immediately. According to Flores, the lands surrounding Flamenco were fertile and the area had a few fresh water wells that made life sustainable on the peninsula and the beach area. During the first decades of the US Navy's presence in Culebra, Flamenco remained marginal to the military's interest. During the first decades of the twentieth century peasants of Flamenco and other areas of Culebra imported cattle to the island from neighbouring St. Croix. The cattle brought in their entrails pods from St. Croix, most notable the thorny tree. Colloquially, this tree is called "rayo"; ray or lightning in Spanish. Its onomatopoeic effect suggests the tree's resilience and stinging effect. The tree quickly took over the Flamenco landscape, proving a serious annoyance for agricultural work or any other kind of labour that entailed engaging physically with the hills (ibid.).

In the 1920s, military practices intensified in Culebra and by the following decade, residents of Flamenco had to temporarily move away from their lands due to the sea to land shelling. In February 1941, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed an executive order establishing Culebra Island Defensive Sea Area and Culebra Island Naval Airspace Reservation. The order specifies that the territorial waters and a 3-mile marine boundary are to be reserved for naval defensive practices. This order converted the waters surrounding Culebra into an off-limits Navy reserve. Given the shape of Flamenco area, which is a bay and peninsula, the entire land became a practice bombing range. What started as a temporary displacement for the Flamenco residents became a permanent expulsion order, signed by the president of the United States. Flamenco residents either resettled in Dewey, moved to Puerto Rico, New York City, or as in Flores' family case, to neighbouring St. Thomas. The pink flamingos that populated the moat in the centre of the valley, and for which the beach is named after, also flew away (ibid.).

The activities to expel the US Navy took stronger force during the early 1970s. The mayor at the time, Ramón Feliciano, took it upon himself to start a legal campaign to convince the United States Congress and the President of the United States of the untenable situation that the residents of Culebra were living with due to the increased shelling of the island. The shelling had not only intensified but new

calibre bombs were being tested on the island that were unprecedented in their force. Mayor Feliciano secured the services of Covington and Burling, a Washington DC law firm, as a lobbyist for the cause of the islanders (Copaken 2009).

Flores became involved in the physical protests on Culebra, many of them constituting civil disobedience and illegal acts. Given that to enter Flamenco Beach was illegal, practically any kind of direct action practice against the US Navy was illegal. Flores and his friends would do incursions in to the firing range and interrupt the practices using themselves as human shields. Other activities would include placing barbed wire across the military roads, sabotaging military vehicles, intimidating drunken sailors who were on leave in Dewey, and placing graffiti protest slogans around Dewey. The most famous protest on Flamenco—coordinated in collaboration with elements of the Puerto Rican Independence Party, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, and the Methodist Church—consisted of destroying the fences that surrounded the bay, removing the barbed wire on the beach and occupying the beach area with built structures, specifically a chapel. Flores and six others decided to stay on the beach and defy the executive order that prohibited entrance to the beach. After a few days, they were arrested and sentenced to 7 months in a federal prison.

In October 1975, President Gerald Ford signed an executive order formally abolishing the Culebra Island Naval Defensive Sea Area (Copaken 2009). This was the result of the combined efforts of various sectors of Puerto Rican society and the Puerto Rico government. But the most meaningful and significant efforts were undoubtedly the pressures applied by the grass-roots movement in Culebra. The successful expulsion of the US Navy from Culebra was a watershed moment in the constitution of an island identity. This is intriguing because historically, the island has had, and still has, a highly mobile population and concomitant inconsistent sense of identity politics. While the island's community was divided during the height of the Navy protest, during my fieldwork I found consistent narratives that praised, identified, and claimed the efforts of Mayor Feliciano and Flores during the anti-Navy campaign. Flores' retrospective on the incidents are more humble. He described the process as "lots of fun" and his acts as "mischievous", a way of expressing the contempt that islanders had towards the US Navy and what they were doing to their island.

The freeing of the lands ushered in a new kind of rupture for Culebra's landscape. The lands used by the US Navy were not returned to the people who owned and worked the land before the Navy expropriated them. The executive order led to the ultimate transfer of the lands to the Department of the Interior who placed the lands in the custodianship of the Fish & Wildlife Service, turning the lands previously used by the military into a Nature Reserve. This was a disappointing outcome for many islanders who expected the lands to be returned to their previous owners. Furthermore, as a result of the attention that Culebra gathered, in particular the news of the protest camp and arrests on Flamenco Beach, the beach got the attention of real estate developers and tourism investors. Today, large sections of the Culebra's north coast and eastern lands are owned by wealthy Westerners who have built luxurious villas for holiday use (Cubero 2008). Large parts of Flamenco Beach

area, specifically the peninsula, were placed under the jurisdiction of the US Fish and Wildlife Service. The lower lands and beach area is currently administered by a Puerto Rico based governmental organisation who oversees and administers the camping grounds. While the beach has not been slated for private development, its eastern hills were the site of controversy in 2009 when a private owner blockaded a path that leads to the eastern part of Flamenco Beach. This blockade was illegal and it sparked another spat of legal and social controversies that recalled many of the slogans, arguments, and strategies as those deployed during the anti-Navy protests.

2.5   Rendering the Beach

I met Jorge Acevedo at around the same time that I met Flores, but my relationship with him developed during my second research trip to Culebra during 2003–2004. At that time, I was in the process of making another documentary about the connections between music and island identity on Culebra; the documentary ended up being entitled *Mangrove Music*.[1] Jorge is a member of the most popular local music group in Culebra, The Wiki Sound. The Wiki Sound is a conga percussion trio whose repertoire includes rhythms from the Spanish and English Caribbean. They have been staple entertainment every Saturday at one of the more popular bars in Dewey for close to 10 years.

Jorge's main income, however, comes from artwork that he produces in a small wooden shack that he uses as a studio in Dewey.[2] His best selling work are t-shirts that depict a circle, reminiscent of a military target card, on the front and an expressionistic depiction of Flamenco Beach on the back. These t-shirts are mostly sold to—and are catered to—tourists, though many locals also purchase the shirts. However, his more significant, meaningful, and expensive work are large canvas paintings. The themes in Jorge's canvasses are informed by his lived experiences in Culebra, specifically the intersection between the island's history and its landscape. The painting, entitled *Flamenco Tanque III* (Fig. 2.1), that he finished during my research trip, and that he sold and shipped close to the end of my research trip in 2005, was a representation of Flamenco Beach that, in my view, is informed by the contradictory affectations that characterise the bay. The image is available, along with other paintings, on his website Artefango.[3]

Jorge was born in Hawaii in the mid-1970s to Puerto Rican parents. He spent his childhood shuttling between Hawaii, mainland United States, and San Juan, the capital city of Puerto Rico. In his early 20s he did an art course in Boston where,

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[1]For a review of the process of making *Mangrove Music* consult http://www.materialworldblog.com/, 23 May 2010 post. The film is distributed by the Royal Anthropological Institute.

[2]Consult Jorge's website for more information on his work: http://artefango.com/

[3]http://www.artefango.com/lienzo__canvas, accessed 26 April 2014.

Fig. 2.1 *Flamenco: Tanque III* (Image credit Jorge Acevedo, ArteFango)

aside from receiving formal training in theory and practice of modern art, he was introduced to Puerto Rican percussion through a chance meeting of a member of the Ayala family, a prominent family of percussionists from the town of Loíza, located on Puerto Rico's north-east coast. Upon finishing his art degree, Jorge spent a few years moving between Loíza, San Juan, Boston, and Culebra where he eventually settled.

Jorge recalled to me his first encounter with Flamenco beach and marks it as the strongest source of inspiration for the art that he produced during his first years in Culebra, a theme that reached its climax with the large canvas that he completed and, incidentally, sold during my fieldwork period in Culebra for a sum that is sufficient to sustain himself in Culebra for more than a year. Jorge's initial observations of

Flamenco Beach were not that different from mine, or perhaps of any other's visitor. The landscape, when taken as a whole, contains contradictions and conflicts that produce a disorienting effect on the visitor. Jorge articulated this disorientation through transcendental or universalising motifs such as heaven/hell, war/peace, birth/death, sickness/health, animate/inanimate, and other binaries that co-exist on the beach, and Culebra's coasts in general. These themes fitted with Jorge's aesthetic interests. During his time at art school in Boston he was informed by American neo-expressionism and he took on the practice of using bold colour contrasts, simplistic or minimalist figures, subjecting them to contradictory discourses, and placing them in a landscape that is simultaneously ordered and conflicted.

Flamenco Tanque III is framed by a golden mean, which can be read as a reference to standards of symmetry and balance that are common in Western standards of beauty and order—in Renaissance standards in particular. It is also reminiscent of a sea shell, a reliable presence along the shores of Culebra. Ironically, the landscape contained within this shell is hardly ordered. The landscape of Culebra is torn with lines that recall the thorny bushes, with the Spanish name also suggesting lightning that dries the land and tears the skin of its visitors. But these lines also have the shape of mangroves, a consistent metonymy deployed to address the creolised process of Caribbean identity (Price and Price 1997). The significance of mangroves, for Jorge, are their double condition of being both land and water; a complex ecosystem where species are born and die; a tree whose roots are also its trunk and has no linearity to its shape; a rubbery tree that bends and shapes itself according to the elements allowing it to endure extreme weather like hurricanes. The whirlpools in the painting, which also correspond to the golden ratio, are placed in on the eastern end and on the far north, where the strongest currents of Flamenco actually are.

The figures that inhabit this landscape also conflate double conditions. Three animated skeleton fish swim in the bay—perhaps suggesting the radioactivity and spoils of war left behind by US Navy bombing. However, when seen vertically, the fish look more like people swimming, or, as in other versions of the skeleton fish, as a human skeleton dancing with their hands up in the air. The swimming elements pair with the rusted and "dead" tank—its phallic cannon snapped off—that continues to exert his agency on the beach. The site is surveyed by three pelicans that glide gracefully over the bay. And yet, they are eerily reminiscent of the planes that bombed the beach throughout most of the twentieth century.

Aesthetically, this specific work recalls Jean Michel Basquiat's who, rumour has it, passed through Culebra in his formative years before establishing himself in New York. The painting is documentary in the sense that it is inspired by a direct contact with the beach and strives to represent verifiable elements of Flamenco, at the same time as it deploys transcendental symbolisms that highlight the affectations of the place. As an added hermeneutical element to the process of producing these paintings, it is interesting to note that some of the paint that Jorge uses—primarily the reds—comes from cans that float into Culebra's coast as flotsam.

During my time in Culebra, Jorge had begun to be more active in voicing his opposition to the tourism development initiatives on Culebra. His philosophical

stance on these issues was neither initially based on an insularist sentiment nor an environmentalist concern, as it tended to take in Culebra discussions. For Jorge, the development of Culebra tourism was ultimately an effort to control and limit the scope of a landscape and a quality of life that is inherently complex. For example, Jorge is the person who did the graffiti on the rusting tank of Flamenco. By doing this graffiti, he turned the tank into a site-specific art work that tied the tank to the landscape. For him, the tank neither stands in opposition to the beach, as an antagonistic element to the otherwise consistently serene landscape, nor is it a polluter. Rather, the tanks and other military paraphernalia are an inherent part of the landscape—they have dwelled in the beach, so to speak, for decades. They are elements that give the beach its singularity. For Jorge, the multiple meanings on the coast do not pose a contradiction. These meanings and symbols rather offer a positive tension that fosters creative agency and reflection. A productive contradiction that, in Jorge's view, is best left open.

2.6 Conclusion

My initial motivation to write this chapter was to explore the power of attraction that beaches have in the Western imaginary. In other words, how can one account for the compelling fascination that beaches evoke in people? On what grounds are beaches desired? I have tried to address these questions obliquely. I wished to begin this reflection by a evoking a sensorial engagement with Flamenco Beach. At the same time, I drew from the motif of the arrival scene and connected the theme of beaches to anthropological writing traditions, particularly as it concerns coming of age narratives. Throughout the chapter I attempted to draw on the liminality of beaches to highlight their complex and contradictory signifiers, and argue that these locations are constituted through mobile encounters. The transients that come together on Flamenco Beach have created a palimpsest, which results in a landscape constituted by open contradictions. On one level, Flamenco harbours the phantasm of war that co-exists with the pleasure and serenity of the beach. On a broader historical level, it presents itself as on the margins and at the centre of the Caribbean colonial experience. I propose that this clash of signifiers is a driving force in imagining a site laden with creative possibilities.

The history and current situation of Flamenco Beach is a contest over meanings. Tourism developers have a stake in marketing and developing the island for profit. Environmentalist policies (ironically, enacted by the same state apparatus that bombed the island) have a stake in protecting the endangered species that nest on the coast—although critics contend that these policies are an extension of United States influence on the region. Artists see the montaged landscape as a source of inspiration. This kind of multiplicity is the result of places constituted in movement, where transients joust for access to resources and meanings of the island. The agency of these transients continues to exert its influence on the landscape after they have moved on. They leave behind their ruptures and their healings, their practices

and senses of dwelling extend beyond their immediate lived experience and become the stuff of history. The items and experiences that converge on Flamenco Beach are not antagonistic to each other. Rather, they are its constitutive factor and its source of attraction.

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Chapter 3
Rupture and Redress—Heaney's Poetic Landscapes

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"Wire" by Jason Scragz, https://www.flickr.com/photos/scragz/132300479/

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Abstract This chapter discusses the ruptured landscapes of Northern Ireland/Ulster in relation to the poetic art of Seamus Heaney. The divisions in the landscape of the region can be traced back to its contact with English planters (largely protestant Scottish and English settlers from 1608) who wrested economic, political and religious power from the Catholics of the region. Up to the present day the region remains a contested part of Britain and it has suffered the effects of sectarian violence (fuelled by paramilitary groups) which reached its peak in 1972. This historical and political movement ruptured the landscape of Ireland both ideologically and literally, as division occurred along the lines of nationalism, religion and belonging. The landscapes Heaney writes from are ruptured, in more ways than one: here I explore how he uses his poetic art to redress these ruptures, reweaving the discordant landscape of Ireland into something like a harmony. There is a tension in Heaney's work between the painful, lived reality of political divisions and his desire to find poetic symbols that transcend rigid binaries. Relating his critical essays and poetry to the political and cultural landscape of Northern Ireland, through the poetical expression of stress and rupture, I explore the power of the poet to redress the physical and emotional ruptures of violent politics and military struggle.

Keywords Heaney • Northern Ireland • *Omphalos* • Poetry

3.1   Seamus Heaney and Identity Politics

No treaty
I foresee will salve completely your tracked
And stretchmarked body, the big pain
That leaves you raw, like opened ground, again.
Act of Union (Heaney 1998: 127–128)

From the beginning I was very conscious of boundaries. (Heaney 1980: 236)

Born in Northern Ireland, Seamus Heaney was, like its other residents, forced to negotiate the boundaries of political, religious and tribal affiliations that have riven the socio-political landscape of the nation: "Ever since its foundation, Northern Ireland has been sharply divided between a Protestant majority and a Catholic minority. [. . .] Political attitudes largely followed religious adherence, with Catholics generally favouring a united Ireland and Protestants supporting the maintenance of the link with Britain" (Whyte 1994: 342–343). Identity politics has become an inextricable part of discussions about poets from Northern Ireland and their literary enterprise has often been read in the context of the artist's level of commitment to (or interaction with) the politics of the place. Belonging to the minority Catholic community, Heaney did at various times during his career—especially during the height of the Troubles—feel the pressure to respond artistically to the political situation developing around him. Consequently, he engaged in debates about how to balance social responsibility with creative freedom. Derek Mahon, a contemporary of Heaney, said that the political situation in the late 1960s

and early 1970s was an inescapable barbaric horror (Mahon 2002: 115). This horror also found expression in Heaney's poetry and critical prose, as he investigated his own place within the fabric of the ruptured nation:

> And since the outbreak of the Troubles in Ireland, since the forcing of a kind of public role, willy nilly, on the writers there, my investigation of what the word "poet" means concerns his function within a community, within society. (Heaney 1979: 24–37)

Heaney said many times that he felt weighed down by the pressure of representing his nationalist community. For that purpose he often adopted a liminal position in his art: "Two buckets were easier carried than one. / I grew up in between" (*Terminus* 1998: 295). The poet's stance suggests an unwillingness to take sides. However, this artistic responsibility also weighs heavy on the shoulders of the poet as he tries to balance the claims of his community with finding a free, non-sectarian voice of redress through his poetry. The lines also allude to the fact that Heaney literally grew up in a location between Castledawson, which was largely Protestant and loyalist, and Bellaghy, which was mainly nationalist and Catholic, in a kind of geographical liminal place (Heaney 2002: 50) that perhaps helped him understand from an early age these divisions or ruptures. By *ruptures* I mean the kind of societal changes that leave a *trace* upon the landscape. In Northern Ireland the plantation settlements of the seventeenth century left ruptures that can be seen even today in its sectarian divisions and political tensions (McKittrick and McVea 2002; Mulholland 2002). Thomas Kinsella defines the suppression of the Irish language in the nineteenth century as a "great loss"; he sees this loss of the native language as a rupture in his own identity: "I recognise that I stand on one side of a great rift, and can feel the discontinuity in myself" (Kinsella 1973: 208).

The ruptured socio-political landscape of Northern Ireland had a deep and lasting impact upon Heaney's oeuvre. In his critical essays he discusses the unresolved and riven landscape within which the people of the region dwell: "the Ulster of the actual present, and [. . .] in one or other Ulster of the mind" (Heaney 2002: 115). Every resident whether he is a Nationalist or a Unionist grapples with the problem of belonging "to a place that is patently riven by notions of belonging to other places" (Heaney 2002: 115). The "bilocation" that people experience is due to the actual border which physically separates north and south and keeps "Britain's Ireland from Ireland's Ireland! (Heaney 1995: 188). The Nationalist minority refuses to fully embrace the British state while the Unionists treat the Irish state with caution and suspicion. These clashing ideologies keep the historical ruptures "raw" like "opened ground". Despite the reality of these fractures there is always the desire to move beyond them.

> [. . .] the whole population are adept in the mystery of living at two places at one time. Like all human beings of course, they would prefer to live in one, but in the meantime they make do with a constructed destination, an interim place whose foundations straddle the areas of self-division, a place of resolved contradiction, beyond confusion. (Heaney 1995: 190)

This article will examine this notion of a "constructed destination", which Heaney talks about in his work and which holds the political realities of living in

Northern Ireland in a kind of balance or "redress"—a term which Heaney (1995: 8) articulates as poetry performing a "counterweighting function" against the injustices of life. Poetry, according to Heaney, can hold together and mediate between "two different and contradictory dimensions of reality" (Heaney 1995: xiii). It has the power to offer insight that "fills the reader with a momentary sense of freedom and wholeness" (Heaney 1995: xv). That is to say, poetry takes boundaries and turns them into bridges. This chapter will explore whether this interim, liminal space of poetic contemplation can act as a bridge between the divided communities and heal the stresses and ruptures within the landscape through its power of "redress". A re-examination of Heaney's writing through the prism of landscape theory will demonstrate that rupture and redress are crucial in understanding the dynamics of Heaney's aesthetics.

3.2 Landscape Theory and Poetry

The different critical approaches adopted by cultural geographers to define the term landscape reveal the tensions that lie at the heart of this messy and complex process. The term landscape has commonly been used to refer to a "picture or the image of the land as well as the land itself" (Wylie 2007: 6). However, as Wylie (2007: 7) has suggested, the landscape is not something we see, but is also "a way of seeing things". That is to say, the way we "see" or read a landscape is dependent on our socio-cultural or historical perspective among other things. For example, Bender views landscapes as subjective to the viewer because they are "imbricated in social relations and deeply political" (Bender 2006: 303). J. B. Jackson (1997: 347) on the other hand is keen to stress that landscapes are not simply artistic representations but a "product of sweat and hardship and thought". Thus, while some interpret landscapes as tangible, external objects, others see them as inherently ideological, while others again see them in the context of "practice, perception and lived experience" (Wylie 2007: 112).

More recently, landscapes have increasingly been seen to embody a network of social relations that develop over space and time: a dynamic set of processes that is "socially constructed by forces of capital, power, gender, and cultural memory" (Mackenzie 2011: 24, see also Tymoczko and Ireland 2003). Landscapes are therefore not static entities that lack agency but are composed of active, complex, changing and often contradictory impulses that develop in conjunction with the aesthetic, socio-cultural, historical and political events within which they operate and exist. This particular way of looking at the landscape is significant in order to understand not only what Heaney sees but also how he then interprets and remembers these places and transforms them into poetic landscapes through the lens of his own subjective "cultural values, attitudes, ideologies and expectations" (Wylie 2007: 7). Throughout the present chapter I use the term *place* to refer to a space which has been invested with meaning in the context of power relations

(Cresswell 2004: 12). The term "landscape" is used to refer to a wide range of different interlocking places which interact with one other to generate a complex web of meaning: this is in line with Tilley's definition of landscape as "a set of relational places" (Tilley 1994: 44). Relating the two terms, Barnes and Gregory argue that "whereas place is classically conceived as bounded and circumscribed, landscape connotes openness and expanse, constituted by multifarious features and forms that stretch as far as the eye can see" (1997: 295).

Poetic landscapes are "creative domains" constituted of both material places and imagined spaces (Wylie 2007: 8). These do not merely function as scenic backdrops which the poet observes from a distance and then re-creates for the purpose of his art. Nor do they function merely as a source of poetic metaphors. In fact, they are active agents in the development of the poet's aesthetics and his practice of writing. Moreover, poetic landscapes are verbal entities because their visual reality is truly realised only through the power of the poetic utterance. Heaney like others before him is aware of the colonial impositions upon the landscape by the British and he views it not simply as a "passive recipient [. . .] of human agency, but" as a "subject" that needs to be given voice though art (Harkin 2000: 50). Poetry is able to uncover and mobilise the hidden energies of the land through the very act of speech and naming. Language is intimately tied to the landscape and to issues of identity, as we will see later when we examine Heaney's place-name poems through which he tries to bridge the loss of the Irish language. Catherine Nash talks about how the names of places in Ireland embody a history of dispossession and suppression (1993: 40):

> The colonial mapping of Ireland in the nineteenth century, the concurrent Anglicisation of Irish place names, and the decline of the Irish language provide the historical background for the expression of themes of cultural loss and recovery in contemporary Irish culture.

The ruptures within Heaney's poetic landscapes are therefore a symptom of its historical, social and cultural inheritance and the ability to heal these rifts is imagined by the poet through the summoning of the landscape's submerged and repressed verbal and creative energies. The creative act of naming in Heaney's place-name poems becomes a way of remembering and repairing the ruptures of the past.

There is a tension in Heaney's work between the painful, lived reality of the political division that he perceives within the landscape and larger society and his desire to find poetic symbols that look beyond and transcend the rigid binaries of Ulster and Northern Ireland, "the demesne" and "the bog", Protestant and Catholic, Planter and Gael, Unionist and Nationalist, British and Irish. The critical essays like *Mossbawn, Belfast, The Sense of Place, Place and Displacement: Recent Poetry from Northern Ireland, The Place of Writing,* and *Frontiers of Writing* analyse these ruptures, while the poetry attempts to redress these social imbalances and divisions. This interplay of cultural and creative understandings of the landscape in the writing of Heaney is what makes his work pertinent to landscape studies.

3.3 Heaney's *Omphalos*: Childhood Landscapes

One of the overarching questions that frame Heaney's critical enterprise is his interrogation of the relationship that he has with "his own place", i.e., Northern Ireland. Like Elmer Kennedy-Andrews suggests "in Ireland, place, culture and identity are closely interconnected concepts" and Heaney's involvement with the landscape(s) of his native place is inextricably linked to his own sense of identity as both as a poet and a person growing up in contested political region (Kennedy-Andrews 2008). Heaney announces in an early essay that his "quest for definition" is to be "conducted in the living speech of the landscape" that he has been "born into" (Heaney 1980: 37). His choice of the phrase "living speech of the landscape" indicates that for him the landscape is both verbal, active and in the process of "becoming" (Schein 1997: 662).

Heaney's poetic landscapes do not follow in the tradition of pastoral poetry or that of English Romantic poetry which used "pathetic fallacy" to project the emotions of the artist onto the landscapes that they were describing in their poetry. There is a particular Irish dimension to his preoccupation with the land. Like "Yeats and Lady Gregory's Co. Galway, Synge's Aran Island, Patrick Kavanagh's Co. Monaghan, John Hewitt's Co. Mayo" Heaney's relationship with Co. Derry is a deep, significant and long-lasting one (Kennedy-Andrews 2008: 1). He returns time and again to the places of his childhood which nurture, renew and sustain his poetic imagination. Mossbawn, the river Moyola, the bogs, trees, loughs, wells, farms and fields become familiar touchstones in his poetic oeuvre and they help trace the arc of Heaney's poetic journey from a young poet firmly rooted and composing out of his rural landscape and to an older, international, Nobel prize winning, public poet-critic. Both of Heaney's final collections of poetry *District and Circle* (2006) and *Human Chain* (2010) are steeped in the nostalgia of his "first place" and are redolent with images and memories of the past. Mitchell talks about how memory has become "the strongest focus of landscape research in the past few years—landscape as the concretisation and maker of memory" (Mitchell 2003: 790). Heaney's writing reflects this preoccupation with memory and its traces can be read in the landscape of Northern Ireland. It is important to note the ways in which Heaney chooses to remember and commemorate both his personal milestones and the collective past of his nation because it raises questions about which aspects of the past are worth remembering and which ones are better forgotten.

In his essays Heaney talks about his artistic *omphalos* and situates it in Mossbawn, his "first place" (Heaney 1980: 18). *Omphalos* is the greek word for navel; for the young Heaney, it symbolises the centre of the world, in Mossbawn. His early poems are sensory explorations of the "dark drop" of wells, of dark, sunless barns, of the "green, wet corners", and "flooded wastes" of his childhood environment: "I am cradled in the dark that wombed me / And nurtured in every artery / Like a hillock'" (Antaeus 1998: 16). The poetic speaker like the mythical Antaeus feels safe and rooted in the mother earth from which he derives strength. There are numerous images of the poet hiding in the hollow of trees and lying

in the mossy banks in dialogue with the landscape in which he dwells. We get a vivid sense of what it was like to grow up on a farm in post war Northern Ireland from reading the poems in *Death of a Naturalist* and the later collections, as well as the autobiographical essays in *Preoccupations.* Poems like *Digging, Blackberry Picking, Thatcher* and *Churning Day* all recount everyday activities of living and working in a rural community. These poems are examples of how the landscape is "shaped" or created as place and polity by people through their practices of dwelling—their "doing" of landscape" (Olwig 2008: 82). The poems mirror the actions that create the landscape—this is landscape and poetry in perfect rhythm and harmony. These poems also embody a sense of belonging that develops a sense of a community. Indeed, Heaney's poems are testament to the ways in which communities attach and integrate themselves within the landscape they dwell in. The landscape not only grounds the poet and cements his sense of belonging to the land but it also allows him to speak for it: "The tawny guttural water / spells itself: Moyola / is its own score and consort, / bedding the locale / in the utterance" (Heaney 1998: 52). There is a sense of harmony that exists between the poet and his environment. Heaney's engagement with the landscape is personal and focussed on local landmarks which is different from "the panoramic perspective" adopted by English Landscape painters who saw the land from "an elevated social position . . . with the ability to see the big picture" because they were "given the power to control and alter social as well as physical landscapes . . . according to principles of colonial administration" (Harkin 2000: 55).[1] Heaney's perspective on his childhood places fits with what Jackson calls "vernacular" landscapes because he is not merely a spectator but a "participant" in the making of his landscape (Jackson 1997: 2).

3.4 Conflict, Contestation and Reconciliation

While the landscape can function positively as a "vehicle of social and self-identity" (Wylie 2007: 116), it can also prove to be a catalyst for conflict when the markers of social identity are perceived to be a threat among different communities occupying the same land. While recounting his childhood landscapes Heaney remembers that along with the "sense of air, of lift and light [. . .] dancing off the shallows of the Moyola River" there was inextricably bound the "rattle of Orange drums from Aughrim Hill" which made "the heart alert and watchful" (Heaney 1980: 20). The sense of division in the community is realised on the level of topography as Heaney points to the "lines of sectarian antagonism and affiliation" that "followed the boundaries of the land" (Heaney 1980: 20). Therefore, the rural, childhood landscape that Heaney describes is a politicised place with the Orange drums functioning as symbols of the simmering political resentments in Northern Ireland

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[1]Harkin uses John Barrell's idea about English landscape painters from Barrell's book *The Dark Side of the Landscape*: *The Rural Poor in English Painting*, *1730–1840*.

that hover threateningly in the distance. The landscape of Heaney's youth is "not innocent" (Schein 2003: 202–203) but is tied up with "questions of territoriality, belonging and social power" (Kennedy-Andrews 2008: 2). This experience of how landscapes function ties in with Barell's suggestion about "the art of rural life" which might seem "stable" and "unified" on the surface but if one digs underneath one finds "the evidence of the very conflict it seems to deny" (Barrell 1980: 5). In the essay Heaney goes on to talk about the complicated and mixed heritage of the landscape that he inhabits.

> In the names of its fields and townlands, in their mixture of Scots and Irish and English etymologies, this side of the country was redolent with the histories of its owners. Broagh, The Long Rigs, Bell's Hills, Brian's Field, the Round Meadow, the Demesne; each name was a kind of love made to each acre. (Heaney 1980: 20)

The place names are indicative of ownership and possession and although they are seen as nurturing for the most part they can also turn alien and hostile. The prose-poem *July* from *Stations* (1975), *Orange Drums*, *Tyrone*, 1966 from *North* (1975) and the *The Marching Season* from *Ten Glosses* in *Electric Light* (2001) are a few examples that demonstrate this fact. The drumming in the first poem is a kind of low insistent hammering, which gathers force like a battle cry that darkens the air transforming the "cool of the evening" into a nightmarish landscape by Heaney's use of the metaphor of a butcher's apron with its associations of blood stained slaughter (Heaney 1998: 84). This dark mood is sustained and made more explicit in the second poem where the drums are visualised as "giant tumours", "pounding" the air "like a stethoscope" sounding out the palpable divisions in the State, resonating with the possibilities of violence (Heaney 1975: 63). In the third and a later gloss on the subject of the drums, Heaney imagines the marching season in July to be like a well-rehearsed play script that is familiar to all of those involved in it. He no longer describes it with the palpable immediacy of the earlier poems, but the purpose there is to make an ironic comment on the 12th of July Orange marches which remain a potential flashpoint between the two communities.[2]

In a later essay Heaney discusses the etymology of the word "march" and frees it from the context of the controversial Orange marches ("walk in a military manner") and instead frames it in colloquial terms to mean "to be close, to lie alongside". He writes that "the land did the marching" in that it met "at the boundary": "one farm marched another farm; one field marched another field; and what divided them was the march drain or the march hedge" (Heaney 2002: 51–52). What is interesting here is that the new way of interpreting the landscape provides a way out of contestation towards a more reconciliatory gesture: "it was a word (march) that acknowledged division but it contained a definite suggestion of solidarity as well" (Heaney 2002: 52). Heaney's writing reminds us that though his voice is attached to his community, it is also one that is able to assimilate differences and is open towards a wider and

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[2]The 12th of July marches are held by the Orange Order to commemorate the victory of the Protestant William of Orange over the Catholic James II at the Battle of Boyne in 1690 (Bryan 2000).

more inclusive perspective on events. We find other moments of solidarity in his writing that we will return to later on in the chapter.

The history of a nation can be traced through its place-names, its rivers, roads, farms, marshes, woods, towns, cities and the communities that dwell in these places. Landscapes hold symbolic meaning because they "function as memorial sites in which dominant cultural values are asserted and reproduced" (Wylie 2007: 192). The "split culture of Ulster" that Heaney experiences is what he recognises in the very "syllables of his home".

> Moss, a Scots word probably carried to Ulster by the Planters, and bawn, the name the English colonialists gave to their fortified farmhouses. Mossbawn, the planter's house on the bog. Yet in spite of this Ordnance Survey spelling, we pronounced it Moss bann, and bán is the Gaelic word for white. (Heaney 1980: 35)

This awareness of the dominant cultural and linguistic tradition is signalled through the place-names. Heaney is aware "that language, like the landscape, is always preoccupied: someone's been there before us" (Smith 2005: 100). However, that discourse of power inscribed on the landscape is undercut by the Gaelic pronunciation of "bawn" as "bann" which shows the way in which the landscape itself acts as a palimpsest of historical ruptures and continuities.

The politics involved in the naming of Northern Irish landscapes is irrevocably bound to the question of the English language and the place-name poems from *Wintering Out* (1972) tease out these interconnections. Like Kinsella in *The Divided Mind* before him Heaney imagines himself uncomfortably stretched between "the matter of Ireland" and the English language and poetic tradition that he has chosen to write and publish in (Heaney 1980: 34). Heaney finds the Thomas McDonagh school of deliberately infusing Gaelic cadences and techniques into verse written in English as too programmatic and restrictive. Instead he shows his awareness of the Gaelic root of present day place names: "Mossbawn was bordered by the townlands of Broagh and Anahorish, townlands that are forgotten Gaelic music in the throat, *bruach* and *anach fhíor uisce*, the riverbank and the place of clear water" (Heaney 1980: 36).

This finds poetic expression in poems like *Anahorish*, *Broagh* and *Toome* where he revisits the tradition of "dinnseanchas" poetry by trying to re-establish the broken links in cultural identity through a re-examining of his Irish roots" (Heaney 1980: 131). In *The Sense of Place* Heaney talks about the tradition of "dinnseanchas" poetry where the tales and stories attached to a place name confer on it a "mythological etymology" (ibid.). He constructs a personal mythology for his readership. The poetic act of naming is here a personal act of claiming the landscape: "My "place of clear water", / the first hill in the world / where springs washed into the shiny grass" (*Anahorish* 1998: 46). As Nash suggests this poetic effort is an attempt "to recover an authentic identity and relationship to place" for the poet (Nash 1993: 40).

> For the writer, the evocative power of the place name provides a key to the shared social memory of a landscape whose collective meanings were part of a unifying repository of community knowledge, but which have been lost through loss of the language. (Nash 1993: 40)

The poems are also attempts at re-imagining the divided linguistic landscape as Heaney tries to reconcile the "political and cultural traumas of Ireland" through his use of a "pluralist language" (O'Donoghue 1995: 64). He declares feeling a "great sense of release" while writing them, as he was able to synthesise both "the nature of the English language" and his "own non-English origin" in the poems (Heaney 1977: 68). In the poem *Broagh*, he writes that "the strangers" find the last "gh" of the name Broagh difficult to pronounce. The ambiguous use of the word "strangers" seems to signify those separated not by religious or communal ties, but those who lack the shared linguistic commonality of the region. The locale becomes embedded in the local speech and these linguistic ties try to overcome the fractures of history. Heaney's poetics gestures towards assimilation as he talks about how a better understanding of the complex layers of place names can affect our understanding of a place: "Irrespective of our creed or politics, irrespective of what culture of subculture may have coloured our individual sensibilities, our imaginations assent to the stimulus of the names, our sense of the place is enhanced" (Heaney 1980: 132).

There has been a strong tendency to use the landscape as "a cornerstone of regional and national identities" (Palang and Fry 2003: 9) and writers have long used the metaphor of the land to create national and cultural awareness. For example, W. B. Yeats presented the landscape of the west of Ireland as authentically Irish to promote his Irish Literary Revival. Heaney in his essay *The Sense of Place* notes how Yeats' Celtic Twilight was "a discovery of confidence in our own ground, in our place, in our speech, English and Irish" (Heaney 1980: 135). The landscape has embedded within it the traces of a nation's history. Heaney credits the poet John Montague for stirring him to lament the fact that people have forgotten how to read the landscape (Heaney 1980: 132). For him, the landscape is "sacramental, instinct with signs, implying a system of reality beyond the visible realities" (ibid.). He wants to look beyond the surface and unearth the lost stories and bring them back into the public memory. In his poem *Belderg* he describes a "landscape fossilised" (Heaney 1975: 4):

> When he stripped off blanket bog
> The soft-piled centuries
> Fell open like a glib:
> The stone-age fields [. . .]

The poem refers to a place in North Mayo where the local schoolmaster had unearthed quern stones from the bogs dating back to the island's Stone Age past. Heaney associates the practice of writing poetry with the process of archaeological discovery: "poetry as a dig, a dig for finds that end up being plants" (Heaney 1980: 41) and in his early poem *Digging* he signals his mission: "Between my finger and my thumb / The squat pen rests, / I'll dig with it" (Heaney 1998 [1966]: 4). The landscape is thus viewed as a text that needs to be deciphered: "We project our perceptions, values and attitudes onto objects and landscapes and so they become readable as 'maps of meaning'" (Jackson 1989, in Wylie 2007: 103). Heaney's poems sought to illuminate the hidden meaning buried deep in the "souterrain":

> I have always listened for poems, they come sometimes like bodies come out of a bog, almost complete, seeming to have been laid down a long time ago, surfacing with a touch of mystery. (Heaney 1980: 34)

Bogs have a significant role to play in Heaney's poetry as they are repository of the nation's forgotten past. Heaney (1980: 54) writes: "I began to get an idea of bog as the memory of the landscape, or a landscape that remembered everything that happened in and to it". The bogland becomes "an answering Irish myth" to the reality of the violence that was erupting in Northern Ireland in the late 1960s (Heaney 1980: 55). It seems to hold the answer to the recurring pattern of human violence and death. In *The Tollund Man* Heaney (1998: 64) makes a connection between the sacrificial victims of the Danish bogs and the situation in Northern Ireland: "Out there in Jutland / In the old-man killing parishes / I will feel lost, / Unhappy and at home". In offering the symbolic bog-bodies of his collection *North* (1975) as "befitting emblems of adversity", Heaney offers a commentary on the contemporary violence through the distancing lens of myths (Yeats 1991: 137). The images of the dead bodies perfectly preserved in the bogs that he discovers in P. V. Glob's book remind him of those killed in the atrocities of the Troubles. In *The Grauballe Man,* he describes the exhumed body as "hung in the scales / with beauty and atrocity [. . .] with the actual weight / of each hooded victim, / slashed and dumped" (Heaney 1975: 29). The poem addresses the difficult topic of whether aesthetics can adequately express the brutality and rage of violent action.

Heaney (1980: 57) suggests that the violence is religious in nature between "the devotees of the indigenous territorial numen" Kathleen Ni Houlihan, or the Shan Van Vocht, and the supporters of William of Orange, i.e. the British State. Like the Mother Goddess of the ground from P. V. Glob's book who demanded ritual sacrifice during the fertility rituals the myth of Mother Ireland (Kathleen Ni Houlihan) too has been responsible for the violence that is being enacted upon the landscape of the region. Critics have found Heaney's conflation of the myth of Irish political martyrdom with that of the myth of the Danish Mother Goddess as problematic. Ciaran Carson in his review of *North* felt that the bog-poems perpetuated the notion that the violence in Northern Ireland was cyclical and fated. In his critique he labelled Heaney as "the laureate of violence-a mythmaker, an anthropologist of ritual killing" (Carson 1975: 183–186). Although Heaney tries to resist simple binary explanations to the problems of Ulster his explanation of the mythical structure to his poems in the *North* does fall into that trap. However, the poems themselves are more self-aware than they are given credit for. The poetic speaker questions the very nature of the "tribal, intimate revenge" of sectarian loyalties: "I am Hamlet the Dane, / skull-handler, parablist, / smeller of rot" (Heaney 1975: 14). It also points to the larger self-questioning that society itself needs to undertake to find a way forward.

Feminist Critics have also critiqued Heaney's construction of the landscape of the bog-poems as feminine and passive (Coughlan 1991). Poets often tend to "eroticise and gender the landscape as female" (Mackenzie 2011: 10) and Heaney like others before him envisions the landscape as a feminine body. In the bog-body poem

Punishment he identifies with the figure of the drowned woman (The Windeby girl) who has been sacrificed to the fertility Goddess: "I can feel the tug / of the halter at the nape / of her neck" (Heaney 1975: 30). He connects the image of her ancient, shaved head with that of Catholic women in Northern Ireland who were publically humiliated and punished for consorting with British soldiers: "your betraying sisters, / cauled in tar, / wept by the railings". He expresses "civilised outrage" yet also admits to being the "artful voyeur" who seems to understand the nature of the "exact and tribal, intimate revenge" (Heaney 1975: 31). The use of words such as "dumb" and "connive" suggest that the poetic self is implicated in the actions of his tribe. As myths intertwine with suffering and the past and present collide under the self-critical and ironic gaze of the poet, there is a space opened out for the consideration of difficult questions. Heaney here acts as a scapegoat for his community. The poet as the "artful voyeur" is aware that he is guilty of using the masculine gaze to read the landscape.

The poems in *North* in a way reflect the "kind of slow papish burn, emanating from the ground" that Heaney was brought up on, but they are at the same time intensely self-conscious in highlighting the pressures of dealing with violent crises in poetry (Heaney 1977: 1). Heaney is aware of the limitations in thinking simply along sectarian lines and is keen to resist propagandist verse. Heaney as a public figure is often viewed as the representative of his community or tribe. Conor Cruise O'Brien affirms this in his review of the collection, when he contextualises the tragedy as a communal one (O'Brien 1975: 404–405):

> I had the uncanny feeling, reading these poems, of listening to the thing itself, the actual substance of historical agony and dissolution, the tragedy of people in a place: the Catholics of Northern Ireland.

Poems in Part II of *North* reflect the blueprints of his community and the contemporary state of affairs: "This morning from a dewy motorway / I saw the new camp for internees" (Heaney 1975: 55). The poem registers the harsh, physical changes in the landscape with the description of the H-block prisons at Long Kesh which became dark symbols of suffering and resistance during the hunger strikes of the 1980s. As Heaney tries to express his personal response to the tragedy, he inadvertently becomes a spokesman for the community he belongs to: "The muzzle of a sten-gun in my eye: "What's your name, driver?" "Seamus..." "*Seamus*?" (Heaney 1975: 59) This exchange refers to the army checkpoints that had become a part of the landscape of Northern Ireland in the 1970s and 1980s. In the poem *The Toome Road* from *Field Work* (1979) the speaker in the poem is a passive onlooker as he helplessly watches the "armoured cars" and the convoy of soldiers roll by because, "no lyric has ever stopped a tank" (Heaney 1988: 107). The poet resents their intrusion upon his land: "How long were they approaching down my roads / As if they owned them?" (Heaney 1998: 150). The poem concludes with the image of an *omphalos* which stands "vibrant" and "untoppled", silently opposing the "armoured cars" and the soldiers that are seen to be taking control over the sleeping land. This unseen *omphalos* speaks for the poetic self and the other occupants of the land as it covertly resists the British soldiers. It also claims permanence as opposed to the armed forces who are merely passing through a land that they do not own.

The critic Peter McDonald has found the final rhetorical gesture in the poem deeply unsatisfactory in its easy collusion with the "deep narrative"—of possession and identity—over the rejected narrative of incursion (McDonald 2000). He also objects to the simplistic equation of "territorial violation" with violence in the poem, and feels that it comes at the expense of any real investigation into the nature of the "kinds of actual violence which have given rise to the military presence" in the state (McDonald 2000: 58). Though the questions he raises are pertinent, the achievement of the poem is not as simple as McDonald sees it, primarily because of Heaney's strategic use of the word *omphalos* in the poem. While Neil Corcoran has interpreted the word to signify "the navel of nationalist Irish feeling, maintaining on the road to Toome (with its associations of the 1798 rebellion) its persistent, defiant opposition to the colonial power" (Corcoran 1986: 134–135), it has also been seen as a kind of de-politicised space where the "political and religious turmoil . . . [is] eclipsed by pastoral calm and where beliefs . . . [are] more certain, more stable" (Hart 1992: 136). Michael Parker (1993: 59) too sees it as a "transcendent, ever-present unseen being" which can outlast turbulent political changes.

I would combine these various readings to suggest that though the word indicates a surface solidity or an oracular certainty it paradoxically hints at violent reprisals in both the past and in present times which work against it, undermining its stability. As the poetic self wonders about what action he should take in the impending crisis, the *omphalos* serves a dual purpose in not only grounding the poet in the middle of historical chaos, but also exposing his readers to the underlying resentments buried within the landscape of Northern Ireland. This idea of encroachment and interrogation is further explored in the *Sandstone Keepsake* from *Station Island* (1984) where Heaney imagines that when seen through the "trained binoculars" of the "watch-towers" of an internment camp his "silhouette" is "not worth bothering about" (Heaney 1984: 20). The poetic self feels himself to be under the gaze of the prison guards as he wades in an estuary in Northern Ireland. Unlike the British soldiers these guards are now an inherent part of the changed landscape of Northern Ireland with the onset of the Troubles. The poet is no longer a stealthy onlooker but is the one under scrutiny. Heaney's poetry not only registers the effects of politics on the land but also shows how that impacts upon the poet who has to deal with these shifts in his imagination.

3.5 The Frontiers of Writing

Eugene O'Brien in his book *Seamus Heaney: Searches for Answers* argues that Heaney's poetry engages with a "pluralistic and complicated construction of what it means to be Irish", and identifies in him a movement outwards from a tribal sense of selfhood to a search for "broader, symbolic enunciations of individual and cultural identity" (O'Brien 2003: 4). The early Heaney is more grounded like Antaeus, "the mould-hugger", rooted to his family and his first community and place. A change is indicated in the poem *Hercules and Antaeus* where Antaeus "is defeated, shaken and

lifted by the "sky-born" Hercules and the "pap for the dispossessed" is no longer seen as providing nourishment (Heaney 1975: 46–47). If some of the politically explicit poems in Heaney expose the buried wounds of history, and point towards the inherited nature of the religious, communal and linguistic ruptures embedded in the land, other poems in his oeuvre look for ways of reconciling those rifts. In the third gloss from *Ten Glosses* titled *The Bridge* from *Electric Light* he uses the symbol of the bridge to describe his poetic ethos: "Steady under strain and strong through tension, / Its feet on both sides but in neither camp, / It stands its ground, a span of pure attention, / a holding action" (Heaney 2001: 54). There is always a fine balance being attempted in Heaney's work that undermines those critics who seek to simply align him with a particular group or limit him to strict and narrow definitions of how and what a poet should write about. The redress that poetry offers are the moments that move beyond the old, embittered and hardened positions towards reconciliatory gestures. He writes that the poem *The Other Side* which shows a moment of understanding between neighbours of the two divided communities was written not out of "social obligation" but from a sense of "creative freedom": "it was about a moment of achieved grace between people with different allegiances rather than of a state of constant goodwill in the country as a whole" (Heaney 1995: 194).

Heaney in his essay *Frontiers of Writing* proposes a poetic realignment of the coordinates of the map of Ireland in terms of five towers, with the poetic *omphalos* at the centre. He re-imagines the landscape to focus not on the differences but on the diverse poetic conversation that cuts across centuries of historical ruptures. To the south, he places Edmund Spenser's tower which stands as a symbol of the English Conquest; to the west, he visualises Yeats' Norman tower as representative of the island's Gaelic heritage; and to the east, he puts James Joyce's Martello tower which stands for the "secular freedoms of Europe" (Heaney 1995: 199–200). To the north, he situates Louis MacNeice's dwelling Carrickfergus Castle which does not turn away from the other towers but is in dialogue with it. He hopes that the political structure of the island will ultimately grow to reflect this artistic inclusiveness. This new cultural map of Ireland which encapsulates both the North and the South, the Protestant and the Catholic, the English and the European is Heaney's "constructed destination", his "interim place" where all "contradictions" are "resolved": it is the new "frontier of writing where 'the imagination presses back against the pressure of reality'" (Heaney 1995: 190). It is in this new re-imagining of the landscape of the divided island that the political ruptures are overcome. The landscape of the island is not simply a backdrop for the poet but is a part of his poetic journey.

The journey that Heaney began with his first collection of poetry is one that his readers can relate to as it reflects their own endless search for an authentic identity that is buried somewhere in the bogs and stones of their own personal and historical landscapes: "We are dwellers, we are namers, we are lovers, we make homes and search for our histories" (Heaney 1980: 149). Heaney's poetic quest for self-definition is written and performed on the landscape of Ulster and the imagined realm beyond confusion is glimpsed at various times yet never completely realised. His final collection *Human Chain* has the poem *A Herbal*, which acknowledges Heaney's enduring relationship with the landscape of his native place. As the aging

poet gives voice to the bracken, broom and the wild flowers in the graveyard, he claims his place in their midst: "I had my existence. I was there. / Me in place and the place in me" (Heaney 2010: 43). The poet, having dwelt amidst nature, seeks a final resting place in it. Heaney was always an active participant in the turbulent and contradictory landscape of Northern Ireland and was shaped by it as much as he shaped it through his art. It is perhaps fitting that when he died in 2013 he chose to be buried at Bellaghy, his *omphalos* or "first place".

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Chapter 4
The Landscape Concept as Rupture—Extinction and Perspective in a Norwegian Fjord

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Valdak (Photo by Hugo Reinert)

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Abstract Drawing on a case study of landscape-level protection measures implemented in a fjord in the Norwegian Arctic, this chapter takes the concept of rupture as a productive opening on the complex social, spatial and biopolitical dynamics of more-than-human landscapes. The argument examines a series of disruptions associated with the efforts of ecologists to protect a highly endangered migrant goose population breeding in the area. Measures intended to protect the geese alienated local stakeholders, and rising hostilities culminated in 2010 with hunters threatening to "reclaim the fjord" by exterminating the goose population. The argument moves through several framings of this conflict, before tracing it back to a conceptual ambivalence in the idea of landscape itself, an unresolved oscillation between landscape-as-ground and landscape-as-perspective. Framed thus, the conflict draws out a politics predicated on an ontological rupture between human and nonhuman actors, encoded and reproduced in the ecological sovereignty that the landscape concept affords to a privileged human subject-perspective. Closing on a more general note, the text offers up a discussion of the flyway concept as an alternative register of spatial thinking: one that is capable, perhaps, of enacting a figure-ground reversal that reframes common-sense notions of landscape, space and what it might mean to inhabit either.

Keywords Extinction • Rupture • Perspective • Human-animal relations • Nonhuman landscapes • Flyways

4.1   The Problem, Briefly Stated

The Valdak marsh is a coastal wetland located in the municipality of Porsanger in Finnmark, in the Norwegian Arctic. It sits on the western bank of the inner Porsanger fjord, just south of the Stabburselv River. The area was established as a nature reserve in 1983, receiving Ramsar designation in 1985. Today, the reserve is adjoined by a national park and a landscape protection area. The Valdak marshland serves as a key roosting site for a number of bird species, including the highly endangered wild Fennoscandian population of the Lesser White-fronted Goose (*Anser Erythropus*). Every year, on their way from the wintering sites in Greece to their core breeding areas in the inland, these geese stop over in Valdak for a week, maybe 10 days: during this period, under the watchful eye of their mates, the females graze almost without interruption, bulking up and building the necessary fat reserves for the demanding task ahead. At the end of the summer, the marshes are the first stop of the fledglings as they descend from the inland plateaus to start their long first migration to the wintering sites. Through these migrations, as they are apprehended and conveyed by the humans that engage with them, the birds connect this Arctic marshland to other sites, other places: a lake in Hungary; a river delta on the border between Greece and Turkey; a national park on the western coast of Estonia (Tolvanen et al. 2009). As will become clear, this interconnected spatiality

places the birds at the very heart of the more-than-human controversies that the present chapter attempts to chart.

It is Saturday, at the end of May 2010, and a band of weary and hung-over men have assembled at the camp-site near Valdak, to "repair" after the excesses of last night: moonshine and cheap Finnish vodka flow freely. It is the northern summer, some of them have not slept for days or more—or so at least they claim. Walking over from my tent, I am introduced. The talk turns to the nearby geese and the ornithologists camped with them, up at the reserve: everyone has an opinion. One man in particular feels strongly. He works at the gas station down in Lakselv, some 10 miles or so to the south but, like many men in the region, he spends much of his time in the outdoors: hiking, hunting, fishing and harvesting. For years he has been collecting berries on the islands in the fjord, but with recent changes he is no longer able to. His upset is evident. Although he appreciates the urgency of conservation efforts, he feels strongly that the issues have been badly managed by the authorities. Two or 300 people pass through his station every day, he claims—joking that he has been conducting some informal interviews of his own—and he believes the discontent is widely shared. Local residents feel excluded from the process, and resent measures they consider infantilising: "They think we are stupid, that we don't see the difference between small and large birds".

His own exegesis situates the problem within a long history of fraught relations at the national level, between centre and periphery, south and north, urban and rural—governing bodies "down south" are outsiders, 2,000 km away. Implicitly identifying environmental management with southern urban elites, his claims echo decades of critique from this periphery, arguments about mismanagement, ignorance, discrimination and internal colonialism, prejudice and exploitation. Building to a peak, his account draws in current world events, televised demonstrations of redshirts protesting the Vejjaiva government in the streets of Bangkok: "You can't do anything if you don't have the people with you. You see it in Thailand, you see it in Korea, you see it everywhere. Also here." Through the absence of participatory governance, measures to protect the geese have not only alienated locals, generated hostility and led to feelings of criminalisation: potentially, they have also begun to turn the killing of endangered species into something like a prestigious activity. A faction of young male hunters involved with the local trade in hunting equipment and sports goods are particularly clear: "Let's just wipe out that goose, once and for all. Then we'll get our fjord back." The men are well equipped and resourceful, he says: the threat is real. By their failure to enlist local residents, the authorities have thus ensured the failure of their conservation efforts—and the extinction of the goose. "In trying to protect it, they have sentenced the goose to death" he proclaims, with an expression I find difficult to read.

His drinking buddies are quick to distance themselves from his account, ridiculing it: concerned perhaps that as the "southerner" at the table, I will leave with some inherited prejudice about Finnmark confirmed. Nonetheless, the sentiments he expresses are evidently in circulation, echoed in informal conversations, voiced in local media and newspapers, across the Internet. A conventional anthropological framing might approach the problem in terms of a lack of democratic representation:

local stakeholders were not sufficiently involved in the consultation process, resented the intrusion of outsider "experts" and objected to being treated as "ignorant children", experiencing themselves as caricatures in the eyes of outsiders and the state. A top-down and non-participatory approach to ecological governance has resulted in disenfranchisement, exacerbating the very problem it sought to address and accentuating existing tensions. This would no doubt be valid, and no doubt the observation was also made (and taken into account) by the parties involved: when I returned to the area a year later, representatives from the Norwegian Directorate for Nature Conservation (DN) were emphatic in their focus on establishing dialogue with involved local parties. Here, on the other hand, I am interested in another line of approach to the same material. Rather than a lack, I want to consider the situation in terms of an excess: specifically, a disruptive excess of representation. Establishing this point requires first some understanding of goose migrations, and the challenge they have posed to human researchers.

4.2 Pathways Through a Discontinuous Landscape[1]

Migration trajectories of the Lesser White-fronted Goose have been the subject of sustained investigation for several decades now (see Reinert 2012, 2013). The species began to attract public and scientific attention in the second half of the twentieth century, at a point when its precipitous decline was already well underway. Of the three populations considered "wild", the Fennoscandian group is by far the most endangered: as per the 2010 census, they counted less than 15 breeding pairs. Tracking of the geese began in earnest towards the end of the twentieth century, with programs for ring-marking in several European countries. In Scandinavia, conservation work began in the late 1970s, with a reintroduction project led by the Swedish ornithologist Lambart von Essen (Andersson and Larsson 2006). The Norwegian Ornithological Association [NOF] started its own *Prosjekt Dverggås* [*Project Lesser White-fronted Goose*] a few years later, in 1985, and have been conducting regular monitoring of the Fennoscandian population on its breeding grounds in Valdak since 1990 (Øien and Aarvak 2008). The terms and extent of human engagement with the species took a dramatic leap in 1995, when the first satellite transmitters were mounted on four birds from the Norwegian population, to follow their autumn migration route to their wintering areas in south-eastern Europe. This initial satellite monitoring served to document a European migration path via the Kanin peninsula, through Hortobagy in Hungary to the Evros Delta in Greece, on the border to Turkey (Lorentsen et al. 1998). This work continued in 1997, with four more Scandinavian birds. In 1998, three breeding Lesser White-fronts from the neighbouring Western Siberian population were captured on the Taimyr Peninsula in Central Siberia. An alternative route continued east from the Kanin peninsula,

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[1]This section builds on material already presented in Reinert (2013).

crossing the Ural Mountains and heading down the wide Ob valley to a staging area in northern Kazakhstan. Satellite tagging in the 2004–2005 season established that this route continues along the Caspian Sea, to wintering quarters in Mesopotamia, in Iraq.

The next attempt at satellite monitoring proved something of a breakthrough, both scientifically and in terms of media and public attention to the species. In May 2006, three adult birds—one couple and a male—were caught on the Valdak marshes and equipped with transmitters. Through the involvement of WWF Finland, who ran a competition for names in a Finnish newspaper, the birds also received human names: the couple were named Finn and Nieida, while the male received the Hungarian name Imre—referencing one of the key known stopover sites in Hungary, on the migration route through Eastern Europe (Øien et al. 2007). This was not the first human encounter for the birds: Nieida had been captured and ringed previously, in May 2002, and field observations along the migration route in subsequent years had already provided crucial longitudinal data to the researchers—in particular, her data pointed towards the importance of breeding success in determining migration routes. In years where Nieida failed to breed—in 2002 and 2004—she had left the breeding grounds in Finnmark early, to fly east and undertake the long, complex and dangerous eastern migration route, "looping" from Siberia to Greece through central Asia. In years where she bred successfully—in 2003 and 2005—she was found to moult with her goslings in Finnmark and undertake a shorter, safer migration route to the wintering grounds in Greece, through Eastern Europe (Øien et al. 2007). Satellite data from the 2006 season confirmed this observation. None of the three tagged birds bred successfully that year: at the end of June, when the fledglings of successful breeders were freshly hatched, all three left the breeding grounds and proceeded east, on their moult migration to Siberia.

Their movements during the next few weeks are known in detail, thanks to the remote yet blow-by-blow intimacy enabled by satellite tracking technologies. Imre was the first to leave. On June 29 he left Valdak, arriving on the Taimyr Peninsula in Siberia on July 6. En route, he stopped over at the Kola and Kanin peninsulas, at Malosemelskaya and Bolshesemelskaya, and the Gydanskiy Bay. He reached the Pyassina Delta, on Taimyr, on July 7, where he remained until August 21. Finn and Nieida, meanwhile, left the last roosting area in Finnmark somewhat later, on July 6, and arrived in Taimyr on July 8, at the Malaya Logata River. At the end of August 2006, the three birds started their autumn migration. All three chose the so-called Western main flyway, following the Ob River towards their staging areas in northern Kazakhstan. In mid-October, en route to Greece, they moved through the Volgograd region in Russia. Finn and Nieida were located in Ukraine on October 24, at the base of the Crimean Peninsula. On October 31, Finn was in Greece, at Lake Kerkini, one of the traditional winter staging areas for the species. In November, during a visit from the international EU-LIFE project team, Finn and Nieida were both observed in Kerkini, in a flock of 42 Lesser White-fronts. The two would rest in the area for some time, before undertaking their spring migration back to Finnmark. The signal from Imre, meanwhile, had begun to behave erratically. The blips that marked the path of his westward migration began to spiral, then they stopped. His final transmission,

on October 30, came from the back yard of a house on the outskirts of Bolsoj, a Russian village in the region of Volgograd. After that, only silence. Researchers were alarmed, the media notified, couriers and press releases dispatched: "Is Imre well? Or has the valuable device dropped off?" (Høyland et al. nd: 6). Soon, Russian collaborators confirmed that Imre had indeed been shot, in that area, "in the last days of October" (Øien et al. 2009: 13–15). Imre was never seen (or heard from) again—at least, not alive (Reinert 2012).

From the moment they were captured, the three geese passed from anonymity into the workings of a vast transnational assemblage—a machine made of labs, data-streams and satellites circling the earth, which reached across the Eurasian land-mass and into orbit. Novel forms of intimacy, enabled through their tele-metric rucksacks, transformed the geese overnight into "international celebrities" and "important informants" for the work of conservation (Øien et al. 2007: 26; Reinert 2013). In this context, the death of Imre confirmed researchers in their hypothesis that "the central Asian autumn migration route is far more dangerous than the European one, and that the threat from illegal hunting along this route is considerable" (Øien et al. 2007: 27). The more important information, however, came from Nieida. By indicating an apparent correlation between breeding success and choice of migration route, her data suggested that factors affecting breeding success in Finnmark (e.g. predators, noise, human disturbance) could determine not only the annual productivity of the population, but also the mortality risk of sexually mature adults. The survival of the adult population thus appeared to depend on a connection between spaces that would appear discontinuous to a human observer "on the ground", in Valdak; strategic interventions in Finnmark—to enhance breeding success—would permit researchers to manipulate migration routes indirectly, with effects that reverberated through the entire migration system of the species. Successful conservation thus required researchers to imagine and grasp these relationships—and the "local" space of the marshes—from the point of view of the birds: in other words, successful intervention demanded that they learn to inhabit, at least temporarily, a nonhuman perspective.

4.3   Perspectives

Drawing on Latour and Deleuze, Jamie Lorimer suggests that ecological field practices involve certain transformations of the participating human subject—primarily by means of a progressive "tuning in", or "becoming sensitive", to the nonhuman other: through "protracted negotiations, aided by a host of technological apparatuses", a "natural scientist strives to achieve a form of ecological proximity with and corporeal understanding of his or her target organism" (Lorimer 2007: 917). Generally, such an understanding also entails an ability to interpret the environment as the target organism apprehends it: an entrained, acquired and materially mediated form of empathy. This ability plays a vital role in conservation efforts that depend on understanding how a given animal or species operates

in its environment: its movement patterns and daily cycle, dietary requirements, predators and threats, responses to disturbance and so on. Such understanding arises as a composite achievement, an aggregation of field observations, analysis of physical specimens, embodied interactions, historical records, anecdotal material, statistical data, imaginative leaps and, as in the case of Imre, remote surveillance technologies such as radio and satellite telemetry (Benson 2010). Techniques, instruments, practices and forms of knowledge enabled ornithologists in Valdak firstly to approximate an understanding of the local space as it appeared to the geese, their "target organism", and then secondly, crucially, to represent this understanding to other human actors: rendering the features of this space *intelligible* in a manner that approximated how it was occupied, utilised and experienced by the geese: among other things, as a complex patchwork of affordances, resources, threats and interdependencies, fundamentally connected to spaces "elsewhere"; spaces that would otherwise appear inaccessible and unconnected to most human observers.

Two distinct but related forms of representation were involved here (Latour 2004). Firstly, the conservationists *represented* the geese and their "landscape" in an almost aesthetic sense, by rendering them both visible: through guided tours, seminars, public lectures, media interviews, print and digital journalism, scientific publications, pamphlets and informational material. Secondly, they also represented the geese *politically*, acting as spokespeople in the Latourian sense: representing their interests, their investments in the local space, in terms that translated into political action—through measures such as the implementation of regulation plans, hunting bans and so on. Thanks in part to a close collaboration between the ornithologists and local environmental protection agencies, measures introduced in the Valdak area were rooted in an understanding of the area as it was (supposedly, presumably) experienced by the geese: regulations concerning human traffic and motorised vehicles were linked to observations of goose nesting behaviour, including their practices of nest abandonment; blanket seasonal bans on hunting followed from the fact that the Lessers often mingle in flocks of other species, and can be difficult to distinguish from other goose species common in the area. The satellite tracking data was particularly significant in this regard, as it demonstrated a relationship between conditions on the Valdak marshes and subsequent choice of migration route, with attendant effects on adult mortality.

By highlighting complex non-local connections, cascading as effects between sites, satellite data showed how Valdak could not be considered in isolation, but rather how the site must be understood as one element in a dynamic "migration system"—a delicately contingent assemblage, within which factors in one location might reverberate elsewhere and out of sight, thousands of miles away, with consequences that could spell life or death for the whole species but which might never be witnessed by a human observer. Following directly from the satellite findings, conservation efforts in Valdak and the nearby breeding areas were concentrated on measures that might increase breeding success and reduce hatchling mortality. Key among these was an eradication program directed against the local population of Red Fox (*Vulpes Vulpes*)—a locally invasive species that is supplanting the endangered and charismatic Arctic Fox (*Vulpes Lagopus*), and which also predates

significantly on nesting bird populations, including the Lesser White-fronted Goose. Over the next few years, state-authorised hunters "bagged" hundreds of foxes in the area—with dramatic (positive) effect for the Lessers (Reinert 2013).

4.4   Distributions

Let me pause at this point and make a short lateral move, to try and highlight how this material articulates more generally with the two key terms for this collection: *landscape* and *rupture*. Article 1 of the European Landscape Convention (ELC) defines landscape as "an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors" (Council of Europe 2000: 3). The concepts involved here could be analysed at length: here, in a Latourian vein, I simply want to draw out one double-articulated disjunction that is encoded in it. The initial step of the disjunction identifies, separates and recombines two distinct forms of agency, "human" and "natural". Landscape, in this view, appears as an outcome of interaction between human and nonhuman factors, a combined product of "human" and "natural" activities. This is relatively straightforward. Less obviously, a *second* term also separates "human" from "nonhuman", within the Convention, but this time more subtly: this couplet operates at the level of perspective, and it leaves one half of the pair implicit.

In addition to its shaped "character", the Convention also defines an area as a landscape when it is "perceived [as such] by people"—in other words, a landscape comes into existence through a perspective that is capable of constituting it *as a landscape*. Implicitly, relying as it does on the term "people", this constitutive perspective is prefigured as human—and equally, by implication, nonhuman perspectives are configured as lacking this ability. In this sense, "landscape" comes to exist as a double-jointed articulation—simultaneously a material "area", shaped by the interaction of "human" and "natural" factors, *and* a constitutive perception of that area *qua* landscape, by one or more subjects designated as capable of such perception. Landscape is thus simultaneously content ("natural and/or human factors") and form ("perceived by people"): perceptible area, and field of perception. Within the operational space of this definition, humans play a double role—simultaneously material actors, determining the shape and content of a landscape, *and* carriers of a constitutive perspective that transforms "area" into "landscape". This is an asymmetrical privilege, embodied in the human form: lacking the power to determine what counts as a landscape, nonhumans may only occupy and shape landscapes defined as such by humans.

Returning to Valdak, the Convention itself is not frequently invoked, whether in a conservation context or otherwise. As our friend from Lakselv outlined earlier, the local politics of space here draw on other terms: a register of rights and resources, entitlements, traditional use and conflicting interests that tends to pit northerners against southerners, centre against periphery, locals against tourists, Norwegians against Sami, reindeer pastoralists against recreational users and cattle

farmers, hunters against conservationists (Reinert 2008). Nonetheless, unpacking the European Landscape Convention in this way, as a kind of "ontological machine" that is continually at work to separate and classify and assign powers, gives us a template or exemplar that helps bring most of these perspectives into alignment around a shared feature—that is, their exclusion of nonhumans from any kind of *constitutive power* over the landscapes they inhabit, and their reduction to elements *within* these landscapes. Through the local efforts of conservationists, Valdak had become one challenge to this tacit but pervasive logic: an attempt had been made here to take in a nonhuman perspective (however mediated) as constitutive—that is, as capable of defining what a landscape *was*, what its borders or significant features might be, whose interests might determine how it was to be preserved. Insofar as this articulation was at odds with other human interests in the area, and carried on the back of State power, the ramifications were—as I outlined earlier—complex and unpleasant.

As advocates and spokespeople for the geese, ornithologists were attempting to establish a landscape in Valdak that was convivial to their "target species": an hospitable space, managed and understood as part of a transboundary network of sites, linked by the flying bodies of migrating geese. With this they worked to counter, to smooth over, certain kinds of material rupture already in place: some produced by human politics, by institutions that cut through space, bisecting migration trajectories with borders, county boundaries, by lines drawn on paper; others, perhaps encoded in the landscape concept itself, born as it is for dense bones and flightless bodies, and embodied in the human affordances that inform the enactment of Valdak as a discrete, spatially bounded entity—perceived from the ground, encompassed by a human perspective. Addressing these ruptures however—smoothing, connecting, reframing—the bird-workers created other, more immediate ruptures in the fabric of local space: disruptions in the traditional use and practices of human stakeholders, who felt alienated and disenfranchised by the regulation of "their" landscape; dramatic reorganisations of the local wildlife, including the extermination of the red fox population in the area; and, as discussed at the outset, escalating tensions between humans and geese—culminating, as I described, in a threat of intentional extinction; unlikely, hopefully, but nonetheless all too plausible. At least for the moment, this threat remains unrealised; the disruptive bodies of the Lessers are still returning, from year to year, and the "other" Valdak that they constitute remains: no young men have gone out from Lakselv to destroy them yet—but the tensions are far from resolved.

Analytically speaking, the situation in Valdak brought into play a plenitude of ruptures, all potentially relevant: between state and public, urban and rural, past and present, centre and periphery, nature and culture, humans and geese. Here I have chosen to foreground a less obvious form of rupture, implicit in the conceptual structure of "landscape" itself and manifest in the ontological politics it performs: in the manner by which it severs content from form, human from nonhuman, through disjunction and privilege. With this I want to try and open the case at hand to a more oblique line of inquiry. For example: in what sense, to what degree and how might nonhumans be taken into account as participants, in the political

process of determining how the spaces that they also inhabit should be managed? In the language of the European Convention, what would happen if nonhumans were admitted into the human power to define a landscape, rather than merely shape its character? Might we then start thinking of how to flatten or dissolve this unspoken hierarchy of perspectives, of how to "open up" the human gaze—as a world-making, world-defining machine—and admit nonhumans into the privileged positions that it generates? Such questions are animated, in turn, by urgent and troublesome concerns: concerns regarding sovereignty, and the microphysics of human exceptionalism (Smith 2011); environmental justice, and the issue of its legitimate subject (for whom? for what?); and ultimately, perhaps, the vexed issue of interspecies coexistence, of the new and urgently needed forms of conviviality demanded of us, as actors, on an increasingly harried planet (Reinert 2014). Even only in the Valdak area itself, numerous other human-nonhuman "alliances" are at work, each generating more-than-human perspectival machines of their own: those of reindeer and their indigenous herders, for example, or of seals, fish and fishermen. These overlap and intersect, generating the spaces—the "scapes"—of Valdak, not as a given or singular totality, but as an open-ended, continuously negotiated aggregation of interacting and mutually mediating perspectives. In closing—in the spirit of an "ethnographic theory" that derives its terms of analysis from the conceptual objets trouvés of fieldwork (da Col and Graeber 2012)—I want to focus on one of these, the "Lesser-scape", to explore its radical potential and ask what tools it might offer up: for thinking, for description and for critique.

4.5   Flyways

The argument so far has tried to illustrate certain limits I think are implicit to the landscape concept as an earthbound perspective, a "land-scape", but also as a kind of ontological template, a predetermining structure that encodes the aesthetics of a specific, multiply privileged subject position: bipedal, human-shaped, flightless, verbally communicative and so forth. Read this as a call to fine-grain the heuristic of landscape, to engage reflexively with its implicit embodiments and explore alternative conceptualisations—particularly where nonhuman experiences of space come into play, in human affairs, in ways that make an anthropological difference; or equally, where human spaces, and experiences of space, resist reduction to the material affordances provided by only-human bodies. Conservationist efforts to empathically "move into" and inhabit a migrant bird perspective disturb the spatial imaginaries of the landscape concept, pulling its conceptual hinterland into view (Law 2004): pressing outward at the edges of a human experience of space, demanding new conceptual vocabularies of nonhuman space to supplement (or supplant) the earth-locked perspectival solidity of "land-scape". This is something more interesting than wordplay. Consider, for example, the notion of *flyways* (Van Dooren 2014).

As an instrument of ecological analysis, the flyway concept arose initially in the United States in the 1930s and 1940s, part of an effort to develop effective spatial management frameworks for migratory waterbirds. Its gift, at the time, was to render visible "the biological systems of migration paths that directly links sites and ecosystems in different countries and continents" (Boere and Stroud 2006: 40), enabling precisely the sort of translocal operations that were brought to bear, decades later, on the Lessers in Valdak. On its own, the term captures "the entire range of a migratory bird species... through which it moves on an annual basis" (Boere and Stroud 2006: 40), as well as operating on biopolitical scales below and beyond the species: from sub-populations within a species, through groups of related species, to unrelated species passing through broadly similar regions of space. Efforts to chart existing migration systems and aggregate them into flyways began in Europe in the post-war period, and in the Asia-Pacific region in the 1990s. Since their introduction, flyways have become an important instrument for establishing transboundary cooperation between states, nongovernmental organisations and regional entities such as the African Eurasian Waterbird Agreement (AEWA). Today the concept remains productive, even radical, generating novel configurations and new approaches: both scientifically and as a kind of political template, an aspirational diagram of an alternate world, simultaneously future and present—a version of Earth re-territorialised entirely on the global motion of birds, aggregated into vast flows, borderless and fluid.

Highlighting complex interdependencies at multiple scales, dependencies that exceed and disregard human segmentations of the terrestrial surface, flyways present a vision of the planet as a looping, fluid whirl of flows and interconnected systems, where discrete "places" merge into each other, encompassed by vast circuits of motion—the slow whirls and gyrating eddies of a living planet. Giving primacy to movement over site, they operate a sort of spatial figure-ground reversal— a shift that renders any specific "site", or "place", epiphenomenal to underlying systems of movement and stratigraphic flow (rather than vice versa). In this sense, the flyway concept presents itself, potentially, as a kind of cornerstone, a hook, for an alternative *metageography*—as Lewis and Wigen originally defined it, a distinct "set of spatial structures through which people order their knowledge of the world" (1997: ix)—that enacts an alternative to that "mosaic perception of world-space" which still structures most human representations of the planetary scale (Taylor 2001: 114). In part, what renders this variant metageography trenchant is its fragility: a certain ephemeral quality inherent to its composition, brought out by the fragility of the bodies that compose it. Flyways are organic, irreducibly so, neither part of the geological stratum nor "fixed" elements in any landscape. They exist only as long as there are living bodies that materialise them, tracing and retracing their routes—frail, living bodies that gingerly occupy space, moving from place to place, bringing it to life. As such, flyways are also inherently mortal: they can die, almost as easily as the bodies that compose them. Space figures here, not as an inert container but as a strange alterity, unfamiliar but knowable, brought to life (and mappable) through its living bodies.

In an age of mass extinctions and unprecedented devastation, with the skin of the world dotted and crossed by human footprints, this version of space helps render apparent the vital truth of our shared earthly situation: a poisoned lake or a reckless hunter could extinguish a diminished species like the Lessers at once, in one place, like a light—and the Lessers would die out not just "here", or "there", but across every range state in their path. The Lesser that dies in Russia never arrives in Syria, or Greece, or Japan: along the flyway, their death extends through space like a cloud, delocalised, a loss that tears a hole in the living fabric of the planet—ragged gap and reverberating absence, bound neither by place nor human memory. Taken seriously, the notion of flyways thus helps overthrow the myriad tiny steps by which everyday space is localised, collapsed into manageable scales, the "heres" and "theres" and "far aways", and by which tremendous events (extinctions, translocal oil spills, nuclear disasters) are brought down and bound to apprehensible scales. Suspending these shortcuts and simplifications, the full truth that flyways confront us with is that what happens "here" does not in fact stay "here", can never stay here, can not in fact stay anywhere: that every death reverberates, rings across the taut meshes of a globe stretched ever tighter. This, perhaps, is what the Lessers could reveal to us, what they figure—and challenge us to think through—in their thinning flocks, as they criss-cross the Palearctic: that the nodes in their vast circulation can open to us like a trace, shuttle us into alternative conceptions of space, embedding us in ontologies of disturbance and reverberation, of interdependence and dispersion; that they might open us, in other words, to "something else"—to planetarity as a living condition, to worlds redrawn through the interconnection of nonlocal effects.

Here then, squinting on a planet redrawn, in the creeping shadow of extinction, in the fault-lines of an encounter between some humans and some nonhuman geese, I would like to discern not only a reordering of space, wrought through novel imaginaries that combine and reconnect the far-flung corners of the world, but perhaps also, analogously, the possibility of a new ordering of politics: a reorientation paused between the vaunted binaries of the modern constitution (Latour 1993, 2004)—and capable, perhaps, of suspending them entirely. Isabelle Stengers materialises her cosmopolitical project in the hesitation of the idiot, a Deleuzean figure who disrupts consensus by demanding "that we slow down, that we don't consider ourselves authorised to believe we possess the meaning of what we know" (Stengers 2005: 995): generating cosmopolitics as a rupture in momentum, located in a sustained hesitation before the certainty of the given—a hesitation that turns apparent certainties into beginnings, into premises for exploration.

At the campsite by Valdak, in the circle of hung-over men, discussions turn back to the geese, to the disruptions they brought and those that were brought on their behalf. Gradually, the arguments coalesce. No one is endorsing extermination . . . But still. Why do they care so much, the ecologists? Are they mad? They're just geese, after all: what about people? Don't people matter more? Why are they coming up here, interfering? Who protects the human? What about the seals breeding in the fjord, eating all the fish, depleting stocks, ruining the regional fishing fleet? And so on. Just under the surface, other questions flow: Whose fjord is this? Who makes claims? Whose claims are legitimate? Who should even be there, exist there, be

allowed to exist? Who counts, who matters, who matters more? Who are the beings that count? Me, I just sit there, at the end of the table: swatting away mosquitos in the bright northern summer, witnessing the terms of the settlement being made and remade, with little to offer but questions: my own discipline embodied, at least for the moment, in the hesitation of the idiot.

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Chapter 5
Perceiving the Townscapes of Kohtla-Järve, Estonia

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Townscape map detail (Image by Anu Printsmann)

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Abstract Founded in 1946, Kohtla-Järve resembles hundreds of mining towns across the former Soviet Union: all of them developed under advantageous conditions, but now facing problems typical to rust-belt zones. The neglected buildings in Kohtla-Järve have scarred the urban fabric for 20 years, and the city has only managed to tear down some of them. Most of these abandoned houses remain as symbols of the radical change in socio-economic system, from central planning to a market economy. Production of oil-shale in the area has dropped by half, but still accounts for roughly 90 % of Estonia's total energy production—Kohtla-Järve has thus avoided becoming a ghost-town, but because of the difficult financial situation only cosmetic changes take place in the townscape. Urban renewal happened fast, for a while, but has now come almost to a complete halt. This chapter combines two levels of analysis: one, an abstract cartographical analysis of the townscape development, particularly in terms of physical buildings; and two, an account of insiders' life-course and quotidian movements, drawing also on my own personal experience. Combining quantitative and qualitative data in this way might further an improved understanding of urban landscape renewal—and standstill. Shifting between scales, the argument also highlights how apparent *rupture* or *continuity* may be an artefact of analytical frames.

Keywords Urban morphology • Auto-ethnography • Mixed methods • Landscape urbanism • Landscape perception

5.1 Introduction

The aim of this paper is to shed some light on the rupture or discontinuity between "insider" perspectives on a place and townscape maps of the same place: how and why are places perceived the way they are, and how does perception of an ever-changing landscape alter over time? My secondary purpose here is to advocate the use of townscape mapping within landscape urbanism: *townscape* is a core term in the currently rather marginal field of urban morphology. Landscape urbanism foregrounds temporal dimensions, or "processuality", which are difficult to capture with a static map.

According to Anne Buttimer (1978), the "insider trap" involves becoming so immersed in the particulars of everyday life and action that one may see no point in questioning the taken-for-granted or considering "home" in a wider spatial or social context. Conversely, the "outsider trap" is to look at places from "on high", as it were, from an abstract perspective: reading the texts of landscapes and overt behaviour in the representational language of maps and models, and being therefore inevitably drawn to finding in places what one already intends to find in them. In the following I would like to try and merge the two extremes of this scale, and show how insider background knowledge may sometimes add to the understanding of a cartographic map.

Fig. 5.1 View of the Järve district in Kohtla-Järve from the Tallinn–Narva–St. Petersburg highway (Photo by Anu Printsmann)

To stress the *how* and *why* in perception formation, I have used an auto-ethnographic approach, drawing on my own experiences of growing up in the post-Soviet oil-shale mining town of Kohtla-Järve (Fig. 5.1) in north-eastern Estonia. Like so many others at the time, my parents migrated to Kohtla-Järve in the 1950s and 1960s. Despite this relatively recent arrival, I still consider myself a native of the town, as I was born and raised there. Through my research I have moved from an *existential* to an *empathetic* insider position (Relph 1976). Existential insider-ness, as Edward Relph argues, is possible only for people who live in a particular place, as it involves a deep sense of identity and belonging to the place. Empathetic insider-ness, on the other hand, demands only a willingness to be open to the significance of the place, and to feel this significance (Relph 1976: 54–55). I ground my auto-ethnographic approach in a shift between these two positions, as there is no place I know better, or whose changes I have studied for longer, than Kohtla-Järve (Jaago et al. 2008; Printsmann 2010, 2011; Printsmann et al. 2012). While I have been living away from the town since 1997, I visit my parents there almost monthly, and this lets me practice balancing my insider and outsider positions.

Kohtla-Järve was founded in 1946. Based on resident life-stories, Jaago et al. (2008) have shown that the years between the mid-1950s to the mid-1960s, and subsequently the 1970s, were controversially perceived as particularly destructive periods for the town—periods during which the people of the area and immigrants from the rest of Estonia witnessed a neat little Estonian town turn into an anonymous and uniform Soviet industrial city. My own happy childhood was spent there in the 1980s, when the wastelands within the so-called "free planned" residential blocks were complemented with social infrastructure: shops, restaurants, workshops and the like. My perception of Kohtla-Järve coincides with the life histories of inhabitants from the 1990s onward, after Estonia regained its independence from Soviet Union (Jaago et al. 2008; Printsmann 2010, 2011). The decline of the town—following the closure of several mines and the bankruptcy of some industrial chemical companies—is symbolised for all of us by the appearance of many neglected, eventually demolished buildings. Some of the discrepancies in such narratives about the "rise" and "fall" of Kohtla-Järve intrigued me enough to lead me to try and juxtapose my insider understanding with a cartographic analysis of the townscape, so that the latter could serve as a "material reality" against which different perceptions could be compared.

Before delving into my case study of perceptual ruptures in the experience of Kohtla-Järve, and how these resonate in and with the townscape map, I will set the scene by introducing my theoretical framework, which includes auto-ethnography, landscape urbanism and urban morphology. I will explain why, in studying how the perception of an ever-changing landscape alters over time, the usual methods used for landscape perception and change—such as mental maps and walking interviews—appear inadequate, and how this can be overcome using townscape maps in combination with analytic auto-ethnography. I then introduce some of the various ruptures involved in my study of Kohtla-Järve itself, including also issues encountered in generating the townscape map, followed by some discussion of how and why places are perceived the way they are—drawing on analytic auto-ethnography and my own ambiguous "insider perspective".

5.2   Analytic Auto-ethnography

Auto-ethnography may be considered an aspect of both ethnomethodological and constructivist approaches, insofar as both are informed particularly by an interest in people's daily routines and how they construct their social reality. The term itself has been circulating since 1975, when the anthropologist Karl Heider used it to refer to descriptions that the Dani people of New Guinea gave of their own culture. David Hayano (1979) is usually credited as the originator of the term. As Carolyn S. Ellis puts it (2008: 48), Hayano:

> limited the term to cultural-level studies by anthropologists of their "own people" in which the researchers are full insiders by virtue of being "native", acquiring an intimate familiarity with the group, or achieving full membership in the group being studied.

As Steven Pace (2012) writes, auto-ethnography is a qualitative method of research, writing and storytelling that combines characteristics of autobiography and ethnography, including the cultural, social, and political domains within its scope. In auto-ethnography, "the life of the researcher becomes a conscious part of what is studied" (Ellis 2008: 48)—although different auto-ethnographers vary in their emphasis on self (*auto*), culture (*ethnos*) and the research process itself (*graphy*) (Reed-Danahay 1997).

Ellis (2008: 50) has defined eight criteria which make a personal narrative writing auto-ethnographic. I offer here an abridged version of this list, compiled to suit present purposes:

- the author usually writes in the first person, as the story highlights private details of emotional and bodily experience;
- the narration (rather than traditional research report) is written in an episodic form that dramatises the motion of connected lives over the curve of time, and resists the standard social science practice of portraying social life and relationships between people as a snapshot frozen in time;
- the story often focuses on a single case, drawing attention to what is particular as well as what may be universal.

Although the term auto-ethnography has been in use longer than I have lived, it has remained quite vague (Hunt and Ruiz Junco 2006; Wall 2006). Here I will adhere to the tenets of *analytic* auto-ethnography (Anderson 2006), rather than the more evocational modes utilised by for example Ellis (1995, 1997, 2004). Evocational auto-ethnography links to the growing trend of emotional geography with "touchy, feely, look-see" methodologies (Crang 2003); see for example John Wylie on walking (2005) and memorial benches (2009).

The five key features of analytic auto-ethnography, according to Leon Anderson (2006: 378), are as follows:

- the researcher has to be a full member in the research group or setting,
- the researcher has to be visible as such a member in published texts,
- the researcher must dialogue with informants beyond the self,
- the researcher has to be analytically reflective, and
- committed to developing theoretical understandings of broader social phenomena.

5.3 Landscape Urbanism, Urban Morphology and the Townscape

As a landscape researcher, I prefer to draw on European landscape discourse (e.g. Antrop 2000; Olwig 2002; Widgren 2004), even when approaching urban areas, rather than using impersonal notions such as "urban space" and "environment". The notion of landscape as an area shaped by people adds a human dimension to otherwise abstract grids and spaces, stressing more the perceivable qualities of the surroundings. In this context, landscape urbanism is quite a recent trend in urban planning (Tully 2013: 438), most usefully described as a discourse or a nexus of ideas (Thompson 2012: 7) that ties together processuality, nature and the city, horizontality, multiple scales, imaginarity and interdisciplinarity (Thompson 2012: 9–15; Tully 2013: 440–443)—in a manner that shares common ground with the notion of "townscape" in urban morphology.

One of the foundational works in urban morphology was Michael Robert Gunter Conzen's 1960 study of Alnwick, Northumberland, in which he found (Conzen 1960: 3) that:

> [the] geographical character of a town is determined by economic and social significance within some regional context [and that] morphologically [this] finds expression in the physiognomy or *townscape*, which is a combination of town plan, pattern of building forms, and pattern of urban land use.

Following from this, urban morphology emphasises physical and spatial relationships within an entire city, without being object-centred or drawing heavy-handed conclusions concerning the social sphere as the "space syntax" approach does (see e.g. Hillier and Hanson 1984; Dawson 2002; Jenkins 2002). The urban morphology approach goes beyond architecture, looking at the built landscape in terms of its processual internal logic. It also aligns with the European Landscape Convention

in encompassing whole landscapes, also less-valued ones, instead of focusing on monuments and squares (Allen 2006; Ryan 2006). As Damien Mugavin (1999: 96) argues, a:

> Foucauldian urban morphology would emphasise systematic description and analysis of relationships between the social and physical aspects of spaces/places, over time, right down to the scale of the individual site, but inclusive of the broader societal pattern.

This is in line with the Lefebvrian shift from products to socio-spatial production or the "New Cultural Geography", which focuses on individuals within wider societal contexts revealing power relations and identity politics (see also Edward Soja (1996) on the notion of "thirdspace").

Mike Crang (2000) has tried to marry morphology with contemporary understandings of the flexibility and fluidity of cities, but to my mind the idea of dynamism has never been abandoned in urban morphology: the problem is simply that their maps look static. Conzen (1960) traced the development of Alnwick from the seventh century onwards, focusing on physical features yet speaking also of urban fabric and acknowledging social, economic and functional aspects. Along similar lines to Tarja Keisteri's (1990) subsequent model for studying the changes in cultural landscapes featuring material visible, non-material invisible and underlying factors, Conzen (1960: 7) found that an evolutionary approach, "tracing existing forms back to the underlying formative processes and interpreting them accordingly", provided the most rational method of analysis.

In every dynamic system, however, the core is "softly" path dependent (Mahoney 2000)—meaning that the past influences the present and future, but more radical changes occur on the fringes, at different rates or synchronous temporalities (Jenkins 2002). Whereas town planning and land use have never been entirely free from constraints for individuals, in the planned economy of the Soviet system planning was top-down, especially in the socialist new cities influenced by functional modernism. Thomas Borén and Michael Gentile (2007: 95) have brought out five significant socialist-era legacy aspects that continue to mould the course of events in the post-socialist urban scene. These are:

- the implications of the ideological leadership of the communist parties,
- defence considerations,
- central planning,
- land allocation, and
- the "second economy".

Conzen (1960: 6–7) concluded that adaptation rather than replacement of the existing fabric is more likely to occur over the greater part of a built-up area established in a previous period: what he terms the "morphological period" or "frame" (Conzen 1960: 39, 47; Whitehand 2001: 106–107; compare Cosgrove 1984; Palang et al. 2006). Old houses are liable to be replaced by new ones in larger numbers only in the centres of sizeable towns, where economic pressures overcome the obsolescence of inherited forms and lead to replacement on a larger scale. In the centre the introduction of new forms is usually incomplete and tardy. The older, generally more central parts of the townscape are subject to changes of

varying intensity and morphological aspects within already established plan-units, as a long-term constraint on subsequent change. The outer areas, on the other hand, form successive accretions—converting rural land to urban use of new plan-units, where each time period is free to add examples of its own type of layout.

5.4 Mental Maps and Walking Interviews

Mental maps, as introduced by Peter Gould and Rodney White (1974), could also be used to record understanding of the surroundings—but mental maps tend to be current images that have accumulated over time, and it is therefore difficult to capture gradual perceptual change. Kevin Lynch (1960) noted that for newcomers to a town, bus stations and church towers are important—but later on, these lose their significance as landmarks and will not emerge on a mental map. Drawn mental maps thus do not really differ from "real" maps, being a "frozen moment in time"—as every cartography textbook would state. When these frozen moments are set in a sequence, landscape change analyses can be carried out (e.g. Palang et al. 1998; Peterson and Aunap 1998; Palang and Peil 2010). Continuous perceptual mapping to record change seems impossible. Satellite imagery and advances in computing clouds may soon offer a possibility for "real-time" monitoring of land use and cover change— but we cannot imagine this being used for large areas or long periods of time.

Another way to get a glimpse of how perceptions of an ever-changing landscape alter over time is to conduct interviews while walking, also described as talking while walking (walkie-talkie) or go-along interviews (e.g. Setten 2001; Syse 2001; Anderson 2004; Evans and Jones 2011; Jones and Evans 2012). Through this method landscape is narrated in a relational, inter-subjective mode, laden with memories and values (Schama 1995: 6–7):

> And if child's vision of nature can already be loaded with complicating memories, myths, and meanings, how much more elaborately wrought is the frame through which our adult eyes survey the landscape. … Before it can ever be a repose for the senses, landscape is the work of the mind. Its scenery is built up as much from strata of memory as from layers of rock.

Gillian Rose et al. (2010: 346) bring out two strands in this kind of walking interview:

- one approach influenced by Latourian actor-network theory (e.g. Degen et al. 2010; Jacobs 2006; Jenkins 2002), which establishes a current relationship as an assemblage where "'feelings' tend to be understood as emotions and are acknowledged rather than explored" (Rose et al. 2010: 337); and
- another approach that theorises affect, embodiment, experience, feeling, performance and practice (e.g. Wylie 2005, 2009; Rose et al. 2010; Jones and Evans 2012).

Despite the intention to tease out more information concerning spatial features of a place, the actual locations are often overlooked in such approaches (Evans and Jones 2011: 851). The intended place-*based* approach becomes more place-*related*,

touching upon issues like biographies and social architecture (Kusenbach 2003). This is not to say that for example ethical considerations of how to empower respondents (Elwood and Martin 2000) are not important—but these issues are place-*bound,* forming constituent parts of a place, and say fairly little about its perceivable spatial qualities.

On the other hand, James Evans and Phil Jones (2011) found that walking interviews focus much more on urban forms than sedentary interviews and produce more stories, also about places that no longer exist. In the case of Kohtla-Järve, there are certainly demolished buildings which no longer exist—but due to outmigration, the main problem here may be the opposite, which is to say that the physical structures linger on but without "insiders" who can provide insight into their history or meaning.

Both mental mapping and walking interview approaches focus mainly on very subjective and descriptive sides of perception. "Caveats about the reliability of oral history" (Jones and Evans 2012: 2327), or memory failing by misrepresenting the world, should be considered the strengths of these methods, as they reveal how human perception works: but for that, a reference point is needed.

For my paper I choose the "ontological pole of realism" (Anderson 2004: 254)—that there *is* a "real physical world" out there, common to all and independent of human conceptualisations, to which cross-reference is possible. Thoughts and ideas about places are compared against factual spatial data, in the form of maps. A map is a reduced image of land surface which is generalised, symbolised and mathematically defined. I acknowledge that maps as such re-present the world and are thus flawed (e.g. Harley 1989). A map cannot function without telling a lie (Monmonier 1991)—but in this endeavour I continue along the lines of Margot Cantwell and Chad W. Adams (2003), who demonstrated the correlation between landscape suitability analysis based on GIS on the one hand, and local, culturally or spiritually based data on the other; Anders Wästfelt (2004), who combined satellite imagery with local understandings of land use in agricultural landscapes; Kaisa Schmidt-Thomé (2011), relating past spatio-temporal routes of selected individuals to their current everyday life using methods such as in-depth interviews and soft GIS data; and Evans and Jones (2011), who tie together qualitative GIS and GPS-tracking.

Even with qualitative and participatory GIS (Kwan and Knigge 2006; Cope and Elwood 2009) and web 2.0 solutions, one has to be aware of the danger of excessively technocentric analyses, whereby geographic aspects become emphasised above humanistic ones (Evans and Jones 2011: 849).

5.5 Perceptual Ruptures in Kohtla-Järve

As a former insider, it is very complicated to explain the Soviet social system to an outsider: the system is unbelievable even for those who lived in it. The most important factor was the shortage or deficit economy, induced by central planning.
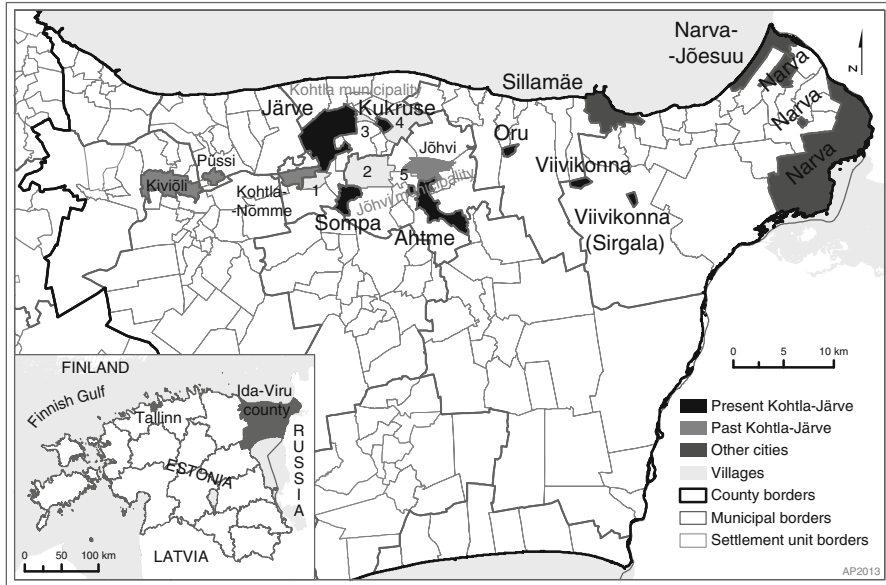
Fig. 5.2 Spatial development of the Kohtla-Järve area: Kohtla (*1*), Sompa (*2*), Järve (*3*) Kukruse (*4*) and Jõhvi (*5*) (Data from Estonian Land Board 2013)

In a situation where demand was always exceeding supply, egalitarian ambitions did not last long (Gentile and Sjöberg 2006). The strongest socialist legacies are evident where the prestige of the system was given top priority, where it coincided with mass urbanisation, in areas which hosted grand industrial projects, and in areas endowed with certain natural resources. The socialist new cities—the ultimate urban expression of the communist project—were often located in areas where the latter two factors were in place (Borén and Gentile 2007: 95). Kohtla-Järve may be regarded as comprising all four: in this it resembles hundreds of other towns across the former Soviet Union which were developed during the same period.

Although oil-shale mining started in 1916, when Estonia was part of czarist Russia, it continued throughout the independence period and reached its peak during the Soviet era. Today, oil-shale mining suffers from smaller production volumes because of alternatives, such as the Sosnovy Bor nuclear power plant near St. Petersburg, and also because of diminished export opportunities to Russia due to political reasons. In Estonia, Kohtla-Järve is perceived as the quintessence of the Soviet industrial landscape (Printsmann 2010). During the Soviet era it was prioritised and developed at the expense of surrounding areas (Fig. 5.2). In this sense, it appears today as a kind of "rupture" in the otherwise flat topography of north-eastern Estonia. Were it not for oil-shale, it would have never been built. As soon as oil-shale is not the main source of energy for Estonia, Kohtla-Järve becomes obsolete.

The spatial structure and dynamics of Kohtla-Järve are complex, with overlapping names and complicated administrative units, difficult to capture on a single map. The area that is contemporary Ida-Viru county was known as the Kohtla-Järve administrative region [*rayon*] during the Soviet period. Old settlement centres like Jõhvi were subordinated as urban districts of Kohtla-Järve from 1960 to 1991. Jõhvi is now the capital of Ida-Viru county, although it is a town without municipal status. Kohtla-Järve is still an agglomeration consisting of six urban districts: Järve, Kukruse, Sompa, Ahtme, Oru and Viivikonna, including Sirgala. Most of these were connected to oil-shale mines and are now in decay, after the mines were closed. Narva is the third biggest city in Estonia. The two oil-shale power plants there provide electricity for all of Estonia. The northern part of Ida-Viru county thus forms one of the most important heavy industrial constellations in the country.

Urban sprawl and renewal is a normal process of every urban area. A city is never complete, as its landscape is in a constant state of becoming. A town can expand spatially or change its functioning within its own limits. The boom period for Kohtla-Järve started quite soon after the WWII, when the area was responsible for producing household gas for Leningrad (now St. Petersburg). At the time, all mining activities were directly subordinated to Moscow. For oil-shale mining, chemical industry and electricity production, grand complexes were built and serviced by immigrants from all over the former Soviet Union. These migrant labourers were accommodated in newly laid out, centrally planned, functional, modernist, poplar-green residential areas. This "height" of the physical development of the town was perceived by locals and old-timers as a form of social decline, due to large influx of outsiders (Jaago et al. 2008). The *image* of the town changed, compared to the previous socio-morphological frame (Conzen 1960: 39, 47; Whitehand 2001: 106–107; compare Lynch 1960). The "feeling" (Rose et al. 2010)—the atmosphere, or ambiance—was *different*.

Although other post-Soviet towns struggle with the twofold transition of overcoming the Soviet legacy and shifting to a post-industrial era, Kohtla-Järve is still very much an industrial town, faced with a lot of environmental, economical and social issues, like so many other areas in so-called rust-belt zones. Oil-shale production rates have been cut by half, and outmigration has effectively transferred socio-economic problems to the deteriorating physical structure of the town and its many neglected houses. Still, the industrial cluster built around Kohtla-Järve saves the city from becoming a total ghost-town; a couple of its urban districts now show some signs of revival as residential areas for the capital of the county, Jõhvi.

Figure 5.3 captures the demolition of an abandoned building on Vahtra Street. To my recollection, the house included a shoe repair workshop. The house on the left, as I remember it, had a main post office during Soviet days. We had to go there to order long-distance phone calls to another *rayon* as we did not have a telephone at home. The wait was long, sometimes for hours at a time. While taking this kind of photograph I have had to explain to my parents why I always take pictures of the ugliest places in my hometown. On the one hand, existential insiders want their town to be nice and tidy; on the other, they are capable of not seeing the things that distress them. I believe that existential insiders choose to turn a "blind eye" to ugly

Fig. 5.3 Demolition of an abandoned building at 1 Vahtra Street (Photo by Anu Printsmann)

places: one can look but not see. Evans and Jones (2011) and Lloyd Jenkins (2002) have both found that objects do not have to be nonexistent to become invisible: in Kohtla-Järve they are just ignored, eliminated from the mental landscape. In contrast with my empathetic insider perspective on town pattern destruction, existential insiders were happy that the town became rich enough in the mid-2000s to tear down redundant buildings—houses that attracted drunkards, drug addicts and criminals—without protracted public negotiations or, as with the building on Vahtra, without public notice (compare Jacobs et al. 2007). The demolished houses are not missed, as shortcut footpaths go right "through" them—as can be seen both on the ground and from aerial photographs. For me, the presence of the demolished buildings is felt even in their absence (Bain 2004; Wylie 2009; Mansvelt 2010). As Daniel Weston writes (2011: 178–179), "the perceived absences in the landscape offer the opportunity for the introduction of imaginary presences"—and yet, these absences are quite difficult to photograph. Ruptured wounds in urban fabric turn into scars. Recently, 1950s Stalinist neo-classic architectural ensembles such as the centre of Sillamäe have gained appreciation from specialists and wider audiences alike. To many, the centre of the Järve urban district and its "feeling" (Rose et al. 2010) have been ruined by rebuilding, creating new entrances to emerging commercial grounds or redecoration of private buildings. Demolished houses go hand-in-hand with a radical decrease in the construction of new buildings since the mid-1980s,

but several neglected houses still wait for demolition—so a sort of urban renewal or change in function is taking place, where the morphological frame in the town plan persists although some of the buildings are gone.

Duncan Light and Craig Young (2010: 5) find that in focusing on the degree and speed of change in the built environment and cultural landscapes, the geographical literature on post-socialist cities has over-emphasised discontinuities with the state socialist period. I would add to this some observations from an "empathetic insider" perspective. In Kohtla-Järve, all the normal adaptive and renewal processes have come almost to a halt: it is a shrinking town, in slow demise. Nothing is done with "left-over" or "loose" (Franck and Stevens 2007) or "liminal" (Shields 1991) spaces. As Light and Young (2010: 6–7) point out,

> [for many] post-socialist national and urban governments other factors, such as social welfare, employment and the economy, may be higher priorities than the eradication of the socialist cultural landscape, a process which in any case may be too time consuming or too expensive.

The "lag" before changes take effect (Palang et al. 2006) may be shorter in capital cities than in towns, as also noted by Conzen (1960). I try to record the change in the town's appearance caused by wider socio-economic turns (Palang et al. 2006). Still, a picture is a "frozen" moment of time: for capturing gradual change, re-photography is needed.

5.6   Creating a Townscape Map of an Urban District

Similarly to Sarah Wall, who wrote *An auto-ethnography on learning about auto-ethnography* (2006), I have to describe here the process of making a townscape map of Kohtla-Järve, as this process changed my perceptions of my hometown considerably. To be precise, the townscape map represents the north-eastern part of the Järve urban district. This part of town is referred to as *Sotslinn*, in Estonian, or *Sotsgorod*, in Russian. In both languages, the term is shorthand for "socialist town": *sotsialistlik linn* or *социалистический город*. The term is sometimes also used to denote the whole of Järve, or Kohtla-Järve proper. The western part of Järve is locally known as "Old Town" and includes some ruins of limestone barracks built by German war prisoners. This area houses the chemical industry and its accompanying wasteland, grounds that are used for depositing semi-coke residuals and ash silting pools. The southern zones are former villages on under-mined areas, now covered with former garden cooperatives and summer cottages, or *dachas* for subsistence farming.

As there are no rules of thumb for how to construct a townscape map, which should be a "combination of town plan, pattern of building forms, and pattern of urban land use" (Conzen 1960: 3), I focused primarily on houses for my own townscape map. Presenting a single layer from GIS without reference to natural background and infrastructure makes black and white images more readable but also static. Landed property was essentially abolished during the Soviet era, so the

socialist new cities—the ultimate urban expression of the communist project (Borén and Gentile 2007: 95)—were often created top-down, on land defined as *tabula rasa*. The autochthonous people of the area were uprooted even before the Soviet era, as they had to relinquish their farmlands to growing industry in return for limited compensation, often perceived as unjust (Jaago et al. 2008; Printsmann 2010, 2011).

The advantage of concentrating on one layer of the built landscape, for a townscape map, is that houses—as opposed to land use data, roads and so on—are registered with their year of completion. This adds historical depth to the town development, depth which would be hard to gain using the sparse and distorted maps from the Soviet era. For my townscape map of Järve, I had to combine two sources in GIS: the Register of Construction Works, for building data (30.09.2011), and the Estonian Basic Map (from Estonian Land Board 16.01.2012) for spatial reference. Time-lags and inconsistencies within and between databases cannot be avoided. The digital data for the two state-coordinated sets were quite incompatible, even after the 2011 Population and Housing e-Census. This presented me with perhaps the biggest empirical rupture in the case-study, as it took me by surprise: for each building I had to ascertain the address and manually input it into the table so that the data from the Register of Construction Works could be tied to GIS spatial shapes. Most of the problems here were caused by buildings that matched no address and *vice versa*, factory grounds and garden unions for which registry data were incomplete. The Estonian Land Board is responsible, among other things, for the Place Names Register and the Address Data, which are far from perfect. I hope that with improving digitisation these will in the future become more compatible and automatically linkable. Cartographic companies have GIS with address data, of course, but they do not possess data such as the completion year of buildings, number of storeys, construction material and so on.

The data selected as relevant for this paper comprised the year of completion and the number of storeys. The overall area of buildings is not included, as this says little of the useful area in multi-storeyed houses; closed net or heated spaces which were not available in the database but are searchable for each individual building separately from an Internet-based Register of Construction Works search engine, alongside with building materials, number of types of flats in each apartment house etc. All available data from the Register of Construction Works was used, regardless of whether the status was in use, under construction or in processing, as the remarks concerning whether the building is unsuitable for living, without building or use permit were scattered in different database fields.

The quality of data in the Register of Construction Works was poor. The database has 8,212 addresses for the whole of Kohtla-Järve, but only 2,150 spatial shapes. Järve urban district has 2,825 constructions, spread among 976 (!) different categories (including synonyms and spelling mistakes). This includes categories such as residential house, summer home, limestone building, orphanage, library, power station and so on. Out of the 2,825 constructions in Järve, data for 1,350 includes the year of completion. Out of those, 25 are not buildings: one sauna, a couple of sheds, a greenhouse, a water storage pool for firefighting, power-lines, heating pipes and so on. I have skipped these for the analysis of the number of
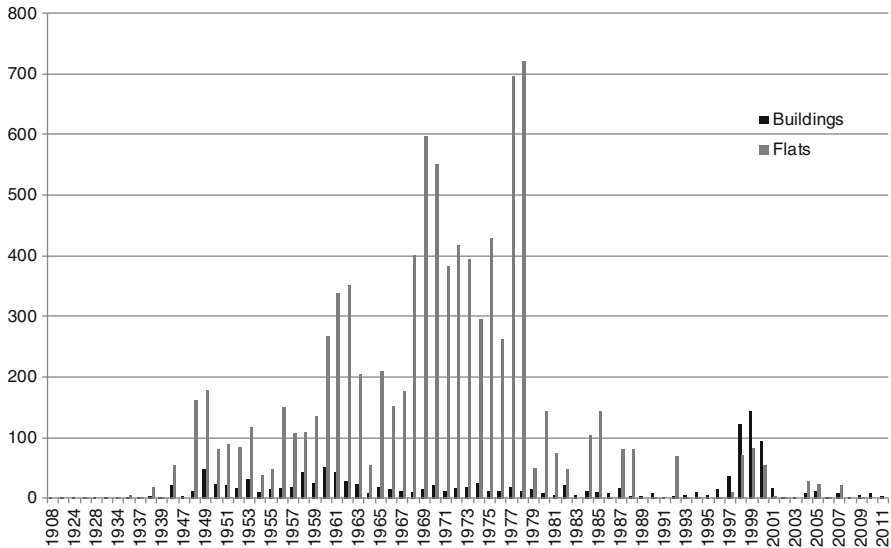
Fig. 5.4 Buildings and flats recorded in Järve urban district (Data from Register of Construction Works, 30.09.2011)

buildings and flats (Fig. 5.4), but many saunas, sheds and garages are included due to inconsistencies in the database. For example there are around 420 collective garages, out of which approximately 180 have the year of completion. 1,475 constructions do not have the year of completion. Out of these, 1,464 are buildings and approximately 275 are defined as residential houses: single, semi-detached, individual, summer cottages and apartment blocks. The database is irrational: the number of flats in a given building, for example, is not listed in a separate field but rather under building type, along with information about which of these flats have been turned over into commercial properties, all without dates or timestamps. Some data is just wrong: the first recorded building is from 1908 and is listed as a sewing factory and car service. As an "insider", I know the house was definitely built after the WWII.

The total number of flats recorded in the Register of Construction Works with their year of completion is 9,385. This is surely an underestimate, because while processing the data I assigned the value "1 flat" to all residential, individual and summer houses that were missing data about the number of flats they contained (approximately 175). The sudden surge in building numbers at the end of the 1990s occurs because existing summer cottages were reclassified, *en masse*, as individual residential houses.

From the figure, two boom-periods become apparent: between the mid-1950s and the mid-1960s, when the centre of town was transformed from wooden barracks into impressive Stalinist stone buildings, and the 1970s, when exploitation of natural resources coincided with an advantageous expansion of industry and the construction of mass housing. Comparing the two periods, the flats per building

ratio increased for the 1970s, while the number of buildings is decreased. The pre-fabricated mass housing units had more flats with central heating and the construction of sheds or any other auxiliary buildings was deemed unnecessary. Jaago et al. (2008) have shown that for many people autochthonous to the area, and former immigrants from the rest of Estonia, the periods of massive construction were seen as the beginning of social decline, as newcomers changed a cosy and fairly Estonian little town into a Soviet industrial city (Printsmann 2010).

The Estonian Basic Map included 2,876 spatial shapes of buildings for Järve urban district. This includes 1,132 residential or public houses, 1,540 side or production buildings, 152 abandoned buildings and 52 basements. For my analysis I have used only the 1,132 residential or public houses listed in the Estonian Basic Map. Auxiliary buildings such as garages were not included, as their year of completion—where available—is the same as or later than that of the residential house they are attached to. Such buildings do not contribute to the town plan, as they are usually located within quarters, but they would make an excellent starting point for studying the social dynamics of egalitarianism in the Soviet system (e.g. Tuvikene 2010). Many of them do not have any permits. With regard to neglected buildings and basements, many houses under construction were turned directly into ruins—without ever being inhabited—when state socialism disappeared (Light and Young 2010).

5.7   A Townscape Map for the Järve Urban District

The townscape map of Kohtla-Järve's north-eastern part of Järve urban district is represented in Fig. 5.5.

The map includes the 1,132 residential or public houses from the Estonian Basic Map that also had data in the Register of Construction Works. The left map shows completion year for residential and public houses, sorted by decade. The map on the right shows number of storeys. 665 buildings are registered without year of completion, 441 without the maximum number of storeys. One building in town has seven storeys, that is the government building, the "grey house" on Keskallee 19. A specific feature of Kohtla-Järve is that old houses, e.g. from the 19th century, are missing. The earliest building with reliable records is an individual household from 1925.

Some background knowledge of Soviet cities is useful for interpreting these maps. The centre represents the classical Stalinist era layout: a clear street grid, with few squares in order to avoid spontaneous gatherings, and one central alley along which parades were held, featuring pompous and symmetrical neo-classical architecture. The edges of the townscape represent the "free planning" morphological frames, or the North and the South micro-*rayons*. The micro-*rayon* is a self-contained neighbourhood unit where everything necessary for daily life should be within easy distance. "Free planning" refers to the random placement

Fig. 5.5 Townscape map of the north-eastern part of Järve urban district (Data from Estonian Land Board 2012, 2013; Register of Construction Works, September 30 2011)
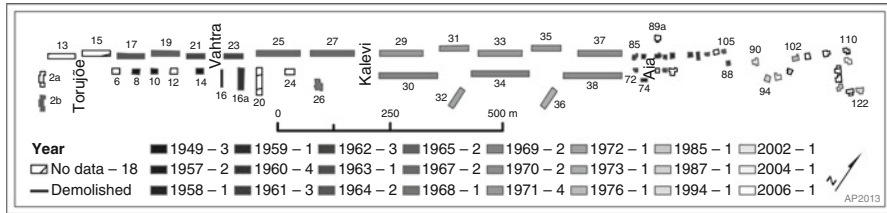
Fig. 5.6 Olevi Street (Data from Estonian Land Board 2012; Register of Construction Works, 30.09.2011)

of residential houses, although they tend to appear in rectangular distributions, forming yards where children could play and laundry be dried, or spaces for public buildings. There is no central street, and the numbering of houses is usually quite inexplicable (see Figs. 5.6 and 5.7). Residential modern high-rises are "sometimes used to illustrate the most recent phase in the evolution of human settlement types (buildings-in-time) and sometimes used to illustrate the diffusion of housing types (buildings-in-space)" (Jacobs 2006: 5). Here they serve both of these purposes, except the most recent phase is the end of the 1980s (Fig. 5.4). Jacobs (2006: 7) argues that "[f]rom the outset the high-rise was both a mark of becoming modern (more civilised, more international) and a mark of becoming different (independent, not colonial)". The latter point does not apply to residential "high-rises" in Estonia, as the micro-*rayons* were commonly connected with the Soviet occupation and the ideal Estonian household is a private house with at least a garden.

On this note it is rather peculiar for a Soviet town to have so many individual households. Perhaps it is because they were "moved" out of sight to the outskirts, in the eastern and western parts of the town: away from the "showcase" areas in the centre. Individual houses tend to be one to two storeys high, with a small square shape, whereas many public buildings like schools and kindergartens possess a distinctive H-shape. The town's inner configuration is difficult to read from the map, but some areas from the same morphological frame, with the same "feeling", are understandable for insiders: areas such as *Siidisuka* (silk stocking), where the white-collar workers of the previous independence period lived, or *Dünamo* (dynamo), which is the area around the shop and bus stop, a name common all over the former Soviet Union.

Due to data incompatibility, and having to assign addresses to each building manually, I had to embark on an explorational voyage of desk-top mapping that greatly improved my own mental map of my hometown. As I realised experientially, a "bare" map—without insider insight—represents an outsider perspective. The idea for this paper started with demolished buildings as materialisation of a socio-economic rupture in urban fabric. Information concerning where these houses were located cannot be directly drawn from any database—one has to know the specific address in order to search the Register of Construction Works, or look through

Fig. 5.7 The two micro-*rayons* of Järve urban district: South (*left*) and North (*right*) (Data from Estonian Land Board 2012; Register of Construction Works, 30.09.2011)

aerial photographs from the internet map-server of the Estonian Land Board: a time-consuming process, particularly if one does not possess insider knowledge of where to look for them. After realising that there are literally thousands of buildings, a mere ten being demolished is not very consequential to outsiders. Most of those houses are situated either directly in my former daily paths through the city, or along streets that I still use.

Street names have been altered in line with changing political regimes. Here Kohtla-Järve distinguishes itself from many other Estonian cities, most of which reintroduced names from the previous period of independence. Having been founded in 1946, this option was obviously not available to the Kohtla-Järve urban planners. Not all the original names have been changed: *Kalevi*, for example, remains the same, the street is still named after the famous national epic hero. Historically loaded names like *Nõukogude* (Soviet) were changed to something more neutral, such as *Pärna* (linden). As an insider, I know both the old and the new names—and yet, even as an existential insider, some names still came as a surprise to me. All my life I have walked and wandered along streets whose names I never knew, such as *Noorte* (Youngsters' Street)—which is not a long street, and which despite its name contains only one building, a kindergarten. Other street names make me wonder why they were used, like *Karja* (transl. "cattle"), *Sakala* (named after an ancient region, located approximately where Viljandi county lies today) or *Vilde*, named after the Estonian writer Eduard Vilde (1865–1933) who had nothing to do with Kohtla-Järve but introduced critical realism and was in exile from 1905 to 1917 due to revolutionary activities. While *Pisuhänd* (a mythological creature who carries wealth to his master) is understandable as a reference to one of the plays of Vilde, *Tuuslari* (one of the folk names for devil) is not. *Kingissepa* (literally "shoemaker", but also the name of a well-known Estonian communist) became *Torujõe* (tubed river), as the river was re-directed to pipes below the level of the street.

I have always imagined the street network of Järve urban district to run from north to south, following the cardinal directions—an assumption that was probably strengthened by the names of the North and the South micro-*rayons*. It was only doing the townscape map that I discovered the district is arranged from north-west to south-east. Other questions arose. Järve was centrally planned—so where is the centre, from which the numbering of buildings should start? I still do not know. For what ought to be a centrally planned town, there are still many inconsistencies in house numbering. In Olevi street for example (Fig. 5.6), the buildings numbered 37 and 85 are side by side. Where does the street begin and where does it end? The north-eastern end of the street, where the individual houses are situated, changes direction: perhaps it should have another name? One of own my personal discoveries, in making the map, was that the five-storey residential houses in the middle of Olevi (from 25 to 38) were not equidistant to the imagined midline of the street.

Both of my parents have lived most of their lives in Kohtla-Järve. In 1958, my Dad settled in the Sompa urban district, and then moved into the South micro-*rayon*. In 1968, my Mom started from one of the dormitories in Sotslinn, then got a flat in

the South micro-*rayon*. After getting married, they were allocated a bigger flat in the North micro-*rayon* in 1979. For my whole life I have heard how the South micro-*rayon* is older and that our flat in the North, where I grew up and lived for 18 years before leaving for university, is more modern and comfortable. This was easy to believe, as the buildings in the South that I could see from my school window—at the only fully Estonian-speaking school in town—were *different*.

As the map shows (Fig. 5.7), the South micro-*rayon* has altogether 22 buildings and 1,624 apartments, built between 1965 and 1996. Most houses have five storeys, except the bus station and the shop (one), the kindergarten (two) and the school (four). The North micro-*rayon,* on the other hand, has 37 buildings and 2,076 apartments (including demolished buildings not counted in Fig. 5.4), built between 1976 and 1992. Most of the residential houses have five storeys, but the houses from the 1980s have nine. The workshop, pharmacy, shop and former sewing factory have one storey, kindergartens have two. One of the kindergartens is now an adult retraining centre and a welding shop.

The formative period for the core of the South micro-*rayon* was from 1972 to 1977 (in 1979 a shop was added and in 1996 the bus station was rebuilt). The South *rayon* was begun four years earlier than the North *rayon,* it was completed first and is also smaller. The equivalent period for the North micro-*rayon,* from 1976 to 1978, came after the "peak" year of 1975 for the South micro-*rayon*—but not by much. In the North, construction continued until 1992. Despite the "feel" of the houses being different, the morphological frame of free planning is similar. Unlike its northern counterpart, however, the southern *rayon* is perceived as constituting a kind of "closed" historical unit, constructed in one period rather than as a continuous ongoing process, lasting until the 1990s. In a situation of almost never-ending accommodation shortages, the pace of construction for auxiliary infrastructure such as schools, kindergartens, shops and even roads lagged behind, often by many years (Gentile and Sjöberg 2006). In general, socialist cities were characterised by a degree of physical differentiation sufficient to foster significant inequalities, mainly with regard to the quantity and quality of housing provision, access to public services, exposure to negative urban externalities such as pollution from stationary sources and access to jobs—either through direct proximity or via public transportation. In this respect, the two micro-*rayons* were comparable. Both suffered from air pollution, for example: if the wind blew from the west, laundry days had to be postponed. Both were within walking distance of the main employers, but access via public transportation was also possible.

If my parents had moved from the North to the South micro-*rayon,* would their perception of the two have been different? I still believe that life-course movements affect perception—or, to put it differently, that past experiences influence the present (Schama 1995; Mahoney 2000). This is a rather basic conclusion, but very few explain its mechanism. Walking interviews with simultaneous GPS-tracking, following Evans and Jones (2011), could perhaps shed some light on this in the future.

5.8 Conclusion

Using an analytic of auto-ethnography, I have shown here how an insider perspective can add significantly to understandings of a townscape map—and surprisingly, in this case, also *vice versa*. My argument has touched on some of the reasons why perceptions have changed and how. Insiders and outsiders perceive the same urban space differently, as do "existential" and "empathetic" insiders trying to describe the alterations of an ever-changing landscape. Merging the two ends of the "insider-outsider trap" helps us examine and understand the historical individual in a broader socio-spatial context. A full, proper townscape map combining town plan, pattern of building forms and patterns of urban land use—one that allows different perceptions to be cross-referenced—is one possible way in which to address the tension between overwhelming micro-geographies and the positivism of quantitative GIS mappings. The effort to understand exactly how the past influences present would be further assisted by adding GPS-tracked walking interviews. Both map and narrations would then gain more historical depth, appearing no longer as "frozen" in time.

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Chapter 6
Interpreting Sites of Historical Rupture in Post-Soviet Urban Space: The Case of Tallinn, Estonia

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The feeling of post-socialist space (Lasnamäe) (Photo by Maarja Saar)

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Abstract This chapter analyses how sites of traumatic memory are managed by institutional policies as well as different social groups. I draw on recent discourse in memory studies which suggests that memory is fluid, multidimensional, changeable and fragmentary. Based on this, sites of memory are never produced exclusively by institutional discourses or nationalising policies: they are also constantly reinterpreted by different social groups. As the meanings of landscape change in time, memorial landscapes can also become vernacular—and vice versa. Landscapes can often possess both of these qualities. Vernacularisation and symbolisation become especially meaningful with generational shifts, since the meaning of historical rupture changes radically for the younger generation that never experienced the rupture directly. The case study for this chapter is Lasnamäe, an urban district in the Estonian capital of Tallinn. Since independence, the district has been largely represented by institutional and media discourses as "Russian". I analyse how two different generational cohorts view the area, and how they appropriate the dominant discourse for their needs. While the older generation generally sees the area as representing the Soviet period, it also considers Lasnamäe "placeless". The younger generation challenges the discourse of Russianness, stressing instead personal memories linked to the area. The analysis demonstrates how the nationalising discourse deals with a historical rupture—that is, the end of the Soviet period—by turning Lasnamäe into a site of oppression, whereas two generations of Estonian-speakers have subsequently added new layers of meaning.

Keywords Vernacular landscapes • Memoryscapes • National identity • Landscape perceptions • Public discourse • Collective memory • Forgetting

6.1 Introduction

Envisioning a common past might well be one of the most important parts of successful nation creation. However, other means are also used in order to ensure the marriage between territory and the nation, such as a common language and legal framework. Narratives of common ancestry that depend on a partial and selective framing of history are vital for fostering a sense of unity among the members of a nation state. The past then should be seen as selectively appropriated, remembered or forgotten (Wulf 2000). Certain events from the past are not mentioned, whereas others are over stressed. Usually events involving great success become icons, matters of national pride. Smith (2001) has called these the golden times of the nation. According to him every nation has had some period when it was seen as wealthy and flourishing. In contrast to these times, there are always events that are either forgotten or simply become part of the nation's collective trauma. It is in the interest of the nation state to present its history as continuous (Anderson 1991)— therefore all the events that might interfere with such an attempt are either silenced or cast as abnormal. These episodes then come to be seen as historical ruptures. Often such ruptures are employed as a way of creating a more unified nation:

these periods become marked as evil, and are used to denote a common enemy (Triandafyllidou 1998). For the othering process to be complete these ruptures need to be visualised. Landscapes are an ideal means for such visualisation. Various possibilities exist: memorials for the dead, monuments for the heroes of war, street naming and so on (Hoelsher and Alderman 2004; Rose-Redwood 2008). These landscapes then become visual signs of traumatic history, representing also the courage and persistence of the nation state and its members.

Here I am focusing on a specific form of *memoryscape*: landscapes of historical rupture. These differ from other memoryscapes because of their strong connection to mainly negative meanings. These landscapes have been connected with certain periods in history which are seen as interruptions of the normal order. Hence these interruptions often acquire traumatic meaning which landscapes of historical rupture allow people to visualise. These landscapes offer people the possibility to mourn the past, but at the same time are also constant reminders of misdeeds and past suffering. However, as previously mentioned, these landscapes also have the potential to bring a nation together, for they establish a common enemy. Therefore these, more than other sites, might evoke strong personal reactions, as they are connected to traumatic memories. Different groups might not agree on the historical periods that can be perceived as ruptures. Mainly however, scholars note differences in the perception of ruptures between ethnic groups. If memory writing is seen as carried out by the elite for ensuring its dominance, it still allows for acknowledgment of variations in the historical interpretations between different ethnic groups as these groups might have different elites. Therefore, studying ethnic differences in remembering does not necessitate abandonment of a discourse where memory is seen as merely institutional and monolithic. However, it becomes difficult to analyse the variations in historical interpretations between other than ethnic groups within this framework. In this chapter I aim to address this gap, by focusing on how different generations engage with remembering. Not only might different groups struggle over what is to be mourned, but they might also struggle over which landscapes are used for remembering the rupture. There might be a lack of shared vision concerning which sites would be appropriate because of their connotation with a traumatic past, especially as we are talking about negative meanings that are attached to certain landscapes. Therefore some people, being connected to these landscapes, might struggle over such meanings. In addition to this, as Stangl (2008) has noted, there are always two opposite processes going on in connection to memoryscapes— remembering and forgetting. These two processes are also in the centre of this chapter, illustrated especially in connection with different generations: who is aiming to forget and who is aiming to remember, and why? Currently the literature engaging with memoryscapes has several shortages, which I believe this chapter can help to address. First, so far literature has focused mainly on monumental spaces, leaving aside the ways in which everyday landscapes might be connected to historical meanings (Azaryahu and Kellerman 1999; Stangl 2008). There have been some studies that intend to cover this gap, see for instance Alderman's (2000) study on street naming, but overall memory politics remains something understood mostly as functioning through the usage of monuments and memorials. Second,

there is a visible shortage in the literature on the perceptions of lay people. Memory is seen as uniform and constructed by those in power for sustaining their dominance. Although several scholars (Legg 2005; Reading 2011; Jenks 2008; Till 2012) have criticised previous research for over-emphasising elite perspectives, the ways in which lay people understand and interpret memoryscapes have not been well studied yet. By elite perspective, scholars here refer to the imaginaries created by those in power. For instance Reading (2011) notes that there seems to be a habit of seeing memoryscapes as something that have been solely created by the elite. In the light of this I argue that in order to fully understand how landscapes are embedded with historic meanings, we need to look further than institutional discourse. As we do this, we might also start seeing the difference between various discourses.

This chapter then will focus on the ways in which both elite and lay people interpret landscapes of rupture. It will illustrate how various meanings are challenged and reinterpreted, and how landscapes are emptied of meaning. The landscape I am interested in is a post-Soviet block district in the Estonian capital, Tallinn. Lasnamäe is the biggest district of Tallinn, housing a considerable proportion of its Russian-speaking population (65 %). This chapter then first analyses how Lasnamäe was connected with the Soviet period, symbolising historical rupture. For this I draw on previous research, including several books as well as media analysis that covers the period starting from Estonia's re-independence. The chapter also uses interviews (28) with Estonian-speakers in the area, to analyse how they relate to the image of Lasnamäe as a landscape of historical rupture.

6.2 Memory Writing: Remembering and Forgetting

Ever since Nora's influential work (1989) memory studies have been mushrooming. Nora himself took a somewhat tragic attitude towards sites of memory, stating that these are settings where those in power can seal their dominance. Several researchers have followed his example, going as far as claiming that memoryscapes are mere institutionalised landscapes of forgetting, replacing distinct, politically usable past with placeless, commodified history and vague dissatisfied nostalgia (Connerton 1989; Boyer 1994). Memoryscapes then are seen as far from lay people and the meanings important to them, they rather become means through which dominance is reinsured. They become sites used for political power games, sites emptied of meaning. The meaning of memoryscapes becomes mere commodity, something that is used for practical purposes by the elite to sustain its power (see Rose-Redwood 2008). Memory writing then becomes something that is enacted by those in power, whereas subalterns are left out of the process (McDonald 2010). Recently, however, more and more scholars have understood the necessity of paying attention to other groups beside elites (Dwyer and Alderman 2008; Forest and Johnson 2011). It is understood that memory politics is not only a matter for elites, but that lay people are also active participants in remembering and forgetting. Increasingly, memory writing is seen as something that has been carried out by all members

of a society and not only those in power. Whereas those in dominant positions certainly have more possibilities for introducing their agendas, the versions of history represented by them are reinterpreted by other groups in the society. This has been brought out by Wulf (2000) who has questioned the presence of monolithic collective memory. Assman (2010) has stated that memories can be fragmentary and multidimensional, serving different interests and purposes while being important for various groups. Therefore, often different groups struggle over writing history and several versions of it are available. This all applies also to memoryscapes—they have different meanings for different groups (see Rothenberg 2010). The meanings offered by those in power are reinterpreted by subalterns who sometimes struggle to offer their version of history. Till (2005) has noted that memories are always something more than mere authored representations of the past because individuals and social groups interpret them affectively. They are not mere rationalised and institutionalised settings for power reproduction, but sites that people connect with emotionally. Therefore struggles taking place between different groups over these landscapes often take on a very personal turn.

As we discuss the struggles of memoryscapes, which involve different groups in society, our attention is being led to the fact that we cannot merely talk about these sites as static and stable. If we acknowledge the presence of struggles and different meanings, it is much more appropriate to rather talk about remembering and forgetting as processes. Even Nora in 1989 acknowledged that memoryscapes are constantly changing—sites of memory exist because of their capacity for metamorphosis, an endless recycling of their meaning and unpredictable proliferation. Similarly, memoryscapes need to be seen as in a process of becoming (Lowenthal 1975). Stangl (2008) has suggested distinguishing between two processes: vernacularisation and memorialisation. I find these terms highly useful. Vernacularisation hence refers to the process whereby the connection between historical memories and landscapes gets dissolved. Memorialisation on the other hand refers to the process whereby landscapes get embedded with historic meaning. However there is a slight difference in how I am using the terms compared to Stangl (2008). He has understood vernacular spaces as spaces used mainly for everyday settings and sees the monumental as the opposite of the vernacular, something that is mainly symbolic and is not actively used for daily purposes. I however do not contrast daily use and historic meaning in such a way. For me it seems useful to acknowledge that many landscapes can be both actively used on daily basis as well as strongly connected with historical memories. Vernacular spaces for me therefore refer to spaces that are not connected to historical memories.

When discussing struggles over memoryscapes, especially the case of landscapes of historical rupture, scholars have often used the Holocaust and the spaces connected to this as an example (Jenks 2008). Lately, this has started to change as more and more research is done in connection to memory, politics and the communist past (Danzer 2009; Light and Young 2010; Sakaja and Stanic 2011). These topics are vital for understanding the identity struggles going on in Eastern Europe (Brubaker 1992). Topics such as re-imagining the past and recreating national history have been key for the successful building of new states in many of

these societies. This has included of course also questions regarding communism and dealing with its legacy. Memoryscapes have proven to be in an important position in the national politics in former Eastern block (Forest and Johnson 2002; Light and Young 2010). Topics such as renaming the streets have been used to show how the states have tried to re-imagine their spaces and create a split between the period of communism and post-communism (Farrar 2011). One important topic currently not covered is how states have dealt with landscapes that cannot be erased so easily. In several Eastern European states there are many districts created during the communist period that make forgetting more difficult due to the visual eminence of these building blocks. Also Lasnamäe, the particular example used in this article, is rather visible in Tallinn's cityscape—making it hard to forget about the Soviet past. However, before going more into detail about my specific case, I will describe my dataset and methodology.

6.3   Data and Methods

In this chapter I am using two kinds of data sources: media analysis and interviews. Preliminary media analysis was carried out in 2007 together with my colleague Rasmus Kask. For media analysis we used articles from three different periods (1975–1981, 1986–1986 and 2001–2010) and daily newspapers in Estonian (*Päevaleht*, *Postimees*, *Noorte Hääl* and *Rahva Hääl*). Newspapers were chosen accordingly: *Noorte Hääl* and *Rahva Hääl* were the only daily newspapers until 1990. In the beginning of the 1990s also *Päevaleht* (now *Eesti Päevaleht*) began to appear in print. Currently *Eesti Päevaleht* and *Postimees* are the only general daily publications in Estonia. For the earlier publications paper versions were reviewed, whereas for the later ones an online search engine was used. This also allowed us to include the popular Internet source news portal http://www.delfi.ee. Internet searches were carried out using "Lasnamäe" as a keyword in the search engine between the years 2000 and 2010. All together there were about 400 articles which mentioned Lasnamäe in their text and which were included in the content analysis. Twenty of these were subsequently chosen for closer analysis. This selection was based on both the size and the content of the articles—only those that had Lasnamäe as its main topic were analysed more closely. In addition to media, I have also included to the context part one popular song, sung during Estonian re-independence demonstrations, as an example of the mentality surrounding the district.

First interviews were carried out in 2008, when 12 interviews were conducted. A second set of interviews was finalised in 2009, when 16 interviews were carried out. Both times snowball sampling was used to find interviewees (Heckathorn 2002). In the beginning I used my acquaintances for interviews and then they recruited future subjects among their contacts. An average interview usually lasted for 1 h and was semi-structured. There were 15 females and 13 males among the interviewees and 12 members of the older generation and 16 members of the younger generation. Generation, as Mannheim (1952) has stated, is a birth cohort with a similar social

background, born in the same region, with shared formative experiences during their adolescence and a strong signifying point of identification. In my case the older generation (born in 1950–1960s) and younger generation (born in 1980–1990s) differ because of the conditions they grew up in: the older generation has an experience of the Soviet era, but the younger generation was mainly socialised in an independent Estonia. While doing my interviews I discovered that this experience was significant in influencing people's perceptions of Lasnamäe. For instance, when I asked about the image Lasnamäe has for them, the younger generation almost always mentioned the issue of having a great majority of Russian-speakers in the district, whereas for the older generation this played little role.

My methodology was guided by constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz 2000). I have followed several steps characteristic to the traditional grounded theory method—theoretical sampling, coding methods—starting off with line by line coding, categorising the codes and finally looking for links between the key categories and connecting them with the wider discourse in the society. In addition I gathered my data and analysed it concurrently, meaning that the results were continuously controlled by the new data (Glaser and Strauss 1967). I started off with a general theoretical background, but throughout the analysis process, my theoretical focus changed considerably. Lastly, one of my main aims was to offer some new theoretical insights, by making new connections with both published former literature and my own existing material. My analysis departs from traditional grounded theory, when it comes to my epistemological and ontological understandings, as I believe that my analysis is connected with the temporal, cultural and structural context (Charmaz 2000), and therefore situational. Hence, I try to be sensitive to both my own values, ideologies and beliefs as well as these of my participants.

In order to analyse media, I also included content analysis as a way of categorising all the articles on Lasnamäe and choosing the more substantial ones for discourse analysis (Fairclough 2005). I mainly focused on three aspects of the articles—what is being said (also between the lines), what is not being said and what does the writer expect us to know. This allowed me to track the silent ideologies represented in the articles as well as the official standpoints. Now, I will continue by giving an overview of media discourse on Lasnamäe.

6.4 Recreating Collective Identity and National Landscapes in Estonia

Like many other Eastern European states, Estonia decided to opt for the nation-state model in the early 1990s. In the Estonian case this meant a strong emphasis on ancestry and language, for instance only those whose ancestors were citizens before 1940 were given citizenship, leaving the majority of Russian-speakers stateless (Hallik 2002, 2010). The previous is only one example of how the modern state was reconnected with the pre-war era and first independence period (1918–1940).

The Soviet period then became a rupture of Estonian national era (Kattago 2009; Raun 2009) whereas the first independence period was represented as a golden era (Hughes 2007), depicted in history books and novels. According to Feldman (2001) the Soviet period is seen as culturally alien and Estonia is currently trying to purify itself from the traits of it. However, by using the Soviet period as a constitutive other, Estonian identity is still directly dependent on it. Wulf and Grönholm (2010) have noted that the reconstructed Estonian history of the 1990s was a direct response to the earlier Soviet construction of the past. As Vihalemm and Kalmus (2008) have mentioned, among some groups such as Russian-speakers and older (over 60) rather deprived groups, nostalgia for the Soviet period is traceable.

Using the Soviet period as a constitutive outside led to the demonisation of all the elements connected to it. Kattago (2009) has noted that Soviet rupture entitled deportations, destruction of farms, collectivisation and Russification along with dramatic industrialisation and urbanisation. In addition collectivism, labour unions, leftist politics and the Russian language became perceived negatively. The first time of independence, on the contrary, symbolised a period of harmonious society characterised by country life, thatched roof farms, small villages and intact families. Kõresaar (2005) has explained that the pre-war peasant farm in the rural countryside came to signify childhood security, social ties and community, whereas Soviet time corresponded to uncertainty, broken social ties and rupture. In connection to that, an idea also emerged in the public discourse about which spaces are Estonian and which Soviet: kolkhozes, industrial landscapes and blockhouses were considered Soviet, whereas idyllic rural farmhouses became Estonian: such imaginary could be found for instance in the history books, but also when looking at the postcards meant to represent Estonia (Wulf 2000). That also corresponded to the ethnic composition of the areas, as most of the Russian speakers lived in towns, such spatial representations allowed to remove Russians from collective identity (Ojamäe and Paadam 2011). In addition, areas that were perceived as Russian became anti-dote of Estonianess and represented roughness and criminalization (Järve et al. 2000).

6.5   Lasnamäe's Role in Reconstructing Estonian-ness: Creating the Space of the Other

In the centre of my study is Lasnamäe, an apartment-block district of Tallinn—the capital of Estonia. With its 112,000 inhabitants, Lasnamäe is the biggest district in Tallinn, housing the majority of the capital's Russian-speakers. About 65 % of its inhabitants are Russian-speakers, whereas the national average is around 30 % (Statistics Estonia 2012). Lasnamäe was built between 1976 and 1990 and as the last Soviet-style apartment block district built in Tallinn, it is visually the most homogeneous and consists mainly of nine-storey buildings. I will start with the historical overview of its symbolism and later, in the next section, review how the media deals with Lasnamäe.

Initially, Soviet apartment blocks were not perceived negatively by Estonians. Mustamäe, the first block building estate, was welcomed by many who received apartments there. New flats were seen as a sign of progress, offering many conveniences, such as warm water and central heating, which were unavailable before (Kurg 2007). According to Sarapik (2011), during its construction, Mustamäe was characterised by an optimistic and positive attitude. The image of Lasnamäe however was never so positive. Viires (2003) has called Lasnamäe a huge centre of immigrants and Nerman (1998) has noted that very few Estonians had a chance to get a free apartment in Lasnamäe. New apartments were mainly given to Russian blue-collar immigrants who moved to Tallinn in search of work (Rouppila and Kährik 2002). Whereas the official discourse represented immigration as the result of labour shortage, it was perceived by Estonians as an attempt to transform Estonians into a minority in Estonia (Kurg 2007). Because of this Lasnamäe was seen as an oppressive colony by Estonians (Nerman 1998).

Because of these negative connotations, it is not surprising that Lasnamäe became one of the symbols of the independence movement. Perhaps one of the best examples of the importance of Lasnamäe during the 1990s is a song called *Stop Lasnamäe*. The lyrics of the song encouraged people to fight for freedom, casting also a dark picture of the evils of the Soviet period. Lasnamäe worked well as a symbol of Soviet rupture because of its sheer size (housing 25 % of Tallinn's population) and its visual prominence. Moreover, as Lasnamäe housed a high number of Russians and was a location for the metal processing factory named Dvigatel, the board of which was tightly controlled by the central Soviet government, the connection between the Soviet era and Lasnamäe became even more solid. Dvigatel was also seen as one of the organisers of the anti-independence movement, therefore casting an even darker shadow over Lasnamäe. Lasnamäe thus became a representation of a particular period of historical rupture: Soviet oppression.

In what follows I will quote one verse from a popular song of that time. The song was sung as part of the Singing Revolution. The Singing Revolution consisted of a mass demonstration, whereby national songs were sung for the purpose of protesting against the Soviet order:

> Look all is alien, is this home? In the middle of windy streets drifting is an aimless migrant. Look, in his eyes is emptines she does not feel nor see. Let's cry all now down the valley with all our strength Stop Lasnamäe!

In the song Lasnamäe is connected with several negative symbols of the Soviet era, such as migrants, detachment and a feeling of alienation. The song helps to outline how Lasnamäe became the spatial marker of colonisation, never allowing one to forget the historic trauma. Moreover, in one of the later verses of the song, Lasnamäe is called "the tumor of the land", which even more clearly brings out its connotation with rupture. However not only does Lasnamäe illustrate the misfortune of the past, but it also signifies the ongoing presence of migrants, stating therefore that colonisation is not yet over. Migrants are referred to as being unable to connect with the land and to understand the true essence of Estonian-ness, they are treated

as mere occupiers, and not residents. Later the image of Russian-speakers worsened even further. Järve et al. (2000) have noted that Russians were perceived as rough and aggressive in contrast to the calmer mentality of Estonians. Therefore one can say that not only were Russians perceived as alien to the land that they were inhabiting, but they were also criminalised.

The prior discussion demonstrates a current lack in the memory literature and the need for understanding memoryscapes in terms wider than simply everyday life in a certain period. Lasnamäe, as it was used during the independence movement, can surely be partly seen as a monumental landscape, with its visual grandiosity and strong ideological meaning, but by marking it solely as such, we lose something in its meaning. Surely Lasnamäe can be conceived at the same time as a living space, denoting the living style during the Soviet period (rootless) as defined by the song. Seeing Lasnamäe in terms of such a dichotomy, however, still ignores its significance as the marker of a historical other. Being faced with the fact that removing Lasnamäe, as was done with the Soviet monuments and street names, is not possible, it was instead represented as a negative other, helping to unify Estonians in front of a common enemy: Russia. Therefore, I would not call the practices monumentalisation, but rather would name them memorialisation. Next, I will continue by analysing how Lasnamäe was dealt with in public discourse after independence was announced, using the media as an example.

6.6   Continuous Othering: Lasnamäe's Image in the Media

As described before, already at the end of the 1980s Lasnamäe became a place that was filled with immigrants and therefore turned into a somewhat alien place for Estonian-speakers. Based on the public discourse, Lasnamäe can hardly be seen as homey and safe environment. Perhaps one of the strongest images that the media has attached to Lasnamäe is the one of a sleeping community. The district is described as a place where one does not spend any more free time than necessary (EPL 18. 07. 2007). We can see how Lasnamäe is opposed to feelings of attachment and feelings of home. It rather becomes an environment where everyone likes to be anonymous and is removed from one another. Based on this quote Lasnamäe becomes almost like a monument emptied of meaning and life, it has its physical grandiose appearance, yet it lacks any further significance. The image of sleeping district may still be used to mourn the past. Farrar (2011) in his article has a discussion over the landscapes of temporality—landscapes built for temporal needs and temporal population. I suggest that also Lasnamäe was perceived as such already when built. Russians moving there were expected to move back to where they came from when the independence was re-established. Therefore, Lasnamäe's image as a sleeping community, which never actually becomes home, could refer to the temporality of the Soviet period. Also the district elder saying: "We must change Lasnamäe from Soviet sleeping district to comfortable district whose inhabitants

have European mentality" (Delfi 02.09. 2009) confirms the connection between the Soviet period and the district. Not only does the elder regard Lasnamäe as a Soviet place, furthermore he opposes it to a European (Western) mentality and thus denotes that Lasnamäe is still much more in the past than in the future. Lasnamäe signifies where we are coming from and now we must change it in order it to fit where we want to go to. Thus Lasnamäe is often presented by the media as a memoryscape either by connecting it with the Soviet past or the presence of Russians today.

In addition to being regarded as a sleeping community by the media, Lasnamäe also became connected with criminality. As already mentioned, Russian-speakers in general were considered rough and aggressive and therefore Lasnamäe started to be perceived as a dangerous area. The media has had a big role in promoting this image. Starting from 1993 regular reports about the criminality of the area started to appear in press. One journalist summarised the image of the district as follows:

> Lasnamäe is a shoddy place, a ghetto where one gets beaten up all the time—that might be a vulgar generalisation to the district. Lasnamäe is a slum that is constantly in police news. It is a place where unknown man is shooting Lidia and drunken Editha is threatening Aavo with air gun. (*EPL* 29.10 2005)

The journalist refers skillfully to the frequent crime reports published by the media. Lasnamäe according to her is connected to low class—drinking habits, random crimes and rowdiness—both being the opposite of middle class image of the safe and homely environment. Although this quote does not directly connect Lasnamäe's criminal image with the great percentage of Russian-speakers in the district, this idea is always in the background. Few journalists actually mention it directly, probably due to the fact that it might be perceived as ethnocentric and not proper for the public media. However there are some articles that still do make a direct connection.

> In Lasnamäe and Eastern Estonia people live their own life, watch PBK [Russian TV channel], read MK Estonija [Russian media], go to their own markets, own schools and factories and do not want to study geography in Estonian. (*Eesti Ekspress* 23 11 2005)

The journalist is describing Lasnamäe and Eastern Estonia almost as though they were worlds totally separate from the rest of Estonia. These are the spaces, where the Soviet Union is still alive and moreover, Russia has taken over the power. Although in the legal framework of Estonian space, things still work differently in these spaces. People do not have contact with the Estonian state: rather, they have created for themselves a parallel world. Then the question emerges, where do the 30 % of Estonians fit in this picture? Maybe, as referred above, they are just going to the district to sleep, because they do not feel any other attachment to the place. Maybe, as described by the other article, Estonians are leaving the district and those who are staying are becoming like "the last Mohawks", according to the article. Therefore, one can say that Russian-speakers are seen as taking over the control of these spaces. Furthermore Lasnamäe is also seen as a main supporter of the Russo-friendly party [Keskerakond] in Tallinn. Several articles have made a connection between the party and the district, using statements such as "if we did not have Lasnamäe, the party would not be a problem". We can thus see that media has

connected Lasnamäe with many negative traits, such as criminality, alienness and lack of "homeliness". Now I will continue analysing how two generations perceive the district.

6.7   Memorialisation and Vernacularisation Hand in Hand: Local Inhabitants in Lasnamäe

As noted earlier, memory is never unified, but rather fragmentary and changing. Therefore we cannot really talk about a single public discourse when discussing Lasnamäe. Although the media might present a certain image of the district, this image is still reinterpreted by the public. Hence, now I will focus on the various interpretations that locals have of the district. In addition, I will show how both processes, forgetting and remembering, are active as locals try to connect to the district. This section can be divided into two parts: first, I will describe the attitudes of the older generation (those born in the 1950s and 1960s); second, the discourse among younger generation (1980s and 1990s).

One of the narratives, often told by the older generation about Lasnamäe, was the one of functionality, meaning the evaluation of the district was based purely on rational calculations.

> I take it as a good place for living where I can work throughout the day and do not need to worry about warm water and a warm room. I am happy with the option where I have rational living arrangement. I do not consider this as home, since I come from countryside and now what are the pluses of living in the countryside. For me home is a place where the forest is close by, where one can walk on the grass bare foot and where one can generally feel free. (male, 56)

For this person Lasnamäe is a bedroom district as described by the media. He considers this a place that needs minimal care and gives him the possibility to focus on his work. As he himself puts it—it is a rational place for living. He however does not call it home—Lasnamäe for him is merely a place where he goes at night. He somewhat opposes Lasnamäe to the countryside, remarking that the countryside is something where he can really feel at home. He however is not overly concerned about not feeling at home in Lasnamäe, but he prefers to invest his feelings in somewhere else. Further on, several people described their relationship with Lasnamäe as the one of conciliation. One of the examples of such conciliation is the following quote:

> We got an apartment in [19]85 and we were really happy. We have not wanted to move away. I am a conservative person; we have no money. One has to see the good side of Lasnamäe. I am not keen on changing things, maybe somebody else would say that it is a nightmare and would leave immediately, but why do they live here then? It means they tolerate the situation. (female, 55)

In this quote the woman is describing how her feelings towards Lasnamäe have changed. In 1985 getting a new apartment with all the conveniences was a source of

satisfaction for many who moved to Lasnamäe. However, as the initial excitement disappeared, several inhabitants started to be more and more displeased. This female respondent illustrates one's struggles of accepting the area and becoming in terms with it because one has no means to move away. It also portrays how the meanings of the landscape can change as the time evolves and ideology changes. For the interviewee, in the beginning, living in Lasnamäe was rather perceived in positive terms, however these days the district is seen as something that one has to accept as an inevitable consequence of having no money to move away. In her quote she is aware of the negative image that Lasnamäe has, referring to the other's who see it as a nightmare, and still explaining that she has slightly more positive feelings about the district.

There were other examples where interviewees acknowledged the connection between ideology and district.

> Something is changing, but slowly. Lasnamäe stopped with regaining the independence [interviewee is referring to the fact that there were very few new developments in Lasnamäe in 1990s]. Now they are doing something, but there is little money. It is the district of strangers, Russian-speakers dominate. They are voiceless when it comes to our government. (female, 52)

This interviewee not only connects Lasnamäe with alienness and refers to how the change of ideology left Lasnamäe decaying, but she also associates Lasnamäe with Russians. According to her the government has deserted Lasnamäe because it is perceived as of secondary importance due to its inhabitants being mainly Russian-speakers. According to her Lasnamäe is officially managed by simply ignoring its existence. There is no negative signification, but rather simple avoidance of having to deal with what is perceived as the problem, the problem of minority the least. The district then becomes deserted, reminding even more its belonging to the past. Seeing Lasnamäe as signifying the past was even more strongly exemplified through comparing the district with the West:

> When you go to Sweden or elsewhere there are also new buildings but materials are different, they look clean, but it is a mark of the era. (male, 55) These houses are not as beautiful than in Spain, the United Kingdom. These are usually bold boxes. But how do you make them more beautiful?—You cannot. (female, 63)

These two interviewees were not the only ones comparing Lasnamäe with the respective housing areas in the West. This illustrates how Lasnamäe is seen as contrasting to the districts in the West. Lasnamäe becomes a symbol of Soviet ideology and era, it is memorialised as something that belongs to the past, the example of how things once were. However, Lasnamäe does not fit into the future and to Estonia's general direction towards west. The comparison, furthermore, exemplifies the harm the Soviet period has done and is like a silent mourning of what could have been. In short, for the older generation Lasnamäe still carries a Soviet ideology and therefore it is not perceived as home. The district rather becomes a memorial and at the same time a not-homely place where one just has to get by. Its meaning for the older generation is the ideological meaning, not the meanings deriving from emotional connection with the area. In comparison, for the younger

generation the link between Soviet Union and Lasnamäe was rather fuzzy if not existent. One can say that those who are now over 35 years old still reflect upon the connection, since they were already old enough before Estonia regained its independence to understand and be influenced by the Soviet ideology. Those in their twenties however draw few connections between the Union and Lasnamäe. Rather for the younger generation Lasnamäe is connected to Russians. Quotes such as "The feeling of Lasnamäe is when you hear only Russian" and "Lasnamäe is a Russian district" exemplify this link. Lasnamäe is memorialised but through other connection—Lasnamäe becomes to symbolise the presence of Russian population in the state—Lasnamäe becomes the area of the other.

> When I take the bus I have a feeling that there are even more Russian-speakers than before. In the bus there are many Russian youth gangs, they have a different mentality and I am annoyed by it. They yell in the bus, listen to music from mobile so that all the other people in the bus have to hear this. I would like to be by myself and ride peacefully. If I did not live in Lasnamäe I would not have to put up with Russians so much. (female, 26)

Lasnamäe, for this interviewee, means having to have contact "with the other", witnessing the results of Soviet period. Lasnamäe therefore for her is an alien space, like an inside colony of Russians in Estonia: the past is still present. Lasnamäe cannot even be memorialised, because its history has not become history yet, its history is also its present. So in a way, the image of Russianness also vernacularises the area, it does not characterise Lasnamäe as some symbol of the past, but rather illustrates current habits and manners of Russians therefore becoming part of memory politics as a vernacular landscape.

Also youth was aware of the negative image of the district. Several had adapted the public idea of countryside and private house as Estonian:

> I think, that at the certain age you do not want to live in Lasnamäe anymore, you want a garden and a house. All my classmates have moved away, for some reason Tiskre is a preferred place. Everybody is speaking how they want to leave the first opportunity. I do not know any Estonian who would want to stay there. (female, 24)

Unlike for the older generation, they usually do not have a direct experience living in the countryside, therefore private house is more like an unattainable dream—the ideal life of Estonian. Along with this picture of Estonian-ness several interviewees had felt ashamed that they had to live in Lasnamäe and had had to defend the district in front of others.

When for some Lasnamäe was a period of life to be forgotten then others had very positive images of their childhood. Childhood in Lasnamäe was often described as something exotic and special that not everybody could have. This exemplifies how Lasnamäe's public image as other was used in order to re-imagine the area as positively different. Lasnamäe was vernacularised through youth's childhood images and direct experiences.

> I moved away four years ago but it is still home and when I come here, I still have a longing for home. Now and then I wish to be back because all good childhood memories are here. Often I find myself in tune with other people from Lasnamäe. (female, 23)

This quote illustrates how the interviewee herself finds Lasnamäe special and the people there different, "her kind of people", with whom she can have contact. This specialty is however personal and Lasnamäe brings up strong emotional memories. Whereas embedded with meanings, the district becomes a background for everyday memories.

Some of the interviewees were also actively contesting the public negative image about Lasnamäe as criminal. There was an attempt to reconstruct the district as Estonian by challenging both the image of criminality and Russian-ness.

> I have lived in Lasnamäe for 15 years and in this time I have never encountered drug addicts with needles or other criminals who were chasing me. Lasnamäe is a similar region like all bedroom communities in Tallinn. All that happens in the east can happen also in other places. So all the stories about Lasnamäe as a paradise of Russians and drug addicts where one would not even send his enemy do not hold water. (male, 20)

This interviewee uses his experience as an insider to contest the public image. He refers to the public image as misguided and wants locals to gain bigger role in the image making. The aim of the quote is to contest Lasnamäe as different and therefore vernacularise the district. Some others compared Lasnamäe with other block building districts and claimed that Lasnamäe is no different from those.

Consequently one can say that among youth both tendencies—to vernacularise and to memorialise—were present. However there was stronger tendency towards seeing the district as everyday setting rather than historical monument. Moreover, the district when perceived as different was mainly connected with Russian-ness in a way that was referring to the ongoing presence of Russians, thus it presented the everyday habits of Russian population. Whence active in nation and meaning making, the district was still vernacularised. Among the older generation there were also some tendencies in vernacularising the district, however there was strong emphasis on seeing Lasnamäe as a memoryscape. Since they had direct experience with Soviet ideology and no childhood memories, it was easier for them to see the district as rather alien and as a living memory.

6.8 Conclusion

In this chapter I have approached landscapes of historic rupture using a process based view. Rather than distinguishing between vernacular spaces and memoryscapes, I acknowledged that often the border between these two is not so strict. I then prefer to talk about vernacularisation, emptying of historic meaning, and memorialisation, embedding landscapes with historic meaning. Such a process based view, in my opinion, is a perfect antidote for the current overemphasis on elite perspectives. As we take a more process based view, we have more space to acknowledge multiple agendas that surround both the act of remembering as well as memoryscapes. Here, I have focused on one particular type of memoryscape—a landscape of historic rupture. I have first outlined how this landscape, a post-Soviet block building district, was connected to historic rupture, then illustrated how it was

memorialised. I have paid attention to how institutional discourse used the district to visualise painful past memories and to unify the nation. Then, however, I went on to analyse how the landscape of historic rupture was interpreted by the locals living in the area. This allowed me to bring out the conflicting narratives and meanings, to show the complexities of remembering.

One of the main contributions made by this chapter is outlining the importance of generation in remembering and understanding memoryscapes. I focused on two different generations and their understandings of Lasnamäe. The first generation, those born in 1950 and 1960, had direct experience of the particular rupture and for them the landscape was connected to the period of Soviet Union. The other generation, those born in 1980 and 1990, however had mainly indirect experience, meaning their knowledge of the era game from sources such as their parents, history books etc. This, as I show, plays an important role in the ways the landscapes of rupture are being read. For the older generation Lasnamäe was very much still connected to the Soviet period. They shared the mentalities from 1990s which made a direct link between Lasnamäe and Russification. For several of the members of the older generation, Lasnamäe was something temporal, something that represented the part of history that needed to be erased, that was unnatural. One can therefore say that older generation was still actively helping to memorialise the area. For the younger generation however Lasnamäe was often connected to their own childhood memories. Having been all raised in Lasnamäe, they had personal connections with area that seemed much more important than historic meanings attached to the place. Such personal connections helped to vernacularise the area for them. Such personal experiences however still might have fostered the alienation of Estonian-speakers from the area as well. Several of the members of the younger generation had made the connection between Russian-speakers and the area. For them this was the place inside Estonia, where Russian-speakers were in power. Whereas the connection between historic rupture and the area was unmade, a new connection was created. Lasnamäe now for them came to denote the current rupturing of the society— it became the area of the other. This shows how the process of remembering is complicated and goes beyond institutional field. The younger generation is creating its own narrative of the area—embedding the meaning in the area that in the future might create a new possibility for memorialisation. For them then Lasnamäe might come to denote quite different era, an era of independence that yet also brought out new problems—the problem of two different language groups in Estonian society. These young people, forced to grow up in the place dominated by Russian-speakers, might have their own historic trauma.

Hence this chapter shows that especially when we are talking about generational differences in the perception of memoryscapes, adapting a process based view is vital. We however are not only talking about the processes of vernacularisation and memorialisation, but we are also talking about different memories that get embedded. Whereas landscapes might still be connected with historical memories, the memories itself might change. Different social groups in society have meanings that are important to them and therefore the reading of memoryscapes has to be versatile.

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Chapter 7
Affect, Rupture and Heritage on Hashima Island, Japan

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Hashima Island (Photo by Ott Kadarik)

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Abstract The chapter explores the case of Hashima Island, Japan, an abandoned coal mining facility that was closed down in 1974. Through the narrative of Ott Kadarik, an Estonian architect who visited the island in January 2011, the text explores how traces of the past and ideas of the future combine in the subjective perception of a ruined urban landscape. Embodiment and the senses have received limited attention in heritage studies. In its affective and personal dimensions, heritage highlights not the institutionalised heritage, narrativised as spectacle, but rather the individual perception of participants and the creation of subjective stories—that is, the knowledge how to participate, to see and hear the landscape. Drawing on Hetzler's concept of *ruin time*, I propose that the affective meaning of ruined time adds a dimension of value to heritage sites—and that perceptions of rupture or ruptured landscapes influence creativity. For Kadarik, embodied involvement in the ruptured landscape inspired creative ways of seeing: the text examines his responses to the ruined milieu, including his emotions, professional interest and reflections on vernacular architecture, economies of planning, population density and the sociality of urban environments. The ruined environment of Hashima reveals layers of interpretation that unfold from a "ruined" or "interrupted" present towards new histories—and futures. Through a strong sense of embodied experience, the affective rupture of ruins may in turn influence future perceptions of other urban landscapes.

Keywords Architecture • Creativity • Heritage • Place-making • Ruined landscapes

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents empirical material in support of recent theoretical discussions concerning the "unofficial" meaning of heritage (Harrison 2012). The case study examines how a personal experience of a ruined heritage landscape in Japan, interpreted in a European context, has influenced the professional practice and spatial imaginings of an Estonian architect. The landscape in question is the abandoned and uninhabitable island of Hashima, a former coal-mining facility bought in 1890 by Mitsubishi with the aim of retrieving coal from undersea mines. At its peak, the population density of the island was enormously high: with a length of less than 500 m and a width of about 120 m, in 1959 it had a population of 83, 500 people/km^2. After the coal mines were shut down and closed in 1974, Hashima was abandoned within 3 months. Since then the island has been decaying organically, creating an uncanny, ruptured milieu. At first glance the island today appears dead, an abandoned landscape with only memorial value. This is not the case, however: since its abandonment, scientists and a range of formal and illegal visitors have brought new social life to the island. The temporality of the island is still defined by

its ruined character: a quality that may soon be codified, insofar as some actors are working to have the island designated as a UNESCO World Heritage site.

To emphasise the concept of rupture in the subjective and experiential landscape, I draw on the concept of *ruin time* (Hetzler 1988), which I interpret here as a form of time experienced in a landscape through the simultaneous perception of a past *social time*, encountered in the material traces of past human activity, and of a *natural time* associated with the organic processes that are destroying these traces. Locating ruin time in the experience of a ruptured landscape, I emphasise the value of such experiences for creative learning and the social production of heritage meaning. Focusing on an interview with the Estonian architect Ott Kadarik about his field trip to Hashima Island in January 2011, the following text examines the experience of a ruined landscape in terms of subjective embodied perception, learning, social contextualisation and place-making. Through his narration, I explore how his experience of ruin time on Hashima influenced his subsequent thinking on urbanity, his own professional practice and the future challenges facing his industry—issues such as population growth, environmental hazards and increased spatial pressure. In closing, I position his interpretation in the context of trends in European planning practice—such as environmental planning, smart growth and thick planning—and in relation to heritage theories that emphasise subjective approaches to meaning and interpretation.

7.2 Meaning-Making from Ruined Heritage Landscapes

Although ruins are associated primarily with fragmented memorial landscapes, the affective and embodied experience of such landscapes may usefully transform historical knowledge into templates or material for future interventions. Ruins are bound up with collective aesthetic and cultural interpretations and with a range of nostalgias, but also with pragmatic and socio-political concerns, e.g. with regard to environmental hazards, industrial decline and critiques of capitalism (Mah 2010). Here, I trace the experience of rupture in a ruined landscape back to the simultaneous coexistence of two different temporalities. The first of these, *social time*, is usually bound up with human agency in landscape change, contextualised within broader political frameworks (Bender 2002: 107). Rupture in the study of ruined landscapes is generally associated with landscapes of war, that create "broken narration" (Gregory 2011: 15). Social or historical time reflects how people create meaning: in this context, *rupture* can also refer to the actuality of cultural diversity, where heritage behaves "as a sign of rupture between a present and past, the actual experience of acceleration being one way to undergo the shift from one regime of memory to another" (Hartog 2005: 15). In the case of Hashima Island, I highlight the relationship of social time to another kind of time. Here, temporal rupture can be described as the agency of *natural*—or organic—time, overtaking spaces previously associated with social time. This experience of natural time at work in a ruined

landscape is probably best captured in Hetzler's (1988) concept of *ruin time*, where traces of past inhabitants and their activities are mingled with the organic decay of the environment:

> Time creates the ruin by making it something other than what it was, something with a new significance and signification, with a future that is to be compared with its past. Time writes the future of a ruin. Ruin time creates the future of a ruin, even the return of the man-made part to the earth, which will eventually claim what is its property. Ruin time creates a peace that is absent in the case of a devastation, where the human made and the nature-made are not one but separate. (Hetzler 1988: 54)

The composite quality of ruin time is important, as it is the simultaneity of social and natural time that creates the *ruptured milieu* I am interested in—a kind of space that enables powerful affective experiences, which can in turn serve as the basis for inspiration and imaginative practice.

Discussing the materiality of ruins, Tim Edensor (2005) has emphasised the disordering effects of ruination and its great potential for generating new meanings and alternative aesthetics. Ruined environments are open to multiple interpretations as "there are no sanctions on how they might be used or interpreted" (Edensor 2005: 317). Ruined environments are thus open to indexical meaning-making, enabling multiple understandings (Hetzler 1988: 51; also Zuker 1961: 119; Jackson 1980: 91). Industrial ruins, in particular, provide material for speculative interpretations that deviate from normative narratives—through their unfamiliarity, and their difference from traditional, "picturesque" ruins. Here, the "indexical" layer of the landscape becomes linked to a subjectively experienced interaction with the ruins: together, the two oppose a version of the landscape produced through "neutral" institutional representations (Bender 2002). Moreover, because of the ruptured condition of the ruined landscape, the embodied materiality of this landscape experience itself needs to be valued.

With the present study I examine the experience of a ruptured landscape in terms of its significance for subjective imagining and new meaning production in heritage. This is not a political approach to heritage, but rather an attempt to understand the various subjective and imaginative processes at work in the generation of heritage value. With Hashima Island, I emphasise the possibility of simultaneously perceiving social and natural time at work in the present—creating a ruptured milieu that offers a strong affective basis for inspiration and imaginative heritage practice. In the following, then, I explore subjective meaning production in heritage as a way of valuing subjective imagination, personal learning and new knowledge creation within existing cultures.

7.3   Experiencing Hashima Island

Since its abandonment, Hashima Island has been the subject of continuous documentation. The island has inspired photographers, video game creators and filmmakers—to the point, almost, of re-creating the island itself as a staged

environment. Since 2009, the approved way to visit Hashima has been to take a guided tour. One can walk about 60 m along a designated path, and stepping off the path is not allowed. The parts of the island that are open to tourists are conserved. Illegal tourism has taken place for much longer than this however. The attraction of the island has been enhanced partly by the knowledge that going there is still restricted.

Discussions on political heritage are bound up with the memorialisation of places and objects (Harrison 2012: 169). From this point of view, Hashima Island is loaded with multiple meanings, some of which are in opposition to each other. The island has been proposed as a UNESCO World Heritage site, as an example of modern industrial heritage. During WWII, however, South Koreans were forced to work on the island under very poor conditions (Gunkel 2009). In the light of this, some argue that memorialising the island amounts to the Japanese government "whitewashing" its own history. Turning the island into a conservation area also raises the question of whether its structures should be allowed to decay naturally or whether they should be preserved as a form of cultural heritage. Some previous visitors have expressed their reluctance to transform the site into a tourist area. Along the lines of the "marketing of experiences" (Harrison 2012), some speculate that the island itself might become a kind of theme park. How will UNESCO status, or the formal establishment of "tourist areas", affect the identity and representation of the island, particularly of its status as a ruin, governed by ruin time? How will it affect the conservation process (Lardner 2010)? Hashima is also brought out as an example in contemporary discussions about emerging problems in urbanity. The island has become a symbol in discussions of ecological and environmental planning, calling to mind the human dependence on the eco-system and environmental limits. Hashima poses questions regarding what happens to places when industry moves out, when people are no longer needed and when things become useless (Gunkel 2009). The history and material structure of the island inspire dystopian conversations about what occurs when artificial landscapes are abandoned and traces of human agency are overtaken by natural time (Soper 2010). In order to build participatory learning perspectives and create a "shared sense of place", Dakin (2003: 198) suggests integrating a range of material—including self-directed photography, written texts and oral interviews, all of which can express and mediate subjective experiences of place.

To explore the possible significance of subjective heritage experiences in Hashima, I conducted an unstructured in-depth interview with the Estonian architect Ott Kadarik about his own visit to the island, focusing on the concepts of rupture, heritage and vernacular architecture. Reflexive narration can reveal how ideas and images mediated by direct spatial experience can connect to everyday culture (Jóhannesdóttir 2010: 114; Barbosa 2010: 307)—and, in his case, prompting further reflections on urban environments and his own professional practice. His narrative can be interpreted as a form of "unofficial" heritage construction—translating his experience of the island into an oral form, combining it with historical facts brought into the narrative. As part of my material for analysis, I also include an essay (2011) that Kadarik wrote about the island before conducting the in-depth interview. The

essay contextualises Hashima through the question of human-environment balances and human activities against nature. In many places the interview reproduced arguments from the essay. Initially I did not intend to draw conclusions concerning urban planning on the basis of this material, but his narrative had considerable value for understanding the influence of different cultural discourses and collective understandings about urbanity in Europe. Continuity and sustainability in planning are important concepts for global urban environments: while not explicitly linked with his visit to Hashima Island, his subsequent architectural project *Makro-rajoon*—discussed below—nonetheless draws on aspects of his experiences at the site.

Ott Kadarik visited Hashima Island in January 2011 with the intention of photographing the ruins. His decision to visit the prohibited part of the island developed spontaneously. He had known about the island for a few years already, but during a trip to Japan in December 2010 he decided to start looking for ways to get there in person. He soon discovered that in January this was almost impossible. He also lacked the Japanese language skills and contacts to enter the island illegally. Eventually, with the help of Japanese friends and acquaintances, he found out how to get there. He described this as a kind of "hidden", "secret" mission: he had to go to Nagasaki, book a hotel, phone the boat captain who would take him and his family to the island, and then wait.

He was on the island for a total of about 45 min and was able to see about a quarter of it, mostly the more recent built environment. Time went very fast, he said, as he was in a kind of continuous trance, daunted by unfamiliar spatial proportions of the buildings. Windows, holes and accesses were "tiny", as he said, and there were dangerous ruined concrete walls. As the built environment was compressed, it was very difficult for him to calculate scales and choose an objective. There were no human bodies there to give measure to the landscape. He did not expect the pictures that came out:

> It went in my head only like this: aperture 16, for this shutter speed 1 minute and 30 seconds. How quickly can I get the tripod up. Uh . . . Edges are not direct . . . 45 minutes, so, now is already 30 minutes. Quickly there, from there back to take the pictures. The sun is going there, later I need to go back there. Hands are shaking like this . . . No philosophising took place there . . . You were in some sort of trance condition. Later you looked at what comes out.

Conscious reflection on the experience was only possible for him at a temporal distance. Kadarik also mentioned the lack of current social life on the island. He talked about people who had left their everyday things into the island: a television set from the 1970s, for example, with big white buttons and a screen the size of a matchbox; a bundle of new little pink shoes for schoolchildren, which moss had grown through. Nobody has taken things from the site. These material traces of everyday life still offered the possibility of experiencing the past social time of the island. He remarked how everything had started to turn to trash, "but you can still see how people set things."

Fig. 7.1 Ruined housing on Hashima Island (Photo by Ott Kadarik)

At the same time, Kadarik also described another temporality that he called "real" time, or "natural" time. He emphasised the presence of nature, through the natural destruction of Hashima's landscape, without human interruption:

> This island decays all the time . . . All windows are fallen away. If you walk, all the time you are quietly listening to things that are rustling and decaying . . . Nature and weather do something . . . The time of people is cut away from there, but the real time too is perceivable. All is decaying. This is what fascinates me somehow. Like some shift is evolving inside.

This experience of "shifting" left a very strong impression on him. When asked about his perceptions of rupture on the island, he immediately mentioned the rupture caused by time, as he perceived it in the ruined landscape (Fig. 7.1).

Inspired by the massive concrete structures on the island, Kadarik described traditional Japanese architecture and social way of life in terms of adaptations to a growing population, of "thick" environments and compacted infrastructure. Relating this back to European cities, he stressed the strong inspirational influence of the ruins on him:

> If you take these massive concrete shapes out of their context, they might be connected to some warehouse building, nothing special. But it is strange and interesting that through its infrastructure this environment becomes more interesting and exciting than the houses of star architects in the middle of Tokyo . . . Those do not generate any special emotions. When I look at the technical solutions of houses [in Tokyo], everything is smoothed over, and they are not moving in any way . . . [Hashima] was one of the most exciting architectural events of my life.

Fig. 7.2 The ruptured milieu of Hashima Island (Photo by Ott Kadarik)

In his essay (2011), Kadarik emphasised the organic functional use and development of the built environment, the compact arrangement and traditional style of Japanese architecture, the mix of vernacular architecture, massive buildings and adaptation to nature. The spatial proportions had influenced his imagination: he was amazed how people had lived there. Historical descriptions of a "thick" environment in Hashima brought him to reflect on economical planning approaches, and about the ethics in planning in general. For example, he imagined the vernacular development of built environments through being inspired by an idea of how the island had been built continuously in relation to nature (Fig. 7.2).

He compared the development of the island's surface with organic planning, which is influenced by weather and local spatial conditions:

> When a typhoon swept a house away, the next time the house was built a bit differently at another place. So it's about how this wild climate squeezed these people... A house moved to another place, built from different materials. There are some big buildings... some older, and these have been built in phases. Firstly three stories, and then three stories on top of them... but it has evolved from this place and people have done it freely.

The formerly very high population density and the large number of ruins led him to think of how population density might change building norms. He connected these reflections to the value of learning from everyday experience, where local conditions offer inspiration:

> The result of this density is that contemporary norms are completely excluded... One interesting thing in this environment was that in that extremity, where density was brought

so high, completely ignoring contemporary norms, the overall result was very economical. Five thousand people somehow managed on this island ... Never mind that it does not follow the rules.

Beyond architecture and population density, Kadarik also imagined the social arrangements of the past community. As the island belonged to the Mitsubishi Company, he envisaged a lack of problems created by private ownership: rather, he saw the island as an idealised model of community life in one big family—a small-scale model of Japanese society. For instance, he visualised a compact and strategic use of space in terms of a gardening community:

> People brought soil on ships and all the roofs of the buildings were green. And when the ships didn't bring food, there was still fresh food available.

Kadarik argued that one could experience the specific milieu of Hashima by seeing the island as an inspiring open-air museum site. Impressions gained from visiting the island were extremely important to him, amplified by the "hidden", proscribed quality of the landscape and his privilege in being able to observe it. In his interview, he compared the island to a laboratory, in which it was possible to study the processes that took place after people left the city:

> In fact, some people are doing science there. I understand that nowadays it is a popular question to study the life after: in the sense that when people leave the place, then after two years it is like this, after ten years it is like this. So now we see how nature reacts after 30 years.

It seems that an important aspect of Kadarik's experience of the island was its psychological dimensions, the conditions of his visit and the difficulties of getting there. His time on the island was emotional, charged with embodied affect, and the ruined landscape triggered his spatial imagination. As he described it, its affective sense of rupture was rooted in the uncanny "shift" caused by everyday things left behind by their owners, and by the unfamiliar spatial proportions of the architecture. His narrative evoked two different temporalities, or time "layers", at work simultaneously: co-existing, but also separately perceptible. The first of these, social time, existed through the presence of social traces from the past. Decaying remnants of human activity give Hashima its current appearance. The second time, natural time, was revealed in the ruination of the landscape and how this was gradually overwhelming the social traces of the past. The relationship between the two is captured in the notion of ruin time causing an affective personal experience of rupture.

Analysing Kadarik's narrative of his visit to the island, I also want to draw in his subsequent activities related to the site. From the point of view of subjective learning (Kress 2010), his narration could be regard as a *signification practice*—in which the ruined landscape serves as an index for new meaning creation. The experience of rupture on Hashima Island acted as an index for multiple interpretations of "in-order-to", where place is "handled as equipment" (Pickles 1985: 161) and used for re-making history (Zuker 1961: 128; Crawford 1983: 52, 54). From a distance, Kadarik wove his historical knowledge of the island into a narrative about his own

personal experience, and connected this to his concerns in the field of architecture and urban planning. The ruins of Hashima Island became an imaginative resource, for generating and communicating new meanings—and landscapes. As Tim Edensor (2005: 330) remarks, "stripped of their use and exchange values and the magic of the commodity, [ruins] can be reinterpreted anew, perhaps bearing the utopian, collectively oriented visions unconsciously with them".

In the competition project he co-authored with Mihkel Tüür for the 2012 Venice Biennale for example, *Makrorajoon*, Kadarik combined elements of European and Asian urban history to re-imagine former Soviet housing blocks under conditions of high population density and compact use of space, integrating gardening and technological developments with support for ecological ways of life. These new, post-Soviet housing blocks are developed with glass houses for food production, shared between flats. The roofs of the panel housing contain chicken farms that provide surrounding flats with eggs and chicken meat. Each housing community also contains a fish farm, as well as mushroom and insect farms. Underground paraffin reservoirs collect heat, while green areas contain fruit-tree gardens and farmlands—the products of which are locally stored and sold locally, by community gardeners, at a daytime market contained within the housing complex.

7.4 "Unofficial" Heritage

Three approaches can be distinguished in contemporary landscape research. Landscape can be understood as *scenery*, with the focus on representations and ways of seeing. Landscape can also be approached as a *resource*, that is to say as a basis for biological production and economic wealth. Finally, landscape can also be seen as *communication*—as a way of acting, including customary law, social order and land rights (Widgren 2004). My interest in subjective meaning-making as mediated through a ruined landscape is based on the first approach: individual landscape experiences may be interpreted as "landscapes in the head", where inner ideas behave as mental maps (Schlögel 2003). This creates an agentive, indexical layer, important for the production of knowledge and for cultural opportunities that derive from "images and indicators produced by ordinary living" (Nellhaus 1998: 17). This is a landscape in which participation produces opportunities for imagination and learning, creating an active semiotic structure that mediates "between abstract and real, between sign and sign-practice, between idea and experience" (Stan 2013: 121). Based on this, I have explored subjective, indexical approaches to meaning production in heritage as a way of valuing subjective imagination, personal learning and new knowledge creation within existing cultures. The next step to examine would be the communication of individual landscape experiences within (or into) an external, material and visible landscape, understood as the discursive layer of a cultural system.

Placing the value of the ruptured Hashima Island within a wider discussion of heritage, there has not been much attention paid to the meanings of affect, senses

and embodiment in experiencing heritage landscapes. These aspects are linked to knowledge of how to participate, see and hear in landscapes. Currently heritage is studied in interdependence of collective-subjective meanings (Graham and Howard 2008; Brumann 2009; Gibson and Pendlebury 2009; Waterton and Watson 2010). Along these lines, some also argue that heritage should not be studied from the vantage point of the past but from the present, where heritage "produces something new" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995: 370). Giving value to subjective stories and new social memories (Schlögel 2003: 12; Jones and Birdsall-Jones 2008) places the emphasis on embodied and personal landscape experience (Lowenthal 1998; Wagner 2006). Because they are contextualised and situated, personal stories reflect more general processes of meaning construction (Bruner 2006: 25, 43; Pellitero 2011: 62). I have presented my case study here as additional support for the value of subjective heritage experiences, by examining the impact of a ruined urban landscape on one person working in the field of urban planning and architecture—focusing on Hashima Island as a productive mediator of subjective imaginings, generating interpretations that may influence future social environments.

Kadarik experienced Hashima Island through his own values and cultural background, influenced by his more general concerns as a professional architect. Drawing on this, his experience and interpretations of the island fed into his subsequent architectural projects. The *Makrorajoon* project presented architectural solutions to urban problems he had encountered, in mediated form, at the Hashima site: overpopulation, ecological disequilibrium, the lack of space.

In this sense, his experiences on Hashima make a case for the interdisciplinary heritage approach advocated by Rodney Harrison (2012), who emphasises that heritage is not about the past but about relationship, about the process of deciding what to bring with us into the future. Linking affect and materiality, Harrison (2012: 228) argues:

> While heritage studies has tended to focus on issues relating to the politics of representation and the knowledge/power effects of the discourse of heritage, it has generally under-theorised the affective qualities of heritage—its materiality, the ways in which intangible heritage practices are mediated by and power distributed within interlinked webs of people and things, and the way in which these people and things might be said to be in dialogue with one another and with the world.

The present study has examined some of the possibilities presented by a ruptured landscape for subjective imagining, learning and the production of meaning in heritage. I have not taken a political approach to heritage; rather, I have tried to understand subjective and imaginative processes at work in the generation of heritage value. Hashima Island has become a powerful symbol for issues like environmental ethics and sustainability. Coming back to the debate over whether the landscape of the island should naturally decay or be preserved as the cultural heritage of an industrial community, I suggest that the current ruptured identity of the island has considerable symbolic and embodied value—as a source of inspiration, and a site for learning about the natural processes of disintegration and demolition that are taking place there. The concepts of ruin time and rupture are useful for describing the current milieu and identity of the island. More generally,

my case study draws out the question—still open, at present—of whether institutional processes of heritage creation can enter into dialogue with subjective and experiential interpretations, in the context of "unofficial" approaches to heritage.

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Chapter 8
Between Landscapes: Migration as Rupture and Its Expression in the Landscape

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São Paulo (Photo by Aivar Jürgenson)

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Abstract Drawing on textual sources from the Estonian diaspora, this chapter analyses changes of homeland as a form of cultural rupture. There have been two movements of diaspora from Estonia: first the so-called eastern diaspora, from the mid-nineteenth century to WWI, which involved voluntary migration to the east and south of the Russian empire; and second, the western diaspora, which took place during and after WWII and involved Estonians fleeing to Western countries. In both cases, physical relocation entailed a dramatic change of social, political and historical circumstances. Classical models of migrant adaptation refer to generational differences: while the first generation identifies itself primarily with the country and culture of origin, the second generation adapts and the third is assimilated. Although these models are generalisations, they capture a general shift in loyalty: from country of origin to country of residence. Using a landscape perspective to analyse published letters and song repertoires from Estonian diaspora communities across the world, the chapter examines the role of landscape imagery in such processes. How did emigrants "domesticate" their experience of these new, foreign landscapes? Did landscape representations and comparisons express different stages of migrant adaptation? Did they reflect differences between voluntary and forced migrations?

Keywords Diaspora • Migration • Adaptation • Homeland • Landscape change • Letter writing

8.1   Introduction

An attachment to place plays an important role in our identity: we are all born in a certain place, we are all engaged in spatial cognition and we will all construct mental places for the "real" places of our lives (Tverski 2000). Landscapes also have an important role to play in the construction of our identity, for they act as a way of both viewing and representing a location. Nadia Lovell asserts that landscape is the primary source of involvement for the establishment of human belonging and emplacement (Lovell 1998). Migrating abroad brings along changes that become expressed both physically and mentally. The changes in the physical environment can affect the subject as ruptures of relationality and the psyche and give the migrant challenges to react to them. Albrecht Lehmann has illustrated that in many migrant biographies the topic of homeland stands out particularly: "Only the one who has lost their homeland can treasure it," or: "The one who has not lost their homeland, does not even know what it is" (Lehmann 1991). In the migration process, several concepts and dichotomies are brought into consciousness more clearly: the location and attachment to it, locationality and mobility, the local and the global, the diaspora and the motherland. In adapting to the changes, different strategies are applied; it is important to note here that the reaction to both the "real" landscapes and their representation can play an important role.

Globalising tendencies in the modern world allow us, among other things, to discuss people's "natural" connections to their homeland or home. The older essentialist conception of place suggests that every person has a natural place and that the loss of this place leads to loss of culture and identity. An alternative (new) point of view separates identity from place: by migrating to another place people need not lose their identity. According to this view place is constructed on a broad spectrum of social relations and on different spatial scales. Place is a particular articulation of these relations (Brun 2001).

Paradigm shifts have occurred in migration studies as well. For decades migration studies (including refugee studies) were dominated by the idea that being uprooted and removed from one's national home means the loss of identity, traditions and culture, that sedentary society is a norm, and the destination country is usually regarded as a strange environment. At the end of the twentieth century a globalisation boom caused this paradigm to be overthrown (e.g. Gupta and Ferguson 1992; Malkki 1995; Tölölyan 1996). Liisa Malkki (1995) is highly critical of the studies that depict the country offering asylum as unfamiliar and based on the assumption that homeland is both normal and also the ideal habitat for an individual. I agree with Malkki in that the analysis of adaptation processes on the familiar-unfamiliar axis is complicated; on the other hand, the political rhetoric, which undeniably affects people, is relatively simple: in national political discourse the nation-state is homogeneous with its homogeneous culture. We cannot ignore the fact that at the everyday level people perceive their connections to their home country mostly in an essentialist way. What is more, even those who have left their homeland (i.e. migrants) relate to their experience of being in a foreign country in an essentialist way. The country of origin has been a unifying symbol for the diaspora communities earlier and it is a unifying symbol even now. In more recent studies (e.g. Repič 2008) the emphasis is laid on the need to deal with migration in the context of connections to place.

In what follows we will see how in Estonian history the identity of Estonians has been associated closely with Estonian landscapes. But what does this discourse, which sees Estonians, their space and identity as a single triangle, have to do with migration discourse? In this chapter I will investigate this relationship through Estonian migrants' landscape perceptions and representations. I will show how the essentialist discourse of place imported from homeland influences migrants' landscape representations, while attempting to find a link between the essentialist perception of a connection to place and the generation of new connections to place. I will also discuss familiar and unfamiliar landscapes and their comparison in migrants' stories. Physical relocation leads to a breakaway from both the familiar social environment and the given historical-cultural environment. This chapter examines if and how the migrants attempt to compensate for these changes. I will go on to deal with the expatriate issue of the mid-twentieth century, starting with the agricultural migration of the second half of the nineteenth century and then looking at the urban migration in the first half of the twentieth century. In this regard, I will look at some modern developments as well.

8.2 Methodological Considerations

The Estonian diaspora, which can conventionally be divided into the Eastern and the Western diaspora, has emerged due to two major waves of emigration. The Eastern diaspora was formed as a result of a mass emigration that began in the mid-nineteenth century and ended with WWI; the Western diaspora was formed mostly by Estonians fleeing their homeland during WWII and traveling to various Western countries after the war. The Eastern diaspora was mostly formed as a result of voluntary migration, and the Western diaspora largely as a result of people fleeing Estonia. This is a rough division since, to a small extent, the Eastern diaspora was also shaped by the forcibly exiled or deported, especially in the earlier phase in the nineteenth century, and there was some voluntary migration to the West before WWII. And another difference between the Western and the Eastern diaspora: the Eastern diaspora was mainly formed by the agrarian emigration, the Estonians founded their ethnically homogenous villages that have remained unchanged through decades. In the West, such examples were few: the main migration headed to cities. Below we see that this difference has also had its effect on the description of landscapes by the members of the diaspora.

Although I have done ethnographic fieldwork among diaspora Estonians in different areas (Siberia, Caucasus, Argentina, Brazil) and I am going to use some examples from my fieldwork in this chapter, the principal method that I will employ is the textual analysis of the letters of settlers sent to Estonia. Most of the letters used in this article were published in newspapers in different times.

During the second half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, the Estonian printed media published a lot of letters by the settlers. The reason for this is that emigration and the relations between the settlements and the motherland were a relevant topic in the Estonian life at that time. Prior to WWI approximately 20 % of the Estonians lived abroad, of whom the majority had emigrated during the past 30 decades. The newspapers that were published in Estonia contained special sections on the life of the settlements that were mainly filled by the settlers' letters to the motherland. The emigrants' letters are the main source material that sheds light on the settlers' first steps in a foreign environment, showing how a new homeland was formed and how adaption to a foreign environment took place. Postal charges were high, therefore they wrote with care and love, often the letters were the fruit of several weeks of labour. During that time, the post did not move very quickly, but quite often the letters were published in newspapers already 1 month after they were posted. This, among other things, shows also that the editors were keenly looking forward to letters from the settlements. The letters were published either fully or partially, sometimes also with a commentary by the editorial board. Until the 1920s, the letters were published mainly in special sections of the dailies. During the 1930s, that role was taken over by special journals that focused on the relations between Estonia and the diaspora settlements. When during WWII the Soviet Union annexed the Republic of Estonia, the official relationship between the motherland and the diaspora was cut

off. The letters of the settlers and the emigrants were continuously published by the newspapers that were given out in the diaspora.

In research into the emigration movement and the formation of diasporas, the letters by the emigrants back to the old homeland—including the ones published in press—are an important source that has also found international recognition (Blegen 1955; Hirschfelder 2000). However, using the settlers' letters as basis for research has also attracted strong criticism. The authenticity of the authorial discourse, the selection of letters chosen for publication, the settlers' standpoints in expressing opinions in a newspaper—all this has an influence on the information one gets from these letters. In that sense, a useful point of comparison is private letters stored in archives, although their numbers are low.

In both the historical settlers' letters and biographic interviews that I have recently conducted, it is possible to observe the expressions of attachment to place in people's consciousness. The components that create attachment to a place are probably best studied based on people's subjective narratives.

When analysing the migrants' letters home, I am searching for landscape descriptions that transmit their vision of the host country and speak of adaptation to new circumstances. Because the Estonian diaspora is geographically extensive, and there are Estonians in every continent, the examples that I am using come from different regions: Siberia, Caucasus, South and North America, and Australia.

It is worth noting that the writers of these letters are mostly first-generation immigrants. In part this can be accounted for by the need of first-generation immigrants to communicate with their country of origin, which traditionally took the form of a letter. When the researcher wishes to draw comparisons between the landscape perceptions of the first-generation immigrants and, let us say, the second- or third-generation immigrants, other sources should be used, for written communication with the mother country is irregular. For the most part I have used for this latter information texts of qualitative interviews that I have conducted myself. I have carried out ethnographic fieldwork and conducted biographical interviews among diaspora Estonians in Siberia (21 villages and about 120 interviews), Caucasus (2 cities and 4 villages, about 30 interviews), South America (5 cities and 55 interviews).

In the Chicago school's classical adaption model, the first generation of migrants is in competition with the majority group of the residence country, the second generation adapts and the third one assimilates. This model has dominated for decades the migration literature and has in one way or the other been a starting point for adaption discussions (Fejös 1993; Padilla and Perez 2003). Today, however, people are being relatively critical towards the generational adaption models: the third immigrant generation can, instead of assimilating, rediscover their identity (Esser 1999).

While the authors of Chicago school focused on society and culture, during the past decades, more and more attention has been paid to the personal nuances of adaption. The psychological aspects of adaption in particular were considered by John Berry, whose acculturation model includes three phases: contact, conflict, and

adaptation. In Berry's model conflict is the central and most mobile phase in the acculturation process, during which the value judgments are most actively tested (Berry 1980). In acculturation models (see also Padilla 1980) there is a reference to generational differences; while the first-generation immigrants do not usually go beyond contact and conflict phases in their personal history, their loyalties lie with the culture of the country of their origin; the second-generation immigrants are more easily adaptive and their loyalties are to the culture and society of their country of origin as well as to the host country. In these, and the adaptation models advanced in later decades (e.g. Nienaber 1995; Padilla and Perez 2003), there is a tendency to gradually shift loyalty from the country of origin to the country of residence. Although such adaptation models are generalisations (biographical evidence that does not seem to comply can be found in each generation of immigrants), it gives an idea of the most common developments, and for this reason it is useful to keep Berry's model in mind while studying the dynamics of landscape perception of migrants, but not to follow it rigorously. I am mostly concerned with how change is expressed in terms of landscape: what strategies are used while talking about unfamiliar landscapes and how are unfamiliar landscapes domesticated? Another important aspect is the relationship between the landscapes of the old country and the new country of residence for different immigrant generations.

8.3   Migration and Connections to Place

Migration is a phenomenon associated with connection to place, with territoriality, as well as with change of place and the creation of new connections to place: as such, it is a creative process. In the course of migration a person leaves home, his or her own place to which he or she has formed an emotional attachment on a temporal and spatial axis. This is the place that allows a person to identify himself or herself at both an individual and a collective level through temporal-cultural, social and physical ties. In his definition of national identity Anthony D. Smith (1981, 1995) emphasises the importance of historic territory or homeland. The person's connections to place are constructed, on the one hand, from his or her relations to a particular place, but as stated years ago (Treinen 1974) and repeated again later (e.g. Brun 2001), place is where human relations are actually symbolised and articulated. Because of a strong associative power place, acquires a strong symbolic significance in memories and recollections. Here an important role is played by visually perceived and remembered landscapes—personal experiences are linked to the place where emotions are evoked. The connections to place are usually seen in immobile situations—in sedentary societies emplacement seems to be taken for granted. Estonians, as a nation of peasants, were bound to the land and were mostly sedentary. In Estonian history, Estonians have—time after time—been associated organically with Estonian landscapes. In Estonian homeland poetry, which got its impulse from the German *Heimat*-movement, elements of nature play an integral role. The suffering and expectations of the Estonian people are depicted through

their representations of landscapes and the canon of dominating values is transmitted (Jürgenson 2002). The concept of homeland, like poetry, was linked to landscape images in the Estonian press in the second half of the nineteenth century (ibid.). In the twentieth century texts we can also find some lines of reasoning which use notions from climate theory and cultural ecology to determine the relationship between Estonian identity and Estonian landscape (Masing 1993), or terminology, which identifies Estonians with landscapes or the natural environment (Ridala 1913; Hiiemäe 1997; Jõgisalu 1997). In Estonian thought, home landscapes are seen as a sort of memory anchor that helps individuals, as well as the Estonian people as a whole, become attached to their country and culture. Ea Jansen, Estonian social historian, writes that homeland landscapes acquired a symbolic significance in the Estonian national consciousness because in poetry and in the press they were tied with Estonian history (Jansen 2000).

In short, in Estonian identity, attachment to place has acquired great significance and this, in turn, is dominated by a stylised and poeticised landscape. But, what does this discourse have to do with migration discourse? Starting from the first waves of migration the essentialist connections between Estonians and their space were emphasised. During the mass migration period in the second half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, the Estonian press denounced migrants as traitors to their homeland, and warned them against dispersion, i. e. the dangers of losing their identity (Jürgenson 2000). Estonian homeland poetry under the influence of the German *Heimatdichtung* eulogised Estonian nature, and migration poetry was written in the same way. The poem entitled *A Song from the Land of Gold* by Kreutzwald, the author of the Estonian national epic (Kreutzwald 1953), is a good example of how the widespread denouncement of emigration in the Estonian press generated an empathetic response in poetry. The poem imparts the longing of a colonist for the homeland, for the rustle of its woods, for the whistling of the wind and for the ringing of the church bells. It owes its title to negative discourse about emigration and emigrants. The migration destinations were often derisively dubbed as "land of fortune", "land of milk and honey", "land of gold", and "Paradise on earth", but the real message was that the land of gold was a *Fata Morgana*. The style of the writings remained the same even in the early twentieth century when people migrated to overseas countries such as South America.

The conceptual triangle of Estonians, their landscape and identity was unchanged throughout the first half of the twentieth century and, when the WWII caused a flow of migrants to the western countries, it was still there. Ferdinand Kool (1999) in his bulky work about the first years of emigration offers a good example:

> Our ancestors have lived in St. Mary's Land from time immemorial and the Estonian roots are deep in their homeland soil. Estonians have developed in communion with nature of this land in all its forms … Most Estonians have never really wanted to leave their homeland. The few who went travelling abroad or roamed in other countries to make a fortune yearned for their homeland soil, their homeland pastures, brightly-coloured meadows, contemplative woods in the distance, and the blue skies … You know that you are a tiny bit of your homeland, a grain of a ripe field of corn, the earth and the forest, a small patch of the blues skies and a flake of the white birch …

The proliferation of essentialist homeland discourse in the Estonian press for nearly a hundred years enabled the positing of the existence of a natural connection between people and place. People lived embedded in an environment, which contrasted sharply to the ruptured rootlessness that was awaiting them in a foreign country. In this discourse both voluntary and forced migration constituted a threat to identity: migration caused a cultural interruption that required compensation.

The ideology of essentialist connections to place has found very different practical expression and it is a good example of how people attempt to recover from cultural interruption rupture that is caused by the removal from one's native landscape. The world's history of migration offers numerous examples of how immigrants try to create conditions in their new environment that would match the images and values brought with them from their home country (Castles 1986; Greverus 1972; Dipper 1995). The homeland is not abandoned but brought to the new country, and this is largely true about the people who left Estonia—amid much criticism—in the second half of the nineteenth century, but also of the tens of thousands who emigrated in the first half of the twentieth century.

An important role in creating the new homeland is played by the landscape of the old country. The landscape as a visible quality of a new place of residence can be paramount for making the choice to settle down. The habitual resonance of natural objects, such as climate, can become decisive as a choice criterion for the new place of residence. This can be seen in the Caucasus region, where the Estonian settlers, who had been used to flat land, sought habitat in low-lying areas (*Valgus* No 12, 1885); furthermore, when forced to live in the steppe land in Siberia, the Estonians, who had been used to living in a forested area, thought it unfamiliar and strange (Kruusa 1987).

The establishment of a new home, preferably in a habitual environment, has many advantages. On the one hand, it opens up the possibilities to continue one's habitual way of life, and take up familiar work practices; on the other hand, the familiar landscape acts as a compensating factor: the landscapes perceived as familiar replace the lost homeland landscapes and help cultural and psychological interruption recovery. However, similar landscapes are not the same landscapes, and the comparison of new and old features is an important behavioural strategy in landscape perception and representation.

8.4   Comparison of Unfamiliar and Familiar Landscapes

Unfamiliar landscapes can be experienced as a "familiar" unfamiliar, i.e. the category of the unfamiliar is not perceived as inherently unfamiliar, because of the category of the familiar. The category of the familiar is perceived as the unfamiliar only when it is meaningful. The unfamiliar is created through the familiar. The perception of an unfamiliar landscape is interpretive: not only are the representations perceived as unfamiliar, but they are referred to a unifying cultural background. An unfamiliar landscape is described in terms of the category of the familiar

(Zimmermann 1997). One of the main strategies for describing landscapes is the comparison of the familiar with the unfamiliar, consisting of identification, opposition, and the drawing of similarities. This comparison is used to integrate the unfamiliar landscape or parts of it within one's system of perception, or to pass it on to the others who share the category of the familiar.

In the letters written by the agricultural migrants of the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century their new places of residence are characterised from an economic point of view. This is comprehensible: the new owners looked at the acquired lands as suitable for cultivation or grazing. But sometimes the aesthetics of nature or the comparison of the new home to the former can be found.

I will now present two examples from South Siberia, which have a very different emotional tone. The letter from Kansk, Yeniseisk Guberniya reads as follows:

> Landscape is really beautiful especially during the months of May and July it is splendid so that you cannot find anything similar in Estonian gardens or manorial greenhouses. Hundreds of different kinds of roses, peons, and others are in blossom so the sea of flowers sways and ripples in the wind. (Sakala No 11, 1910)

The other example is from the steppe area in Om region:

> The landscape of Om settlement is sterile and uninteresting: there are no such forests, flowers, wild animals or birds, which were common in Estonia. The beauty of forests is just small coppices of birch, with a few aspen here and there. In low-lying areas where rainwater accumulates and does not flow into the soil, there is a lot of willow brush in some places. They have tried to plant fruit and ornamental trees in the gardens, but to no avail—all of them dry up. The same can be said about flowers. Globeflower, dandelion, vetch, and bird's eye speedwell are the same as in Estonia. Besides, there are two or three coarse or prickly leaved flowers—and this is all that Barabinsk in Siberian grasslands has to offer. (Kr 1915)

There are several reasons for the differences in the tone of these letters, and one of them is probably the fact that the Kansk area with its forested landscapes resembles much more those in Estonia than the environs of Om with their steppe land—adaptation has its specificity there. At the same time it seems to echo the essentialist conception of a connection to place: the unfamiliar place is compared with the familiar. While the earlier migration was mostly agricultural, the majority of the migrants in the third decade of the twentieth century settled in towns and cities. This is probably the reason for their descriptions of landscapes not being given from the point of view of economic considerations, but comparisons are drawn with the familiar.

The borderline between the familiar and the unfamiliar may have depended on a particular context. For example, the natural environment in Argentina may have differed from that of Estonia, but when Estonians—and there were quite a few of them in the late 1920s—migrated from the tropical Brazil to the subtropical Argentina, Argentina may have felt like home. One of the migrants from Brazil to Argentina describes the first impressions:

> I sailed on the Orania to Buenos Aires and got there in what is their winter, in August. A fresh breeze was blowing, and I liked it. The skies were partly cloudy. Huge clouds moved about and the sun peeped out and warmed my back. Everything was so green, and fresh . . . and reminded me of landscape in the homeland. (Põdder 1966)

The reference to the familiar is so strong that we can ask whether the unfamiliar has been pointed out at all.

Here a comparison to Estonia is given in a description of the pampa by an Estonian, who was travelling through the country on a fast train in 1927: "Interminable and boundless sea of grass—wherever you look—sways and ripples in the wind like the rye-field at home" (K. H. 1927). This comparison with homeland landscape was published in the Estonian magazine *Sädemed* [*Sparks*]: the story was addressed to the Estonian reader and it might have been the writer's aim to add a familiar dimension to his impressions. The same can be said about the description of a tree that grows in the province of Santa Fé. The type of tree is unknown to the writer so he compares it to the willow and to the potato, using different criteria for the comparison:

> You'll find a large weird tree growing along the side of the road everywhere, but unfortunately I've forgotten its name in Spanish. It's tough and undemanding like our willow. After you've stuck the cutting into the ground, it will take root and will soon turn into a large tree with dense and lush foliage. The tree has clusters of small purple flowers that resemble the flowers of our potato. (ibid.)

The comparisons between the landscapes and natural objects in the former homeland and the new homeland abound in these letters: one colonist in Brazil writes that the cones of one conifer are "the size of a small cabbage, with the seeds like nuts", and the ear of corn resembles "a cattail" ("Eestlased Brasiilias, Minas´e osariigis", *Tallinna Teataja* No 31, 1915). Another Estonian, who had settled down in Brazil, calls the sweet potato "*a sweet beetroot*" (Sao Paolo asumaast—*Virulane* No 296, 1909). One Estonian, who happened to be in Miami after WWII, uses familiar names from her homeland for exotic plants: she calls the mango "a Florida apple, the size of a goose egg", the pineapple is like "a huge strawberry, with a green tuft at the top", the papaya is "like a huge pear" (Sepp 1958). The local cherries seem like "a combination of a cherry and a raspberry if you compare them with those at home". The gum tree is known in Estonia and there is no need to find a familiar plant on which to base the comparison, but the writer considers it important to note that "the houseplant from our window sills" is used in Florida in urban landscaping. From Australia we get reports of fuchsias and centauries which are tall as a man, in Estonia they are grown in small pots on window sills (Salasoo 1957). The environs of the city of Prescott in the USA are compared to Taevaskoda, a beauty spot in South Estonia by an Estonian who happened to live there (Parts 1954).

There may also be negative comparisons with Estonia. One such example is the description of landscapes that open up to the gaze of an Estonian travelling by boat along the Paraná River in Argentina:

> The landscape as you pass it by on your trip along the Alto Parana gets more spectacular hour by hour. The mighty flow of the river, the miraculously mysterious and dense primeval forests, steep walls of the cliffs, sandbanks, tropical plants that grow wild on the islands, small streams with waterfalls that flow into the Alto Parana, water-swirls—all this together with the river banks covered with lush vegetation is a sight completely unimaginable in our small homeland. (K. H. 1927)

The unfamiliar is presented through the familiar; both in positive and negative comparisons, the natural conditions and places are juxtaposed to the Estonian ones. These examples illustrate how comparison is used as a technique that helps explain the world, express the positions of one's own and others. The migrants, who in the course of their migration have experienced important cultural interruptions, use the technique of comparison to establish their own patterns of orientation and introduce the unfamiliar through the familiar to themselves and to the others who share the same system of meanings.

8.5   Hybrid Landscapes

Jansen's idea (presented in the introduction of this chapter) of homeland landscape acquiring a symbolic significance in Estonian national consciousness because it is associated with history seems to indicate that the perception of nature is connected with the process of ethnicity. This is true from the colonial perspective as well. In this section, I will illustrate how the process of adaption is symbolically reflected not only by blending cultural or linguistic elements, but also by creating landscapes. I will therefore explore how hybrid landscapes are created containing elements from both the new and old homeland and how these reflect people's resistance to the pressure to assimilate.

First-generation immigrants may not succeed in generating a connection to their new place of residence. I have cited many examples that show that the first-generation colonists in Siberia were more connected with Estonia than Siberia (Jürgenson 2002). According to the model of acculturation discussed above, the first-generation immigrants in their country of residence usually do not go beyond contact and conflict phases. In many fields of life people maintain their belonging to the country of origin, rather than the country of residence. Culturally, it finds expression in the symbolic function of landscapes as they inspire attachment to homeland. Astrid Tuisk, who has managed to interview the Estonian settlers in Siberia that emigrated from Estonia in the early twentieth century, notes that, in their recollections about their childhood home, much attention is paid to landscape (Tuisk 2001). The same connection is revealed in the interviews that I conducted with the people who were deported to Siberia in the 1940s and who had stayed there. The above mentioned examples about the comparison of landscapes of the country of residence with those of the country of origin show that, in addition to their adaptation function, landscapes have an identifying function as well. An Estonian woman residing in Argentina, who had arrived in her current homeland as a child together with her parents, remembered in her interview with me how her mother while on a trip to Uruguay had compared the gently rolling hilly landscapes with those in South Estonia. In the daughter's commentary the landscapes were not similar at all, but as the mother felt nostalgic it helped her find similarities between the Uruguayan landscape, which seemed less strange than the Argentinian landscape, and Estonia, to which she belonged. Nostalgic emotions triggered by the

removal from home are directed at familiar places, usually natural objects, which are temporally and spatially far away.

In addition to the spatial dimension, nostalgia has a temporal dimension as well; it may affect people who have lived all their lives in the place of their birth. Not only kilometres, but also years may separate people from their lost homeland. Many examples (Jürgenson 2002) testify to the fact that the nostalgic depiction of a home that was lost in the past is similar to the depiction of home that is spatially distanced. Here too landscape is an indicator of nostalgia—the land of one's youth, forever lost in the past, is symbolised by landscapes and objects. The land of one's youth, of one's origin, or one's homeland—if sedentary society is a norm—homeland associates with the place from where one comes. This is again a reference to an essentialist perception of a connection to place.

Marc Augé (1994) describes place as follows: people who are born into it, who live and work there, defend it, mark its strong points and keep its frontiers under surveillance. Ina-Maria Greverus compares Augé's concept of place with the concept of homeland or home (*die Heimat*), by confirming the character of its being constructed (Greverus 2009). While acknowledging that human behaviour is spatially defined, Greverus points out that territorial man can be mobile, but he or she always strives for the possession of his or her own territory (Greverus 2009). This is, above all, a creative process: as discussed above, immigrants try to create an environment in a foreign country that resembles theirformer homeland, i.e. they try to transport their homeland into their new environment.

Creativity is undoubtedly revealed through that which people take with them into the foreign country where they try to shape the foreign environment. While contemporary diaspora studies refer to the "hybridity" that characterises the identity of an immigrant (Archetti 1999; Nilan and Feixa 2006), Greverus uses the word "collage" to denote the creation and appropriation of new spaces (Greverus 2009). These are border spaces (*Grenzräume*), in which hybrid people, who are in a foreign environment (either as a result of voluntary or forced migration) create their own hybrid spaces. Greverus even talks about the poetry of border spaces (*Poesie der Grenzräume*), thus pointing to the creative character of home. The immigrant turns his or her gaze towards the familiar in a foreign environment and when there is nothing familiar, then the familiar is created. To make a place homely one needs to follow cultural patterns: the idea of what is homely is brought from the earlier living space that moulded identity. Estonia is a forest-rich country and Estonian immigrants have tried to create a home-like environment by planting trees around their houses in a foreign, often treeless, environment (e.g. Fig. 8.1). Such examples have been presented by Aarand Roos, who studied Estonians in Turkey (Roos 1992); August Nigol, who examined the Estonian settlements in Crimea (Nigol 1918); Mihkel Ruber, who spoke about Caucasian Estonian settlements (Ruber 1995); Irene Karmo, who sent reports from Canada (Karmo 1960).

When an Estonian house was established in Sydney, "the most beautiful tree of our homeland"—the birch—was planted in front of it, an Estonian living in Australia writes (Salasoo 1957). A similar attempt at creative transformation is known from Buenos Aires, but it failed because of the tropical climate and

Fig. 8.1 A birch in the garden of Irma Dursi and her husband in Bariloche, Argentina (Photo by Aivar Jürgenson)

unsuitable soil conditions. These examples, which are characteristic of the expatriate situation, give a broader dimension to Ferdinand Kool's Estonian involvement with "a flake of a white birch" cited above. When an Estonian couple in Buenos Aires planted cornflowers typical of Estonian flora near their home, it had a similar function. Such hybrid landscapes refer to problems that immigrants face during the process of adaptation: they are socially and culturally in the border space by carrying the values, language and culture of the country of their origin, but physically, they live in another country. An Estonian social network in the form of Estonian houses exists, i.e. the social and cultural dimension of homeland is, to a certain extent,

represented. What is lacking is the physical environment and these hybrid collage landscapes are created as a substitute. While in the previous examples the example of hybrid landscapes was a reflection of the adaption process, similar compensatory creative activity also takes place with migration that consists of several stages and remigration.

The next example will illustrate the creation of a hybrid homeland (hybrid landscape) by remigration. A man who served in the German army in 1944, went to Germany and from there to Argentina after the war, was professionally quite successful in Argentina owning several profitable businesses; in 2001, at the age of 80, he returned to Estonia together with his wife. For years he had been painting landscapes: in Argentina they were Estonian landscapes, and now in Estonia they are Argentinian landscapes. It is apparent from the interviews with him, and other Estonian Argentinians, that, in spite of economic security, he did not integrate well into Argentinian society and communicated mostly with the Estonians living in Argentina. He likes it in Estonia, but he lacks people with whom to communicate. His friends and classmates in Estonia are dead and he uses Skype to be in touch with the Estonians in Argentina. He clearly longs for Argentina, which explains the emergence of Argentinian landscapes in his painting. Humans are creative creatures and the creation of hybrid spaces, a compensatory action resulting from cultural interruption might continue until the old age; in the case of this man, it was revealed in painting and his decorating the walls of his apartment with the paintings of high symbolic value.

8.6   The Foreign Becomes One's Own

The Estonian Eastern diaspora was formed several generations earlier than the Western diaspora, which was formed on the basis of mostly Estonian WWII refugees, but in both cases the first generation of immigrants has practically disappeared and the core of the community is formed by the people born in that country. How do they reflect Estonian diaspora landscapes? While the Eastern diaspora is, to a large extent, agricultural, the Western diaspora consists of urban citizens. There are people who were born and brought up in a metropolis, for example in São Paulo, which, with its nearly 17 million inhabitants, is one of the three largest cities in the world. I should say that the Estonian residents there did not thematise natural landscape in the interviews that I conducted in 2009. São Paulo stretches for more than 200 km, and going outside the perimeter of the city is impossible in everyday life. But the topic of São Paulo as a home city cropped up in conversation. But how can a huge city like that be talked about? For Michel de Certeau (1988), a view over New York from the top of the World Trade Center was a powerful experience. This experience of looking at things may be considered illusory as it did not involve the agitated hustle and bustle down below—this view was "an imaginary totality created by the eye". De Certeau added that if the view from above was alienating, the view from below was blind. This blindness can be understood metaphorically, as de Certeau did, but it can also be understood literally.

For example, in a metropolis like São Paulo the sun is blocked by innumerable skyscrapers built in the downtown area so that when walking in the street in the middle of the day it is almost dark. The São Paulo Estonians are a tiny community and there is no part of the city that they can call their "own", there are no landscapes in whose creation they have participated. Estonian landscapes—hybrid collages— can be found within the walls of their homes, in apartments of high-rise buildings, the walls of which are covered with paintings and photos of views of Estonian cities or landscapes. This is a visible picture of Estonian-ness as creation. And this is true about most of the Estonians living in the large cities in the West where the lost homeland is compensated for by symbolic cityscapes and landscapes on the walls of the apartment, dolls in folk costumes and ceramics painted with folk ornament. This is sometimes true about the homes of second- and third-generation immigrants as well, although they do not speak Estonian any longer and these fragmentary marks of ethnicity—termed as symbolic ethnicity—are the last thread to connect these people with their Estonian origin.

While homeland landscapes had a nostalgic value for the first-generation immigrants, their children and grandchildren can only connect with their nearest physical environment, which they regard as their home city, either in parts or as a whole. A group of Estonians took me to a café in the tower of the highest building in São Paulo for me to have a panoramic sight of the city, an avant-garde view, and this was presented to me in the positive key as a view of their home city. In the glass-walled café it was possible to have a coffee and a cake and enjoy the panoramic view of the sea of skyscrapers that stretched to the horizon in the bluish glow of the evening sky. This was undoubtedly a privileged site where it was possible to perceive through all the senses the essence of the city, untouched by the poverty and criminality of the slums. This enabled me to perceive the essence of the whole country as well: although Brazil advertises itself through the Amazon River and the rainforest, it is urban industrialisation that the quickly modernising Brazil is emphasising.

This is similar to what happened in Krasnoyarsk, Siberia, in another large city, although several times smaller than the one in the first example. The image of the place created is of Siberia as the land of the future, of the industrial giant and record-breaker. Although many of the Estonians in Siberia still live in villages, hundreds of them have migrated from the countryside to Krasnoyarsk over time. At the weekend we drove out of the city with a group of local Estonians, in order to have a look at the Krasnoyarsk Hydroelectric Dam in Divnogorsk—an object about which I was given no information as it was assumed that I knew it for certain. I did not, and learned only later that it was the world's largest hydroelectric dam at the time of its construction. Such objects might also be included among homeland landscapes of the Estonians in the diaspora.

On the whole though, the Estonian Eastern diaspora is agricultural, and their image of homeland is clearly dominated by natural landscapes, which are presented in a familiar key. While "wilderness" was the main feature in the Estonian colonists' descriptions of the Siberian territory (Jürgenson 2002) for the colonists' offspring today these are already homeland landscapes.

Over the past half-century the former residents of Siberia, the Volga area and the Caucasus area have gone to live in other places, and have also remigrated to Estonia. A strong nostalgia, felt by people who are living far away from their homeland, colours the natural objects and landscapes of their childhood home.

A former resident of Verkhnaya Bulanka, Siberia, who has been living in Estonia since 1984, says:

> It took me a long time to get accustomed to Estonian landscape and roads and asphalt and . . . It was utopia. It isn't as easy as that! But I was young. If I'd found some landscape, say, that would resemble Siberian landscape a little more, I think, I would've adjusted more easily. But it wouldn't be! So it was very hard to adjust.

Although she has been living here for a quarter of a century, the woman has never really got accustomed to the Estonian landscape. With her gaze turned towards Siberia, she is like her ancestors who had gone to live in Siberia and looked towards Estonia. The circle is now complete: the people who left Estonia maintained their mental connections with Estonia. In a strange environment, they tried to create hybrid landscapes that would resemble homeland landscape; they described the landscape or parts of the landscape of their new country of residence and the landscape familiar to them in their homeland by comparing or opposing them or finding similarities between them. However, the country of residence became a space of identification for their offspring. Although in what has preceded this I have presented criticism of the generational adaption model, these last examples illustrate the unidirectionality of the generational adaption processes.

8.7   Summary

Mass Estonian migration started in the nineteenth century, when Estonia was part of the Russian empire, in the form of waves of agricultural emigration, and it continued in independent Estonia in the twentieth century as mainly urban emigration. In this chapter the severing of connections to place and the creation of new connections to place were analysed as well how the new landscapes were perceived and represented and new connections to place established, i.e. how cultural interruption caused by emigration was recovered.

The landscape representations of agricultural migrants were mostly utilitarian, reflecting economic interests. This can partly be explained by demand and partly by the pragmatic nature of the colonists: a field to be cultivated was valued mostly for its functionality and not so much for its beauty. The aesthetic features were seldom emphasised and the emotional tone was different: the steppe landscapes unfamiliar to Estonians were mostly presented in the negative, and the forested landscapes familiar from Estonia mostly in the positive key. This seems to testify to an essentialist connection to place where the unfamiliar environment is assessed by means of the familiar environment. I also demonstrated that one's own place is not only used as the model for representing the unfamiliar place, but also, where possible, for establishing a new home in a foreign environment.

The migration between the two world wars (1920–1940) was mostly urban, which accounts for the relative scarcity of natural descriptions on the one hand, and the domination of nature on the other. In their landscape descriptions both agricultural and urban migrants used as their main strategy the comparison with their homeland landscapes. The essentialist connection to place is revealed much more powerfully in the vivid descriptions by WWII refugees. Here Estonia is the place of belonging and it is recreated in the new environment as precisely as possible. The attempts to create an environment after the model of one's own place result in a hybrid landscape, which, because of the unsuitable climate and urban setting, may be described as modest when compared to the similar practices in the agricultural areas of the Estonian diaspora in the temperate zone.

According to the acculturation models presented in this chapter, the first-generation immigrants have a more difficult time: they have strong ties to their homeland, they take the view of the foreign through the "glasses" brought from home, and perceive a conflict between the aspects of the familiar and the unfamiliar. This model and its interpretations of different immigrant situations have been criticised as being sweeping generalisations, which are based on the functionalist premise that becoming uprooted and being removed from one's national community automatically leads to a loss of identity, traditions and culture.

In the globalisation boom it is sometimes difficult to notice that many people who happen to live in a foreign country express their experience of being in strange surroundings in an essentialist way. We have seen in the present chapter how hybrid landscapes are created in immigrants' homes and surroundings in a foreign country, with the main motive being the compensation for landscape rupture. However, these are not always linear or one-way developments, from the country of origin to the country of residence. This is part of a broader issue: humans are territorial creatures and they need to have space which they can claim their own. When one's own place is established, as was pointed out earlier, the collage may be brought with the person when he or she goes to a third country or returns to the homeland. The creative nature of the collage should be emphasised: it will never be complete. The cultural significance of the border space remains even if, in relation to the border, there is a creative interaction and exchange of differing spaces.

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Chapter 9
Ruptured Setomaa—Officialising Space and Cultural Passages

Aet Annist

Border guards on the Estonian-Russian border in 1935. (Photo from Arvi Matvei personal archive)

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Abstract The chapter discusses the border between Estonia and Russia in the South East Estonian Seto region as a rupture, rather than an accepted and welcome political separation, the particular responses to which display cultural, ethnic and political identity. The study offers an ethnographic account of various borders in Seto country (state border, municipal and regional borders, politico-historical borders and everyday borders); of the administrative, practical and personal contestations of those borders, their hierarchies and layers of borderlands. This discussion is placed in the context of the strengthening and depoliticisation of the border, which is conceptualised as *officialising space*. I will describe how the borderdom is visible in the landscape and how the rupture is defined during a certain cultural event.

Keywords Border • Ruptured space • Seto minority

9.1 Introduction: Borders and Ruptures

Not every border is a rupture. There are some borders which are welcomed by the inhabitants of both sides, as they enforce a separation that is considered ideal. As such, the rupture in the geographical territory may often be a closure in the socio-political landscape. Then there are borders that are ruptures both territorially as well as socio-politically, disturbing people's lives, disrupting identities and links that are considered natural and ideal. The separation between Estonia and Russia can certainly be seen as an ideal rupture from the point of view of the independent Estonian state. However, the particular location of this border in the South East Estonian Seto region or *Setomaa*, a historically distinct region of Estonia, is an example of a disruption that is considered unacceptable by certain vocal groups both locally and nationally. It also exemplifies the fact that a border can harbour conflicting cultural constructs, which represent differing political and historical imaginations. Consequently, a border is not always a border (see also Berg and van Houtum 2003).

Political disruptions of space are often disputed to the degree that they are denied and refused recognition. Various land disputes ranging from the boundary line between Ethiopia and Eritrea, to the disputed territory of Kashmir are examples of this. These borders are considered to be such an injustice that they can only be thought away, rejected and/or renamed. The Seto territory, de facto borderless before 1991, has been split between Estonia and Russia since then. When referring to the present restriction on entering the Russian side of the "historic Seto territory", the term *piir* (border) is avoided by many locals. Instead, they use *ajutine kontrolljoon* (temporary control line)—a term straight out of the current legislation—or the more colloquial *okastraat* (barbed wire). Referring to the boundary as *piir*, a term most Estonians would casually apply, is seen to give legitimacy to the political violation of the Seto right to the territory that lies across the current boundary.

This euphemistic border denial amidst the reality of the border, which has become increasingly difficult to cross, is a display of cultural, ethnic and/or political identity.

And yet, border(s) and a sense of borderdom itself (as a state of mind as well as a physical reality, Montoya 2009) have possibly been part of the life in the region since time immemorial. For instance, Nikiforova (2005: 196, referring to Gadlo 1998) points out the regional geography between the Finno-Ugric and Slavic groups (see also Saar 2003), affecting the position of Setos socially, culturally as well as politically. Social boundary-making happens often without any political and territorial element involved. The process of marginalising and othering various social groups generates boundaries and borders that are nearly as rigid as a well-defended political border (e.g. Newman 2006), yet they exist in our minds, discourses and practices rather than in physical surroundings. Setos have faced both political as well as social borders throughout their history, and the social borders have, in fact, strengthened during the disappearance of socio-political separation.

The following chapter is based on my long-term fieldwork in the region from 2002 to 2004, with returns in the summers from 2005 to 2008 and an extended stay in the summer of 2012. Although border crossing has not been the actual focus of my research, the presence of the Russian-Estonian border in daily discussions and its effect on the activities of certain groups of inhabitants was always palpable. I crossed the border several times with groups of Setos, as well as local friends, to attend cultural events on the Russian side. I experienced first-hand the presence of a border as a space that creates emotional landscapes of loss and control and that generates particular relations between people. For the present chapter, in addition to relying on my original and follow-up fieldwork into both local cultural heritage institutions and community development, I asked people participating in SETO-LIST to recall their experiences on the border, used my own field notes on border crossings, and asked people who have recently crossed the border to describe their experiences. As such, the discussion will concentrate on the experiences of the Setos in Estonia, rather than those in Russia.

The chapter will, firstly, detail the borderdom of the Seto region by describing the complex presence and fluctuations of the border in history, but also by depicting the position and status of Setos on that border. Secondly, I will rely loosely on Bourdieu to analyse the strengthening and depoliticisation of the border through the usage of the concept of *officialising strategies* and propose to develop the notion of *officialising space* to comprehend how the current officially realised rupture in Setomaa has a specific officialising effect on space. Thirdly, I will describe how in this landscape, which appears to be consolidating around the rupture, new passages are cut. These passages form across the officialising space, i.e. the rupture or border, but in Estonia, they are also called into existence within the wider landscape defined by rupture (Setomaa) during a certain cultural event. This chapter aims, therefore, to demonstrate how the ruptured landscape is filled with content through practices that give meaning to, but also challenge its existence.

9.2   Setos: Own or Other? Boundaries on the Ground and in the Mind

I will start the description of the Seto borderdom from the time that borders in their administrative and political sense entered the Seto region. I will then look at how this topic found its way into the Estonian discourse on the Seto and was established so that ever since, Setos and the border have been perceived to be linked in ways that are both defining as well as challenging for the Seto themselves as well as their neighbours. In the following I will mostly use the term Setomaa for the region and Seto for the people, as these are the preferred terms of the majority of my informants.

In the thirteenth century, the political border between the Bishopric of Dorpat and Novgorod Feudal Republic divided the Northern Baltic region between Orthodox and Catholic rule. Over the next centuries, the region that is today referred to as Setomaa, Setumaa or Petserimaa was part of various administrative units in Russian territory. When Estonia and Livonia first became part of Tsardom of Russia in 1721, thus seemingly part of the same country and rule, Estonian and Livonian governorates maintained a special status in the empire. In those two governorates, the presence of Baltic German aristocracy had set a very different foundation to the political and social circumstances for many centuries. This socio-political reality was formalised in the Baltic Landestaat in the early eighteenth century, giving special rights to the local German landlords and special status to the Lutheran church. The Seto region, on the other hand, developed under different social and political realities and laws that were similar to the majority of other Russian governorates. It was also dominated by the presence of the Petseri (Pechory) Orthodox Monastery which had its own arrangements of social privileges and land rights.

The population that was caught up in the border changes of the thirteenth century and remained on the Russian side developed many features that started to distinguish them from both their Russian and Estonian neighbours: on the one hand, the Seto language or dialect that is similar to Estonian, on the other hand, the commitment to a local version of Russian Orthodoxy which positions them as rather different from Lutheran Estonians (see also Richter 1979) but has kept them identified also by other Russians as *poluvertsõi* or *poluvernikud* (half-believers). Many other Seto customs and other social and cultural features were an amalgamation of the two cultures they were bordering.

Major changes took place in the mayhem after WWI, when the Republic of Estonia was formed and Russia faced both the Socialist Revolution and the resulting civil war. After the German capitulation, Russia, although weakened by the war and the revolution, declared war on the newly established republic of Estonia, a country the territory of which corresponded approximately to the Autonomous Governorate of Estonia, formed after the 1917 revolution in Russia. Estonian victory was consolidated in February 1920 with the drawing up of the Tartu Peace Treaty. Russia officially recognised the new republic, paid considerable reparations and surrendered approximately 2,000 km^2 of land around the Petseri Orthodox

Monastery (now referred to as Petserimaa or Petseri County) and in the northeastern border city of Narva. In many ways, the border agreement was a strategic military border that included municipalities that had very small proportions of Estonians or Setos (Mattisen 1993).

Upon their political integration into Estonian territory, Setos' otherness and the socio-cultural borders separating them from Estonians were increasingly identified. With their centuries of exclusion from Estonia, Setos were seen to be "minors whose development could be faster if the conditions were favourable" (cited in Lõuna 2003: 16), younger brothers, objects of teaching and patronising (Jääts 1998: 51). Estonians considered the circumstances that ruled in Estonians' lives in comparison with Russian inhabitants to have been far more culturing (Lutheranism and the consequent very high level of literacy, abolishment of serfdom 50 years earlier than in Russia, land consolidations, etc.). Thus, those who had not experienced such "progressive" circumstances were seen to need educating, and dragging to the "Estonian level" (Richter 1979). Setos' low literacy level, seen to be "of course the direct consequence of having been part of Russia in the past" (Tammekann et al. 1928: 45) was seen to be in need of raising, and nearly a century later than Estonians, they were given surnames by Estonian officials. Seto dedication to Russian Orthodoxy and their culture of communal merriment and celebration were contrasted to the Estonians' hard working Protestant ethic. Seto integration was seen to be needed also in economic realm. Their coming from the "other side" was also seen to be reflected in the fact that during Tsarist times, Seto villages had commons that were redistributed at intervals between the families in the village, similar to the Russian *mir* system. In Setomaa, such communal organisation was seen to have had a particularly bad effect on Seto economy which was described as "primitive" (Tammekann et al. 1928: 46, 52).

Amidst such patronising depictions of the Seto, there was also great interest in and sympathy for their peculiar culture, which was believed to reflect some ancient features that Estonians had lost. Primarily Setophile Estonians organised the First Seto Congress, which was designed to help the Setos move away from the Russian sphere of influence, stimulate their economic and cultural life, reduce illiteracy, organise "abstinence work", found a Seto newspaper and organise a singing festival. It was also expected that the congress would "open Estonians' eyes to the Seto question". Generally, Setos remained a decorative addition to such undertakings and did not initiate them themselves (Lõuna 2003: 67, 93). Seto Congresses today have no power to establish laws or regulations, but they do issue decisions some of which address the Estonian political government.

Such discourses established Setos in the Estonian public arena as a somewhat backward and not yet properly civilised group (see also Jääts 1998)—but "one of us" nonetheless. Prior to this, their difference from Estonians had been seen as so great that folklorists felt the need to produce evidence that Setos were in fact Petserimaa Estonians, rather than an entirely separate nation (Kalkun 2011: 14). The years of the Estonian republic (1920–1940) were the period when Setos were seen to have experienced rapid modernisation and Estonification (Kuutma 2005) but also an awakening to their own distinctiveness. They emerged from this as Estonians with

a dual identity (Jääts 1998: 126). Lõuna (2009) notes that especially during the last years of the Estonian Republic, more forceful measures for integrating Petserimaa into the Estonian republic were used, including banning Estonians from belonging to Orthodox congregations.

At the end of WWII, in 1944/1945, the neighbouring Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic (SFSR) acquired approximately two thirds of Petserimaa: 1,135 km^2 and 40,709 inhabitants, of whom 5,898 were "Estonians" (Uuet 2002: 80)—presumably primarily Seto. Locals in those areas (Petseri Raion after becoming part of the Soviet Union) were allowed to move to the newly formed Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR). The rest of Petserimaa territory became part of the Estonian SSR and was integrated into existing administrative units rather than given a special status. Further changes to the new Estonian SSR-Russian SFSR border were made until 1957 and were territorially always to the benefit of the Russian SFSR (see also Tannberg 2005: 260–261). Jääts (2000) points out that the border change was justified by the need to include the Russian populated areas within the Russian SFSR. The new border was drawn roughly according to ethnic principles. Yet, in the areas with a Seto-Russian mixed population, the border favoured the Russians. Crucially however, at that time the border was merely a formal line of administrative division, and it did not interfere much with people's everyday life.

During the Soviet period, the cultural difference of the Seto was not as much in the forefront as during the republic times. Setos in Estonia continued coming together as folk groups and the Seto practice of *leelo* singing—an archaic polyphonic singing tradition—was celebrated through Leelo Days (*leelopäevad*), the tradition of which started in 1977. Seto singing days took place throughout the Soviet time. The Finno-Ugric and folk movement gained popularity in the freer years under Khrushchev in the 1960s, and with it, Seto culture became recognised as "exotic" and renowned for its impressive durability (Kuutma 2005: 222).

Although Setos were neither openly celebrated nor vilified, the label "Setu" remained somewhat pejorative. The Seto dialect, as well as other regional dialects, was discouraged or banned in some schools. Seto region continued to be perceived as marginal, backwards and peripheral (see also Jääts 2000). Most Seto were not willingly disclosing their Seto origin outside the region, which experienced a steady outflow of population. Setos in Russian SFSR were also leaving in great numbers, achieving a sixfold decrease of the Seto population in Petseri Raion between 1945 and 1989 (Manakov 2009).

The formal administrative line from the 1950s that had separated—*de jure* but not *de facto*—the Eastern part of Setomaa in the Russian SFSR from the Western part of Setomaa in Estonian SSR acquired a new status in 1991. It became the real border of the two newly (re)established states of the Russian Federation and the Estonian Republic. This border was contested by the Estonian side, which argued that the Tartu Peace Treaty from 1920 is to be applied in the territorial relationship between the two states. This argument was contested, in turn, by the Russian side, who contended that this historic treaty was invalidated by Estonia's incorporation into the Soviet Union in 1940 (considered voluntary by the Russian side and forced by

Estonians), and by the 1991 Treaty on the Basic Principles of Mutual Relationship which makes no mention of the Tartu Peace Treaty.

Although the Tartu Peace Treaty is still seen as one of the main legal building blocks for the current Estonian Republic, the return of the whole territory of Setomaa to Estonia in accordance with the Tartu Peace Treaty became an issue that many politicians avoided. Some were ready to relinquish Estonian territorial demands if the Russian side simply accepted that the Tartu Peace Treaty was valid, although without actual authority. However, when the border agreement was finally signed in 2005, Russia withdrew their support for the document within a few months, precisely due to a legally void preamble that referred to the Tartu Peace Treaty. The agreement is currently still not signed, although it has for a while been in the final stages of moving towards being signed. The border that was set in 1957 between Soviet Estonia and the Russian Federation is still considered to be the *de facto* border today. Since 2004, it is also the border of the European Union.

The public discourse on the level of both Seto cultural leaders and Estonian political elite referring to the rupture has remained political. The *realpolitik* attitude in Estonian politics towards the border issue is seen by both Seto and Estonian nationalists as a betrayal of their political ideals and history. Yet, however painful, it has been argued that it is precisely this torn state that has brought the Setos as a cultural group to the public arena, mobilised Seto activists in the 1990s and generated the very successful Seto heritage movement of today (Runnel 2002: 51). This torn-ness, in other words, became central to the Seto revival, and has undercurrents of what Paasi (2002: 186–187), referring to the Karelian border, calls "old Ratzelian organistic thinking" where a ruptured country is like a "wounded body that can be heeled [sic] only by joining the ceded areas into the territorial whole."

For the local population, the rupture had direct practical consequences: inability to visit the graves of relatives—a culturally very significant practice—as well as living relatives who remained on the other side, to trade with the other side and to move freely for other reasons. As the practical arrangements have changed over the years, for the majority of the Seto inhabitants, support for the reunification of Setomaa has lost its importance, especially amongst the younger generation. Nevertheless, even for them, Setomaa is seen and visualised as a country torn in two, and free movement between the two halves remains the ideal.

9.3 A Strengthening Border

"In the morning, the men came; in the evening, a portable cabin, and that became the border" (Sildam 1997): this is how a border guard describes the beginning of the Koidula international checkpoint in the 1990s. At that time, the border was extremely porous: from rumours of gun-smuggling along the Pskov-Tartu "gun road" through Setomaa (Sildam 1997), to troubles with domestic animals roaming across and needing a helping hand from the guards to find their way back home, fluid

movement of humans, livestock and goods characterised the control line between Russia and Estonia. People gathering mushrooms and berries frequently wandered across the border for access to familiar and favoured picking sites.

This is in stark contrast with the current image of near total impermeability.[1] As the most recent case in point, since the summer 2012, new taxation rules have mostly stopped the small-scale fuel trade that had been taking place across the border (due to low prices on the Russian side). Whilst some, including MPs of Seto origin, lamented the new checks and regulations as a regrettable loss of income in a region where livelihoods have become increasingly difficult to maintain and outmigration is rapidly emptying the villages, others saluted the changes as endless queues of cars waiting to get through checkpoints, commonplace until then, quickly disappeared.

Several authors have pointed out that the contemporary literature on the globalised era of disappearing borders, of "post-national geography" (Appadurai 1996) is in contradiction with the realities on the ground for many people (e.g. Newman 2006; Dean 2011; Reeves 2011). Estonia's entry to the European Union gradually turned the control line that until then had still been somewhat porous (relative ease of crossings by people with no visas, or outside the checkpoints) into the border of the European Union of today (see also Assmuth 2006; Kaiser and Nikiforova 2006; as well as Paasi 2002 on rather different developments on the Finnish-Russian borders). As access to the West opened up and became easier, regulations restricting or complicating border crossing to the East have strengthened. There are currently two international checkpoints, Luhamaa and Koidula, in Setomaa. One more checkpoint (Saatse) is restricted to crossings for Estonian and Russian inhabitants only. Two checkpoints have been closed, in Meremäe and Lüübnitsa, complicating local mobility. Since 2000, all Estonian citizens need visas to enter Russia.

In the 1990s, the border space itself was also highly politicised, primarily geared around the Tartu Peace Treaty, starting from high profile appearances of Prime Ministers to demonstrations and direct actions by various Seto and non-Seto activists. The most recent demonstrations on the Estonian side of the border took place in 2005 when a group of Seto activists travelled to Koidula check point to show their disapproval of the ratification of the border agreement:

> We first went to Värska, made our speeches in Seto Museum, then travelled to Koidula checkpoint, laid a long row of candles on the roads there, made speeches, we also had slogans. (Anonymous activist, email correspondence 2012)

In 2000, Berg reports how Estonian officials longed for the stable border regimes and rules, and a depoliticised border (Berg 2000). By 2012, this ideal has become a reality and the checkpoints have indeed become such a depoliticised space around the state territory. Demonstrations still occur in other locations, most recently in

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[1]However, Estonian-Russian border violations in Seto region and the imprisonment of Estonian Security Police agent Eston Kohver in September 2014 has notably undermined this image of impermeability, exposing the lack of control present outside the border points.

April 2014 in front of the Parliament house in Tallinn, but the border itself lives in a reality that is dissociated from the topic of loss of territory.

As a rupture is turned into the official border, as border regimes are implemented and enacted in the checkpoints, the border space starts to have a particular effect on the people entering it. Once a working border regime is established, it becomes depoliticised space where historic and political territorial challenges are contained and restricted. The administrative arrangements become impermeable to idealists fighting for their particular political aims. To understand this process, I am deriving a new concept from Bourdieu's (1977) notion of "officialising strategies". He uses this to explain how "egoistic", private, particular interests in certain social relations are transmuted into "collective, publicly avowable, legitimate interests" (Bourdieu 1977: 40). I suggest that a border has an officialising effect on the relations taking place within it and it becomes an *officialising space*. This happens via a specific set of officialising strategies to achieve the aim of legitimating particular collective interests and has particular effects on the human encounters within that space.

This process affects also political or group disputes regarding the border. Such a border becomes less a "space of continuous negotiations" (Reeves 2007) and more a space in which a particular definition becomes dominant and remains dominant by the continuous application of officialising strategies. The border acts by containing both individual and group motives for mobility and by not allowing arguments deemed not official to interfere with the established definitions and practices. As such, officialising is an on-going response to the need to provide practical solutions in situations where constant challenges could turn the disagreement between two parties (e.g. nation states, but also various splinter groups) into an arena of constant disputation.

One of the aims of such "officialising strategies" is to reduce arbitrariness of border encounters by producing "regular" practices (see also Bourdieu 1977: 40). When applied to the disputed borders, establishing regular practices means moving the border away from disputes. It is precisely this production of regularities that makes the border more difficult to question, less porous and, ultimately, depoliticised. This does not imply becoming static, and interaction on the border remains contextual and productive of meanings, strategies and identities (cf. Paasi 1998). But interests in transborder communication which may be of international concern are handled in an administrative rather than political manner.

On the officialising borders between the European Union and the Russian Federation, the political is tamed by the administrative, and so is the personal. At the checkpoint, people become border crossers, both individual and group motives for mobility are officialised. Personal social interaction is translated into formal; fluid and adaptive reactions to situations become more prescribed upon entering the officialising space. People enter a zone where their selves matter only via documents, as official identity overrides personal and political identities. Rights and identities have to be proved and relevant for the officialising zone; the smoothness of progress through the border zone may depend on one's personality but is framed in official terms. A story by email from a father whose family had recently moved

to Setomaa exemplifies the contradictory nature of the border encounters where the capacity to officialise transgresses the usually assumed alliances.

> One beautiful May day we decided to go to Petseri with the whole family. Since for our 7-year old son it was the first time to go there, we tried to enlighten him regarding the differences of the other side compared to this side. We told him about the historic background of Petseri [. . .] There was a lot of angst before the border crossing because the behaviour of the Russian side is generally unpredictable and [not] positive [. . .]. We were relatively ready for [such a possibility]. But a rather unpleasant surprise was offered by an Estonian female border guard, who was delivering passport checks in the increasingly Europeanised border point. [. . .] At the yellow line, I let my wife and child to go before me so that everything would take place as ordered and without disturbing the work of the border guard. We all held valid passports with valid visas.
>
> In a few moments I realised that something was wrong. [. . .] What was it, causing the confusion? The difference between the names of my wife and my son. [. . .] And nobody uses a birth certificate as a document to bring along [to the border], especially when one has a passport as well as an ID card on them. In other words, the female border guard started to demand that mother would prove that the child she was with is hers. That she should explain why she does not have the birth certificate with her and so on.
>
> To my question where is it written that one needs to have birth certificate to present at the border as the travel document, the border guard started to get really worked up. Yes, I know that to cross with children not your own, you will have to have a certified agreement from the parent. But one does not think of that when travelling with one's own child! The emotional trigger of the female border guard was released after my suggestion to check from the e-state database [an Estonian database containing individual data and links between close family relations], in case she has suspicions about who the mother of the child is. In response I was told that in case you want e-state on the border, you will stay in the queue for another two hours. [. . .] What saddened me and made me more helpless before the strength of the bureaucracy was that all this was witnessed by our child who had been promised a nice day in the historic capital of Setomaa. That the previously told (location of) the "baddies" [. . .] was manifested in the location where it could be expected the least. Surprisingly, on that day, the interaction with Russian border guards and toll went smoothly.

The expectation that a shared identity would be upheld by the border guards is suddenly turned on its head when the Estonian guard resorts to, from the point of view of the border-crossers, unreasonably officialised demands. When the borders are corrupt, as in the Kyrgyz borderlands described by Reeves (2007), the process of officialising is mostly arbitrary and humiliating. But is the border confrontation of the Seto father in front of his son any different? Bourdieu (1977: 40) notes that the officialising strategies on the one hand mobilise the largest possible group in support of a particular definition that has been deemed official. On the other hand, this also demobilises, by reducing a demand or a definition to a mere private affair. Failing "to identify his particular interest with 'general interest'" leads to being "reduced to the status of a mere individual, condemned to appear unreasonable in seeking to impose his private reason" (Bourdieu 1977: 40). Being in the position of authority, it is the border guard who disowns the border-crosser as a fellow national, instead reducing him to an unreasonable individual who has to be contained through officialising strategies.

This story alludes to how officialising itself takes on the authority to categorise, as access is not eased or guaranteed based on expected alliances of us (Estonian citizens) versus them (Russian border guards). As such, the process of officialising

is anything but predictable in its outcomes for the border crosser (cf. Asad 2004; Poole 2004). Whilst officialising depersonalises the state power, the same process of officialising renders power to the state representatives who choose officiality itself as their ally over any other association. The citizen, represented by their documents and desire for mobility, confronts the border guards, buffered by impersonal regulations which, although mostly applied as expected, allow unpredictability which is backed up by force and law. It is in this sense that the officialising process traverses as well as encapsulates the borders of institutional power.

9.4 Cultural Crossings of the Rupture

Outside the officialised space of the Seto border, especially in the context of Seto revivalism—i.e. the newly found confidence in the value of Seto identity since the late 1990s—the border argument continues to be worded in political terms. Every year, the Seto Congress issues a decree which declares the current border to be unacceptable and reminds the state politicians of the Tartu Peace Treaty. One of the most recent Congresses declared also any changes to the border in the "Seto ancient territory", i.e. the territory of 1920–1940 Petserimaa, without the agreement of the Seto nation and its representative body the Seto Congress, to be discriminatory against the Seto nation (X Seto Kongress 2011). Interestingly, some Seto activists I spoke to feel that by adopting such a political approach, Setos are in danger of losing wider support for the territorial quest. Instead, in their view, the border dispute should remain one that is relevant to the whole Estonian nation, politicised on a national level in the context of Tartu Peace Treaty, which should be presented as violating Estonians' rights just as much as those of Setos. This approach also maintains that the separate Seto appeal to the right of access can only be a cultural one.

In practice, whilst on the national level, the topic clearly has lost its general appeal, Seto right of access and the practical demands around the existing rupture are indeed reworked in cultural rather than political terms. The idea of Seto cultural autonomy has resurfaced a few times on the Seto political landscape, suggesting a desire to acquire greater control over one's territory, but has been contained within cultural frames.

It is not uncommon that local needs are translated into the language of culture, emotion and spirituality. Emotions have been studied as powerful sources of political change, defining borders and stirring political action (Svasek 2000: 112). Buil and Bergua (1998) describe how early in an environmental dispute, locals presented their cultural arguments in an emotional plea against the "economism" of the developers and supporters of a project threatening the way of life of local communities. Whilst for the Estonian state, favourable regulations for some locals on the border may be expensive and tedious, set against cultural arguments, the power of the need for efficiency weakens. Although Seto appeals for "their territory" have been challenged with various arguments in both political and public arena, their

cultural rights are well recognised. All the practical activities concerning the border regime centre on people's cultural rights to access their own and their culture's places of remembrance and significance. This includes access to homes left behind, landscapes of childhood, but also homes still owned and, particularly importantly in the Seto context, the graves of the deceased relatives (see also Reeves 2007).

When the caring, personalised cultural arguments face the uncaring, impersonal, officialising ones the latter are easily recognised as delivering injustice to those already insulted and injured (e.g. Vananurm 2012). This discourse allows challenging the formality of the officialising space, although steering mostly clear of any challenges to the depoliticised border. And yet, through that, the link between the lost territory and the Seto cultural content and rights, including access to kin, both alive and deceased is reclaimed (e.g. X Seto Kongress 2011). It is interesting that within this context, even property across the control line takes on cultural instead of economic value. On the one hand, such land is not construed as property but as home; as a site of remembrance and cultural heritage. On the other hand, most of such homes indeed have very little if any economic value and are impossible to use as any kind of capital in practice.

Cultural reasons are habitually set against economic reasons in border discussions. For instance, in the words of a Seto who had recently moved to the area and had been quickly elected to a high symbolic position:

> Whilst before, I had thought that [simplified crossing] is primarily for the people practising border trade, over the last months, speaking to people, I have realised how important [crossing over] is for the local people who highly respect both their ancestors as well as relatives. (Taro 2008)

Similarly, the new visa coordinator who has to find ways to compensate people's expenses within the new visa regime, comments that:

> I will try to help as much as I can fulfilling not only Setos' but also other Võru and Põlva County people's wish to relate to their neighbours and to go to their homesteads [...] However, I will certainly have to often harden my heart when it turns out that people want to engage in border trade under the label of cultural exchange. (Nutov 2011)

In other words it is the Seto culture, pure and immaterial, that provides the legitimate reason for the need of simplified border crossing, whereas border trade does not. Such hierarchies of border crossing are enacted in actual border regimes. Local inhabitants have had various measures in place for easing border crossing into Russia, all of which have to do with "cultural" reasons. Before 2000, a "simplified crossings" regime was enabled for the inhabitants (according to lists and permits) near the Seto control line during major Orthodox celebrations. Between 2000 and 2009, multiple entry visas were free to 4,000 inhabitants with "humanitarian reasons" to move across the control line and they were exempt from compulsory health insurance (*Välisministeeriumi . . .* 2000). Since 2009, free visas are arranged for up to 2,000 locals who wish to cross for "cultural exchange" which includes visits to graves. Local people who visit relatives, relatives' graves or property and need visas can apply for compensation for up to two visas a year.

Unsurprisingly, such lists regularly include people whose "cultural" reasons are more than questionable and whose main aims in crossing the border are economic or personal without any "legitimate" cultural foundation. Yet, the wriggling power that "culture" seems to have provided for the local population reflects its appeal to the conscience of both the Estonian and Russian state administrations. Both states have attempted to appease cultural demands. Although, according to Nikiforova (2005), Seto culture has relocated to the Estonian side of the border, making the transborder Seto culture purely a discursive construction, the continuing presence of Setos from the Estonian side during various summer festivals combined with the lingering endurance of the token Seto across the control line has mobilised both sides to bring funding to Setos and Seto events on the Russian side and to make their presence felt. The Radaja Festival in August on the Russian side is a display of both sides' care for Seto culture with a considerable Russian presence, and includes visits by politicians representing Pskov oblast and Petseri raion. The Russian side has taken many steps to prove themselves highly supportive of the Seto cultural needs and also supports Seto return to Russian territories by paying considerable sums to the resettlers (Ernits 2012). Russia has supported the establishment of the Izborsk Seto Museum and other similar projects.

In contrast with Estonia, Russia defines Setos as a separate nation—a move that very few Setos in Estonia would call for. In turn, the Estonian side is contributing funds to cross-border activities via the Seto Cultural Programme and the Estonians Abroad Programme, and it supports Petseri School—which until 2008 was the only school in Russia where the whole curriculum was in Estonian. Funds also go towards compensating visa expenses for certain categories of people, amongst them the 2,000 locals entering for "cultural exchange". In Estonia, the Seto region receives substantial funds from the Setumaa Cultural Programme and Setomaa Development Programme. Culture is thus, curiously, able to traverse the rupture that has broken up the Seto landscape, precisely by defining it primarily as a cultural, and therefore less threatening, entity. It can be contained with relative ease and has been made part of the civil society movement (cf. Creed 2011) and as such, has its own particular officialising effect on people and their causes for mobility.

Being taken to and fro various cultural activities on the Russian side in local buses, there is little freedom to actually enter the space that is ruptured and infested with continuous officiality also outside the checkpoints, as the following fieldwork extracts demonstrate.

> I really wanted to visit my mother's birth place, in a village on the other side of the border. We started from Pihkva lake [on the Russian side], and there was a border point on the road. It looked like a metal gate, like the ones used to let the cattle into the field and out. I really cannot describe it any other way. They checked our visas and we had to explain where, for how long and who to we were going. We got through but buses that started from Petseri, in an organised manner, did not. I met a local person, a Seto who has lived there all their life. They said that there is another border point near the next village and described the experiences of their relatives and acquaintances with the Russian border guards. We decided to turn back. (Meeta, an elderly member of a Seto choir, e-mail correspondence 2011)

People's response to the impossibility to enter this ruptured space is described in the following example:

> So what that it was so full of pathos—it is still an illustrative example [. . . W]hen we travelled back from Radaja [in Russia] in the bus [. . .] a man sitting next to me suddenly lifted his hat, pointing towards the window, and it was pitch dark in the bus and people sitting around had mostly turned towards the back of the bus where singing was taking place, so that it was not for the others as a gesture to see, but the reason was following: his ancestors came from the village we were travelling through. (Anu, a young member of a Seto choir, e-mail correspondence, 2011)

Whilst the cultural reworking of the officialising attempts of the administrators has allowed re-entering the local problematisation of the territorial division, this has happened within contained, officially administrated frames of applying for support for or free visas. Local culture becomes a tool to ease border crossings but it is so contained within the set frames that we can ask whether the Seto gain more than, for instance, the Russian state locally gains through touting its support for "small nations" in the big federation.

9.5   Living with and Challenging the Rupture

According to Reeves (2011: 917), "'territorial integrity' is also produced and undone from 'below' in everyday practice, but also in the fantasies, hopes, and performative claims of ordinary people". Whilst the rupture in Setos' emotional landscape is barely bridged by cultural means, the creative energy the rupture triggers is displayed on the Estonian side of the barbed wire during the yearly festival of Seto Kingdom Days. This relatively recently created tradition includes interesting challenges to both the restrictive border and to the divisive reality. Declaring the Seto Kingdom to be united across the border for one day symbolically mocks as well as heals the rupture. Furthermore, locals generate a mock setting akin to the officialising space at the entrance to the event. The festival entry is symbolically marked as a border zone to the unified Seto Kingdom. Instead of the Estonian or Russian guards, it is the Seto themselves in charge of deciding who to let through under what circumstances. The tickets are called "visas" and have to be bought by all except those who perform at the event, most of them wearing full Seto attire. Such benign mockery allows a certain coming to terms with the reality of division. In a more militarised and in its playfulness harmless, yet in its discourse and demeanour more threatening manner the event always ends with a military parade where the locals and events' visitors as supporters to the Seto cause present their might and strength of spirit, (wo)manpower, mock machinery and weaponry to protect their country and borders. Although no direct suggestion is made that this army is ready to attack, its façade as a protective force plays with the need to be protected from the mighty neighbour that has already occupied two thirds of Setomaa. In the humorous running commentary on stage, Setos are generally presented as a protective buffer

zone for Estonia through which the Russian forces will first have to get, and are warned they will have to face great casualties.

The playful approach of Seto events to the politically charged issue of the Russian-Estonian border agreement is one means of dealing with the relationship Setos have with their powerful neighbour Russia, the Estonian state and the rupture that those powers have forced upon the Seto reality. It also keeps the issue alive beyond the daily lives and needs of the people, engraving it into the local identity.

Gerald Creed (2011) offers a thorough analysis of the processes of cultural dispossession reflected in Bulgarian mumming rituals. Considering the newness of the Kingdom Days, it appears to be, rather, an example of cultural appropriation, repossession, which has lent support also to the cultural charge on the officialised spaces for political rupture. A successful commercial event and a skilled publicity stunt, Seto Kingdom Days challenge the rupture which has become increasingly irrelevant to most Setos' everyday lives, whilst also conquering it and acquiring national support and sympathy for Seto culture.

9.6   Conclusion

This article has aimed to demonstrate that there are various ways of dealing with ruptures in the political, cultural and social landscapes of human groups. Ruptures are bridged in different ways and to different degrees and some remain gaping holes in the societal landscape. In the case of the Seto, the rupture is on the one hand hidden by the officialising space that depoliticises the continuing territorial demands, and offers various administrative solutions to the cultural needs of the locals. The border has strengthened and turned more regular, yet still contains the arbitrariness of any power, making the "docile bodies" (Foucault 1979: 135) of the border crossers less certain of the outcomes of their quest for mobility. Such arbitrariness characterises similarly the administrative ways of overcoming the cultural rupture and loss of access to places of remembrance and significance.

As people continue to cross the rupture through this officialised space, their continuous presence on the other side has at least triggered a competition of the states, accomplices in the creation of this rupture, to offer cultural reassurances of the importance of the people with their cultural needs. Having voluntarily chosen to deterritorialise Setomaa at ritual events of Seto Kingdom days, locals keep alive their rebellious demands for access across the rupture that has been disguised as the officialising space, and continue traversing it. It is culture that was seen to be the centre of the original unity of Setos and their separation from their neighbours, and it is culture that is still able to traverse the rupture in the political landscape today—by breaking up the uninhabited, officialised control line.

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Chapter 10
Ruptured Landscapes, Sacred Spaces and the Stretching of Landscape Capital

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Shimla (Photo by Jonathan Miles-Watson)

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Abstract This chapter explores the ruptured landscapes of postcolonial Hill Stations in North India. These Hill Stations experienced massive population movements after independence, when the colonial administrators they were constructed for left and new people moved into the cities. Drawing on ethnographic research with minority Christian communities in contemporary Shimla, I demonstrate how the landscapes generated through the worship of these communities heal the ruptures of history by reweaving the trace of historical action. These ruptured communities are therefore rich generators of landscape capital, but of a radically different kind to that discussed in the extant literature. This calls for a reformulation of the landscape capital concept, from a fixed and limited description of historical processes to a widely applicable concept that does justice to the way that past and present are woven together in living landscapes of worship. Postcolonial Shimla, once Simla, the summer capital of colonial India, presents a wonderful case study for these more general issues. Its landscapes provoke questions about the role of memory and identity in the postcolonial city. The Christian landscapes are in many ways the crux of these discomforting questions, but they also offer answers. Moreover, these answers are not hoarded by a minority group, but rather are implicitly presented, as a sort of cipher, to wider civil society. Through this process, the churchscapes of Shimla are able to heal landscape ruptures and stand as a model for harmonious heritage practice in the contemporary city.

Keywords Churchscapes • Landscape capital • Shimla • Lévi-Strauss • Spatial capital • Religious capital

Over the past 30 years a considerable amount of literature has developed around the concepts of social capital and cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986; Coleman 1988; Putnam 2000). While these concepts have their problems (Morrow 1999) they have proved to be useful tools for a wide range of people, including academics, policy makers and faith based institutions. Social capital has thus become a common term across a range of discourses, providing a common language for diverse actors. It is therefore somewhat surprising that, despite the recent spatial turn (Arias and Warf 2008), there has been little development of the related concepts of spatial capital (Marcus 2010) and landscape capital (Brookfield 1984). On the rare occasions that these concepts have been discussed they are used in a limited way and this is reflected in subsequent policy formation. What is more, the discussion of landscape capital, which I privilege over spatial capital, has historically been the least dynamic of the related pair and its use has been restricted to the discussion of small scale, rural societies, where social change is commonly perceived as occurring gradually. It may therefore seem strange to apply this term to an urban society that has suffered from great social upheavals, yet, as this chapter unfolds, we will come to see that such an application is both logical and insightful.

The need for this, somewhat novel, application of the concept of landscape capital arose in the field. While working with Christians in Shimla (North India) I came to understand that these communities were rich in something that I could

describe as landscape capital; however, this landscape capital was of a radically different nature to that discussed in the extant literature. The often discussed issues of aesthetics, access and diversity danced around the church landscapes, but were not as central to this landscape capital as issues of identity, postcoloniality and rupture. This experience called for a reformulation of the concept of landscape capital, which stretched the concept by moving it from being a rather fixed (and limited) description of historical processes, to a widely applicable concept, which captures something of the way that the past and the present can become woven together through landscapes of worship. Moreover, these landscapes perform a far greater civil service than simply providing a cheap venue for events, for they have the capacity to heal the ruptures of history by incorporating the trace of historical action.

10.1   Landscape, Culture and Capital

The related concepts of cultural capital and social capital have become familiar ways to describe the value that various non-governmental groups bring to both their members and wider civil society (Baker and Miles-Watson 2010). Following Field (2003) it is possible to locate three main schools of writings about social/cultural capital, which are formed around three foundational figures: Robert Putnam (2000), Pierre Bourdieu (1986) and James Coleman (1988). These three thinkers have considerable differences in their conceptions with, broadly speaking, Bourdieu emphasising the way that cultural capital benefits the individual and Coleman and Putnam focussing more on the way that it benefits the group (Baker and Miles-Watson 2010). There is however a further important distinction between Coleman and Putnam's theories: for Coleman the social capital generated by a group, such as the family unit, benefits that particular group, whereas Putnam expands the benefits of social capital to suggest that it can be generated by a group for the benefit of wider civil society (Putnam 2000: 25). It is particularly this last idea that has captured the imagination of policy makers and made social capital theory a way for non-governmental groups to justify government support.

Despite their differences, all these accounts are unified in presenting an overwhelmingly anthropocentric account of social/cultural capital. It has largely ignored the non-human elements that constitute any given group and focused on humans as though their societies and cultural worlds were entirely separate from anything non-human. From such a perspective, humans exist within a network of other humans that acts both on and within (but never with) the wider environment. It is perhaps then not as surprising as first imagined that there is comparatively little attention paid to the concepts of spatial capital and landscape capital. Indeed, what discussions there are of landscape capital in academic literature have taken place largely independent of the discussions of social/cultural capital. Most contemporary uses of the term "landscape capital" trace it back to Harold Brookfield, who used the term to capture the value that can be stored in the land by agricultural labourers in small scale societies (Brookfield 1984, 1986, 2001a, b; Blaikie and Brookfield 1987).

This understanding of landscape capital can be seen as a development of Coleman's social capital theory in that, alike to Coleman, Brookfield imagines the capital as being generated by a group and stored to be used by later descendants, only here the capital is expressly stored in the land (Blaikie and Brookfield 1987). If I believed that the concept of landscape capital had to remain this limited then I would find it of little use as a way of describing and mapping the kinds of diverse processes that concern this volume. However, the term landscape is here being used only in one very specific way. If the term *landscape* is broadened, as I believe it must be, then the concept of landscape capital is correspondingly broadened and it is here that it becomes useful for understanding the way that communities are able to overcome historical ruptures.

10.2 Landscape Processes

The term *landscape* has a long and contested history, which it is redundant to reproduce here. It is however useful to note that the term has a history of referring to actions rather than objects (Olwig 1996). In its contemporary use, by geographers, such as Wylie (2007), and anthropologists, such as Ingold (2000, 2011), there is a common trend of understanding landscape as (following the artist David Reason) a "polyrhythmic composition of processes" (Ingold 2000: 201). From this perspective landscape is not something that is perceived, nor is it the backdrop that human action unfolds upon, rather it is a mutual constitution of person and place through action (Ingold 2000: 198–201). As people flow and knot around certain places, landscapes are formed that bind together the human and the non-human, the animate and the inanimate, the past, the present and the future. This temporal blurring is facilitated by a duel process of narrativisation (Basso 1996) and actions that leave a trace that others will to some extent have to reckon with in the future (Ingold 2007). From this perspective landscapes are never complete, rather they are in a constant state of becoming (Ingold 2000).

If landscape is a polyrhythmic composition of processes then it stands to reason that the concept of landscape capital has to refer to something far more complicated than simply a value that can be stored in the land. What is more, from our new perspective there is clearly no need to restrict the notion of landscape capital to small scale, rural societies—for we are all surely, in one way or another, capable of both generating and accessing landscape capital. I therefore here employ the term *landscape capital* to refer to the social and personal development that arises from the continuing historical interrelation of human and non-human, in any given (somewhat artificially) bounded place. From this perspective landscape capital is something that is both historically developed and continuously renewed, it is not something that is held in the land alone; rather it is generated at the interface between the mind and the world. Being constantly engaged in a historically determined process of renewal, it can never be something that, as Brookfield (2001) suggested, is simply developed by one generation to be exploited by the next. What is more, as

it is not something that is constructed or found and then used, or underused, it cannot be developed by simply diversifying the action that occurs in any given place, as Brookfield (2001: 189) would seem to suggest. Indeed, as I shall demonstrate, such diversification of action may actually lessen the landscape's capital.[1]

10.3 Space and Landscape Capital

When, six years ago, I first presented these ideas at an international symposium in Estonia (Miles-Watson 2008), the geographer Edward Soja remarked that the paper would read better if I replaced the term *landscape* with the term *space*. I have however in this instance deliberately chosen to avoid the perhaps more fashionable term *space* and the corresponding concept of *spatial capital*. This is because I believe that the notion of landscape captures better the processes that I am trying to describe than the term *space*. Both historical and contemporary uses of the term *landscape* make it a natural choice to describe the phenomena that I am concerned with, viz, the way that human and non-human actors engage in the mutual constitution of something tangible (Olwig 1996). In contrast, the term *space* suggests to many a rather vague area that something is done within (Ingold 2011: 145). It therefore has a separation between action, time and area that landscape etymologically folds together more neatly. Of course the term *space* can be used in a sophisticated and multifaceted way (Lefebvre 1991; Soja 1996); however such usage typically results in a complication of the discourse that simply using the term *landscape* avoids.

If we turn to examine the currently emerging academic definition of spatial capital then it is clear to see that the dividing of actor, action, time and space continues. The emerging field of spatial capital scholarship has to date been led by the Swedish architect Lars Marcus (2007, 2010). His approach to spatial capital is neatly summarised in a recent discussion where he defined spatial capital as the measurable effects of urban design on urban living (Marcus 2007). The space of the city is seen in this equation as designed a priori and only once completed is it inhabited by people, whose ability to act within the space is helped or hindered by its historic design (ibid.). It is clear then that to describe the dynamic processes that are the topic of this book, the term *space* and the associated discussion of spatial capital is inadequate. To distinguish my position from these approaches I have therefore deliberately chosen to term the theory that I here develop landscape capital, for it is this term that seems best suited to capturing the valance of the complicated set of processes that are here under discussion.

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[1]This idea of landscape capital is also markedly different from the recent attempt to develop a financial value for natural phenomena, known as Natural Capital (United Kingdom Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs 2011).

10.4   Religious Capital Theory

The language of capitals has been increasingly adopted by religious groups to explain the unique ways that they contribute to civil society (Baker and Miles-Watson 2010). When the language of capitals is used by academics, NGOs and religious organisations to describe their work it nearly always draws from Putnam's definitions of social capital and very rarely uses Bourdieu's definition (ibid.). This is partly because of the greater accessibility of Putnam's work and partly because his essentially positive message about the way that communities can work together to better society, is a preferred descriptor of their work to Bourdieu's slightly cynical description of the personal rewards of religious action (ibid.). Indeed, this is a trend that I will be largely following later in this paper as I try to express, in transferable terms, the phenomena that I experienced in both Northumberland and North India.

A well-documented problem with Putnam's early approach to social capital is that its overly positive spin fails to adequately capture the destructive and divisive aspects of social networks (Putzel 1997; Martin and Benassi 1999). In response to these criticisms, Putnam has complicated his understanding of social capital, particularly by distinguishing between intragroup bonding capital and intergroup bridging capital (Putnam 2000: 25). This division has been further complicated by Woolcock (1988) who introduced the concept of linking capital as a form of social uplift. Here again I find the idea of landscape of use, for, as I have argued elsewhere (Miles-Watson and Miles-Watson 2011) landscape is never a single process, but rather a weave of often conflicting processes that nevertheless are somehow held together through a shared act of dwelling.

I have previously developed extensive arguments about both power struggles within the particular landscapes that I will discuss later in this paper (Miles-Watson 2013) and the variety of ways that people have available to operate within such contexts (Miles-Watson 2012). I intend therefore to restrict my discussion here to the bridging aspects of landscape capital within two distinct geographical regions. In doing this I follow a wider trend in religious capital theory, which has seen academics, policy makers and practitioners develop, often seemingly independently of each other, the idea that religious groups are not only excellent generators of social capital (Putnam 2000: 67), but also make a distinct contribution to civil society, which has been termed religious capital, or spiritual capital (Baker and Miles-Watson 2010).

Baker and Skinner (2006) have influentially combined the descriptors *spiritual capital* and *religious capital* to suggest that they are not simply mutually interchangeable descriptors, but actually terms to describe different aspects of one overarching process. They suggest that spiritual capital should be used to define the (often personal) process of energising, which allows for the completion of the social good that occurs through religious engagement, whereas religious capital represents the communally held tangible social outworking of spiritual capital (Baker and Skinner 2006: 9). The interplay of human and non-human, group and individual, that this model suggests certainly fits well with the dynamic processes that are under

discussion here and the understanding of landscape that we have now developed. It therefore lends itself well to the modeling of sacred landscape capital, where all these elements are clearly at play.

10.5 Landscapes of the Sacred and Capital Theory

The exploration of aspects of sacred landscapes is an established part of the academic study of religion (Eliade 1959; Smith 1978; Lane 1988). Much of this literature has dealt with specific localities and religious performances under the heading of sacred place (Davies 1994). However, over the second half of the last decade, this movement gathered a new focus—largely due to the general academic spatial turn (Arias and Warf 2008) and the particular spatial turn that occurred within the study of religion, which was lead by Knott (2005a, b, 2008, 2010). This work has not surprisingly tended to prefer to use the term *space*, which is viewed as both a more dynamic term and a way of marking out a distinct approach to older studies of sacred landscapes and sacred places. Landscape, as defined above, is however the perfect term to bridge the locality/space binary and bring the rich variety of discourse about various religious practices into dialogue. The discipline of religious studies then is, I believe, at a point where the introduction of a complex concept of sacred landscape is called for.

Despite the recent boom in both religious capital and sacred space literature these discussions have been largely silent on sacred landscape capital. Where the physical location of a religious group has been explored, religious capital research has tended to focus on the concept of sacred space and in particular religious buildings (Cameron 2004; Grey 2004; Dynes 2006). The buildings in such research are presented as a backdrop, or stage, upon which the action of religious worship and religiously inspired social action unfold; not, the debate has largely been around both the extent to which the space is optimal for religiously inspired social action and how it can be further optimised (Baker and Smith 2010: 22–24). This is a long way from both the experiences of entering into religious landscapes that I will discuss later in this chapter and the understanding of landscape capital developed above. Yet, it is not unreasonable to suggest that religious landscapes may generate something that is both unique and of value to wider civil society. Indeed, the type of landscape capital that I, in Shimla, joined in the generation of is something that is tied to patterns of worship; therefore it is presumably far more likely to be a feature of religious groups than their secular counterparts.

10.6 Capital and Churchscapes: A Northumbrian Example

While religious capital literature has attempted to embrace a range of religious denominations it has fundamentally operated from a Christian base (Baker and Miles-Watson 2010). This has led to it having an innate bias towards a Christian-

centric understanding of the way that religion and society function, which poses obvious problems for the construction of a universal model. Rather than try here to directly counter this problem I instead intend to complicate the existing discussion by pointing out an important aspect of the landscape of Christian churches, albeit at the same time as arguing both that people who belong to other faiths can form a central element of Christian landscapes and that Christian landscapes can form an integral part of wider sacred and secular landscapes. What is more, I am certain that the kind of landscape capital I am here discussing is both far from universal and present in some non-Christian religious landscapes.

The connections between church landscapes, religious capital and wider landscape theory first began to form in my mind in 2007 while working with the Glendale group of churches in North East England. This is a group of ten historic, Anglican, churches, located in a sparsely populated region. The church buildings had a long-standing presence in the landscape and yet their value was seen to be undermined by falling numbers of regular congregants. Despite the problems that these churches faced, it was immediately clear to me that they were seen as of central importance to the local villagers, many of whom did not attend formal church worship regularly (Miles-Watson et al. 2008). The value of these churches did not lie in the ability of the buildings to double as post offices (as is often assumed), nor was it simply their action as a form of vicarious religion (Davie 2006), rather it was the way that the trace of past worship could be observed in the contemporary landscape of the churches that was valued; in particular, the way that interpretative stories had become woven around the buildings (Miles-Watson et al. 2008: 14). This combination of entering into the church landscape, perceiving the action of others in the landscape and what I have previously termed *implicit mythology* (Miles-Watson 2012) had a powerful ability to create connections across time; furthermore this connectivity bolstered collective identity and helped to anchor people amidst the flows of social change.

For ease of reference I have termed this kind of sacred, bonding, landscape capital *churchscape capital*. In doing this I employ the term simply for convenience as shorthand for *church landscape capital.* I would like to distance this sense of churchscape capital from previous uses of the term (Greenagel 2001; Leppman 2005), which have tended to use it in a more limited sense to describe the largely architectural presence of churches within particular landscapes. In many ways my understanding of churchscape capital mirrors Tim Ingold's (2000: 205–207) famous discussion of the way that a typical rural church landscape functions. In his highly influential essays on perceptions of the environment, Ingold discusses a landscape painting of a rural churchscape which he suggests possesses elements of a Bakhtinian chronotope (2000: 205–207). He argues that the church both resonates with and helps to reinforce simultaneously the human conception of linear time and cyclical time (ibid.). It is not a landscape that is ever complete, but rather it is in a constant state of becoming through interaction with human and non-human elements (ibid.). What is more, because the church bears the trace of action over lifetimes it creates an intergenerational link with the ancestors of the village, who are buried in the surrounding church yard and therefore both metaphorically and literally rooted in the church landscape (ibid.).

   The resonances with Ingold's idealised churchscape and the lived reality that I encountered in Northumberland are obvious. Indeed, I would like to offer Ingold's theory as way of broadening this ethnographic evidence and the ethnographic evidence as way of answering those of Ingold's critics that have suggested that in choosing to discuss a church landscape painting he gives himself the liberty of not having to deal with the messy reality of an ethnographic exploration of church congregations. That said, we will now leave this cosy and somewhat simplistic understanding of churchscape capital, in order to explore the value generated by Christian landscapes of worship in the context of social turmoil and landscape rupture. For, it is by engaging Ingold's model with information derived from recent fieldwork with Christian communities in North India that I will arrive at a powerful understanding of the way that churchscape capital heals landscape ruptures.

10.7   Shimla as a Ruptured Landscape

In the understanding of churchscape capital developed above a sense of continuity is central to the model, however in 2006 I adopted Shimla as a field site, a place where the sense of continuity has been dramatically ruptured by the traumas of historical change. Shimla today is the capital of the small Himalayan state of Himachal Pradesh; however it was formerly known as Simla, during which time it operated as the summer capital of British India. It is therefore a city with a strong colonial connection, more so than many other contemporary metropolises in India. This sense of connection with a time now passed is furthered by the fact that the city was built on a largely green-field site, meaning that little in the city predates the colonial period (Pubby 1988: 20). Furthermore, there was an attempt to here build a landscape that would evoke memories of Europe, for either Europeans or those of European ancestry (Bhasin 2009: 87–89). This has resulted in a landscape that is in part an invocation of the other: an attempt to mimic a landscape shaped by generations of action that had occurred across the other side of the world (Miles-Watson 2012). During the colonial period this sense of displacement was added to by the many people of European ancestry or birth who left their trace on the landscape, albeit not as exclusively as some of them would have desired (ibid.).

   In the period after independence the city, now named Shimla, witnessed a massive population movement when most of its previous European residents departed; however, the overall population of the city, far from declining, increased (Chandramouli 2011: 47). Today Shimla is a migrant city with residents drawn from all areas of India (ibid.). During the summer the pedestrianised streets are so crowded with tourists (mostly Indian, but some European and American) that walking along the Mall during the middle of the day becomes an art of weaving through crowds. Not surprisingly, the landscape of Shimla tends to excite strong opinions of one sort or another and during my time in Shimla I encountered polarised responses (Miles-Watson 2013). This ambivalence reflects what I am terming, drawing on landscape rupture theory (Gable 2010: 125), the city's ruptured

past: the sense that a massive population movement has occurred, which has caused a rupture in the weave of the landscape.

10.8   Shimla's Churchscape

When in 2006 I first entered into the weave of Shimla's landscape it was winter and a light dusting of snow covered the mock Tudor buildings and surrounding deodars. On the horizon the snowcapped peaks of the high Himalayas gleamed while the snow underfoot muffled the sounds of the then quiet pedestrianised Mall Road. Rather than finding myself part of one of the travel horror stories of a concrete jungle, I felt that Ursula Sharma had it right when she suggested that Shimla was a very pleasant place to do fieldwork (Sharma 1986: vi). Over the years, my understanding of Shimla transformed and deepened as I learnt more about the seasonality of the Mall and how to navigate the problems surrounding water supply and refuse disposal that accompanied life in this city. But throughout the changing seasons one thing that remained constant was the sense that Christ Church Cathedral (Fig. 10.1) was central to the landscapes of Shimla. Although the snow that swirled around it in the winter changed to flows of tourists in the summer, the central reality of Christ Church being at the heart of things always remained.

Fig. 10.1   Christ Church Cathedral, Shimla (Photo by Jonathan Miles-Watson)

The cathedral was originally designed by Colonel Boileau in 1844 to imitate the Gothic cathedrals of Northern Europe (Buck 1925). During the colonial period it formed the centre of Anglican worship in the city and had several notable congregants, including Rudyard Kipling and successive Viceroys (Miles-Watson 2013). In the post-independence period the nature of its congregation substantially changed and Christ Church became part of a coalition of protestant churches known as the Church of North India. A recent survey put the congregation of Christ Church Cathedral at around 150, with 85 % drawn from the middle class, 10 % from the upper class (mostly landholders who live out of town) and 5 % from the lower classes (Chung 2000). Although the number of regular congregants at the Church has dropped, mirroring the significant drop in the percentage of self-confessing Christians in Shimla, it is important to note that Christ Church Cathedral remains to this day a place of active worship, as well as functioning as both a pilgrimage destination and tourist attraction.

Although most know Christ Church only from the outside, many do venture inside where they can and find something quite different. I found the church to be delightfully peaceful in winter, yet it gained a new dimension in summer, when tourists would wrestle with security guards to take footage of the celebrations (Miles-Watson 2013). The first service I ever went to at Christ Church I was immediately affected by it and that may have had something to do with elements that reminded of me of England, the country of my birth. I was intrigued by the mix of the familiar and the strange that I encountered within the church. In particular, I immediately noticed the traditional shape of the church, the use of English (when used) in the services and recitation of traditional English hymns to a pipe organ accompaniment. Over the next year I developed a rather different appreciation of the space: I came to know individuals, have my own memories bound up with the church and (as I talked to people about the church) I could see a similar line of development in the thoughts and feelings of others. Those that had worshipped there for several years would often talk about both the history of the building in colonial days and memories from their own life in a way that wove the two together. Therefore, although traces of colonial worship were very visible in the church, with its stained glass windows designed by Lockwood Kipling (Rudyard's father) and the signs on the pews that noted that a viceroy once knelt and prayed there, the congregants were not disturbed by this; on the contrary, most seemed to take comfort in noting these traces.

10.9 Landscapes of the Living and the Dead

One particularly striking feature of contemporary Christ Church is the way that the landscapes of the dead and the living combine. As previously discussed, Ingold has argued that part of the power of the typical parish church landscape is that the ancestors of the congregation are literally buried in the roots of the church, by being

buried in the graveyard (Ingold 2000: 205–207). Christ Church does not have a graveyard outside the church, but what is instantly striking to everyone who goes to Christ Church is that the wall is lined with commemorative plaques. These plaques do not, of course, mark the blood ancestors of most of the congregation. For, in contrast to the church Ingold describes, the people who are built into the fabric of this church (its walls) are the former governing elite. They are the ancestors of the place, but not necessarily the genetic ancestors of the people. Here then we can see tangible traces of the wider landscape rupture, which the city as a whole witnesses as does the wider church building. Yet, far from this being a source of discomfort it is for many a source of comfort, it is as if the church landscape holds within it the key to answering the mystery of the wider contemporary landscape of the city.

During fieldwork in Shimla, between 2006 and 2012, I was frequently informed by members of the congregation of Christ Church that the building was something that they are part of just as it is part of them and yet they were also always intimately aware that it is something that has a life which stretched back beyond them (Miles-Watson 2012). Strangely, this did not seem to disturb the congregants in anyway; in fact they seemed to find it reassuring. During a full calendar year of fieldwork in Shimla (2009–2010) I noticed a frequent reference to colonial historical events as part of people's identity narratives (Miles-Watson 2012). Most contemporary congregants, although not all, held a sense that people who dwelled in Shimla in the colonial past were connected to them in the postcolonial present through shared patterns of worship in shared places (Miles-Watson 2013). Therefore, through both being part of this landscape and being aware of the traces of the past, they had become connected with a time before their own and with the ancestors of the place, who are not their own genetic ancestors. Through such worship the other became incorporated into the group identity and the ruptures of history obviated. The church then was clearly a source of Ingoldian connections through time, but these connections were purely spatial and in no way genetic.

10.10 Bridging Churchscape Capital and Group Identity in Shimla

By sensitively entering into and helping to constitute landscapes of worship that are both relevant to the present and harmonised with the past, the small Christian population of Shimla perform an important kind of civil service. They generate a sort of capital that is not just held by them but is offered the community as a whole, or rather they transform themselves into the key that unlocks the riddle of Shimla's past for all the community. It is therefore not surprising that it is not only Shimla's Christians who view Christ Church as central to their identity but also many of the wider community. Like most Christians in Shimla I lived embedded within a middle class Hindu community and yet, perhaps partly due to polytropic tendencies (Carrithers 2000), my neighbours were extremely proud of

Christ Church, which they considered as much their church as that of the Christians; as in Northumberland, here in Shimla this was especially the case with the long term residents, who had lived there for over 50 years.

Most of these Hindu residents worshiped daily at home, which may be taken to hint at an opposition between private Hindu space and public Christian space. However, such a division is easily overblown and many of my Hindu informants also regularly went to one of the various Hindu temples that top the surrounding hills. There is however an important distinction here, for these temples are implicitly associated with the Hindu, natural, or received, landscape, which was forged through events in mythic time, whereas Christ Church was associated with the urban, or built environment, which was forged through the events of colonial time. Since Shimla, despite the etymological argument, was primarily a product of action in colonial time, to be a Shimlite was therefore to be connected in some way with that identity. Being a Shimlite of course is an identity that is nested for many inside the broader category of being a Himachali and when asked what religious landscapes are key to Himachali identity the same informants that named Christ Church as central to Shimlite identity would often talk of Hindu shrines and places of more distant pilgrimage. In these cases it is clear that we do not have an oppositional Christian/Hindu identity, so much as an identification with aspects of Christian worship that are comfortably encompassed within a wider Hindu scheme of practice and identity.

Throughout 2009 I heard and recorded a wide range of childhood identity narratives from Hindus that were centred on the experience of worship at Christ Church. I also met Hindus who still go to attend special services at Christ Church today and who were fondly connected to what they perceived as traditional Christian worship (Miles-Watson 2013). Indeed, when in 2006 and 2009 I witnessed Hindu residents who were exposed to less traditional celebrations at Christ Church I noted their sense of confusion during the events. Although I never heard it explicitly vocalised in these terms I recorded in my field journal in December 2009 that there was a general sense that "Christians had a dharma (or Divine duty) to play their part in generating landscapes of worship that help to answer the somewhat disturbing questions generated by Shimla's very visible history". These questions do not lie in the mind of beholder, but rather arise implicitly from the inscriptions on the landscape that result from a rupture with the colonial past (Gable 2010).

Between December 2006 and November 2010 I had the opportunity to talk with a large section of middle and upper class local Hindu residents who felt that Christ Church was central to Shimla and therefore central to the identity of a Shimlite (Miles-Watson 2012). It is my understanding that it was central, partly because of the spot it held, but also because it reinforced and created a connection with the past through the church landscape, which is suggested by Ingold, but adds the element of the ability to connect through rupture. Thus, we see the landscape, centred on the church, acting in a way that is reminiscent of Lévi-Strauss' (1981) discussions of myth in the Amazon (1981, 1994). That is to say that the landscape has the ability to overcome the traumas of history, not by remaining static but by being open to history and incorporating it (Miles-Watson 2012).

This sense of timelessness is also picked up and valued by the other key constituents of the churchscape: tourists. These are, largely, Indian tourists, who tend to be seasonal, coming mainly during the hottest time of the year. The visitor's book of Christ Church Cathedral is filled with inscriptions by Hindu tourists who without exception all remark on how moved they were by the churchscape. In particular, they frequently note that what they value most about the church is the sense of timeless peace that they feel upon entering it.

I interviewed groups of tourists from the Punjab, Hyderabad and Mumbai in 2010 and all of these groups pointed to the historical traces of action in the church (the plaques on the wall, various adornments) combined with its continuing use as a space of worship as central to its sense of timeless peace. Ironically, some in the church see the tourists as destroying this peace through their noisy presence, while others are more seriously worried that the churchscape capital will be devalued by the change in the landscape that tourists bring (Miles-Watson 2013).

There is of course a power dynamic at work in any collectively held resource and the churchscapes of Shimla are no exception to this. Indeed, to fully access the benefits of the churchscape capital that I have outlined a process of enskilment in how to reckon with that environment has to be undertaken (Miles-Watson 2012). Such a process involves a guided engagement with the landscape that is clearly not open to all and while these systems bridge faith divisions they also cement class and educational distinctions. It is possible to say that while the churchscape is rich in both bridging and bonding capital it is rather weak in a sort of downward linking capital.

I have previously discussed (Miles-Watson 2013) at length this dynamic, along with the battle within the Christian community for fresh expressions that both undermine current hierarchical systems and the very connections that I have here been examining. While these divisions are real and at times painfully felt they have not, at present, seriously devalued the churchscape capital that is the subject of this paper. More importantly, despite these divisions the churchscape continues to heal the ruptures of history and generate a valuable kind of landscape capital that inevitably holds together (and draws from) all of these distinct threads.

Although Christians are a minority group in Shimla, who have received little academic attention, they are part of a central churchscape that is rich in landscape capital. In Shimla, the churchscape capital has not been torn apart by the ruptures of social change; rather it has become the anchor for the increasingly distinct flows of humans that knot around it. Here the human and the non-human continue to be drawn together along with past and the present and this creates a sense of stability against the ravages of history, not by ignoring them but by incorporating them. For, the landscape of Shimla clearly poses problems: problems of memory and identity, as well as issues of how to vocalise a personal story about this landscape when the past actions of others shout so clearly and loudly from it. The churchscape too has within it these problems, but the churchscape also gives answers to these dilemmas and these answers are not hoarded by a minority group but rather presented as a sort of cypher to the wider civil society; through this process the churchscapes of Shimla are able to heal the wider landscape's ruptures.

10.11 Landscape Capital and Historical Rupture

It is clear from the above discussion that the concept of landscape capital has something to offer, beyond its common usage as a term for the intergenerational transfer and transformation of labour to wealth in small scale societies (e.g. Brookfield 1984, 1986, 2001a). The concept also suggests, at a general level, that the British government's recent attempt to assess the capital of "natural" landscapes, in largely functional, economic, terms needs also to heed the complex intricacies of place, person and identity.[2] What is remarkable here is the way that Ingold's notion is complicated by historical rupture without the value of the landscape's capital being undermined. This then suggests the ability of the landscape processes to resist change by incorporating it, hence generating a sense of stability through displaying the trace of historical upheaval.

Religious landscape capital emerges from this discussion somewhat counter intuitively, as a supercharged, or central, form of landscape capital in the modern migrant city. Thus, it may be argued that, for migrant communities, the importance of engaging with the historical trace of sacred action is heightened. Here, more than ever, religion in the post-secular city (Baker and Beaumont 2011) emerges from the private home into the centre of the public sphere. What is more, it is striking, that in postcolonial Shimla, it is precisely that which may be thought to be most socially redundant, the churchscape, which emerges above all other religious landscapes as the richest site of sacred landscape capital.

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[2]More information about this strategy can be found in the recent DEFRA White Paper *The natural choice: securing the value of nature,* July 2011.

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Chapter 11
Understanding Ruptured Landscapes

Hannes Palang

"A Hermit Praying in the Ruins of a Roman Temple" (c. 1760), by Hubert Robert (1796–1864). Getty Open Content (http://www.getty.edu/art/gettyguide/artObjectDetails?artobj=918)

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Abstract   This chapter draws together the key findings of the book. Its main argument is that when taken collectively, individual contributions to the volume present a clear call to take seriously the vibrant, multidimensional richness of ruptured landscapes—and the value of methodologically open approaches in rendering that richness apparent.

Keywords   Landscape • Rupture • Social change • Interdisciplinarity

What is rupture? What does it have to do with landscape? The term can refer to the process or instance of breaking open or bursting, or—as an adjective—the state of being broken open. As the chapters collected here indicate, the concept has everything to do with landscape, and its relevance extends far beyond obvious physical traumas such as earthquakes. Collectively our authors have used the concept of rupture to address issues that lie at the heart of landscape studies: persistence and change, identity, heritage management and the various ways in which societies handle radical breaks and discontinuity.

Landscape, as defined by the European Landscape Convention (Council of Europe 2000), is "an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors." Both the human factors shaping the landscape and human perceptions of the landscape change over time. As the works collected here attest, societal changes cause ruptures, breaks and discontinuities which are then inscribed in landscape, through practice. These inscriptions may in turn result in changing patterns and representations, but they may also change the practices themselves.

Breaks and ruptures have happened many times in history, and some of our chapters address such breaks directly: the breaks between colonial and post-colonial periods (Miles-Watson, this volume), for example, or between Soviet and post-Soviet architecture (Saar and Printsmann, ibid.). As Antrop (2005) observed, periods of relative stability alternate with periods of much more rapid change. In his account, the pace and magnitude of landscape change depends on technological innovations and societal changes (Antrop 2000). He also distinguished between two main types of landscape: traditional landscapes, where several generations live in more or less the same environment, and modern landscapes, where one generation has the chance to live in many different settings. The tension between the two is explored particularly in the chapter by Jürgenson, who shows how diasporic Estonians manage continuity and change in the landscapes of their "new" homes.

To Antrop (2005: 23), landscape changes were:

> mostly inspired by utilitarian and economical motives of the local or regional society. Little is known about aesthetic aspects involved, although symbolic values were important, as can be seen by the preservation and care of old landmarks.

His observation touches on the key issues for example in Saar's chapter, which explores memory, identity and memorialisation in a suburb of post-Soviet Tallinn. An earlier study by Cosgrove (1984), however, did study precisely those

aesthetic dimensions of landscape change. Focusing on landscapes from the Italian Renaissance, he noted how each socio-economic formation tries to create its own landscape. The changes here were gradual, taking more than a century to be completed, and were perhaps rooted more in ideology than in practical needs. Old symbolic values and power structures were eliminated, or replaced, by new ones. At the same time, however, one also has to agree with Widgren (2012): during certain periods, and in certain contexts, individuals and societies do make clear and legible impressions in the landscape, while others may leave few or faint traces. The archaeology of these marks or traces is the concern of Basu, whose chapter examines the role of the poet as a figure who subverts dominant understandings by revealing traces of hidden meaning and historical action in the landscapes of Northern Ireland.

Based on this model of change, it might be tempting to formulate taxonomies of landscape types and forms of change. Vos and Meekes (1999), for example, distinguish six distinct layers in the history of European landscapes: the prehistoric, ancient, medieval, traditional agricultural, industrial and post-modern landscape. Most of the contributors to this volume avoid typological classifications of this sort, preferring instead to explore the landscape concept through conceptual pairings such as ideological and physical (Basu, Chap. 3, this volume), human and nonhuman (Reinert, ibid.), or social and natural (Kasemets, ibid.). While they explore "ruptured" landscapes across the Americas, Asia and Europe, there is also a cluster of chapters that focus particularly on Eastern Europe (Annist, Kasemets and Printsmann, ibid.).

As we have argued elsewhere (Palang et al. 2006; Palang 2010), we can identify three distinct breaks in the landscapes of Eastern Europe over the course of the twentieth century. The first happened after WWI, and coincides with the breakup of the great empires of Russia, Germany, Turkey and Austria-Hungary and the formation of many smaller independent states. The second coincides with the end of WWII and the expansion of socialism across eastern and central Europe. The third happened between 1989 and 1991, and is directly linked to the fall of the Soviet Union and return of its satellite countries to capitalism. As the regional contributions to this volume show, this complex and discontinuous history makes Eastern Europe an excellent "testing ground" for the study of rupture.

What is rupture, then? What can it be? The chapters collected here address the question through a series of detailed empirical case studies, each of which stands on its own as well as feeding into theoretical debates across a range of disciplines. Some have emphasised the historical richness and textures of rupture (Cubero, Chap. 2, this volume), or the need to take the unrepresented into account: be they Russian-speaking "others" (Saar, ibid.), indigenous people (Annist, ibid.) or even nonhuman stakeholders (Reinert, ibid.). Some of our authors dwell on the creative potentials inherent in ruptured space (Basu, Jürgenson and Kasemets, ibid.), others on its hopeful possibilities for healing or redemption (Miles-Watson, ibid.). Taken together, these chapters offer a clear message to readers in academia, policy and spatial planning: a call for attention to the sheer complexity of ruptures, to the range of actors they involve, to their multidimensional richness and to their hidden

potential. While many of the chapters describe tangled problems and intractable situations, they also point to the possibilities presented by ruptured landscapes—that is, their capacity to transform from sites of hurt to sites of hope and opportunity.

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Index

A
Acevedo, J., 12, 20, 21
Adams, C.W., 62
Adaptation, 6, 60, 103, 104, 113, 115, 116, 119, 121, 123
Alderman, D., 81
Anderson, L., 59
Annist, A., 6, 131–146
Antrop, M., 168
Architecture, 4, 5, 59, 62, 65, 69, 101–107, 156, 168
Assmann, A., 83
Augé, M., 122
Auto-ethnography, 5, 57–59, 66, 75

B
Baker, C., 154
Barnes, T.J., 29
Barrell, J., 31
Basquiat, J.M., 22
Basu, S., 4, 25–39
Bender, B., 28
Benjamin, W., 11, 14
Bergua, J.A., 141
Berry, J., 115, 116
Border, 6, 27, 42, 44, 49, 93, 122, 123, 127, 132–146
Borén, T., 60
Bourdieu, P., 139, 140, 151, 154
Brookfield, H., 151–153
Buil, G.M., 141
Buttimer, A., 56

C
Cantwell, M., 62
Caribbean beaches, 3, 9–24
Carson, C., 35
Churchscapes, 6, 155–163
Coleman, J., 151, 152
Collective memory, 83
Colonial landscapes, 29, 31, 121, 157, 161
Conzen, M.R.G., 60, 66
Corcoran, N., 37
Cosgrove, D., 168
Crang, M., 60
Creativity, 6, 13, 23, 26, 29, 38, 99, 116, 122, 124, 127, 144, 169
Creed, G.W., 145
Cubero, C.A., 3, 9–24

D
Dakin, S., 101
de Certeau, M., 124
Diaspora, 5, 112–115, 122, 124, 125, 127

E
Edensor, T., 100, 106
Ellis, C.S., 58, 59
Evans, J., 61, 62, 65, 74
Extinction, 3, 41–53

F
Farrar, M., 88
Feldman, M., 86