Tero Mustonen

**SNOWCHANGE AND TEMPORAL
BORDERS OF THE NORTHERN
INDIGENOUS NATIONS -**
A Geopolitical Inquiry of "Sápmi", Sámi of
Finland and the Russian Federation

Contents

Part 1 - Neverending Perfect Circle

1.1. **Introduction - The object of study**

This study focuses on the issues of Indigenous temporality, spatiality, political scapes and selfgovernance in the northern and Arctic areas. These issues will be looked at using the critical geopolitical theory of the International Relations (IR) (for example Tuathail 1998: 1-38). This inquiry is a basis for a larger research attempt to investigate the Indigenous time, space and political scape within the social sciences.

The specific question of inquiry is how the traditional Indigenous non-European life world, spatial and temporal reality, and systems of knowledge translate into the current realities of the international and Arctic borders and demarcation. How to recognise the Indigenous spatiality, temporality and political scape while defining a border of a certain area?

The aim of this paper is to illustrate through comparative examples of selfgovernance and geopolitics a template for the articulation of alternate system of governance in the fields of environmental and demarcation policy in the northern areas.

A tool *"Snowchange"* will be introduced for interpreting Indigenous [northern] temporality and spatiality. The operationalisation of snowchange will rest on the idea that snow defined, and still defines to a certain extent the non-linear life world, time and place of the Indigenous nations of the northern areas.

Snowchange includes the political space and scape of these societies, as well as the non-linearities of time and space, and local languages as systems of knowledge (commonly known in the Indigenous studies as TEK - traditional [ecological] knowledge, Indigenous knowledge, Berkes 1999, Huntington 1998 - 2000).

The study of Indigenous spatiality and temporality includes the notion of a non-linear interpretation of time and space, a notion of immediacy and locality that functions as the focus, the basis of the life world, as opposed to the abstract systems of nation-states and other elements of European international relations. The locality of the snowchange of the Indigenous nations has produced a different interpretation of demarcation that has not been tackled in the social sciences. The life world of the northern Indigenous nations includes temporal borders (Mustonen 2001: 194 - 195, Rattray 2000), an alternate demarcation system of time and space that carries elements of nomadity, even though not all subsistence activities and Indigenous nations are "nomadic" (for example, Wilson 2001: 214 - 217). It will be explored whether the critical geopolitical approach of the international relations (Tuathail 1998) can recognise and assess the

snowchange and temporal borders of the Indigenous nations of the north. The inquiry is thus an interplay between "science" and "knowledge" (see also appendix 2).

This will be carried out by an inquiry of a temporal border in Sápmi, the Sámi homeland. The specific case analysed is the nation-state border between the Province of Lapland in Finland and Murmansk Oblast in Russia, which will be compared with the Indigenous spatiality and temporality. Comparisons to British Columbian First Nations in Canada will be made in the analysis. Semi-directive interviews, maps and selfgovernance agreements functioned as sources of data in the target areas.

Case template will be drawn using the existing selfgovernance and border demarcation techniques in the agreements from the "European" north with the Indigenous Sámi. Experiences of the Indigenous populations of the Russian Arctic, mainly the Sámi of Kola Peninsula and the Nenets and the Canadian experiences of British Columbia will be highlighted.

The interviews conducted with the various members of the Indigenous communities in the north will be drawn on to reflect a postcolonial approach (Helander 1999) to the inquiry and to discuss the criticism of the selfgovernance process.

In this study, the term "Indigenous" refers to the groups of people who are currently (2002) recognised in the International Labor Organisation, United Nations and other international fora as "Indigenous or Aboriginal" populations of the case area and state (ILO). The term is used to refer to current issues and research. The terms Indigenous and Aboriginal are used without normative difference.

The term "postcolonial" refers to a specific era and discourse of acknowledging an act of colonisation which has taken place in the local target area. Note that this recognition is not always done by all actors of society or political life; for instance, not all states recognise systems of colonisation or claims for such as "valid" (recent examples in Kitti 2002: A5, Hyvärinen 2002: A5). Legal documents and interviews with informants will be used to reinforce the justification of this paradigm. Especially the Russian discourse of Indigenous issues is, to a large extent, defined by the hegemonic writing of the Russian scholars (Fondahl 2001, Pika 1998 - 1999).

Based on the evaluation and comparisons of the existing regimes, the study will proceed to discuss an act of redefinition of the Finnish-Russian border between the Province of Lapland and the Murmansk Region of the Russian Federation. This would mean a transformation into a system of *temporal border,* which would recognise the currently split Indigenous "Sápmi", the Sámi homeland.

The study of the non-mainstream, especially Indigenous, populations in these areas is also a discourse on the idea of Russia (Trenin 2000 on borders and ideas of Russia and Eurasia), the idea of a "multicultural" Canada (see Constitution Act 1982, Cairns 2000) and indeed, the idea of Finland (Paasi 1994: 24). It functions as an act of *"unmapping the empire"* (Shapiro 1996) of postcolonialism in the north.

Using Indigenous theories of international relations combined with the critical geopolitics, this paper argues that an Indigenous regime and border system of *"temporality"* would recognise the *"peace, power and righteousness"* (Alfred 1999) of the decolonisation (Springhall 2001) in the European north.

Notions of state military presence (Forss 1998, Neueburger Zeitung 1999, Golts 2000, Salomaa 1998, Zaks 2000, Heininen 1991, Kanninen 1994), the European Union policy of Northern Dimension [ND] (Lipponen 1997, Stenlund 1999, Foreign Ministry of Finland, European Commission 1998, 2000, Raivio 1999), the Russian Northern Fleet submarine *"Kursk"* crash (Bellona 1997, 2001, Rosenblatt 2000, Warren 2000, Watson 2000, Mustonen 2000, 2001a), the history of colonisation (Berger 1989) , and the division of Sápmi will be highlighted to support the argument of the analysis.

1.2. Background to the research problem

Recent years have seen a significant number of Indigenous land claim agreements to come into existence (for example, Inuvialuit Final Agreement 1984, Nunavut Final Agreement, Yukon Agreements, Nisga'a Final Agreement 2000) in Canada. Through these land claim processes, some Agreements have established selfgovernance for the Indigenous populations in the north. Indeed, the Nunavut process led to a creation of a new territory of public governance on the 1st of April 1999 in Canada (Irniq 2002). In the Arctic politics, the end of the Cold War (Hobsbawn 1996) and the shifting interests of the nation-states in the area (the so-called "Arctic eight" - Scandinavian countries, Iceland, Russia and the United States) have created new emerging possibilities in the north (Northern Dimension policies of the EU [See Lipponen 1997], the creation of the Arctic Council, see more in Heininen 1999, Tennberg 1998).

Within the bigger political processes, the Indigenous selfgovernance issues have been present as well. This process can be called a partial recognition of Aboriginal rights. The recognition of different spatial and temporal realities as *"valid"* in the north (Delgamuuwk 1997 Court Decision, Nisga'a Final Agreement 2000, land use and occupancy studies with the Inuit leading to the Nunavut process) has gone half the way.

The problematisation of the colonialism in the Arctic has been mentioned and discussed mainly in the Indigenous fora (in this inquiry, drawing mostly from Alfred 1999, Alfred 2001a, Helander 1999, and various Indigenous interviews 1999 - 2002) and by some non-IR scholars (Berger 1979, 1989, 1999, Brody 1986, 2000) but it has not been in the limelight of the IR studies of the Circumpolar Arctic (see more in Young 1992, Chaturvedi 2000).

This paper argues that the Circumpolar Arctic and the northern areas could be a vehicle of readdressing the nation-state-controlled world system so that it would recognise the nature and extent of the Indigenous presence and land usage realities through a postcolonial act of self-reflection, especially in the field of environmental regime.

The current consensus of the Arctic reterritorialisation (Fondahl 2001) processes is that Indigenous selfgovernance can only be pursued through European/mainstream-introduced legal, political and social frameworks (Alfred 2001a). The recognition of Indigenous governance in the north could serve as a solution model baseline for the other postcolonial crises.

The introduction of snowchange as a tool in social sciences to interpret non-linearities of governance, time and space is sketched for further inquiries.

The establishment of public forms of governance in the Canadian Final Agreements has been criticised by many Indigenous scholars (Alfred 1999, 2001a, Bedard 2001, Amos 2000, Price 2001, Somby 2002) as vehicles for continuing the colonisation and occupation of the Indigenous traditional territories and lifestyles. The debate of the current policymakers revolves around the European-introduced spatial and temporal realities (see more in Holsti 2000, Tahkolahti 2002a: A7, Tahkolahti 2002b: A13). Some scholars of the postmodern social sciences have arrived at the same line as the Indigenous comments and arguments about the crises of modernity. (Foucault 1990, Kuehls 1996, Dalby 2002).

The notion and the survival of an Indigenous identity is at stake and is currently threatened by the "globalisation" of the world markets and world politics (on the question of "how" and "why" this threat is perceived in the Indigenous fora, see more in Alfred 1999, 2001a-b, Carter 1999, and different discourses on modernisation).

The ramifications of the September 11th 2001 terrorist strikes started a debate of an emergence of a new era and a regime of world politics, making the Indigenous selfgovernance debates even more acute while the presence of non-European social realities within American heartland and in Canada remains a fact. (See reflections from the Indigenous community to the New York strikes in Alfred 2001b.)

Through the analysis of the spatiality and temporality, some exportable elements of governance (see discussion on the exportability of the Nunavut process in Fenge 2001) will be discussed in order to look into the construction and borders of Sápmi, (see further for example in Helander 1999) the Indigenous Sámi homeland in the "European" north. The points of departure in the IR field in this discussion will include:

> a)*The Russian Indigenous selfgovernance and the legal and geopolitical issues surrounding the Kola Sámi*
> a) *The Sámi living in the territory of Finland and the relevant national, international and local selfgovernance issues:* **Descriptive analysis of Fennoscandia and demands of the Indigenous postcolonial potential (Wirilander 2001,** *Sámi* **selfgovernance and Finnish legal documents**)

Drawing on a comparative critical geopolitical articulation, a regime system of co-existing border mechanisms between Finnish Lapland and the Murmansk Region of the Russian Federation, one of the "temporal borders" of Snowchange (see for example in Mustonen 2001, 2002 Rattray 2000) will be discussed. It is argued, that this would allow for the recognition of Indigenous land claims and selfgovernance as defined by the nations themselves.

1.3. Heuristic problems of departure

In Canada, some Indigenous scholars (Alfred 1999, 2001a) have argued that the limitations of the current selfgovernance processes and the lack of insight by the mainstream policymakers to act consistently in recognising Indigenous rights and honouring past agreements (and "treaties" [Alfred 1999]) are reflected in the documents of the Final Agreements and policies. Certain elements and the criticism of this process, mostly in Canadian-Aboriginal debates, have raised the notion of exportable policy elements (Fenge 2001) to be also applied in other northern areas, such as in Sápmi and in the Russian north.

As a brief illustration of the re/deterritorialisation process within Canada, here are some changes in the terminology and spatiality that have been seen:

> - Before: **"Indian"** →Today: **"First Nation"**
> - Before: **"Eskimo"** →Today: **"Inuit and Inuvialuit"**
> - Before: **"North West Territories"** →Today: **"Nunavut in the East"**
> - Before: **"Queen Charlotte Islands"** →Today: **"Haida Gwaii"**
> - (In administration) Before: **"Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development"** →Today: **"Aboriginal and Northern Affairs Canada "**

In Sápmi, the first elements of a similar kind of reterritorialisation have started to emerge. For example, the arrival to "Sápmi" is pointed out in the Finnish nation-state border signs (Mustonen 2002b, personal obs.).

While discussing snowchange and Indigenous issues in the northern areas, an overarching redefinition of **"security"** in the international relations can be seen. While exploring the dynamic of the current processes of Indigenous selfgovernance, one can ask **"why now?"** This is to highlight the post-Cold War security thinking of nation-states (Heininen 1999) which makes it possible for them to "allow" at least a partial vertical power sharing. Admittedly, this process is taking place at the "rim" or "in the periphery" of the nation-state power and territory, but nevertheless so (Paasi 1996: 24).

In the mainstream world politics, the existence of Nunavut, a largely Inuit-controlled new area that has existed as a territory of Canada since 1999, is causing an act of re-territorialisation of maps of the traditional kind (see further in this process in Warhus 1999). *We can see, thus, that something is changing, but how, why and on whose terms?* From the point of view of study in addition to the comparative element and the critical geopolitical inquiry the question of temporality of action in the selfgovernance is an issue. The act of perceiving history as it happens functions as a methodological tool and a fixed point of departure.

Jarmo Rinne, a scholar at the University of Tampere, has argued that the European linear time and space approach cannot explain "unknown histories" (2002). Thus there is a need to break away from the Hegelian linear historical development. In this inquiry, the Indigenous political scape functions as a non-linearity.

According to Rinne, the dialectical nature of history by Hegel portrays a development of a community in the following form, for example:

> A.   *Families (may be nomadic)*→
> B.   *Community* →
> C.   *Political community, polity (can manifest as a state)*

(ibid. 2000, 2001, 2002).

Because of the shared history, the community is shaped into its form (ibid. 2001). Shared symbols, systems of knowledge, allow the community to exist, and in the study of the "stateless" Indigenous systems of territoriality, the *sittlichkeit* (=communal morality or ethic codes of conduct) bears some Hegelian characteristics of a state community (ibid. 2001). Rinne argues further that the study of Indigenous "unconscious", including local temporalities and histories is not defined as an "anti"-

Hegelian approach. More likely it is building on the Hegelian concept of communal development and the existence of sittlichkeit (2001). History takes place, it is not made.

1.4. Justification of the research task

A postcolonial analysis to address the validity of the Indigenous knowledge systems has to be conducted at the earliest opportunity. Why? Before they are lost. The very survival of the Indigenous systems of knowledge, traditional knowledge (TEK), languages and communities is under increasing threat. It can be argued that if you lose a language, you also lose a system of ecological, temporal and spatial knowledge. Some assessments of traditional knowledge have argued that they maintain the biodiversities of their localities (see more in Berkes 1999).

The recent political and social recognition of the Indigenous rights in Canada and the way it has been done makes the questions of co-management, the different interpretations of spatial and temporal realities of governance, relevant in the study of international relations and changing northern critical geopolitics (Chaturvedi 2000).

The inclusion of the Indigenous groups around the circumpolar north as permanent participants in the Arctic Council, created in 1996 (Tennberg 1998), ushers in a new era of increased vertical representation and political resource base for the Indigenous organisations, at least in theory. The notion and the discussions of Sámi selfgovernance in this paper, territorial structure and observance of the regional behaviour studies are being built on the existing data in this study (such as Sillanpää 1994, Lewis 1998).

On the ground, power-sharing and decolonisation are still very much a theory (see criticism of the Delgamuuwk court case in Wilson 2001: 214 - 217). In the paradigm of the International Relations, the Indigenous ways of knowing and Indigenous systems of political thought are largely marginalised and pushed to the periphery.

Thus, a critical, self-reflective research act of the Sámi and the recognition of Indigenous land claims and systems of operation would bring about discourses of a new era of governance in the north. There is much to be learned from the Canadian-Indigenous experiences and systems of management in the IR field (see more, for example, in Royal Commission of Aboriginal Rights 1996).

There exists a cultural and a physical distance between the object of research and the researcher. The whole notion of "study" and the act of "studying" Indigenous selfgovernance and environmental perspectives have to be recognised as ethically demanding ones, so that the past mistakes of colonial researchers are not repeated

(Cruikshank 1988). There should not be an extraction of Indigenous knowledge without the permission of the affected communities, individuals or organisations. A system of research ethic has to be adhered to while representing and discussing the concept of Traditional Ecological Knowledge of the Indigenous communities.

In this study, the researcher recognises and wishes to acknowledge the fact that the knowledge of the Sámi belongs to the Sámi, and that the knowledge of other Indigenous groups discussed belongs to these groups. (See guidelines for ethical research of the Traditional Ecological Knowledge and participatory active research [PAR] in various, for example, in Helander & Kaila 1999, Goulet 1998: xxxiii, Robinson & Kassam 1999, Huntington 1999, 2000, Council of the First Nations of Yukon 2000). I wish to thank here all the partipants in the interviews, especially the elders of the different Nations, for sharing their comments and insights, their knowledge, for this inquiry.

Another social and cultural distance stretches between the identity of the researcher and that of the researched. It is easier to discuss the research questions with the First Nations and other Indigenous representatives in Canada and Russia, because there the identity of a Finnish researcher is that of a "visitor", "outsider" and "third party". That is, most of the time not a member of the society which in the past was the "coloniser". In Sápmi, while initiating cultural and social dialogue with the Sámi as a Finn, the issue of distance is the most difficult one because "we" have acted as the coloniser in the Sámi homelands, now known as the Lapland of the nation-state of Finland in the current maps.

Here, the identity of Finns is even more problematised than the social dynamics of Sámi-Swedish, Sámi-Russian, or Sámi-Norwegian relations while discussing the Sámi populations there. The reason for this complex dynamic is that we have colonised as others have done to us in the past. Thus the identity of Finns and the notion of "Indigenous" in this context are also political and constructed identities.

Discussions and criticism of different models of selfgovernance, border systems and co-management have due meaning in the context of the Sámi and the mainstream society. We can learn from the process and models that have been employed in Canada to advance and recognise a truly righteous (Alfred 1999) postcolonial study paradigm of environmental policy and management in the European north, a system of holistic ecology (Mustonen 2001a: 10). Fikret Berkes has called this system a "sacred ecology"(1999).

1.5. Outline of the research

1.5.1. Research orientation

Within the paradigm of social sciences and International Relations, I will orient myself to address the notion of my research topic in a dual manner. First, through a reflective employment of the postmodern theories of the IR field, I will chart a framework of theory to address the research question. In this process the main theories will rely primarily on the critical geopolitical approach (O'Tuathail 1998, Chaturvedi 2000, Shapiro 1996, to some degree Anssi Paasi 1994, 1996 on borders and Finland, Kuelhs 1996, Foucault 1974 on systems of suppression, power and thinking related to the critical geopolitics) to find ways to bridge the gap between critical western social sciences and politics and the current Indigenous political and environmental approach and to allow for the two to meet and greet.

A secondary theoretical tool for understanding and explaining the research question will be provided by the selected Indigenous social science approaches (Helander 1999, Alfred 1999, 2001a) with an intended focus on the northern and Arctic voices.

The study will address various overlapping disciplinary boundaries because of the subject matter which touches on a multitude of aspects of the social life of the Arctic. The interpretative methodology looks into the language and various comments and speeches by the Indigenous people of the north as fixed discourse texts to draw the research matrix. The method will rely on semi-directive interviews, which have been described by Henry Huntington in the following way:

"Participants are guided in the discussions by the interviewer, but the direction and the scope of the interview are allowed to follow the participants' train of thought. There is neither a fixed questionnaire, nor a preset limit on the time for discussions or the topics to be covered…the interviewer must also be prepared for unanticipated associations made by the participants." (2000: 1271).

With the help of the critical geopolitics and a well-informed dialogue of paradigm with the Indigenous framework, this study will attempt to cross the cultural divide that exists in the Arctic environmental and social sciences research.

1.6. The scope of the study and identification of the sources

The empirical scope of the Snowchange research is a comparative analysis of the selfgovernance documents from two affected cases of Indigenous communities and areas:

Primary case: Sápmi (Geopolitical, historical and legal overview of the Sámi of Finland, the laws and constitution of the Russian Federation in regard to the selfgovernance of the Indigenous Peoples of the Russian north and Far East [in Russian Korennyie Narod]) with some comparative elements drawn from
The secondary case of British Columbia, Canada (drawing from Nisga'a Final Agreement, Delgamuuwk 1997 Supreme Court of Canada decision on the Aboriginal right, Canadian Constitution of 1982, section 35.1, Royal Proclamation of 1763 and interviews with representatives of the Indigenous Nations)

The legal documents will serve as the primary material of research for the European demarcation of the Indigenous homelands. Within these documents, a comparison of the different interpretations of "border" of the territorial area and mapmaking (see more in Hudson 2001: 23 - 25) on using "map as a tool") will be looked at. Through a set of interviews, done by the author with affected Indigenous representatives and members of the non-Indigenous community in the target areas, a critical analysis of the interpretations of the primary material will be conducted.

The primary sources are available in public in the target areas, as well as online. The interviews and the study will be returned to the communities where possible.

This rendering will act as a basis of a modelling of *colonial reterritorialisation* of Kola Peninsula [in Soviet Union] and, in the post-1991 era, a process of *"deterritorialisation"* of the traditional Sámi areas.

Literature used to interpret the data and analysis, and the theory of interpretation will come from the above mentioned point of departure, mainly using the critical geopolitical methods.

1.7. Methodical application

Through a case analysis of snowchange and the definitions used in the selfgovernance agreements, and then through the critical statements and approaches of the Indigenous people interviewed, a concept of "temporal border" (Mustonen 2001a: 196) will be drawn up.

This concept, it is argued, can be a vehicle for the recognition of the Indigenous geopolitical approach and a way to accommodate the different systems of spatiality and temporality of the Indigenous and non-Indigenous systems of governance in the north.

In order for this to happen, however, there is a need to explore the method of questioning the hegemony of the Westphalian (Holsti 2000) state system and fixed nation-state borders.

Thus, a limited geopolitical history and an analysis of the study of "border" and different interpretations of demarcation regimes and security definitions is in order in the cases. Partly this study hopes to open up the constructivist nature (Paasi 1994, 1996) of the current border regimes of the Arctic, and show through concrete examples that the existence of this type of border is not based on the traditional land usage of the Indigenous populations of the area. These examples form a reality of the border-making European nation-states serving their own geopolitical interests in the north, for example, Russia, Finland and Canada.

The recognition and an informed study of Indigenous concepts is a postcolonial attempt in the northern areas, by a non-Indigenous researcher.

In this inquiry, the different notions of historical meanings of "border", "boundary", "maps" and "mapmaking" will be looked at. The "increase" of the Indigenous-controlled selfgovernance areas and borders is challenging the nation-state system of governance, and is a process of regionalisation (Käkönen, Heininen and others 1996 - 1998) in the Arctic and in the north.

The **key concepts** of relevance in the research are

- "snowchange": a tool to interpret non-linearities of time, space and political scape of the northern Indigenous life world in the paradigm of the critical geopolitics of the International Relations
- "border": a vehicle for analysis to understand why and how a colonial demarcation of the Indigenous traditional lands was done, and why the current selfgovernance process, challenging these existing demarcations, is of relevance to the study of IR. In sum, what the future and adaptability of the border system in the postcolonial world politics in the north is.
- "temporal border": a vehicle for analysis to understand a snowchange type of border that would
    a) recognise the Indigenous traditional ways of living, knowing and existing
    b) recognise the Indigenous concepts and ways of understanding temporality and spatiality
    c) recognise the need for an alternate demarcation system to make the Indigenous selfgovernance a reality

    and as a secondary set of concepts

    - "[self]governance": an explaining concept to organise the relationship between the Indigenous populations and non-Indigenous populations of the case study societies

- **"Arctic":** an explaining concept to understand the "north" and the "Arctic" as existing political actors and areas of relevance, rather than a "scientific laboratory", "ultima thule", "rim", "periphery", north, mythical north land (Lainema & Nurminen 2001) .
- **"colonialism" and "postcolonialism":** while recognising the immense differences of historical, social and contextual realities in the case studies, a discussion concept that has been used by the affected Indigenous groups, also by the Sámi (in Helander 1999) to describe the "eradication" of Indigenous ways of living. Postcolonialism as an explaining temporal normative concept to discuss an equal relationship between the Indigenous and non-Indigenous societies
- **"nation":** an explaining concept to discuss the units and identity politics of the relevant cases
- **"nation-state":** an explaining concept to impose order on the world political system of the Westphalian kind, with its demarcation and border system (Holsti 2000)
- **"environment":** an explaining concept to organise the conceptual framework of living "in" or "out" of the environment and to address the different interpretations of this meaning
- **"state military":** an explaining concept to recognise the military and geopolitical interests of the Cold War-based security thinking in the Arctic
- **"security":** an explaining concept to see the change of substance in the European and IR-temporal linearism towards a redefinition of the postcolonial paradigm of "security studies" of environment, ecology and nature
- **"reterritorialisation":** an explaining concept to explain the remaking and unmapping of the "empire"[mainstream] in the process and act of Indigenous selfgovernance and the recognition of the Indigenous place names and spatial realities

1.8. Logic of analysis

By analysing the existing documents of Indigenous selfgovernance and related research literature, combined with selected aspects of criticism by the Indigenous scholars and a framework based on the field of social sciences, a "logic" of analysis will be drawn to discuss the equal recognition of Aboriginal political, spatial and temporal reality as a valid system alongside the western notion of governance in the Arctic.

1.9. Relation to previous research

The discussion of Indigenous selfgovernance and the reterritorialisation process has been markedly a Canadian paradigm and process, mainly through and because of the colonial presence and unsolved social, economic and cultural relations in the territorial space of Euro-"Canada" (Cairns 2000). Nor Indigenous studies of selfgovernance and traditional land usage neither discussion of the ethics of research on Indigenous traditional ecological knowledge have been conducted with the Russian Sámi or the

Sámi living in Finland. The Canadian studies have by and large commenced from the point of view of European social studies. Even the most recent studies of Indigenous experiences of climate change operate in the western bounds of the paradigm. Indigenous text, Indigenous discourse remains marginalized. Indigenous people continue to be the "object of study" rather than the "actor - subject" of the scientific discourse.

In macro-level interpretation, the study of geopolitics and critical geopolitics of changing spatialities has mostly been driven by Western voices, except for some (Chaturvedi 2000) authors.

By exploring snowchange and temporal borders, this study will offer some starting points for further inquiry, with the aim to engage the western type of social science study of changing cartography and geopolitics of the post-Cold War era to listen and debate with the rising school of Indigenous scholars and researchers.

Part 2 - Snowchange

2.1. On Method - General Principles of Analysis

As a piece of information, whether in digital form or in print, this study is dead. It is not an organic, living being. The systems of knowledge that are the real methodology of this subject matter are organic, spontaneous. They occur. They cannot be justifiably forced into the written form. Ours is a textual age, the age of information flows. But the organic content lies elsewhere.

It cannot be operationalised with theory, with method per se, even though we can try to capture the systems of knowledge of organics, of humanity as a discourse, as a text for studying. We fail from the beginning to talk of the real heart of the work.

If we accept these premises of methodology, nothing prevents us from proceeding with the points of departure and inquiry. But it is the fundamental method of social sciences to admit, to yield to the methodology of life, human elements of the unknown. To put the values, and the systems of analysis, of operationalised science before the heart of humanity is to err.

This establishment of "yielding" to the nature does not mean a return within the paradigm to the good old colonial days of realism and zero-sum games, but rather argues for the recognition of a wider understanding of human societies, cultures of difference. Methodologically, the assessment of Indigenous knowledge and its respectful integration to the systems of the social systems can be characterised as an interplay between science and knowledge. Fikret Berkes has called this interplay of Indigenous knowledge as a "complex of knowledge, practice and belief" (1999: 163).

This inquiry builds philosophically on this notion of expanding polito-ecological knowledge and science to understand the "other" by accepting Indigenous knowledge as a valid system.

2.2. On Basic Starting Points of Methodology

The general stages of social research have been summarised below (adapted from Rinne 2002, and Robert Hagedorn and R. Alan Hedley 1990: 543) in the following way:

A.   *Selection of the problem*
B.   *Initiation of research [review of previous research]*
C.   *Formulation of the research problem*
D.   *Selection of method and approach, construction of indicators [operational definitions]*
E.   *Familiarisation with theories and readings*
F.   *Selection of data, assessment of the data*

G.   Execution of the research
H.   Implications of the research act, writing the research report

In this inquiry, there is a need for discussion on both the methodology of analysis (D.) and collection of data (F.).

2.2.1. Postmodernity

The *"postmodern"* processes and methods of research in social sciences (Pulkkinen 1998) have given us the keys to see the problems of social systems. We are beginning to see the systems of violence, the structures of power (Foucault 1990). What has been called "postmodern" in the studies of this paradigm offers criticism of the values, structures, entities of spatiality and temporality of modernity in International Relations. Postmodern has been undefined. It is used here to refer to a system of thinking and values that generally have been accepted to refer to a world that has been "produced" after the discourse of modernity has run its distance. It seems it has no more distance to run.

The inquiry at hand attempts to engage the Indigenous approach as a method itself alongside the applied "postmodern" methods. From here on, the word "postmodern" will be linked to explore the study of the northern Indigenous issues that is in the process of decolonisation.

"Decolonisation" as a process has been defined by John Springhall in the following way:

"[it] means *the surrender of external political sovereignty*, largely Western European, over *colonized non-European peoples,* plus the emergence of independent territories where once the West had ruled, or the transfer of power from empire to nationstate" (2001: 2).

It will be also used to refer to **the context of the selfgovernance processes of the northern Indigenous peoples,** operating not outside the nation-state, but within the nation-states. Therefore, the inquiry has a strong element of regionalisation and transformation present. Further along the analysis, the conceptual limits of the Springhall definition will be challenged. This takes place when the political act of the transfer of power is seen to still operate in the non-Indigenous political systems. Decolonisation can occur and proceed within certain limits, boundaries of power. Springhall continues his definition by stating that

"*the historical process* that this overarching term draws our attention to has not yet acquired an agreed definition among historians, but *'decolonization'* usually means the taking of measures by Indigenous people and/or their overlords to end external control over…colonial territories *and the attempt to replace formal political rule by some new kind of relationship*" (2001: 3).

Therefore, the selfgovernance process of the northern Indigenous peoples is a study of political process, and the qualitative elements of that process in the border studies portray the context of comparison.

The politics of selfgovernance are made in the process and the political actors include but are not limited to **nation-states, territorial governments, Indigenous groups, legally created political Indigenous governance** (for example, band councils in Canada) **and Indigenous traditional governance** (for example, tribal councils, clans, families and obshchinas).

Resting on this starting point, the specific method of inquiry deals with borders of various kinds. Since borders and boundaries exist in various fora, on maps, in administration, and also in social constructs, a comparative method of study has been employed in this paper.

Richard Sakwa has been developing some concepts on the process of **"postcommunism"**, especially in the study of Russia. In his extensive book *Postcommunism*, Sakwa discusses the characterisation of this concept. He sees that the following elements can be seen in the narrow definition of "postcommunism":

- end of the communist party monopoly over politics, economics and society
- emergence of pluralistic societies of weak interest-definition
- uneven introduction of the market to bureaucratised economies
- liberalisation of prices
- changes in class structure
- reorientation of foreign and security policies
- incomplete nature of transformations
- weakness of state capacity
- lastly, and most importantly for this inquiry, the "various facets of identity politics, including national, ethnic and cultural questions accompanied by the tension between 'nativist' trends and 'cosmopolitans' who define transition in terms of 'rejoining the world civilisation'".

(adapted from 1999: 5 - 6)

Sakwa proceeds to discuss the employment of postcommunism, in this point of departure used as one methodological tool for understanding the macro-changes of Northwest Russia and the micro-changes of the Indigenous selfgovernance. He argues that

"[postcommunism] *is a multifaceted, heterogenous phenomenon shot through with paradoxes while at the same time revealing the underlying paradigmatic shifts, not only in theory but also in reality, of our times*." (1999: 7).

But is "postcommunism" a postmodern paradigm and a methodological tool?

Without giving away too much, Sakwa discusses these differences and similarities in the following:

"If the move towards communism, launched in Russia in 1917…can be dubbed *permanent transition*, advancing towards an endlessly receding horizon, the postcommunist change can be characterized as *total transition*, simultaneously affecting politics, the economy, society and the international orientations of the states concerned…Unlike most post-colonial societies, the majority of postcommunist states *appeared to enjoy greater advantages*, above all in the field of 'human capital'…but these advantages in practice proved difficult to realize…The very nature of postcommunism suggests *a dualism, communism and what comes after*; yet *the other duality*, between communism and its antithesis, anti-communism, is equally dynamic. While postmodernism is premised on modernity but aware of its limitations, postcommunism is not the continuation of communism to its next evolutionary stage but founded on its *alternative…Postcommunism is postmodern in the paradoxical sense* that it returns to pre-modern traditions truncated by the triumph of modernity from the late 18th century…*The cultural logic of political action* in new social movements from the West complements the anti-revolutionary revolutions from the East [see below more on the attempts to bridge the gaps of modern and postmodern scapes of politics with the Indigenous process]…*While globalisation limits the scope of governmental action, this does not entail the abnegation of governmental responsibility for social development. A leaner state does not mean no state at all*." (adapted from 1999: 29, 60 - 127).

Especially in the study of Russian power and selfgovernance, while employing the notion of postcommunism as a method tool, the questions of pursuing governance within the Russian Federation ["a leaner state"] or outside the state raise interesting questions of analysis. Gail Fondahl, among others, has discussed the Russian Indigenous transition in the following way:

"Aboriginal re-territorialisation in the Russian North thus is imbricated with the larger and multifaceted Russian project of 'transition'. The project itself involves struggles between the federal and subject legislation, and between central dictums and the interpretation of these at local levels. The fulcrum of these struggles is most often land and resources. As in Canada, the territorial dimensions of cultural identity and political autonomy are of paramount concern to both aboriginal people and the numerous political-administrative units in which they are encapsulated. The new juridical spaces of aboriginality evince a search for both cultural symbolism and economic efficacy" (2001).

Tom Mackie and David Marsh argue in *Theory and Methods in Political Science*, that

"*the major reason for comparative research reflects the basic nature of social science research*; it is almost never possible to use the experimental method" (1995: 173).

In this inquiry, the element of comparative method will be used to analyse the qualifications of the selfgovernance documents, legal cases and exportable elements of governance in the target data.

Mackie and Marsh point out that three elements of comparative method can be seen:

> A. *Case studies*
> B. *Systematic studies of limited data*
> C. *Global comparisons based on statistical analysis*

(adapted from ibid. 1995: 175 - 176)

Mackie and Marsh emphasise the aims of the social sciences by defining that

"the [aim] is **to identify and explain the relationships between social phenomena**. Theory provides both a way of organising and a way of interpreting data. Data or evidence then allows us to test hypotheses generated from theory, but only if we have developed robust concepts; that is, concepts which can be utilised across time and space" (1995: 175).

In this inquiry, the manifestation of northern Indigenous selfgovernance, the limits and borders of the process and the specific points of inquiry, demarcation, spatiality and temporality of such phenomena will function as the object of study.

Mackie and Marsh proceed to discuss the characteristics of inductive comparative analysis by stating that

"a concept is of limited utility if its meaning is totally culturally specific. If such comparative analysis is inductive it will often generate new hypotheses" (1995: 175 - 176).

The comparative method analysis of the exportable elements of the selfgovernance processes (Fenge 2001) will function as an example of such "concepts" that carry elements of their localities. These elements but might have utility in the similar processes elsewhere in the circumpolar world. The process of individuality of the case studies can function as comparative, if it utilises concepts and ideas that have been seen elsewhere. This is at the heart of the element of exportability (ibid. 2001) of the analysis between the data from the North American Arctic and the European north and Russia in this application.

The Indigenous material provides for *the experimental element of inquiry* that Mackie and Marsh saw as almost non-existent in the social science method. Therefore, as a method of documentation and fieldwork, the open-ended semi-directive interviews were

used. As a method of research analysis, alongside the comparative method, the discursive critical geopolitics textual elements (Tuathail 1998) will be used to point out the relevant markers in the texts of the material.

2.3. Element of Power and Border Research

Michel Foucault draws up the perimeters of the border research when, in an interview with Gillian Deleuze, he discusses the study of power and governance:

"Isn't this *difficulty of finding adequate forms of struggle* a result of the fact that we continue to ignore the problem of power? After all, we had to wait until the 19th century before we began *to understand the nature of exploitation*, and to this day, *we cannot fully understand the nature of power*. It may be that Marx and Freud cannot satisfy our desire for understanding this enigmatic thing which we call power, which is at once visible and invisible, present and hidden, ubiquitous. Theories of government and the traditional analyses of their mechanisms certainly don't exhaust the field where power is exercised and where it functions. *The question of power remains a total enigma*. Who exercises power? And in what sphere? We now know with reasonable certainty who exploits others, who receives the profits, which people are involved, and we know how these funds are reinvested. But as for *power...We know that it is not in the hands of those who govern*. But, of course, the idea of the "ruling class" has never received an adequate formulation, and neither have other terms, such as *"to dominate", "to rule", "to govern"* etc. These notions are far too fluid and require analysis. *We should also investigate the limits imposed on the exercise of power - the relays through which it operates and the extent of its influence on the often insignificant aspects of hierarchy and the forms of control, surveillance, prohibition and constraint. Everywhere that power exists, it is being exercised*. No one, strictly speaking, has an official right to power; and yet it is always exerted in particular direction, *with some people on one side and some on the other*." (1972, 1990: 14, italics by author).

In this study it is argued that a nation-state border functions as a tool of domination, ruling and governance. It is in other words an example of this Foucauldian "*exercise of power*" (1990: 14). Therefore, the metajustification of the methodology of the study of borders is also a study of what Foucault calls "*the relays through which it [power] operates and the extent of its influence*" (ibid. 1990: 14).

As a study of the so-called "postcolonial" or decolonisation (Springhall 2001) paradigm, though not self-proclaimed, the approach here is looking for points of departure which operationalise in the study of this power-using, by exploring the Indigenous borders of selfgovernance.

Taiaiake Alfred, an Indigenous scholar at the University of Victoria has defined the elements of the selfgovernance process and politics. He has stated that in this process,

"it [selfgovernance struggle] is nothing political per se, but it manifests today in political movements, because it is a political fight we are in." (2001a).

2.4. What Is Political? Struggles!

In this inquiry, there is a notion that *politics is struggle* (Rinne 2002). Borders of the European kind can be seen as power-using tools, as European-introduced demarcation measures of power. Therefore, the quality of the borders and governance that the self-rule can manifest signals the kind of political, environmental, social and economic power that the decolonisation orchestrated by the colonial actors allows.

This type of decolonisation repeats the enlightenment paradigm of the triumph of normality, conformity and imposing of order on a "world of chaos" [of unknown] that is in need of measurement. The demarcation of the European kind is therefore a process of a certain political struggle, power-wielding.

It is a discourse of normality that is exercised. The discourse has its roots in the definitional way of the **reterritorialisation** (Norton 1998) of previously "empty land", *"terra incognita"*, into an orderly space and scape, *"terra cognita"* (Lainema et al. 2001, Seppälä 1996), over which control and "normality" can be exercised. To make a map is to order the world to a certain form.

Reterritorialisation includes the attribution of new meanings, "stories" (Rosenblatt 2000) if you will, to the same territory, when defined, when bound. Today, it is usually to that of a nation-state.

Sometimes a simultaneous, sometimes an opposite process is **deterritorialisation** (Norton 1998). It means a change of the substance [cultural, economic, social, military] of the territory away from the Foucauldian sense of "certain power" (1972, 1990: 14) towards an understanding of the territory in a multiple sense (Puranen 2000, Seppälä 1996, Pehkonen 1999), outside the European-introduced spatiality.

The European spatiality here is not one of oppression, but a hegemonic one. It has the resources, the means, the willingness and the political opportunity or space to maintain a discourse of normality all over the globalising world of monoculture. By using mono-language and conforming ways of knowing the world become dominated by the hegemony.

To talk of the Indigenous borders, here operationalised as *"temporal borders"*(Mustonen 2001b, Rattray 2000a – b), is to highlight the quality of power of

this political scape. The concept of "temporal border" means that borders can slide and change peacefully, for example through family ties, seasonal life and [oral] agreements. Yet the "temporality" of the borders of the Indigenous Nations around the north that existed before contact with the Europeans and the following colonisation cannot be returned directly to the spatial and temporal realities of the world of the 21st century. It refers to the temporality of living, following the seasons and also the spatial movements of the Indigenous people. Some aspects of this cyclic thinking and lifestyle based on the concept of the "circle of life" (for example Helander 1999) can be adapted today.

This stands apart from *the European-based linear time frame* (Snellman 2001, Vilkuna 1996). Spatial movement and concepts also were and are different. When colonisation and the cultural change also forced a change of spatial and territorial realities, the circle and cycle were changed as well. On some occasions, the circle was broken.

The postmodern method allows a handshake, if you will, towards the other explorations of power systems. The ideas of the unconscious power apparatus, unconscious history and politics of the Indigenous selfgovernance (see more on the unconscious in Plotnistky 1993) or even "un-governance" offer us a tool of power analysis.

The cases of study are far and wide, in European maps from British Columbia to the North American Arctic and the European north, but as Foucault states:

"The generality of the struggle specifically derives from *the system of power itself*, from all the forms in which power is exercised and applied" (1972, 1990: 16).

In this study, the method of analysis links the selfgovernance and associated bordermaking policies with the political space of action. It is indeed a fine line, to talk of the relevance of the local (knowledge, culture) in pan-regional, such as Arctic, generalisations. However it is argued that the macro-dynamics of the struggle are present in all of the data localities, even though the context varies. Another regional aspect *is* the presence of snow in the target areas. It is an ecological-atmospheric characteristic of the northern areas, the northern homeland (Berger 1978, Brody 1986) for these nations.

2.5. Criticism of The Systematic Approach of Modernity in Social Sciences - Comparative Analysis Methodology and Contextual Theory Framework of Critical Geopolitics

The comparative element of the existing selfgovernance agreements, legal documents and such functions as a research design to support the data collected from the communities and individuals. A method problem of **too many comparative elements** arises in the large number of treaties, land claim agreements and such around the north. In order to address this issue, the research design of method has been planned so that only **the most similar cases** have been chosen as data to limit the number of variables in the inquiry (Mackey & Marsh 1995: 181).

Mackey and Marsh discuss the "fundamental problem of comparative research" (1995: 182) which lies at the heart of the majority of epistemological studies. They argue that a tendency of systematic analysis can be found in the comparative method. This is strongly a positivist approach.

It is argued that

"any *comparativist must recognise that the meanings and understanding of concepts is affected by the cultural context of both the researcher and the country* [area in this study] studied" (ibid. 1995: 182 - 183, italics by author).

It is argued here that the elements of Indigenous data provide for *a strong presence of non-positivist methodology*.

The focus on the concept of border allows the needed amount of comparison. All of the data material carries the elements of demarcation and spatiality. Therefore, it is possible to operationalise the comparisons.

It can therefore be argued that in this inquiry, the method and empirical research tasks will operate in a dual framework:

    A. "Objective Criteria": Legal cases, official documents of selfgovernance, documents of law
    B. "Subjective Criteria": Semi-directive open-ended interviews
(adapted from Sillanpää 1994: 22).

2.6. From Traditional Geopolitical Theory to Critical Geopolitics and Beyond in the Arctic

2.6.1. Geopolitics as a Policy and a Field of Study in International Relations

The study of geopolitics as a field of methodology is a study of space and time, of where humanity operates and where politics function. It has traditionally dealt with the relationship between human and the physical reality surrounding "self" (Apunen 1991: 61). But it can also be seen as a teleological paradigm, therefore dealing with the presupposition of purposeful, intentional character of act and action of humans and human societies (ibid. 1991: 61).

Traditionally, the methods of analysis in geopolitics deal with the traditional geographical space as a resource for the nation-states to occupy and exert control over. This control and need for space can manifest for various purposes, it can be for economic, military, resource-based, cultural or religious reasons that the actors of the world system want to occupy and contest over territory. (adapted from ibid. 1991: 61).

It can be argued that the tools of exerting this power are fixed nation-state borders. They demarcate the limits of power and act as indicators of contest. Traditionally, when they are forcefully crossed, a violent political situation occurs, whether a conflict of words or war itself.

The study of geopolitics and inquiries into the processes of geopolitical power usage has also been called "geopolitics" within the international relations paradigm. The classical geopolitical tradition was developed and applied in the German tradition. It was closely engaged with the concept of technological application of nation-states in space. The geopolitical studies focus on the

"socio-cultural resources and rules by which geographies of international politics gets written" (Chaturvedi 2000: 441). Geopolitics as terminology came into being in the late 19th century.

2.6.2. Traditional Study of Geopolitics and Transition to Critical Geopolitics

In the process of development, geopolitics have been seen to support statecraft and power policies, aiding in the conquest of territories. More recently, the critical geopolitics paradigm has been focussing on the revelation of all sorts of geopolitical orders that have existed. The critical school of geopolitical paradigm, a post-structuralist

approach, is looking for new ways of exploring time, space and scape in the international relations of the 21st century (ibid. 2000: 441).

After the end of the Second World War, the geopolitical order of the super power rivalry and decolonisation processes (Springhall 2001) created the new building blocks of the approach. The United States established itself as the hegemon in the geopolitics of the Cold War. This study of geopolitics of zero-sum games and military strategies of space and demarcation was a highly realist approach in the portrayal of the international relations of the time. (see more in Osherenko & Young 1989: 1 – 43).

Gearóid Ó Tuathail has been arguing that this established the boundaries of the nation-states, and also laid the ground for unitary internal space for states. In the process, *nation-time* and *nation-space* emerged, the space was visually ordered (Ó Tuathail 1998: 3 - 4). Anssi Paasi has written extensively about the micro-elements of this kind of dynamic in the Finnish-Russian border studies (see for example 1994, 1996). He argues that

"ethno-regionalistic and ethno-nationalistic movements have profoundly transformed the territorial and ideological landscape of international politics and have given rise to new boundaries and demarcations between territorially based social groupings" (1996:6).

The study of the "rim" of border areas has been touched by Paasi as well when he says

"Some authors have recently identified a need to appreciate border landscapes as explicit products of a set of cultural, economic and political interactions and processes occurring in space…[it has been argued] that landscape is the key concept to grasp in spatial transformation." (1996:26)

While dealing with the critical geopolitical inquiry of Sàpmi, comments made by Paasi in an article from 1994 point out the mainstream approach to this nation-time concept

"Consequently, a major part of the process of producing a national way of thinking consists of presenting the nation as being as united as possible and pointing to clear differences with other territories." (1994: 27)

The current geopolitical situation of the world politics seems to be in a state of confusion because the Cold War stability and fixed, maintained nation-state borders have partly broken and the dynamic of the system has been shaken. The traditional approach of the geopolitical analysis, explaining the policies of the nation-states based on territorial issues, has thus also passed.

2.6.3. Critical Geopolitics of the Arctic

Sanjay Chaturvedi, an International Relations scholar from India, has focussed on the transitional effects of the geopolitical paradigm in the Arctic. He argues that "the Arctic too is affected by this new situation [post-Cold War era], and the region needs to be approached and understood by a new view of geopolitics, which in turn can no longer be seen in terms of the impact of *fixed* geographical condition and configurations (heartlands/rimlands, lifelines, choke-points, critical strategic zones etc.) upon the activities of the Great Powers engaged in the pursuit of primacy" (Chaturvedi 2000: 441).

It seems that the new geopolitics of the Arctic is affected simultaneously by globalisation and regionalisation, while the process of disorder after the Cold War is present in some localities. Chaturvedi argues that there is a need to develop a new geopolitical paradigm of *peace and development* instead of the old conflict-driven approach. The emphasis on the development, however, carries certain elements of underlying values of the world and how the communities and localities should direct themselves in the future. It seems that "critical geopolitics" still maintains a discourse of "development", in spite of the attempt to break away from the military-security emphasis of the past.

This raises interesting questions of the Indigenous spatiality and temporality studies in the "eyes" of critical geopolitics. In the traditional cycle-based non-linearities of the northern Indigenous scapes, the destruction and end of things [perhaps present in the realist-influenced school of traditional cold war deterrence geopolitics] is seen as a natural element of what occurs. Critical geopolitics, while maintaining a discourse of development and peace, possibly carries within itself the continued burdens of the Western understanding of space and time in a control-oriented paradigm.

The counternarratives of the critical geopolitics are just the beginning of the portrayal of politics as struggle that Foucault mentions. Demarcation practices and performances are explored, and so far it has been mentioned that material borders function as the edges of the nation-states. Conceptual borders define the boundary of the secure inside from the anarchic outside (Ó Tuathail 1998: 3 - 4). In this inquiry the Indigenous temporal borders are to be included in the "anarchic" outside simply because they do not belong to the operationalised devices of critical geopolitics yet. Critical geopolitics emphasises the importance of constructing theoretically informed critiques of the spatialising

practices of power and how such reasonings could be challenged (Chaturvedi 2000: 444).

This inquiry unfortunately does not allow a full exploration of the fault lines of critical geopolitics and the underlying values of the approach, but as a starting point it could be argued that the production of new geopolitical scapes and sub-paradigms, such as popular geopolitics (see more in Ó Tuathail 1998), media scapes and so forth are actually only made possible in the societies of "postmodernity", in other words in the western areas. Therefore, the application of the critical geopolitical approach to the study of non-western temporalities and spatialities of snowchange has to be recognised as operating within the limits imposed by the culture of the western social sciences.

2.6.4. On "North", Attribution of Localities and Stories

The geopolitics of the Arctic require an understanding of why certain things have taken place. The placement of "north" and "ultima thule" (Lainema et al. 2001, Seppälä 1996, Puranen 2000) renderings to the "terra incognita" of the Indigenous homelands in the media, stories, studies and other colonisation processes has produced stereotypes of the Arctic which have shaped the region's identity, spatiality and temporality. This process is still going on and is likely to continue for a long time.

The non-Indigenous power-knowledge positions and claims of sovereignty to the space of the Arctic have reterritorialised (Norton 1998) all of the north within the last 500 years, at least to the extent of being portrayed, measured and taken over. The current locality processes of the "unmapping of the empire" (Shapiro 1996) in the north are therefore increasingly interesting to the study of changing Arctic geopolitics and the study of the de/reterritorialisations.

The discourse of the new kind of geopolitics could begin from the study of the naming of the "Arctic"/"north", "rim", which traditionally was missing from the Indigenous lifeworld and societies. These societies consider the "north" a homeland, a locality of relevance and living. Elements of remoteness have by and large been missing from the pre-contact and even current Indigenous discourse of localities (see for example in Helander 1999).

It also shows the difference of emphasis. The study of inter-national relations and, under that, the presumption of a geopolitical system consisting of big units, or nation-states, raises interesting contradictions to the locality factor of the Indigenous spatiality and

temporality. The world, especially in times immemorial or pre-contact, was constructed according to the local/perceived, rather than a theoretical system of global actors.

With globalisation and modernisation processes interacting with the pre-contact conceptualisations of scape, time and space, the northern Indigenous life came to be linked with the other levels and results of geopolitical action, such as transborder pollution or climate change.

The critical geopolitical approach seems to grasp towards the discourse of environmental security (Dalby 2002 in print) and localities of political scapes, but much work and distance needs to be covered before we see a truly postcolonial critical geopolitics, which would truly place the local before the global or glocal. And indeed, maybe it *is* too "late" to study the local as the main factor of spatiality and temporality.

Chaturvedi argues that the Cold War realist-based geopolitics and policies of militarisation of the Arctic

 "impacted the Indigenous communities throughout the circumpolar north, causing great harm to their local environment, culture, health and human rights. Militarisation undermined the self-determination of Indigenous peoples and imposed costly and undesired policies, priorities and activities within the boundaries of their homelands." (Chaturvedi 2000: 448).

This inquiry case, Sápmi and the Kola Peninsula of the Russian Federation, seems to follow the articulation of the interplay and general dynamics of military geopolitics and demarcation taking over the Indigenous homelands. But the study of such an exchange of spatiality has other connotations as well.

Firstly, there needs to be a critical assessment of the quality of the demarcation and reterritorialisation process, for example, through the changing of place names/localities (in the Kola Peninsula, for example, Luujavre in Sámi into Lovozero in Russian) and the geopolitical actor, in most cases a state, which started to exercise such a control.

Secondly, there needs to be an assessment of the changes to the localities and societies themselves through the military-security geopolitics, such as the collectivisation of property and the end of the nomadic lifestyle by forced communalism (Avjedeva 2001). Critical analysis can be opened up in the demarcation studies of time and space, when the local social scape, and within that the political scape of a society, is contrasted with the macro/global scape of nation-state power-usage. This manifests today in various parts of the north as a "struggle" in which the processes of locality interact with the changing nation-states and also with global discourses and flows. In the locality

discourse the political scape is one of geographical possibilism rather than determinism (Chaturvedi 2000: 448).

This possibilism is compatible with the "occurrence of events" of the Indigenous-perceived temporality and spatiality, such as snowchange. Non-linearity and the attribution of changing, adaptive discourses to time and space produce the reactionary quality of the Indigenous survival. The hegemonic, patriarchal discourse of linear normality that has been exercised across the north in the traditional geopolitical policy and approach is thus challenged by the Indigenous political scape. Here lies the true challenge that the circumpolar Arctic critical geopolitics have the potential to explore.

This could be studied further, for example, with the assessment of the adaptation of Indigenous ecological knowledge (TEK) to climate change (Mustonen 2002, Macfarling 2002). Furthermore how, through the adaptation process, languages and systems of knowledge begin and end the occurrence of this possibilism and adaptation in the northern life. Chaturvedi argues that

"applying critical geopolitical perspectives to Arctic Indigenous movements also promises to (de)centre analytical focus away from an exclusive concern with the machinations of Arctic states and investigate how such social movements challenge state-centred notions of hegemony, consent and power and contest the colonisation of the 'political' in Arctic studies" (ibid. 2000: 452).

The basis of such an exploration, according to him, has been portrayed by first locating social movements within a contested web of power/knowledge relations and secondly, locating the theoretical analysis of social movements as multiplicities explored through the concept of terrain of resistance [in this inquiry, politics as "struggle"] (referring to sites of contest and multiplicity of relations between hegemonic and counter-hegemonic powers and discourses, between forces and relations of domination, subjection, exploitation and resistance). Lastly there is a need to understand such social movements from the perspectives of the participants (ibid. 2000: 452, also Routledge 1996).

2.6.5. Challenges of Northern Critical Geopolitics

The Arctic geopolitics and time/space/politics/scape have to be operationalised using the Indigenous materials as participants and actors in such a discourse, rather than as objects of inactive studies. Chaturvedi proceeds to argue that

"the emerging strength of Indigenous perspectives, evidenced by the growing acceptance of the validity of Indigenous people's interpretation of events that had previously been in the exclusive [interpretative] domain of non-Indigenous elites, does

however suggest that the marginal site occupied by Indigenous experience and knowledge is becoming less marginal in the dominant state-centric geopolitical discourse. It remains to be seen, however, whether such counter-discourses of knowledge and resistance will have any meaningful role in shaping the Arctic geopolitics of the 21st century" (ibid. 2000: 453).

This inquiry argues that the counter-discourses of knowledge and resistance of snowchange and temporal borders provide for a relevant role in a new aware understanding of the non-linearity of politics, space and time.

Chaturvedi also argues that for the future of the critical geopolitical studies of the Arctic, the key issue is that space and ecology are reclaimed for the people. The mastering of space, for globalisation or nation-states, is successfully contested and rejected. Chaturvedi concludes his recent article on Arctic geopolitical thought with a position that

"[a]s the new geographies of the Arctic are being written and as new geopolitical narratives continue to be dictated from 'above', it will be vital to ensure that the sights and sounds of resistance at the grassroots level are not excluded. Herein lies the key challenge for both the scholars and practitioners of the new Arctic geopolitics in the late 20th century and beyond" (ibid. 2000: 455).

It is argued that the operationalisation of snowchange as an analytical tool to understand, empower and comprehend the non-linearities of the Indigenous issues answers the challenge of "sights and sounds of the resistance at the grassroots level". In this inquiry, those voices are not excluded, they function as the key of the discussion and therefore extend the limits of the current critical geopolitical thinking of the international relations towards non-linear geopolitics of snowchange.

2.6.6. The Indigenous People and Terminology of Governance

The "geography of selfgovernment" has been defined by a Canadian scholar Evelyn J. Peters as

"spatial configuration of jurisdiction and responsibility that Aboriginal governing bodies have over their citizens. Selfgovernment arrangements are implemented in particular locales and over particular territories. Their geographies have a role in communicating and shaping culture and in facilitating governance" (1999: 411).

This recognition and possible re/deterritorialisation processes have not been discussed in a major way within the Indigenous selfgovernance issues. Peters outlines a

terminology difference between "self-determination" and "selfgovernance", as adapted from another Canadian scholar of Indigenous spatiality, Frank Cassidy:

Self-determination: A right and ability to choose their own destiny without external compulsion. It is the right to be a supreme authority within a particular geographic territory.
Selfgovernance: Group can make significant choices concerning political, cultural, economic and social affairs without having sovereignty (adapted from Peters 1999: 412).

The geopolitics of the Indigenous selfgovernance require self-determination in addition to the existing selfgovernance in order to be an actor in the spatial realities of the existing structures.

2.6.7. Geopolitical Actors in the Inquiry

The Oxford Dictionary of Politics defines the (European) nation-state as follows:

"**Nationstate** is a sovereign entity dominated by a single nation. **'State'** refers to the political organisation that displays sovereignty both within geographic borders and in relation to other sovereign entities. **'Nation'** refers rather to the population within, sharing a common culture, language and ethnicity with a strong historical continuity." (Mclean 1996: 331)

One starting point for analysis has been provided by Michael J. Shapiro. He argues that in order to belong to a nation, tribe or some group of reference, one must first achieve a location in the particular genealogical and spatial story of that community (Shapiro 1997: 174 - 175).

Another definition, by William Norton, defines 'nation-state' as "a clearly defined cultural group (nation) occupying a defined territory (state)" (Norton 1998: 214). Nation-states discussed here include Finland and Russia (while recognising the federal aspects of the centre/regions relationships in that country), which are quite close to the theoretical definition of nation-state, or at least could be thought to embrace those definitions.

Many of the discussed communities of Aboriginal people refer to themselves as "nations" or "first nations" (in Canada). Some define the term as "tribal nations" (Rattray 2000a).

Some controversial scholars, such as Peter Russell, have argued that the notion of nation should be approached, in the Aboriginal perspective, from the cultural rather than from

the political side (Flanagan 2000:79). This is an introduction to the problematic of the concept of the "Indigenous nation with temporal borders" which will be discussed later. Also, the challenges imposed by such a "new definition" of nationhood to the existing structure are looked at in the concluding chapter.

The Indigenous stories and oral histories [recognised in the Delgamuukw decision in 1997 by the Supreme Court of Canada, Wilson 2001: 214] help to define the extent of a "cultured/culture nation" and the meaning of that concept. Some of the research concerning the multiple cultural landscape of the territory of the European north has been conducted by Samu Pehkonen (see, for example Pehkonen 1999, also Puranen 2000).

Borders are the marking points of a defined territory. Usually the territory in question is seen through the eyes of geography. Michael Shapiro argues that usually this kind of approach is linked to an "architecture of enmity" (1997: xi). Michel Foucault has stated that

"territory is no doubt a geographical notion, but it is first a juridico-political one: the area controlled by some kind of power" (in Shapiro 1997: xi).

States require territory (Kuehls 1996: 54). In the European north, borders define at the moment nation-state boundaries and, at the same time, the Finnish-Russian "border" is also the "boundary" between the European Union and the Russian Federation. It could be also portrayed as a "big living standard gap", "East-West meeting point", "dividing border of the Sámi territories", "alteration demarcation line to reindeer migratory patterns" (AMAP 1997: 63) and so forth.

Other boundaries and borders in the case area of Sápmi include the state-defined Finnish-Swedish, Finnish-Norwegian, Swedish-Norwegian and Norwegian-Russian borders (the last of which is also the NATO-Russian border). In the geographical area of the European north there also exist other actors. The Aboriginal people Sámi share living space in all of the states in the region but the national borders divide their homeland (AMAP 1997: 62, Heininen 1999, Helander 1999, interviews with members of Sámi communities 2001 - 2002).

Private, regional and substate actors in the sub-Arctic and the Arctic are also present (see, for example, Heininen 1999), such as the Barents Euro Arctic Region and the Arctic Council. This multiactor presence and interaction is contributing to the fact that the global [eco]politics and policies, which directly or indirectly deal with the environment and ecology (such as the Northern Dimension of the EU) provide, are not

only problems or "agenda issues" for states or interstate systems. This kind of thinking is "obsolete". (Kuehls 1996: 54, 43 – 45.)

Aboriginal peoples, some of which are nomadic, provide an interesting and difficult case of analysis for the military, border-definition and state-centred policies that are tackled with the social sciences theories. Traditionally a state is territorially "stationary" (Kuehls 1996: 44) and nomads (as Indigenous people, even though not all Indigenous people are nomadic (Wilson 2001: 214), case here deals mostly with North American Indigenous people) are seen as "mobile" (ibid. 1996: 44).

"Civilisation" needs permanent settled stationary entities (states, cities, towns etc.) (ibid. 1996: 44) On the other hand, the nomads have, most of the time, occupation of a territory without European-style possession (ibid. 1996: 44).

Therefore, traditionally there has existed "no civilisation" with the nomads, according to the European standards of the word. They occupy "rhizomatic territories" (ibid. 1996: 44), and not a regulated territory of the state. It could be argued that this sort of occupancy is linked with the concept of snowchange - non-linearity of time and space and "temporal borders" of territory, which is a completely different type of demarcation from the traditional "border/boundary" of a nation-state.

As the state can control movement within the known location of the territory (ibid. 1996: 44), it makes a great difference for the politics of ecology and policy tools. This is how the hegemonic empire is ruled. A discourse of "known", measured land is imposed in imagined scapes carrying the names of nation-state leaders, monarchs and other abstractions over areas which have, per se, no historical or cultural links to such rulers or systems of governance.

The movement of body has two different meanings: for the state, it is characteristic. For the nomad, it is an essential part (Kuehls 1996: 44). Therefore, the concept of "temporal border" has relevance, also in the policy-making and politics dealing with territoriality.

2.6.8. The Indigenous Lifeworld and the State Military Presence

A nation-state - Indigenous spatial juxtaposition is the relation and role of military issues and organisation in the north and in the Arctic. Military presence is derived from the state's geopolitical interests in a certain region and territory. As a definition, the "nomadic/Indigenous military understanding" differs from the European idea of state and her military.

The Aboriginal "war machine/war council", a separate entity of the council or political body of governance (Alfred 1999), provided a system of checks and balances against the merging of the territorial monopoly of violence associated with the state military.

The right to defend "borders" against "others" was strange to the Aboriginal notion of individual warrior system based "war machine". It could be argued that the "war machine" was against state construction. Therefore, in order for the state to possess the military, it would have to subordinate the "war machine" or the tribal "war machine" nation of temporal borders under state's understanding of military system (Kuehls 1996: 44 - 45).

The state military relation with the Aboriginal peoples has continued throughout the atomic era and the Cold War military presence. Examples of this include cases such as the Sámi and the use of their reindeer by the Soviet Union in the Second World War, the Navajo Aboriginal people and the US nuclear testing, the Murmansk Oblast mining of uranium in Lovozero, traditional Sámi territory, Thule B-52 atomic bomber crash in Greenland, the Innu and Goose Bay base issues in Canada, the construction of the Alaskan highway and the presence of the nuclear submarines of the Russian Federation next to the Sámi lands as a potential ecological threat (see further, for example, Laduke 1999, Bellona 1996 and 2001, Clearwater 1999, Avjedeva 2001). The most recent example of state military presence in the Sámi lands has been the decision to build an extensive missile testing range near Halkavarri (Width 2002: A7).

The crash of the nuclear submarine Kursk in the Barents Sea next to the Murmansk Oblast on August 12th, 2000 was another recent example of state military/ecological security threat near the Kola Sámi (Mustonen 2001). The nation-state military is at the very heart of the power and masculine militarism (Bryson 1992) of the state.

Therefore all plans, such as the application of Indigenous selfgovernance, land claims settlements and implementation of "temporal borders" challenges the existence and power monopoly of the state. This makes the interaction and cases very difficult to portray and further on, any sort of policy-making requires a powerful dynamic to start to challenge these structures. This multiple actor dynamic has been portrayed as a "mosaic" by the President of Iceland, Olafur Ragnar Grimsson (1998: 104 - 105 in Mustonen 2000).

2.6.9. On Struggle, Historical Developments and Discontinued Histories of Adaptation and Transformation

One classic critic of the modernity in the social systems of the West is the German researcher Max Weber. It is argued that the elements of criticism that Weber discovered in his studies tie in with the difficulty of recognising the Indigenous systems of governance and demarcation by the mainstream politics and society.

According to Jürgen Habermas, Weber sees the limits and repression of the Calvinist worldview and the capitalist ethic (1994: 24). Habermas states that in the protestant ethic, *the model of the rationalisation of capitalism can be seen in general*. He feels that the thesis work of Weber should be expanded to other social structures acting as executives of capitalism (in this work, the fixed nation-state system of borders, the dynamics and structures of globalised identities, the dynamic of presupposed ["neo"-] colonialism of the post-Cold War world system). (Habermas 1994: 24 - 25.)

The majority of the northern Indigenous communities and areas are in the process of clashing with modernisation and globalisation. This process has to be assessed in order to explore the snowchange and temporal borders.

Jürgen Habermas explains the characteristics of cultural transition from traditional to modern from the perspective of Western social science.

Transformations from "traditional" to "modern" in societies:
- Cultural heritage → Reflective heritage
- Generalisation of norms and values
- Communicative action is liberalised from normative, "tight" formalities
- Increase in socialisation models
- Increase in individualism
- Creation of abstract "self"-identities

(adapted from Habermas 1994: 28)

In relation to the employment of the "postcommunist" transition, Richard Sakwa has been discussing the Habermasian transformation in the following way:

"For Foucault, *the development of modernity was associated with the shaping of specific subjectivity*, and so, too, the postcommunist individual is faced with the challenge of rapidly acquiring *a subjectivity that had taken centuries to evolve in the West* [perhaps having some similarity in the process of modernisation at a quick pace in the Arctic communities - author]. This is the problem facing all rapidly modernizing societies, and while [Samuel] Huntington takes a macro-cultural approach to the issue [of the "clash of civilisations" etc.], *it is in the micro-world of changed understanding of the world around us that the most fundamental and durable changes take place*" (1999: 125).

This approach is worth noting while discussing the Indigenous peoples and the Russian context, especially the focus on the local level observance of change [of politics and governance here] that ties in with the importance of local knowledge.

Taiaiake Alfred has argued that instead of the transitional act, an adaptation within the cultural and social change takes place. It can be successful (2001a). If the Western paradigm argues for the historical process of transformation, the evolution which Habermas talks about, the perimeters of the discontinued histories or the unconscious historical development of adaptive measures by the Indigenous communities can be seen.

Therefore, the Indigenous temporality, selfgovernance and survival actually portray the elements of Hegelian **sittlichkeit** (Rinne 2001), *shared ethic codes of the communities*, which give them tools to adapt and survive (Alfred 2001a). Thus the study of Indigenous temporality and geopolitics includes a notion of operational framework which is in the shadow of Hegelian historical development, but not necessarily against Hegel (Plotnitsky 1993).

Michel Foucault touched on the notion of *"struggle"* in the historical continuums when he stated that "the *discourse of struggle is not opposed to the unconscious*, but to the secretive." (1972, 1990: 14, italics by author). Therefore, the historical "struggle" can operate within the discontinued, unconscious historical developments. Foucault continues to sketch out the methodological area of exploration:

"This play of desire, power and interest has received very little attention. It was a long time before we began to understand exploitation; and the desire has had and continues to have a long history. It is possible, that the struggles now taking place and *the local, regional and discontinuous theories* that derive from these struggles and that are indissociable from them stand at threshold of our discovery of the manner in which power is exercised." (1972, 1990: 15, italics by author).

The study of the "struggle" of Indigenous selfgovernance (see history of Nisga'a Nation and 125 years of selfgovernance negotiations with the Crown of Canada for an example in Nisga'a Final Agreement) has produced these "local, regional and discontinuous theories" that Foucault talks about.

This research process has to operate within the respective measures of analysis towards the Indigenous subjects and communities that are being studied. Strict ethical guidelines have been developed to protect the Indigenous communities around the Circumpolar north (see examples in Council of the First Nations of Yukon Ethic Guidelines on Traditional Ecological Knowledge 2000).

The simple position of having research material that does not conform to the modern, western middle-class white moralities makes the exploration of new research tools necessary. Edward Said has been developing non-European social research and the conceptual limitations of the "Orient/East" in his tremendous work on "Orientalism" (see more in Said 1995).

2.6.10. Habermas and the Event Horizon of the Politics to Take Place

Jürgen Habermas portrays an event horizon of the politics to take place. He describes this as a process of

"more or less unexpected, reaction potentials occurring because of random sets of conditions which are emerging" (1994: 39).

Further explaining the substance and dynamics of this event horizon of the politics, he describes that these processes are moving in opposite directions, and can been seen through publicity:

On the one hand there is a tendency towards

> A.   *polarising publicity to official, top-down directed sectors, and on the other hand towards*
> B.   *"post-material" subcultures, which contain elements of resistance and locality*

(adapted from Habermas 1994: 39).

This element (B.) carries similar connotations of the locality of political action to what was discussed earlier regarding a Foucauldian approach to politics as struggle.

2.7. The Method of Research and Documentation

Henry Huntington, a researcher in Alaska, USA, has discussed Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) and the relation to methodology extensively (see Huntington 1998, 1999, 2000). He defines TEK as a

"system of experiential knowledge gained by continual observation and transmitted among members of a community" (1998: 237).

Further definition brings about the holistic approach of TEK:

"it is set in a framework that encompasses both ecology and the interactions of humans and their environment on physical and spiritual place" (ibid. 1998: 237 - 238).

Fikret Berkes has been discussing TEK and resource management, and he has outlined TEK to be a complex of knowledge, practice and belief (1999: 163).

In the methodology of documenting TEK, Huntington argues that

"the difficulties of doing so include those of cross-cultural communication and understanding, as well as recognition of the uncertainties inherent in any ecological description" (Huntington 1998: 237 - 238).

The method of research processing here has relied on **semi-directive interviews**, which have been described by Huntington in the following way:

"participants are guided in the discussions by the interviewer, but *the direction and the scope of the interview are allowed to follow the participants' train of thought*. There is neither a fixed questionnaire, nor a preset limit on the time for discussions or the topics to be covered…the interviewer must also be prepared for unanticipated associations made by the participants" (2000: 1271, italics by author).

'Participant', informant in the Huntington's description refers to a member of the relevant Indigenous community. The method of interviews is open-ended, outlining the non-formal description of the produced cultural text for analysis. The usage and substance of the "questionnaire" are determined beforehand, but they do not function as limiting tools, but rather as starting points for the individual interview. This bears resemblance to and has been inspired by the methodology of Sámi interviews to describe a "storyteller" approach of non-direct information flow (see more in Helander 1999), a traditional method of the production of Indigenous Sámi information, in other words, "learning by listening, learning by doing".

The semi-directive interview is used as a standard in ethnographic fieldwork in the open-ended format (see more, for example, in Huntington 1998: 238). Huntington argues that maps have been used as sources of stimulus for discussion, as well as sources of documentation in the ethnographic fieldwork (ibid. 1998: 238). In this study, the act of studying the selfgovernance maps and land claim area boundaries, contrasted with the nation-state-centred mapmaking, was used to support the open-ended interview methodology.

Huntington, while applying the semi-directive method to the study of beluga whales in the Alaskan Indigenous communities, described the results of such a methodology:

"In the cross-cultural setting in which the beluga study was conducted*, the semi-directive interviews provided the flexibility needed to adjust the interview to meet the characteristics of each interaction between interviewer and participant*. Ideally, the interview would become more of a discussion or conversation, resembling in some ways the typical discussions that hunters and elders would have among themselves on similar topics" (1998: 240).

Furthermore, Huntington argues that the

"advantage of easily analyzed responses versus the opportunity for unanticipated insights must be weighed by the researcher" (1998: 240).

As a method for this study, the semi-directive open-ended interviews provided the needed bridge between the storyteller approach of information flows and the fluid essence of the TEK in the act of documenting. Huntington argues that the

"semi-directive interview is *a powerful method* for documenting TEK" (1998: 241).

Because of the locality of TEK and the individual cultural, temporal and spatial characteristics of the documented interviews, the semi-directive method is the only viable way of finding the comparative elements of selfgovernance, borders and other relevant inquiries of the study.

Julie Cruikshank argues in a paper from 1988 that

"one of the liveliest areas of discussion in contemporary anthropology centres *on how to convey authentically, in words, the experience of another culture*" (1988: 27).

When engaging in a such methodology as the open-ended semi-directive interviews in the Indigenous communities, she argues that

"anthropologists no longer have the power to unilaterally decide where and how they will do their fieldwork. Instead, research strategies negotiated locally and based on a model of *collaboration* are replacing more conventional models of university-initiated research" (1988: 28).

The key concept here is the aspect of collaboration. Cruikshank defines it further, by arguing that

"Collaboration necessarily involves more than one conscious investigator…Collaborative research, in fact, moves away from the social structure and social behaviour and towards questions of symbol and meaning" (1988: 31).

The open-ended semi-directive interviews, as a method of the documentation and fieldwork gathering in relation to TEK and border studies, operate within the collaborative perimeters of Cruishank's arguments.

As a method tool, a minidisc digital recorder was the primary gadget, with additional documentation conducted using a Sony Mini-DV and DV cameras and a micro-cassette recorder. Also, in the analysis of borders, selfgovernance and the discussion of demarcation and mapmaking, land claims settlement maps, European nation-state maps and Indigenous maps form the basis of the methodology of the fieldwork.

2.7.1. On Methodology of Documentation of Non-linearities of Time and Space

Hanna Snellman, a Finnish scholar, who has studied the Indigenous approaches to time of the Siberian Khanty people, argues in her book that

"the history of calendars and the history of clocks have been thoroughly studied" (2001: 34).

She argues further that in order to perceive the uniqueness of local time experience, one has to consider the present.

"Our direct experience of time is *always of the present*, and our idea of time comes *from reflecting on this experience*. Consequently there is no unique intuition of time that is common to all mankind. Time in all its aspects has been regarded, in different cultures, in many conceptually different ways" (ibid. 2001: 35, italics by author).

She argues further in her inquiry into the Khanty temporality that

"time-recording was task-oriented; in that it was important to perform a task, and do so when the time was right" (ibid. 2001: 149).

The Indigenous "time-reckoning" could be divided into two main groups:

    A. Phenomena of the Heavens: Sun, Moon and Stars
    B. Phases of Nature: The Variations in the Climate and Plant and Animal Life, which determine the affairs of men

(adapted from Martin P. Nilsson in ibid. 2001: 152)

It is important to point out that this "dual division" of "time-reckoning" [in documentation, see below for the analysis of the Indigenous political time, see Sàmi perspective on moon and sun in Valkeapää 1992] is a product of the measurement-keen, or rather, definition-keen social science approach, it is not the Indigenous act of living in the temporality of the circle and the seasonal cycle. By employing an act of definition into the "duality" of a lifeworld experience, the method of categorisation actually repeats the mistakes of non-Indigenous definitions imposed on the Indigenous lifeworld. Within the bounds of this study, it is not possible to escape a similar method of categorisation, a forcefully existing act of colonial approach in the bounds of the paradigm, not even with the postmodern approaches on "non-rationalities" and changing critical geopolitics.

Snellman argues, based on the interviews conducted by researchers in the Khanty communities, that the presence and quality of snow created the lifeworld characteristics of temporality (ibid. 2001: 39 - 44). She writes that the Khanty "defined" **the passing of**

time conceptually around snow, which in this study will be defined as *"snowchange"*.

The Khanty application of the temporality of *"snowchange"* included, for example:

- *"When there is no snow"*
- *"After the first snowfall"*
- *"After snowfall"*
- *"At the time of [deep/low/hard/soft] snow"*
- *"When the snow starts melting"*

(adapted from ibid. 2001: 39, see more of the transition of Khanty time in ibid. 2001: 40 - 104).

2.8. Snowchange - Non-linearities of Time, Place and Political Scape

2.8.1. Organics of Time and Place in the Traditional Siberian Khanty Lifeworld

It seems that the *snowchange* of the Khanty lifeworld defined the locality and temporality of the lifeworld, the *temporal borders* of hunting and fishing, for these people (ibid. 2001: 39). Based on the conceptual framework developed by Snellman, the definitive aspects of the **snowchange** temporality can be seen.

Snowchange, **or "snow as a process of itself"** (ibid. 2001: 39) from the first fall to the melting acted as a temporal guide for hunting. The presence of snow in all of the target areas and cases justifies the application of this concept on the various processes of analysis dealing with the spatiality and temporality of Indigenous origin and the change of the demarcation.

Peter Irniq, Commissioner of Nunavut, Canada, has described the meaning of snow to the Inuit people thus:

"Snow has many very useful things for us in Nunavut because we have such a very long winters. Snow - you can build an igloo with it. Snow is survival. Snow formations always are pointing from the northernly western southernly east - that is the snow formation that we always use. We know for a fact that the prevailing winds are always blowing [in this direction] in the winter time, we can know our way while travelling on the land from the snow formations. Snow formations are very important for us in Nunavut. Snow is very important for us, for example, for melting to drink water. Snow is extremely important aspects of the Inuit culture. On the ice, snow formations behind the ice ridges also mean that the seals have their little ones, pups... They almost make their own igloo on the ice. Snow is better for travelling on the land with dog teams up to my time and today for the snow mobiles we have. Snow is also very good for protection for ice, because with our Inuit traditional knowledge, we know that if there is no snow on the ice, especially on big lakes, it means the ice will get thicker and thicker but if it has lots of protection, it means the ice is thinner, and you could make a hole in the ice. So for fishing, we use as for protection. So snow has a lot of importance for Inuit and the animals that we hunt in Nunavut, particularly the polar bears, the seals, the sea mammals. Without snow we cannot survive in Nunavut." (2002).

Anthropologist Ernest Burch has written about the Point Hope Inuit concepts of territoriality in the following way:

"The location of interior winter settlements depended primarily on the distribution of caribou, and that could vary tremendously from one year to the next" (1981: 40).

Inuktitut Lunar Calender for 2002 argues that

"Before the introduction of European calendars and clocks, Inuit had their own unique methods of marking and reckoning the passage of time. These methods were based on the close observation of the phases of the moon, the daily and seasonal movements of the sun and stars and linking of these celestial movements to naturally recurring events in nature, such as the birth of seal pups, the nesting of birds, and the shedding of velvet on caribou antlers. Each "moon – month" had its own distinctive name indicative of happenings either in the sky or in the terrestrial environment. The calender also determined when the key social and recreational events in the Inuit year would occur, for example the Tivajuut mid-winter festival…" (2002).

The Inuit names for months of this snowchange time are for example

"Avunniit – premature birth of (ring) seal pups
Akulliruut – between seasons
Ukiulirun – winter starts
Tauvigjuaq – great darkness" (2002).

Similar processes have been explored by Kustaa Vilkuna in the Finnish culture and knowledge systems of the cycle of seasons (1996). This inquiry will not allow an exploration; it will be left for further stages of assessment and research.

2.8.2. Politics of Indigenous Temporality

A conceptualisation for the development of *the politics of Indigenous temporality* that can be pursued is the division into

past - present – future.

This division includes the political temporal scapes of the threefold manifestation, so that **each macro-time [in CAPITAL]** also includes the *micro-times* [in lower case] of the temporal scapes in the following way:
PAST: *includes past past, past present, past future*
PRESENT: *includes present past, present present, present future*
FUTURE: *includes future past, future present, future future*
including a division of temporality into two qualitative operators:

A. **"Kronos" time:** Measured, "normal time"; discourse of normality
B. **"Kairos" time:** When something [such as selfgovernance, snowchange etc.] *becomes possible, occurs*. This notion of "windows of opportunity" for certain things to occur is actually quite near some of the Indigenous notions, which define events as taking place "when they have to".

These highly complex ways of the temporality of the political action play relevance in the qualitative interviews, when finding links and clarifications for reaction potentials (for example, for the argumentation that a certain selfgovernance act *needs to take place* at this time [Inuit lands form Nunavut Territory on April 1st, 1999]) They will be developed further in the course of the analysis of snowchange. Below some more discussion of the documentation and assessment of Indigenous time.

(Adapted from Rinne 2002, Alfred 2001a, Neel 2000, de Frane 2001, Irniq 2002, please also refer to the appendixes.)

2.8.3. The Political Space of Snowchange

The political space of snowchange includes both aspects of temporality and spatiality. To argue that the temporal borders of the "past" have relevance today must be balanced with the notion that they are analysed against the backdrop of the measured spatiality and temporality of linear maps and time.

As a metacontext of analysis, the actual change in conditions, amount and consistency of snow in the target areas, contributes to the fact that, in order to operate "snowchange" as a tool, it has to cover both paradigms of spatialities and temporalities while forming an essential element, context of the discussion.

In this study, the method of analysis links the selfgovernance and associated bordermaking policies with the political space of action. The political space of action also needs to function in the Indigenous paradigm, therefore traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) was to be included in the methodological tools.

Drawing on an interview account conducted by U. T. Sirelius, a controversial researcher because of his working ethics and colonist frameworks of categorising, on January 26th, 1900, the snowchange process can be seen:

"Otter were hunted in small streams right *after the first snowfall* when their tracks could be seen until this time of the year [end of January] *if the snow does not confuse the dogs*. When *the tracks [in the snow]* are found, the hunter follows them - let's say to *a creek which is frozen*. The dog can find where the otter is, but the latter can dive, and soon be a hundred of meters away. To make it easier, the hunter makes four or five locks made of shingles a hundred fathoms away from each other. When the dog finds out where the dogs are, the hunter can shorten the distance by making another lock, and also block *the stream downstream with snow* (the stream is not more than two meters wide). As a consequence there is *only water under the ice* and the otter has to come out, and it is killed with an ax, a club, or the dog bites the otter to death. *If the river is not frozen*, can a dog take care of the hunting by himself by molesting the animal." (adapted from ibid. 2001: 41, italics by author, translated into English by Snellman).

This short description from over 100 years ago introduces the basic linkages of snow, ice and hunting requirements. The study of the snowchange process has relevance for the method interviews employed in this study because of the current perceived climate change effects on [traditional] Indigenous spatiality, hunting and gathering (Macfarling 2002). The changes in the ice conditions, snow conditions, the process of snowchange, has direct and indirect effects to the cultural, social and economic aspects of the northern Indigenous lifeworld (see impacts of climate change on language in Macfarling 2002). John Macdonald, the director of the Igloolik Research Station of the Nunavut Research Institute, has assessed over 107 words of snow and ice scapes in the local Inuktitut dialect (1989).

Robert Williamson from the University of Saskatchewan has been defining "namescape" to discuss the Inuit total view of the environment, which would include snowchange, icescape, landscape and seascape. This bears similar connotations as the concept of snowchange as a tool:

"This namescape is a very important context of reality for the people within their own environment. The individual dialect groups are identified by their geographical names which they use as well as identifying themselves in their habitat. The attention to this habitat is as strong as the attachment of kinship. It is a love of a very profound kind.
Every geographic feature…has names and the name is a metaphor for the totality of the group remembrance of all forms of land relatedness…The sense of belonging, the sense of participation in a network is extended through the relationship of kin because the kinsfolk are seen to be part of this physical and metaphysical environment." (Williamson 1994: 10 – 11 in Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples 1994).

Lynne Hume has written about the dreaming, dream time (*altjiranga ngambakala, "law", "power"*) of the Australian aborigines. She refers to this as "atemporal metaphysical reality" (2000: 126). She points out, used here in reference to Williamsons namescape, that altjiranga ngambakala has been referred to as "everywhen" (2000: 126) to point out the eternal nature of it.

"All things – land, humans and that is both living and non-living – are interconnected through these Dreaming beings [Ancestors of the locality]" she argues (2000: 126). She concludes that "land, spirit and the living are inseparable" (2000: 126).

In a very recent article, Taiaiake Alfred discussed naming and lifeworld. He argued that

"in the European way of seeing the world a name is a title and symbolizes *being*. In the Indigenous way a name is a responsibility and implies *doing*…We have mistaken the mere renaming of our situation for an actual reconnection to our land and culture in practice" (2002, italics by Alfred).

Snowchange and the Point Hope Inuit concepts have been discussed by Ernest Burch in the following way:

"All of the resource species on which the traditional Point Hopers depended were migratory. They moved into and out of, and across and around the Promontory according to a regular seasonal pattern. In order to survive the people not only had to move about themselves, they had to do so according to a schedule that was precisely coordinated with the movements of their prey. They had to be at the right places at the right times – or starve. Confronted by this situation over a period of centuries, the Point Hopers had developed a regular annual cycle of movement of their own. The most important feature of the Point Hope annual cycle was that it anticipated the movements of the major prey species…The annual cycle thus could not be carried out on an ad hoc basis, but had to be based on a general strategy of seasonal distribution and movement." (Burch 1981: 51.)

The study methods of the Indigenous, or "non"-linear, time have been discussed by Hanna Snellman. She concludes her study of the Khanty by mentioning that

"*time is both history and the future*…Even if the past has already been lived, used time, it is kept alive with *narratives* [links to the First Nations Oral Histories in Delgamuukw 1997]. [Iraqw People of Tanzania] do not use standards of *measurement comparatively to produce a general concept of uniform time*, a chronology, that is, against which all events may be compared." (2001: 156.)

Walter Ong speaks about orality:

"The spoken word is always *an event*, *a movement in time*, completely lacking in the thing-like repose of the written or printed word" (1982: 75 in Mclennan & Duffek 2000: 113, italics by author).

This is close to the description by Hume of "everywhen" (2000: 126). Should the Indigenous system of governance, the temporality of non-linearity, be then measured or discussed in the interview methodology? Yes and no. Some "measurements" of chronology, a "western" time, if you will, are forced on science, on the act of documentation. The tapes run a certain number of minutes.

The camera or minidisc battery has a certain "life" in minutes. But to use this imposed limitation of linearity to discuss, and understand the non-linearity of the snowchange is sometimes necessary.

Mike Ferguson, a natural scientist from Nunavut, Canada, has been discussing the translation of Indigenous wildlife concepts into scientific terminology in the case of *the Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* (IQ or Inuit Traditional Ecological Knowledge) and animal

population cycles. This is a good, recent example of the difficulties of temporality and spatiality:

"the Inuit concept of **'they [animal species] have just moved away and they will be back'** *addresses a two-dimensional cycling* - numerical cycles between more area of space over time. ...'Migration', when translated to and from Inuktitut can result in [confusion]. One could be thinking seasonal migration, emigration and immigration." (Ferguson 2002.)

Karen Duffek has been writing about the oral histories of the British Columbian first nations:

"In a society without written texts, the narrative and visual arts share ways of organizing and communicating knowledge...the use of elaborate formulae, rhythm, and balanced patterning provides orators with a kind of intellectual framework through which they can retain and recall knowledge for the future." (Mclennan & Duffek 2000: 109.)

2.9. Methods of Analysis

Comparative methodology was employed to explore the research cases. Jürgen Habermas has commented on the social science methodology of environmental and ecological research. He feels that in terms of methodology, they operate within the existing frameworks (1994: 31). They bring little new per se to the method of social sciences. This study argues otherwise, portraying the "direct" approach of the Indigenous text and method, without having to overcome the "western" institutional validity of research.

There is a need to assess **the rhetorical occasion** that forms in the data. The rhetorical moment or occasion forms out of

Logos - the argumentation of the speech
Ethos - the status of the speaker
Pathos - the style of the rhetoric
(adapted from Rinne 2002).

By focussing on the rhetorical occasion of the qualitative interviews with the Indigenous individuals, one tries to avoid all presuppositions of the subject at hand. This does not mean that any common ground exists. There is a presupposition that there is *"a common sense"*, a logical intent, if you will, of the argumentation in the speech or interview. It is known as *the locus* of the occasion. Another intention enabled by the Indigenous people is the reverence of the oral stories, oral histories of a given culture. Therefore, in many occasions the presence of an oral tradition already forms the locus of the speech act, and creates the common ground of the rhetorical occasion. In a case of a non-Indigenous participant, no such presupposition outside a logical argumentation was made.

In the analysis of the political space of snowchange, there is a need for discourse analysis to find elements of meaning, function and positions. A large bulk of the Indigenous rhetoric concerning time, place and governance takes place in an underhanded discourse. There is a presupposition of a hegemonic discourse, against or separate from which the speaker functions. Therefore, the Indigenous discourse constructs a certain kind of world, and defines it in sharp discursive opposition to the presupposed hegemonic "mainstream/Western [see more in Said 1995] /European/male/Finnish/Russian/colonial" discourse.

In the course of the analysis of this study, the discursive elements were explored case by case. Drawing on this, the geopolitical assessments were made in the data. The occuring of "abnormal" spatiality and temporality [applied in border studies] in the Indigenous materials of data will be the key elements of the method of analysis in this inquiry.

Part 3 Temporal Borders - Analysis of Data

3. Analysis of the Research Question: Snowchange and the Sámi

3.1. Sápmi - Indigenous Sámi Homeland

"Sápmi" is the home area of the Indigenous Sámi people (Helander 1999). Today it is divided by the nation-states of Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia. In the case study here the application of snowchange and possible temporal borders will be discussed. Comparisons are drawn from the geopolitical situation of the Indigenous nations in Canada.

"Sápmi" is used by the Sámi people for self-identification. It refers to the traditional territory of their land, one individual, the Sámi people and also the language (adapted from Helander 1999: 31). This word bears resemblance to the word "Inuit" and other North American Indigenous groups, whose terminology of identification refers to "The People", "The Real People" or "Our People" (Brody 1986, Price 2001).

The traditional Sámi usage of land and the concept of land ownership in the Indigenous sense was based on a notion of living off the land that is distinctly different from the European spatial reality. It was and is one of snowchange.

Today, in the target area of Finland, the state has "possession" and legal ownership of the majority of the lands traditionally within Sápmi (Wirilander 2001: 63). They are called "public lands" in maps of today.

The Finnish government has cited a policy of continued special rights of practice, but has not recognised an ownership of land in the same way as Canada did in the acceptance of the oral histories as valid documentation of occupation in the Delgamuukw decision in 1997. (Constitution Act of Finland, 1996, Delgamuukw 1997 Supreme Court Decision.)

The idea of the construction of Sápmi, a geographically and geopolitically consistent area, has developed as a response to the nation-state presence in the traditional territories of the Sámi (Lehtola 2000b: 251). The border-making and demarcation of these nation-states have destroyed and divided Sápmi so that it is not a consistent territory. In the past, this has also led to a history of localisation process, where the Sámi in various parts of the European north did not consider spatial identity for more than the extent of the local village or province.

Sápmi and parts of it belong to various multiactor and regional areas, such as the European Union and its policy of the Northern Dimension and the Barents Euro-Arctic Region (BEAR). (Lausala et al. 1999, Heininen 1997, 1999).

3.1.1. Non-Indigenous Geopolitical Units

Horizontally below the national level of administration, Finland has the provincial level (made up of provinces such as Lapland) and the municipality administration units (Sodankylä, for example). Decision-making and policies are articulated at all levels of the administrational division, and especially the northern provinces have been active in participating in "subnational crossborder co-operation" such as the Barents Euro Arctic Region.

Usually this policy-making has been accepted and promoted by the national level of foreign policy. Sweden and Finland, being member states of the European Union, also have certain policy targets when participating in the "Europe of the Regions". This process, with a refined definition of "an Arctic of regions" was critically discussed, for example, in a conference in Rovaniemi, Lapland in the autumn of 1998 (see further, for example, Pokka 1999, Hukkinen 1999).

3.1.2. European Union as an Actor in Sápmi

The supranational entity of the European Union (Kristiansen, Jorgensen, Wiener 1999: 528 – 44), which includes multiple nation-states within its territory, cannot fit into the category of nation-state, so it can be defined as standing on its own, a unique structure. It has some local level administrational and policy tools, mainly in the economic sector; the Committee of the Regions or the support systems under the Common Agricultural Policy, for example (see for example Rosamund 2000: 98, more on the regionalisation in world politics see for example Rosamund 2000: 179 - 185).

However, the EU policies dealing with regionalisation as a global issue are not the focus of this paper. Here the Northern Dimension policy represents the local and regional level policy tool of the European Union as a geopolitical actor in the north. It mainly promotes non-military co-operative policies which belong to the foreign and internal relations of the EU (see further Lipponen 1997). However, the biggest aim is to start the exploitation of the vast gas and oil resources in the Barents Sea and Murmansk Oblast, in co-operation with the Russians. The initiative does not deal with Aboriginal People specifically, but oil and gas exploration would, of course, affect the Indigenous communities in the target region.

3.1.3. Russia as an Actor

In addition to this classification, the nations discussed here include the Russian Federation (even though the "federal" in the name could be challenged [Trenin 2000]) and Canada (a federal system). The Russian Administration include five different units inside the federation, these are the Autonomous republics, Autonomous oblasts, Oblasts, Krays (industrial zones), Raions and Autonomous Okrugs (Lausala et al. 1999). Some cities also carry special status, such as St. Petersburg and Moscow. There are 89 units of the federation, if you include Chechnya. Under this "federal" division of administration, local level actors include towns, villages and urban settlements (Lausala & Valkonen 1999: 35).

Basically, the administrational policies are also an interplay between the "centre" (Moscow) and the regions (subjects of the federation). During the Yeltsin presidency, the regions strengthened their positions after the new constitution of 1993, but after President Putin took office in the early 2000, there have been some administrational attempts to return power to the centre (for example Gordievsky 2000). One example of this is the creation of seven "super oblasts" under presidential governance. Also, the second Chechen war is another case of federalism, centre and regions relations in Russia now. This paper mainly discusses the Murmansk Oblast, which is situated next to the nation-states Finland and Norway (Lausala & Valkonen 1999: 25 – 35, more on general assessment of Russian policies in Kuorsalo, Susisluoto and Valkonen 1999).

3.1.4. Canada as an Actor

The Canadian division of power includes the federal governance, the provinces and the "Indigenous selfgovernment issues". The Indigenous First Nations of the Aboriginal population in Canada (and British Columbia) can be defined as

"[those] who can trace their ancestry to the populations that occupied the land prior to the arrival of Europeans and Americans in the late eighteenth century" (Muckle 1998: 2).

The nation status is seen to carry "status and have political consequences" (Cairns 2000: 28). Therefore the term "First Nations" is used in the discussion here too. The Indigenous rights are federally recognised in the Constitution Act of 1982, Section 35. In addition to the general Indigenous rights recognition, many First Nations and Inuit

people have entered into selfgovernance negotiations with Canada, with various degrees of success. This inquiry focuses on the province of British Columbia where, with the exception of Douglas Treaties (Muckle 1998), no agreements have been established between Canada and the Indigenous populations prior to 2000.

3.2. Sámi People

The Sámi are the Indigenous people in the Scandinavian nation-state territories and also the European Union (see further Aikio 1999). They have lived and occupied the northern European areas after the last period of glaciation; the ancestors of the Sámi moved into the area after the ice had receded. This development was also influenced by cultural interaction between various groups in the area. (Carpelan 2000: 33.)

The Sámi author Johan Turi stated that in 1910 that "no proof exists of the specific origin of the Sámi" (Helander 1999: 31). There are many Sámi groups, covering the vast area of what is known as the Scandinavian and Russian parts of the European north today. Just like the Inuit and Inuvialuit people in the Western Arctic and Kalaallit Nunaat, the Sámi have multiple distinct communities and group identities, some living in the coastal areas of the Barents Sea and others in the mainland. For the purposes of this paper, when the Sámi or Sápmi are mentioned they refer to the general population unless otherwise stated. The basic process of nomadic lifestyle comes today from the subsistence activities and reindeer herding.

The Sámi Parliament has articulated that the land usage, settlement and management issues can be dealt within the Finnish structures. They point out, however, that as long as the access to a material basis of survival for the Sámi culture is not guaranteed, there cannot be any "sustainable development" for the Sámi people (Aikio 1999: 70). The goals for the recognition and reconciliation have to be progressed through means of legal, administrative and financial support systems, so that the Sámi issue is integral to the policy formulation, not a separate issue. Here the Northern Dimension could be another forum for those argumentation needs.

The Sámi are the only United Nations [Draft Declation of Rights of the Indigenous Peoples 1994] and International Labour Organisation- recognised Aboriginal peoples in Scandinavia. Thematically, the "north" is "home" or "in" for the Sámi people, and for the ruling elite of Helsinki and Brussels, the European north and the areas within are "out", "wilderness" and "the other".

The creation of national parks and other environmentally protected areas also causes problems. In Finland they can only be created on "state owned" land (which in the current framework remains the majority of the territory of Sápmi, see further data in Wirilander 2001) and the Sámi regions and traditional "villages" could be categorised as areas prepared for protection (Aikio 1999: 66). This is continuing semicolonisation by the Finnish state authority over Sámi territory in the form of sustainable land usage.

The Sámi are administrationally divided among the four nations they live in. They have "Sámi bys"/"villages" (Aikio 1999: 66) as the components of the local administrational unit, to take care of the reindeer herding issues and such (see Beach 1994: 179). They also have a fairly good right of movement within the three Scandinavian nation-states (ibid. 1994), but the Sámi of Murmansk Oblast cannot cross the existing borders with the same easiness. The construction of a "European type of Nunavut", mainly in the framework of Sápmi, is yet to happen. (ibid. 1994, more on the welfare state discourses and responses to Sámi in Scandinavia in Lewis 1998).

The Sámi form the only Aboriginal population inside the European Union (Aikio 1999: 67). Internationally, the most important documents and structures dealing with the Sámi are the International Labour Organisation (ILO) convention 169 / 89 on tribal and Indigenous populations, the UN convention on political and civil rights, the EU Protocol 3 on the Sámi people and the Agenda 21 of the UN Rio "Earth Summit" documents (adapted from Aikio 1999: 67). The Finnish government conducted an extensive inquiry into the Sámi land rights to meet the ILO commitments and the report came out in summer 2001 (see Wirilander 2001). It is highly unlikely though that the Finnish state would allow a change of ownership of the land in the current framework in Lapland.

The joining of Finland and Sweden to the EU did not actually change the regional relations between the Sámi and the state too much. In Protocol 3, the EU recognises the obligations of Finland and Sweden to support the traditional culture and living of the Sámi people (Aikio 1999: 68). The Protocol lists two interesting land usage policies in Articles 1 and 2 concerning the Sámi: "Article 1: The Sámi have exclusive rights based on national law to reindeer herding in the traditional [Sámi] areas…Article 2: other exclusive rights in assistance of the EU organs" (adapted from Aikio 1999: 68).

This poses interesting legal and policy questions in the politics of territory. Basically, Article 2 could be a vehicle for reorganisation, positive reterritorialisation of the territory to meet the Aboriginal land claims, and could be articulated in the redefined "Northern Dimension" policy of the EU. Thus, the recognition of Sápmi is not a legal

impossibility, but lacks political resources and the will to implement selfgovernance fully in the current structures of Northern Europe.

3.2.1. Changing Geopolitics of Sámi Snowchange and Homelands

Since the 8th century, the 62nd Parallel was the rough division and demarcation line between the Finnish culture in the south and the Sámi in the north (Carpelan 2000: 34). In the eastern part of the Sámi territories were the Koltta Sámi, who before the colonisation occupied about 22 *siidda* or villages in the area which has now been divided between Norway, Finland and the Russian Federation. The heart of the Koltta Sámi society was the "Norraz" system of governance, which came to an end around 1900 (adapted from Wirilander 2001: 2).

Around the early 14th century, the European and Eurasian states started to have geopolitical interests in and near the Sámi homelands. In 1323 the state of Novgorod established a peace treaty with the Kingdom of Sweden and in 1326 a similar peace treaty with Norway (Carpelan 2000: 34). This was the early seed of the reterritorialisation process in the north, when the early states started to demarcate the northern areas for their spheres of geostrategic influence.

With these influences, the church also started to interact with the Sámi and convert them into Christianity. Elina Helander and Kristiina Kailo, two famous researchers of the Sámi, have stated that the "church had a crucial place in the occupation of the North" (1999: 33).

Between the pre-colonisation period and the current situation, multiple documents of border-making, Finnishation, Russification and such affected the Indigenous Sámi communities. However, space does not allow a full recounting of these important events, so only some have been highlighted.

(For a detailed legal history of the Sámi colonisation and land usage changes between the nomadic and current era from the Finnish perspective see the Wirilander Report of Summer 2001, although many Sámi politicians, such as Ilmari Tapiola, have not given much value to the inquiry by Wirilander because it was made by the Finnish authorities, on landscape and "imaginary homecoming" see Pehkonen 1999, Puranen 2000).

3.2.3. Recent Geopolitical Changes in Sápmi

Since the 1970s, the Sámi identity and the battle for recognition have gained momentum. Within the last 30 years the Sámi have adopted cultural and political symbols, such as the Sámi flag, and reasserted their Aboriginal rights within the structures of the Nordic nation-states (Lehtola 2000a: 248). This can be seen as a rebounding development after the colonial assimilation policies of these nation-states since the Second World War (ibid. 2000a: 248). Geopolitically, the construction of transport corridors in the north, for example, the road to the Arctic Ocean and the Soviet networks of transportation, brought many non-Sámi to the traditional territories (Vuolab 2002).

A process of negative reterritorialisation occurred. In the cultural geopolitics of the Cold War era in all four countries, Norway, Sweden, Finland and the Soviet Union, the assimilation of the Sámi to the mainstream culture via colonisation policies of language usage and nationalised school system occurred (Lehtola 2000a: 248). This was also reflected in the new values to be adopted by the Sámi people. Christian churches in the Nordic countries converted the Sámi in many areas. In Ochejohka [Utsjoki] (in northernmost Finland) the local church has incorporated the Sámi colours and symbols into the altar piece.

The political boost for the Sámi identity and assertion of rights came in the turn of the 1970/80s. The Norwegian government planned a hydro-powerplant in the valley of Alta in Finnmark. This led to many protests and direct action politics by the local Sámi, gaining international support for their efforts (Lehtola 2000: 248). It was a turning point in the Aboriginal rights of the Sámi in the Nordic countries, even though the powerplant was eventually constructed (ibid. 2000: 248). Ole Henrik Magga, a Sámi from Norway, was one of the Sámi leaders at that time. He has described the relevance of the Alta campaign in the following way :

"The Sámi resisted the plans to dam the river. The opposition was quite extensive. But the biggest impact of the dam construction and the protests was that the state of Norway had to react seriously for the first time to the demands and legal issues of the Sámi people. Especially cultural and language rights have been boosted because of the Alta conflict. Also, Norway committed herself to international treaties because of this damming business. These international agreements commit Norway to guarantee the survival and future of the Sámi people in Norway." (translated by author, adapted from Magga 2000: 250).

The area of Sámi presence and activities is also included in the Northern Dimension of the EU framework, even though the ND does not deal with the Sámi directly. Situations

among the Sámi populations vary from country to country. For example, in Sweden only Sámi people can herd reindeer as opposed to the Finnish policy, in which non-Sámi people can conduct herding also (Beach 1994: 147 - 206). The ethnic definition has also been confusing, but it is thought that about 35,000 to 100,000 Sámi live in the Scandinavian countries (Beach 1994: 149, Aikio 1999). Some estimates put the figures in the range of 60,000 - 100,000 Sámi (Helander 1999: 31).

The main administrational bodies are the Sámi Parliaments in Finland, Sweden and Norway but their work has been hindered by apathy and questions of ethnicity amongst the Sámi population (Beach 1994: 147 - 206). The president of the Finnish Sámi Parliament has stated that *"the Sámi Parliament puts into practice cultural self-determination"* (Aikio 1999: 68). In a recent interview, Ilmari Tapiola, member of the Sámi Parliament, criticised the current Sámi Parliament system thus:

"The only thing that the Finnish Sámi Parliament can decide on its own, is the time to begin and end the meetings…We should ask more strongly for the land claims to be recognised, which would mean the creation of Sámi areas in the municipalities of Sodankylä [the Vuotso region], Inari, Enontekiö and Utsjoki" (5.3.2002).

This organisation and administration could be the practical backbone of the Indigenously controlled territory honouring the snowchange (see further Rattray 2000b). But, like Tapiola portrays, the position and powers of the Finnish Sámi Parliament have not been recognised even as comparable to the municipality administration, which has slowed the process down (Aikio 1999: 68).

Also, the conversion of the Koltta Sámi and the Sápmi areas within the Russian Federation/Soviet Union into Orthodox Christianity caused further geopolitical cultural lines of demarcation within the Indigenous populations in the north (Lehtola 2000b: 251).

Sámi Council, a pan-Sámi political forum, has also functioned to enhance the recognition and implementation of Sámi rights. In the post-1991 situation the Sámi Council also includes the Russian Sámi.

Manifestations of the snowchange in Sápmi, the winter villages were "closed communities within their own areas" (ibid. 2000b: 251). The remote locations of these villages acted as buffers of cultural geopolitical resistance (Pennanen 2000: 257). Also, the mainstream European cultural influences were first diffused by the Finnish, Swedish and Norwegian societies in the south before arriving to Sápmi (ibid. 2000: 257). The change of the transportation equipment, the modernisation methods of reindeer herding and the massive increase in the different cultural influences of the globalising world have posed additional challenges to the Sámi identity (ibid. 2000: 257).

Thus it seems that the "cultural" Sápmi has remained partly intact and alive, even though the geopolitical reality of the Indigenous presence in the land has suffered from the colonisation effects and border-drawing of the neighbouring countries. The preservation of strong local knowledge of the snowchange factors and cyclic living with the reindeer proves the durability of the temporal borders for the Sámi. Funnily enough, the recent European-style demarcation measurements of the Finnish-Norwegian border may shift those borders slightly in Teno [Deathnu] region (Pohjanpalo 2002).

3.2.4. Spatial Encounters in the Scandinavian Parts of Sápmi

There has been a long history of combination of non-Sámi and Sámi territory usage, away from the "core" Sámi areas, which makes the land claims and issues more complicated (Beach 1994: 147 - 206). The Sámi Council including the Russian Murmansk Kola Sámi is the highest profile international body for the Sámi. It enjoys the status of a NGO in the United Nations (ibid. 1994: 147 - 206). It seems that the creation of a *"new"* Sápmi, a Sámiland completely independent from the surrounding nation-states, is not seen a viable option, according to the majority of the Sámi. (Beach 1994: 147 - 206).

However, the recognition of the inherent rights associated with the Sámi and the need to protect their land against heavy exploitation remain the main political goals (ibid. 1994: 147 - 206). The creation and application of a "pan-Sámi" parliament and council under the existing nation-states and the Russian federation, possibly complemented with the creation of a new "temporal border system" mainly for the EU-Russian border, would seem to be a realistic Aboriginal selfgovernment policy target for the Sámi. Pekka Aikio has stated that *"the governments of Finland have never wanted to have this matter [Sámi land rights] discussed in the National Parliament. This should, of course, be done as soon as possible"* (Aikio 1999: 70).

3.3. Kola Sámi and the Eastern Geopolitics of the Sápmi

3.3.1. Geopolitics of the Russian Federation and Challenges of Non-Russian Aboriginal Presence

The Russian geopolitical issues are dominated quite heavily still today by the "traditional" approach. The integral point in the discourse is the need and want of

Moscow to respect and uphold the territorial sovereignty of Russia. The "idea" and construct of Russia as a self-standing "loose empire" is at stake (Putin 1999, 2000).

All attempts to change borders, create subnational but border-crossing institutions (which would be the case of a "Sápmiland" or EU Regions) have to be subjected to the reality of the current geopolitics of Russia (Trenin 2000).

3.3.2. Murmansk Oblast

Murmansk Oblast is located in the Northwestern Russia, in the Kola Peninsula. It shares borders with neighbours, in the south the Republic of Karelia (Russia), in the west Lapland (Finland) and Finnmark (Norway). The area covers 144,900 square kilometres and the population has been estimated at 1,109,000. The capital of the Oblast is the city of Murmansk, which has about 400,000 inhabitants. Vast natural resources exist in the area, as well as minerals, high technology and forestry. (Lausala et al. 1999).

The Barents Sea areas have large natural oil and gas fields. One of the most relevant of these is the Stockmanovskaya Field. The City of Murmansk has a year-round open harbour because of the Gulf Stream. Fishing industry plays a crucial part in the local economy. Many air connections connect the region with other areas. Road connections provide the geopolitical non-Indigenous lines of communication to Finland and the EU, and to Norway as well. A historically important railway connects Murmansk to St. Petersburg and the Karelian Republic. The future plans include the extended and expanded development of the so-called North-East Passage to the Pacific and various other infrastructure developments. (Jumppanen & Hyttinen 1995, Lausala et al 1999.)

The Oblast has a high military concentration of nuclear weapons, mostly in the form of submarines (Mormulj 1999), a legacy from the Cold War (Ash 1994). When The President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin took part in a Naval exercise in the Kola area in April 2000, he emphasised the need to continue using the submarines as a means of security policy. (Mustonen 2001a, Jumppanen & Hyttinen 1995, Lausala et al 1999).

The industry technology is rather old and inefficient, creating needs for updating. The environment and biosphere is badly polluted on a local level, even though many pristine wilderness areas remain (Zavalko 2000). Lots of small industrial towns sprung up in the past for the non-Indigenous population. They are currently suffering from a flux of people moving to southern areas. These villages include Lovozero and Apatity as well

as Montsegorsk, which has serious local problems because of the presence of smelters. Civilian nuclear safety is a big issue, even in the high level political discourse.

Murmansk area has historically been of great traditional geopolitical and military importance. Events in the Second World War led to the recognition of the city as a Russian "hero city". It withstood many attempts by the German forces to breach the crucial defence lines (which were supporting the fronts and cities in the heartland of the country) from Murmansk harbour to the southern areas of Russia.

Fishing has been a great resource and interest to the area. During the Cold War, the Kola Peninsula had the largest concentration of nuclear arsenal in the Soviet Empire and this is still true, even though the Cold War era seems to have ended. On the other hand, when visiting the Kola Peninsula, it seems that the Cold War never ended. The demoralised and partly ruined Northern Fleet of the Russian Federation has nuclear submarines situated in the area. (Jumppanen & Hyttinen 1995, Bellona 1997, 2001.) So many actors create a multiple actor dynamic to the security issues relating to the Kola Peninsula (Kruglikova 1999).

3.3.3. The Sámi in the Russian Federation

The situation of the Indigenous peoples in the Russian north is difficult. The "Aboriginality" and "Indigenous" recognition has been open-ended in Russia. The people usually belonging to this category have been known as *"korennye narodi"*, but without a legal background (Lausala & Valkonen 1999: 70). The Federal text and law refers to the Aboriginals usually as "small-numbered peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East" or "northern peoples" (Lausala & Valkonen 1999: 70 - 71).

The Sámi and Nenets people belong to the federally and internationally recognised group of "Indigenous Peoples" (ILO Convention, Osherenko et al. 1999, Vlassova 2002). These peoples live in the Murmansk Oblast and other areas of the Russian northwest, and fall under the geographical, if not the policy framework of the Northern Dimension of the EU.

The histories of the Indigenous peoples in the Russian north and their legal status in the evolving frameworks of the Soviet Union and the Russian Federation provide for quite complex and multifaceted processes. The majority of the available research and Indigenous material and text has been defined and produced by the Russian hegemonic discourse. Little of the Indigenous voice has been permitted in the assessment and debates of governance, land usage and rights in the past. Therefore, the overall situation

that is portrayed here follows the Russian colonial text and paradigm, because few other sources are available, except for field interviews and direct interaction in the villages, communities and areas in the Indigenous homelands.

The basic unit of Indigenous Nations in Russia is usually defined as "obshchina", which can be translated as

"a small Indigenous community, based on kin or non-kin groupings. During the Soviet period, *obshchina* designated Indigenous territorial units based on a theorized system of primitive communal land tenure; in the post-Soviet era, the word has come to more broadly encompass any traditionally-inclined Indigenous unit with a territorial base" (Pika 1998: 194).

It is a universal form of social organisation for the Indigenous peoples in Russia. It provides an economic territorial organisation, a structural unit for survival (zhizneibespechenie), autonomy and the reproduction of *ethnos* identities (ibid. 1998: 65). The Sakha Republic law on obshchinas from 1996 defines the unit as

"a voluntary union of representatives of aboriginal peoples, or also representatives of other Indigenous peoples and ethnic communities of the North who pursue a nomadic way of life, on the basis of membership and joining of property shares for joint activities connected with traditional occupations and trades on their age-old territories of occupancy" (Ob izmeneniyakh 1996, section 3, adapted from Fondahl et al. 2001).

Gail Fondahl among others, has argued that the obshchina unit

"might serve as a political-territorial unit for aboriginal selfgovernment, as well as a socio-spatial unit to revive aboriginal culture. It could, in optimistic theory, empower aboriginal peoples while disencumbering the state, economically and politically, in ways that would appear to endorse the current discourse of political and economic reform" (2001).

In the 1600s and 1700s, feudal Russia looked to the north and Siberia for the furs that provided money. Aleksandr Pika, one of the most famous Indigenous-paradigm scholars of Russia, writes of the relations between the Indigenous nations and the Russian settlers thus:

"[The relations between Indigenous nations and Russia] was a unique system of patronage - the government saw its job as collecting *yasak* (special form of taxation traditionally paid in furs by native Siberians) while defending the rights of 'the Siberian aliens' to their age-old territories and traditional resources (reindeer herds, hunting and fishing grounds) from encroachment by Russian peasant settlers" (1998: 35).

At the end of the 18th century, the situation started to change. Industrial development, geopolitical interests and the expansion in farming dealt a death blow to the yasak system. On June 4th, 1763 the Russian Senate dispatched Second-Major Shcherbachev

to Siberia and the north to regulate the yasak collection, which led to the introduction of a system of serfdom in Siberia, and the establishment of clan territories (adapted from ibid.. 1998: 36). The government outlined the territories of the clans and nations to the leaders of these peoples, and the demarcation of the Indigenous homelands and settler populations in Russia began, at least in the administration of the Russian state. The missionaries also started their work in the remote eastern parts of the Russian state, thus redrawing the cultural geopolitics of the Indigenous lands.

In 1822, Siberian Governor-General Count Mikhail M. Speranskii introduced the Charter of Administration of Siberian Aliens (Polnoe Sobranie Zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii 1822). This document established the land usage for the obshchina system of the Indigenous clans and groups. In the Charter, there was a division of Indigenous groups in three categories:

a) settled (osedlye) in towns and settlements
b) nomadic (kochuiushchie), occupying definite places depending on the seasonal cycle
c) wandering and/or foraging (brodiachie ili lovtsy), on the move all the time (ibid. 1998: 37).

This 1822 Charter established the basis of the state relations between the Indigenous nations and the Russian state and, at its time, it was a progressive piece of legislation. The policies of customary law, non-interference and a certain respect for the Indigenous ways were present despite the colonial context of the document. Between the 1822 Charter and revolution of 1917 in Russia, the loss of the Indigenous homelands in the north and Siberia, especially after 1865, started to undermine the spirit and intent of the Charter. Before the revolution, the obshchina system of governance and land base received death blows from the privatisation processes that occurred before the introduction of the Soviet system (ibid. 1998: 42).

In the early Soviet Union, the Indigenous selfgovernance was structured at first in 1924 with a decision by the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union to establish the Committee for the Assistance to the peoples of the Northern Borderlands (ibid. 1998: 43). This committee established a number of legal documents between 1926 and 1931 along the lines of the 1822 Charter. The obshchina system was revived to a certain degree, with native clan congresses and other Indigenous governance structures being recognised (ibid. 1998: 43). The Nenets national okrug was the first administrative unit to have been established in 1929 (Vakhtin 1994: 48).

The selfgovernance process and the obshchina system ground to halt with the terror of Stalin and, even though in large parts of the Russian north and Siberia selfgovernance

and rights existed on paper, in reality much was lost. The horror of the Stalin policies and the long years of the Soviet rule wiped out much of the indigenous culture, shamanism and livelihood in Russia (Pentikäinen 1998, 2001, Avjedeva 2001, Balzer 1997, Diozegi & Hoppal 1996, Fainsod 1964, Lehtinen ja Kukkonen 1980, Lehtisalo 1959, Oakes and Riewes 1998, Soviet propaganda version in Renisck 2000, Komi 1969, Ready 2000). Some countertrends began to appear, when Gorbachev's glasnost and perestroika policies began to be formulated in the latter part of the 1980s. A Siberian Cultural Centre was established in Leningrad (Vakhtin 1994: 72) and developments in the Siberian Oblast of Tomsk led to some demands for the recognition of the Aboriginal cultures (ibid. 1994: 72).

The congress of the northern minorities that took place in Moscow in 1990 is seen as one of the turning points for better in the Russian-Aboriginal relations in the north. The congress strongly suggested the creation of National Raions and indigenous village Soviets as formal ethnic administrational structures in order to solve the conflicts (ibid. 1994: 72). Other major demands included the recognition of land claims of the northern minorities and the consulting of Aboriginal people when a large industrial project was to be started. (ibid. 1994: 72). In 1990, just before the disbanding of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Parliament passed laws that would seem to help the Aboriginal people out, at least in principle. Internationally, the Soviet Union signed the ILO Convention 169 on tribal peoples and Indigenous nations, which shaped the legal discourse and legal activism of the 1990 - 1992 period (Prokhorov 1998: 172).

The document *"On general principles of local self-administration"*, section 8, described that the natural resources should provide livelihood for the Aboriginal people as the main source of economy (adapted from Vakhtin 1994: 74). Another major document to come to existence from this session was *"On free ethnic development of the citizens of the USSR who live outside their ethnic territories or have no such territories within the USSR"* (Soviet Parliament April 26th, 1990, also Vakhtin 1994: 74). This was legally a major win to start to establish Aboriginally controlled national territories within the space of the Soviet Union. A huge reversal of the Soviet colonial rhetoric occurred. The Presidential Decree of April 22nd, 1992 and various post-Soviet legal decrees started to redirect the policies, and clan obshchinas, national raions and other local administration were proposed to the Indigenous nations (Prokhorov 1998: 173).

The practical economic and social realities and the interests of the majority of the population combined with the collapse of the Soviet Union have hindered the process.

With the 1991 transformation into the Russian Federation, the abuses of the human rights of the northern minorities became illegal and many industrial projects came to a halt (Vakhtin 1994: 74). The 1993 Constitution of the Russian Federation vaguely establishes federal Indigenous rights, with an emphasis on the protection of environmental rights and international commitments. The sections 69 and 72 of the Konstitutsiya 1993 define these legal frameworks (adapted from the 1993 Constitution of the Russian Federation and Fondahl et al. 2001).

The creation of the Association of Northern Minorities - as well as other Indigenous organisations - during the perestroika time was an important administrational and political event and paved the way ahead for other minority rights battles in Russia (Vakhtin 1994: 74). This organisation has been now formed into the Russian Association for the Indigenous Peoples of the North, RAIPON (personal communication with RAIPON staff member Tatjana Vlassova, March 2001 and April 2002, Funk and Sillanpää 1999).

The current situation is being shaped by a dual development of Indigenous reterritorialisation, reorganisation of space in Russia. In many areas "a delineation of 'territories of traditional nature use'" (Fondahl et al. 2001) has advanced Indigenous rights. A federal law was passed in May 2001 (O territoriyakh 2001) which, together with local and regional administration, followed the principles of traditional usage (ibid. 2001). The other area of discussion is the re-establishment of the Indigenous obshchina territories, which, ever since the Charter of 1822, have provided the basis for Indigenous governance and relations between the centre and the Indigenous peoples.

For the Nenets, the reindeer herding and nomadic lifestyle was in direct conflict with the policies of the Soviet state (see further Golovnev & Osherenko 1999: 107). This is one of the reasons why the Nenets have been active after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Recent years have seen a bloom of Indigenous activism (ibid. 1999: 112) and active participation in the international northern minority organisations and representations such as the Arctic Council (Tennberg 1998) and the World Council of the Indigenous Peoples (Golovnev & Osherenko 1999:112).

The Russian Sámi live mostly in the territory of the Murmansk Oblast and they number about 1,900 (Lausala & Valkonen 1999: 71). They, too, have been a reindeer herding people, but the industrialisation and militarisation of the Kola Peninsula combined with the totalitarianism of the Soviet state destroyed this possibility, even though some reindeer herders still remain (interview with Larisa Avdejeva 2001).

In the Soviet Union (1917-1991) the Sámi were portrayed to have worked "together with the Soviet professionals in the North" (Korop 1980: 39). Pyotr Korop, a Soviet northern author, described the situation in the following way:

"The geologists, miners and builders received support from the local inhabitants, the Sámi. The friendship that developed between them was shown in many ways…The pioneer explorers and the native inhabitants decided together how to name the streams and mountain valleys they mapped out and the new cities being built. There are several reindeer-breeding state farms, but most reindeer-breeders belong to collective farms. As a rule their children are sent to boarding schools." (Ibid. 1980: 44-46.)

This Soviet propaganda reflected the reterritorialisation naming in the Kola Peninsula and the geopolitical interests of the rising superpower. Unfortunately for the Sámi, the Kola area provided an ice-free access to the Barents Sea and Atlantic Ocean. Therefore, especially after the 1940s when the era of the nuclear submarine arrived to the land of the red October, the collectivisation and the assimilation of the Sámi was carried out.

The horrors of Stalin were felt in Lovozero and other Sámi areas in the Kola Peninsula as well. Korop describes the "rule" by which the children of the Sámi would be taken to boarding schools, a system similar to the residential schools in place in Canada earlier. This brutal and straightforward description of colonisation reflected the idea of "development" in the north of the Soviet Union.

Reindeer herding is integrally connected to the cultural survival of the Sámi in Murmansk. It could be argued that the reindeer, just as it is for the Nenets people, is a key species in the cultural ecology and biological ecology sense of the word (Lausala & Valkonen 1999: 75, Hanski et al. 1998). Another ecological conflict, in addition to the military and modernisation processes, has been the tourist fishing conducted in the area, which has connotations similar to the British Columbian Aboriginal rights case of Sparrow from the early 1990s (see Cassidy 1992, Lausala & Valkonen 1999: 75). The territorial presence of the Sámi is mostly in and near the village of Lovozero in the Kola Peninsula. There the Sámi have a cultural centre and some schooling is conducted (ibid. 1999: 75). Organisationally, the Sámi have two principal organisations, the first one established in 1989 and the other in 1998. (ibid. 1999: 75). In 2002, power struggles hindered the local Indigenous political organisation of the Kola Sámi politics (Mustonen 2002b, pers. obs.)

3.3.4. Temporal Borders of Sápmi

The end of the Cold War has allowed the Sámi to visit their neighbours in the Scandinavian countries and to increase their awareness of selfgovernmental issues, but the free passage and respect of their rights has yet to happen (Lausala et al. 1999: 75, Helppikangas 1996).

Here the implementation of "temporal borders" and an "alternate Northern Dimension" alongside the existing nation-state boundaries and borders could be executed with minimal problems.

Larisa Avjedeva, a Sámi Cultural Leader from Luujavre (Lovozero), has assessed the nation-state border of Russia and Finland dividing Sápmi, in the following way:

"The Sámi should have at least a non-visa policy in effect. But in today's Russia it is not possible. If there was no borders all would be much easier. It is often said that a culture does not recognise borders, culture crosses borders [of the European kind]. It cannot be quickly explained; we know, that borders exist, but we cross them because we are Sámi and we have one Sámi area, Sápmi. Sápmi is Sámi land and borders [of the European kind] are just lines drawn on maps, thus only artificial lines. I cannot predict the future, but maybe in many, many years there will be Sápmi [without these kind of European borders]…Russia will not give up her Sámi people, it will never give up our territories, even though it would be so much better for us to live like one family next to each other. This is why I have been working with culture for many years and making comparisons: we have a lot in common, similar items of usage, similar world of the Sámi knowledge and these things will not disappear…To have a possibility of mobility without visas would be the first step [towards the temporal borders of Sápmi]…Maybe the next generation, including my son, will have this…The internet offers new possibilities of crossborder cooperations…We have had environmental, social conflicts here...with the Russians, with the Komi [another Indigenous group]. Our people live, however, with the other people and will follow the path that Russia follows". (September 2001).

Avjedeva seems to link the possibility of the temporal borders to the events in the future. Interestingly, she also mentions that for the Russian Sámi the future will be tied up with the geopolitical realities of Russia.

3.4. Comparative Indigenous Geopolitical Experiences: First Nations in British Columbia

Canada is a part of the North American continent. The majority of the urban areas are located on the southern border with the United States. The Arctic north and other northern areas are sparsely populated and currently governed mostly by the Inuits and

First Nations Indigenous people. The constitution of Canada defines her as a multicultural society. Same constitution, section 35.1., guarantees "existing Aboriginal and treaty rights" for the Indigenous populations (Muckle 1998) and legally guarantees Aboriginal selfgovernance and rights within the European structures of Canada. Also, various Nations have entered into agreements and treaties in the past with the Canadian government.

In the past, a colonial, even genocidal (see further Annett 2001) policy by the European mainstream towards the First Peoples was the norm. This assimilationist policy at various levels of government and society manifested itself in the residential school system, for example. This system was designed so that the Indigenous languages and culture would be assimilated to the mainstream society.

3.4.1. Dynamics of the Changing Geopolitics of the First Nations

Residential schools started in the mid-19th century and continued officially until the early 1980s. Especially in British Columbia, on the Canadian west coast, the residential school system was horribly "effective" with many First Nations generations losing their language, identity and their life, even. Recently, a public "Truth Commission into Genocide in Canada" report suggested that

"Canadians have yet to acknowledge, let alone repent from the genocide that we inflicted on millions of conquered people: the Aboriginal men, women and children who were deliberately exterminated by our racially supremacist churches and state" (ibid. 2001: 5).

Further documented cases of sterilisation, experimentation with drugs, rapes and killings had taken place within the long, terrible shadow of the residential school system (ibid. 2001, Francis & Smith 1994, McRoberts 1997, Bumsted 1998, Gilbert & Wallace 1992.)

In the geopolitics of the Aboriginal selfgovernance, combined with self-determination, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples' report from 1996 outlines the territories as "both off and on a land base" (Peters 1999: 417). The Commission, working for the federal government, sees a First Nation as a

"sizeable body of Aboriginal people with a shared sense of national identity that constitutes the predominant population in a certain territory or collection of territories" (Peters 1999: 417, Royal Commission 1996: 178).

It is interesting to point out the concept of collection of territories leading to a mosaic of presences and territories which do not have to be connected to each other. If this

definition was recognised and honoured, it could free up the reterritorialisation of the maps and land, but at the same time it contains the fear of the crushing of the land claims and the suppression of the voices of the First Nations.

Kevin Annett, working for the Truth Commission into Genocide in Canada has argued that the

"Christian European culture in Canada still sees nothing fundamentally wrong with its invasion and occupation of the New World and its destruction of Aboriginal societies; it simply regrets the 'excesses' of that process" (2001: 25).

This dynamic, in plain terms, provides for the historical groundplate for the geopolitical development of the internal colonisation in Canada. Current processes of reterritorialisation, however, seem to address and change the direction of this process.

The Royal Commission requires that in order to achieve selfgovernance there has to be a collective identity, sufficient size and capacity and territorial predominance (adapted from Peters 1999: 417). In some cases the history of territorial predominance is more than unclear, partly because of the unclear definitions of the First Nations land when meeting with the Europeans and in the early times of the relation formulation (Neel 2000).

An example of difficult interaction between the environment, First Nations and the non–Indigenous society can be found in the Province of British Columbia. It is an area which serves as a waypoint, a gateway between Canada, the Pacific and the United States. It is also the meeting point of North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) issues on the Canadian-US agenda. It has a long history of lumber industry. (For example Francis & Smith 1994, McRoberts 1997, Bumsted 1998, Gilbert & Wallace 1992, Cassidy 1992, Muckle 1998.) Issues on resource usage and fishing rights have also raised the juxtaposition (see further the case Delgamuukw 1997, and implementation of the Nisga'a Final Agreement 2000).

The First Nations - governmental negotiations have proved a "progressive" treaty process when compared internationally, even though many huge problems still remain and the process has been slow. The provincial government in BC, for example, did not take part in the negotiations until 1990 (Muckle 1990: 80).

Some of these treaty cases, such as elements of the Nisga'a treaty, could be implemented in the European north, too (especially when control of the resources, environmental standards [which must be the same or exceed the federal levels] and the land ownership is considered, see excepts of Nisga'a in Muckle 1998: 128-133).

The Aboriginal relations are mostly based on the Canadian constitution, section 35.1., which guarantees selfgovernance for the First Nations under the Canadian state

(Cassidy 1992, Muckle 1998). The practical solution of the policies are still in the process of formulation, but similar legal recognitions and aspects of this geopolitical process would be helpful for the Aboriginal populations in the Russian and European north.

Taiaiake Alfred has criticised the geopolitical template that has produced these "new" selfgovernance agreements in Canada. He argues that they function

firstly as public forms of governance, thus not responding to the non-linearity of the political scape of the Indigenous ways and
secondly within the nation-state and federal structures of Canada. (Alfred 2001a.)

3.4.2. Historical Changes of the Changing Geopolitics of the First Nations

In brief, the British Columbian geopolitical situation has undergone three major stages, starting from the precontact existence, which can be outlined as follows:

a)   **PRECONTACT.** Time immemorial, snowchange, non-linearity of time and place. Up to the 18th Century (European linear time concept enters the region): Snowchange in effect, seminomadic "precontact" nations with temporal borders and mutual use zones (Defrane 2000) in some cases. The First Nations have full access to resources and minerals within the land. Apparently, conflicts exist among the large number of different nations in place. Spatial and temporal concepts of land rely on the Indigenous cultural and social practices, a vastly different system than the "measurement" based system of the European nations. Politics and lifeworld operate as "local" and "non-linear".

b)   **CONTACT AND COLONISATION.** 18th Century onwards: Impact of the European contact. The population drops to about 5% of the precontact time because of diseases and other factors. A negative process of reterritorialisation, imposing of British and European names, values and systems on the First Nations destroys the context which existed earlier. "Missionary invasion and its offspring, the residential schools would have been impossible without a [massive] dislocation of Indians from their lands in the first place" (Annett 2001: 52).

Introduction of the "Gradual Civilisation Act in Upper Canada" in 1857 affects the political and social identity of the Indigenous Nations in Canada. British Crown had recognised these Nations in its Royal Proclamation of 1763.

In the proclamation it was stated that Indigenous People were "not to be molested or disturbed" (1763). Construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway opens up European access and geopolitical interests to the mostly Indigenous lands of the British Columbia (Annett 2001: 55).

Up until the latter part of the 20th century the system of temporal borders of snowchange and Aboriginal selfgovernment is being crushed. Political and social resistance and preservation of some cultural traditions (see Reid 2000, Neel 2000) keeps the First Nations alive. Potlatch, a crucial cultural practice of the West Coast Nations is banned and later reintroduced. Reserve system and the residential schools introduced, changing the cyclic land usage/time-space of the BC Nations. Languages are lost. Self-identity suppressed.

Division of status/non-status identities redraws the cultural geopolitics of the area. Canada introduces the "Indian Act" and its revisions to legally define the Indigenous policies and creates a Euro-recognised system of band councils, which

are at odds occasionally with the "tribal councils" of the various Nations. Indian Act and the policies were apparently first designed to assimilate the Indigenous populations and to gain European access to the geostrategically important areas and resources within the Aboriginally controlled spatial areas.

c)   **[POST]COLONIAL ERA?** Late 20th Century onwards: Restart of the battle for Aboriginal rights. In the early 1990s the land claims, political activism, settlements and court cases start to change the positions. Especially the recognition of oral histories, the "Delgamuukw" decision of 1997 by the Supreme Court of Canada affirms various Indigenous Nations legal base for valid evidence for precontact occupation of lands in Euro-Canadian courts. The provincial government enters the negotiations in 1990 and the future creation of tribal nations with Aboriginal selfgovernment over the European-introduced spatial and temporal realities seems a possibility. The positive process of "reterritorialisation" enters the discussion. Yet, the reserve system remains. These reserves are described as "legal ghettoes administered by puppet Indian leaders [band councils] who were placed there by colonial rulers for the express purpose of surrendering native title and control over their traditional lands" by the Truth Commission into Genocide in Canada (Annett 2001: 54). Various Nations participate as members or observers in the land settlement process in BC, spending millions of dollars in consultation and legal fees to secure Final Agreements. The Nisga'a Nation Final Agreement from 2000 sets an example, but not a template for a "public form of governance" with Indigenous majority in the selfgovernance geopolitics. The election victory of the Liberal Party in 2001 in the provincial elections casts doubts on the land settlement and selfgovernance process, especially in the aftermath of a controversial referendum in 2002 on Indigenous land claims. Re-emergence of different interpretations of the snowchange ideas of non-linearity.

(Adapted from McGillivray 2000: 79, Neel 2000, Rattray 2000b, Annett 2001, Alfred 2001a, 2002, Royal Proclamation by the British Crown 1763, Liberal BC territorial government policies 2001 – 2002, Carlson 2001, military presence issues in Clearwater 1999, Terva 2002, Katt 1999 of theory and US experience)

Geopolitically the BC First Nations land usage and links to "nationhood" vary much. The large number of different Aboriginal individuals and the distinction to status (105,000 people) / non status (75,000, adapted from Muckle 1998: 4) Indians makes the traditional geopolitical approach to land usage difficult to apply while looking at the nations in the BC space. There are 1,600 reserves in the province. The reserve space is at the moment about 3,500 square kilometres and amounts to 0.5 percent of the province total land mass (Muckle 1998: 5).

The main geopolitical implication of the acceptance of universal Aboriginal selfgovernment would cause another round of territorialisation process (McGillivray 2000: 79), but one that could be categorised as a "positive one". The creation of a new land and new Indigenous non-linear political power level in the BC would also raise

questions on how the current provincial/federal political system could survive in the feared "power vacuum".

Alan C. Cairns has stated that

"implementation and its attainment will result only in partial displacement of the majority power…after the selfgovernment has been attained, Aboriginal Canadians will still be legally citizens of Canada" (Cairns 2000: 28).

Conflicts of land usage and the legal and treaty processes have, in some cases, prompted the private sector, especially the timber companies, to take advantage of the land usage issues for their benefit (Amos 2000). For example, the Ehattesaht Nation has experienced problems in the negotiations because of lack of experience and resources to meet the multiple land usage proposals of the timber industry (Amos 2000).

The Truth Commission into Genocide in Canada has stated on the globalisation geopolitics of free trade that

"the Indian nations continue to sit upon extremely valuable resources and lands which, on the west coast, were never ceded by treaties or lawful means, this genocide is not simply a consequence of a colonial history, but of modern multinational capitalism and its predatory resource requirements…In short, it's in the best interests of Weyerhauser, Crown Zellerbach and International Nickel and the governments and the media they own to keep native people landless, poor and ruled by puppet leaders acting in these corporate interests" (Annett 2001: 61).

This organisation of geostrategic partnerships between resource extraction multinationals and the First Nations has, for example, been described as

"Mac-Millian-Bloedel's/Weyerhauser's Joint Venture Company with their Ahousat Nation associates served as a template for a new generation of 'Internal Free Trade Agreements' [IFTAs] between foreign companies and native bad councils" (Annett 2001: 63).

However, with the increasing education and awareness, the situation seems to get better at the local level (Amos 2000). Ecological, resource extraction and environmental geopolitics of the Indigenous selfgovernance in BC provide a complex matrix of conflict escalation and management. The geopolitical approach, the discipline of geopolitics exists to study the interests and policy formulations of the European nation-state. The nation-state has evolved in a "linear" fashion, over time and over spatial space to reach the modern day entity with fixed borders. The snowchange, cyclic lifeworld, nationhood and "nation-building" within the "First Nations" context have followed a different path.

The big challenge of the updated (critical) geopolitics (for example Ó Tuathail et al. 1998: 1 - 38) would be to start to look into ways to combine the two systems of

nationhood, spatiality and temporality in order to help us explain the issues taking place and explore, especially in the field of social and environmental conflicts, constructive ways of managing and preventing escalations.

The combined effect of the Inuit-populated territory of Nunavut with the independence forces of Quebec poses interesting questions in the analysis of the nationhood well into the 21st century in the Canadian context. The typology of public form of governance in the self-rule agreements recognised by the power centres, as opposed to the Indigenous-based systems of governance, provides further complexities. Some of these are facing the EU and the various nation-states diving Sápmi, too, in the future, mainly in the context of regional and subnational policies and recognition of the political depth of the Union in the northern areas and the minority issues of the Sámi snowchange and selfgovernance.

3.5. Dynamics of the Temporal Border

The concept of "temporal border" of the snowchange process means that borders can slide and change peacefully, for example, through family ties and (oral) temporary agreements (Rattray 2000a, Rattray 2000b, Mustonen 2001a-b). "Temporal borders" can follow seasons, salmon, caribou or reindeer migration patterns, family deals or other arrangements (Rattray 2000a, Rattray 2000b). It refers to the temporality of living, following the seasons and also the spatial movements of the Indigenous people.

The "temporal border" and its application is challenging the absolute nation-state border definition and suggests moving, flexible boundaries which could be implemented instead of or alongside the nation-state border system. It functioned and functions as a new discourse in the environmental politics of the north as well, by respecting and honouring the Indigenous system of snowchange spatiality and temporality.

Examples of "temporal borders" exist in the First Nations of Canada oral histories and stories. For example, the Deisheetaan Nation history mentions time spent on the Chilkat River (in the territory of Chilkat Nation) fishing in the summer "for two months" before heading back (Sydney 1990: 37). Inuits used Inukshuiks, stone statues, markers and pointers of territoriality (Hallendy 2000).

Another documentation of the snowchange life with the Inupiaq People has been conducted by anthropologist Ernest S. Burch in his recent extensive work "The Inupiaq Eskimo Nations of North West Alaska". He argues that periods of fall caribou hunt, for example, defined the spatial location of the community (Burch 1998: 40). He continues:

"Each of the Inupiaq nations discussed both claimed and asserted dominion over *a distinct territory* having clearly defined borders....When people *crossed the border* into another nation's territory, they were either trespassers or guests, depending on the particular circumstances attending their passage...Guests travelled openly and were greeted with feasts and entertainment. Trespassers moved about by stealth, and they were met by force. An interesting feature of the Northwest Alaska situation is that many members of most nations regularly used parts of other nations' territories, at least some of the time, every year...Border location is another issue of general interest. The answer can be most easily understood through the use of metaphor. Imagine Northwest Alaska to be like a room containing eleven billiard tables, each corresponding to one nation's territory. Like a territory, a billiard table is a clearly bounded unit that provides generally favourable setting for the people who use it. *Within its borders movement is unobstructed, but subject to a well–defined set of rules.* Movement between tables is difficult, and is subject to a very different set of rules. The tables contain a number of pockets each of which corresponds to an ecological niche favourable for settlement. *However, hardly any pockets are usable all year around; most are productive only at a certain times of the year.* Through experience, the players learn which pockets are open in which season, and they adjust their movements accordingly." (Burch 1998: 309 – 312, italics by author.)

Temporal border could mean a concept of demarcation of land, but a "flexible" one - for lack of better description of the concept - which is evident in the earlier anthropological work done by Burch among the Point Hope Inupiaq.

"The members of Point Hope Society owned a clearly delimited territory. By "owned" I mean that they were the only people who had a legitimate right to use any land within its boundaries for any purpose. This fact was clearly understood by the members of neighboring societies, whose own territories were similarly defined and controlled...Within their own country the Point Hope people enjoyed considerable freedom of movement. Neither individuals nor families owned any specific hunting or fishing territories, so, in theory, at least, people could use any land they wanted." (Burch 1981: 61.)

The portrayal by Burch has been written through the cultural and social lenses of North American anthropology. It should be taken critically, but it does portray the temporality and spatiality of the Indigenous nations on the move. Communities and polities have different demarcations, clan territories, and in the Sámi case, reindeer herding Siida system, but the most relevant issue of inquiry is the peaceful transition and change of territory, when and if the need arises.

Yet the "temporality" of the borders of the Indigenous Nations around the north that existed before contact with the Europeans and the following colonisation cannot be returned directly to the spatial and temporal realities of world of the 21st century. Some aspects of cyclic thinking and lifestyle based on the concept of the "circle of life" (for example, Helander 1999, Alfred 2002) can be adapted to today.

The lifestyle and heart of the Sámi culture has been described as a "neverending nomadic circle" by Elina Helander (1999). This means that because of the seasonal round of activities, mostly connected with the reindeer migrations of the past, the Indigenous People constructed their temporal and spatial reality around the circle of the seasons (Näkkäläjärvi 2000: 142, Finnish portrayal in T.I. Itkonen 1948).

This stands apart from the European-based linear time frame. Spatial movement and concepts were and are also different. When colonisation and the cultural change forced the change of spatial and territorial realities, the circle and cycle were changed as well. On some occasions, the circle was broken.

Nomadic lifestyle changed and partly ended, or continues in the intellectual and spirit world of the Indigenous cultures. Reindeer migrations and nomadic wandering has decreased because of the nation-state demarcation effects of geostrategy in the European north (adapted from Helander 1999). The issue of environmental and social discourses has also been gender-related. The present Sámi woman's perspective has been defined by Sámi author Kerttu Vuolab as "not just having to look at the world through man's and woman's viewpoint, but through multiple angles. This perspective has been called a "fell-perspective" (1999: 87). This idea puts the environmental issues and conflicts into multiple limelight, within the Indigenous community as well.

For the Sámi, the most relevant aspect of nomadic living and the temporal border system before the colonisation and the following changes was the reindeer migration to the coasts of the Barents Sea (see further in Wirilander 2001: 3).

For the Koltta people, the demarcation of the Siidda villages and governance of the Norraz followed waterways in which salmon lived, for example, the village of Suonikylä which was "demarcated" naturally by the shores of Lutto river (ibid. 2001:3).

3.5.1. Temporal Borders of Sápmi

The recognition of the Sámi temporal borders based on the (semi)nomadic reindeer migration life by the kingdoms of Denmark (Norway) and Sweden (Finland) came about in 1751. The additional protocol "Lappekodicill" of the border treaty of Strömstad recognised the Indigenous right of the Sámi to move spatially from one kingdom to another to follow the reindeer to the Arctic (Barents Sea coast) Ocean and back. This document has been recognised as the Sámi "Magna Charta" (adapted from Näkkäläjärvi 2000: 142).

The end of the Sámi temporal borders of the past came in the form of the closing of the nation-state borders, especially after the Norwegian-Finnish border was closed in 1852

(Lehtola 2000c: 153). In the east, with the Koltta Sámi, the temporal cycles and borders existed in the context of Suonijärvi village and others. This nomadic mobility came to a final end with the Tartu Peace of 1920 (Wirilander 2001:3)

The October revolution of 1917 in Russia was the death blow to the free access and mobility of the border. The impact of immigrants, colonisation, farming and construction of the transport corridors in Sápmi also hindered this process to a standstill. Today, the Russian-EU/Finnish border is the biggest single concrete obstacle of movement inside the Sámi territory. Therefore, the practical side of the nomadic aspect has to be updated to reflect the 21st century Aboriginal presence in the Arctic. The Aboriginal "body" that the geopolitics scholar Kuehls mentions (1996) is still on the move. Not constantly nor permanently, as was the case, for example, with the Sámi winter village system, but reindeer herding as a livelihood is still present in the Murmansk Oblast.

At the same time, the challenge posed by the "temporal border" to the nation-state definition does not have to be a death match. A parallel border system could be operated. Also, the idea of "mutual use zones" with shared resources of the Chemainus First Nation in British Columbia (de Frane 2000) could be explored as an alternative to the system present now.

In terms of Russian policies, the deterritorialisation, temporalisation of northern borders could help to ease and solve the crisis. But is this idea strong enough to take on the patriotism and ethnic stories and identities associated with the nation-state? Yes and no. Nation-state-building and deconstruction are not easy things to do.

To deterritorialise and deconstruct the EU-Russian border for the "birth" of the nation of Sápmi with temporal borders would mean the disintegration and fragmentation of the (nation)state hegemony in the present. On the other hand, the example of the EU, the status of Kosovo under UN control, the Aboriginal selfgovernment under Canada, the Nunavut process (Land Claim 1999, Irniq 2002, Price 2001, Fenge 2001, Hancock 1997) and other plans of the Arctic of the regions are already doing the deterritorialisation and redefinition of the state in the region and also, in the world system.

3.5.2. Russian Explorations of Snowchange and Temporal Borders

Some past suggestions have raised Vladimir Bogoraz's idea of an "exclusive usage for the minorities in the tundra and taiga" from the 1920s (Vakhtin 1994: 76). Another

historical idea, presented by B. A. Tikhomirov, was to create a vast system of national parks exclusively for the "korennye narody" to occupy (ibid.1994: 76 - 77). However, the meeting of 1989 in Tyumen on the "korennye narody" was one the of the most important in this relation.

The conclusion of the expert conference was that the "paternalistic approach of the state apparatus" should be over and the only viable way forward would be reserved territories for the northern minorities (ibid. 1994: 76 - 77). A expert group of L. Bogoslovskaya, V. Kalyakin, I. Krupnik, V. Lebedev and A. Pika suggested that the "ethnic territories" should be recognised by law and compiled a list of principles for the relations between the northern minorities and the Russian state (ibid. 1994: 76 - 77). The principal points were:

> *1. Northern minority habitat should have a deciding vote on all industrial activities affecting their lands.*
> *2. All territorial changes and pressures of the northern minority habitats and territories should be forbidden.*
> *3. Environmental law should exist and cover the traditional livelihoods better. These livelihoods have been established as "neo-traditional" in Russian discourse (see more in Pika 1998).*
> *4. Large-scale projects should be abandoned in order to move towards small project planning in a sustainable way.*
> *5. All industrial development plans should be subject to checking by both ecologists and ethnologists.*

(Adapted from ibid. 1994: 78.)

This principle, resting on the previously discussed obshchina system in Russia, has some resemblance to the Canadian constitution, section 35.1. relations with the Aboriginal peoples and also reflects the ideas of the "deindustrialisation" suggested by ecologist Sergey Zavalko for the possible future development of Murmansk Oblast (see Zavalko 2000, on the similar idea in Somby 2002). Further, the Russian Federation has recognised some elements of "cultural autonomy" for the Indigenous populations in legal decisions in the middle 1990s and in 1996, but the implementation of the federal code of conduct and policy has been reactionary because of the overall Russian situation (Sakwa 2001). It seems mainstream Russian policy is willing to "allow" only cultural rights to exist (Demtsuk 2001).

Another framework, mainly in the case of the Nenets Aboriginal peoples, has been suggested by Andrei V. Golovnev and Gail Osherenko. They have outlined a similar form of public government as is in place in Nunavut, Canada as a "reconfiguration of the Yamal district with increased autonomy from the okrug" in the spirit of co-

management between the Aboriginal peoples and the non-natives (Golovnev & Osherenko 1999:148 - 149).

Part 4 - No Beginning, No End

4. Conclusions and Analysis: Relevance of Snowchange and Temporal Borders in the International Relations

4.1. Sámi Territoriality Method and Snowchange

Sámi researcher Elina Helander has been discussing the Sámi spatial and temporal aspects of the Indigenous lifeworld around the Kaldoaivi region and Ochejohka (Utsjoki). She argues that

"in the social sciences, spatial aspects of reality have been rediscovered…ptarmigan trapping is taken as an example of *"situated activities"* which, according to Anthony Giddens, characterizes social systems. The *siida* as old hunting territory…[and] *the Sámi notions of time and place are not fixed in temporal and spatial terms*. Moreover, I want to emphasize the dynamics of Sámi subsistence activities. My claim is that *they act as re/producers of Sámi traditional ways*. These traditions are undermined by the overall mission of the state and its agents of power. Still, the perdurability of the Sámi subsistence hunters and their activities help to maintain and develop the old Sámi ways in terms of spatiality and social organisation." (1999: 7, italics by the author).

The political scape of snowchange for the Sámi and Indigenous temporality (and within that the temporal borders) is present in the symmetrical description of the different notions of spatiality in Helander's comments. She argues that

"Sámi subsistence activities *act as re/producers of Sámi traditional ways*. They reproduce the non-fixed time and space of Sámi." (1999: 7.)

In her description the "nation-state" temporality and nation-state power is seen as an opposite political actor to the Sámi land usage. This process is mentioned by her in

"[Sámi] traditions are undermined by the overall mission of the state and its agents of power" (1999: 7).

As a methodology of understanding the Sámi temporality and spatiality, Elina Helander has defined the terminology and tools further. In the Sámi process, the factors affecting the Indigenous spatiality and temporality can be characterised in the following way:

- Ecological factors (animals, weather, snow, pasture conditions)
- Social factors (kinship and partnership)
- Outside influences (law-making, hierarchical administration, tourism, construction of transportation networks, modernity processes)
- Sámi knowledge, place and conceptual names, which reflect the geographical and environmental knowledge, such as
    - *báiki:* place, inhabited place, farm, home, "your own place", *buot lea min báiki*: all places are our places

- *báikkiide:* "other people's place"
- *eana:* ground, soil, land, country, earth, globe
- *eará sajis:* "another location"
- *guovlu:* a large area, district, tract, region, locality, direction, "your own area, to which you are bound, your region"
- *guovllut:* "another area"
- *meachis:* wilds, which are not occupied, but used as well, forest, wilderness, a place of resources
- *sadji:* a small place, limited area, spot or space in a general sense
- *siida:* a territorial Indigenous Sámi concept of spatiality, as an old hunting society/territory, a camp or herd belonging to one or several persons or families, dwelling place and home
(adapted from Helander 1999: 7 – 25).

The adaptive observation of the lifeworld and the reactionary social, economic and political decisions of the Indigenous nations to the observed changes of the lifeworld produce the non-linearity of the Indigenous spatiality and temporality.

To understand this is to understand that the border-marcation of defined space and defined time does not honour the principles of a holistic lifeworld experience. Taiaiake Alfred writes

"The most common answers to that question [meaningful change] come in the form of big political or economic solutions to massive historical injustices: self-government, land claims, economic development and the legal recognition of our rights as nations….[These are] crucial goals. Yet at this point *in our history*, to the extent that sel-government, land claims and economic development agreements have been successfully negotiated and implemented, there is no evidence that they have done anything to make but a very small minority of our people happier and healthier…The root of the problem is that we are living a spiritual crisis, a darkness that descended on our people at the time we became disconnected from our lands and from our cultures. Large-scale governmental "solutions" like selgovernment and land claims are not so much lies as they are irrelevant to this root problem of spiritual crisis." (2002).

4.2. Critical New Geopolitics of Temporal Borders

What, then, of the relevance of the temporal borders in the present new world? One immediate benefit would be the recognition of the Indigenous rights of the affected people and the strengthening of selfgovernance. This could also launch a new ecological approach to the issues of land usage and sustainable development.

In the context of Sápmi this would mean the de facto opening of the Murmansk Oblast - Lapland border of today into the temporal border regime of Sápmi. Allowing the unlimited access and mobility of the Sámi would enhance and strengthen the structures of selfgovernance. The regionalisation process of the European north could be the context in which the recognition of Indigenous rights could be articulated. The

discussion of the obshchina system for Russian Indigenous nations also in Siberia is a process that is compatible with this kind of potential development.

Thus the "temporal border" mobility recognition in the current structures has relevance today. If Finland was to take a long self-reflective look on the colonisation of the Sámi and the destruction of Sápmi, the Northern Dimension tools could be used to correct past wrongs.

The presence of an Indigenous nation of Sápmi with temporal, changing borders could mean the end of the hegemony of the nation-state border. According to state/civilisation, mobile nomads (such as reindeer-breeding Nenets, Sámi, Tahltan or Dene) have no fixed points of reference (Kuehls 1996: 44 - 45).

Nomad political communities (such as Nunavut or Sápmi) deflects the idea of spatially defined territorial state and its orientations to movement of body (individual) and space are just part of this (ibid. 1996: 44). Nomadism, however, has been decreasing even among the Aboriginal peoples present in this case, because of various reasons of Soviet state terror, settlement, building of permanent reindeer herding communities and so forth.

Thus the practical solutions of the temporal borders have to come about, even though theories of border-making and positive reterritorialisation abound. Unfortunately this space does not allow for further points of departure on the snowchange, Indigenous borders and the state border system. This will be left for a further study.

A positive process of reterritorialisation is needed because of the constant modifications and changes on maps and territories of the established sort. Mostly these reflect a process of "reterritorialisation" or attribution of new meanings, "stories" if you will, to the same territory, such as crossborder pollution and climate change, where the pollution is crossing borders of a defined, bound territory, that of a state (Kuehls 1996: 39, see also nativemaps.org).

Deterritorialisation means the change of the substance of the territory away from the Foucauldian sense of "certain power" towards a tool of understanding the territory of resistance (Chaturvedi 2000) as a viable tool.

The temporal borders of the Aboriginal People, which existed in British Columbia and have some relevance today, could be employed under the "alternate" Northern Dimension policy of the European Union, to allow the Sámi people to control, for example, the "temporal borders" of the nation of Sápmi which, according to the traditional concept of territory, occupies parts of the spaces of the Russian Federation,

and of nation-states Finland, Sweden and Norway. The Nenets areas in Russia could be another target in this sense.

The construction of a parallel temporal borders regime next to the existing border system of the nation-states could be a radical "deterritorialisation" or deconstruction process for that EU policy field. Further practical solutions of this sort of radical reinterpretation would challenge the whole notion and definition of an existing nation-state and the nation-state system, and it seems strange in current comparison. But at the same time, the whole EU as an entity is a starting point on that deterritorialisation and fragmegration process of trying to accept and interpret change.

Here the "alternate formulation" of Northern Dimension policy of the EU could be the catalyst, the innovator, and by applying these "new agendas" it could truly promote a "cultivated spillover" of neofunctionalism (Rosamund 2000) which means that positive, peaceful integration (as a component and actor of the "fragmegration" [Rosenau 2000] process) would bring prosperity to all of the people in the region.

Finally, the alternate, new governmentality of the North, and actually all new governance, should require that existing communities

> *a) realise the fact that they are in constant interaction with their environments. They exist "in" the environment, not outside,*
> *b) they actualise a new society [of temporal borders and deterritorialised geopolitics] which goes beyond sovereign territorial boundaries and borders,*
> *c) and take into account the diversity of life and biospheres* (adapted from Kuehls 1996: 130).

The sad experience of the Russian nuclear submarine Kursk crash on August 12th, 2000 (Bellona 2001, Mustonen 2001a, Mustonen 2000) shows that the state violence machine is still a existing factor and sometimes an ecological threat to all life in the north.

The Soviet environmental legacy lives on in the Russian north, homelands to numerous Indigenous cultures. Persistent Organic Pollutants and other environmental effects have caused mischief in the North American Arctic. The creation of the Distant Early Warning system network and military presence in the Alaska and Western Arctic have not been cleaned. The expansion of oil and gas and the increase in transportation corridors and pipelines in the Inuit and Inuvialuit homelands is feared to impact the caribou and other species, territories and lifestyles (see further about regional impacts of the Mackenzie Delta and Inuvialuit homelands in Berger 1976 - 1978).

Climate change and the mitigation efforts of this global threat are seen concretely in the remote northern communities that are mostly Indigenous (Mustonen 2002a). Permafrost

melting, lack of sea ice for the seals and polar bears and other effects are affecting the frontlines of observation, the Arctic and Sub-Arctic.

Yet, while the perceived ecological threats increase, a new form of colonisation is feared to be the extraction of the cultural and Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) of the Indigenous cultures to provide Western science with badly needed approaches to these problems. The geopolitics and geostrategies of cultural colonisation of the (southern) companies and societies has to be addressed as soon as possible. Sámi author Kirsti Paltto has stated that

"the concept of Mythical North[land] could be a healthy idea for all the mining companies and the nuclear military fleets that sail on the Barents Sea. Also for the polluters of the Barents Sea this idea of mythic north could be a warning sign" (in Helander & Kaila 1999: 46).

The treaty-making processes and First Nations experiences of British Columbia also provide valuable and relevant material for discussion in the critical geopolitics of Indigenous selfgovernance, deterritorialisation, border-making and shifting and the Northern Dimension of the EU.

4.3. Peace, Power and Righteousness of The Warrior Politics of Snowchange

This paper has looked at different points of departure in two primary locations, the First Nations of British Columbia and Canada and Sápmi in the European north and the Russian Federation. The theories employed have been drawn from the critical geopolitical paradigm of the International Relations. Some aspects of geopolitical approaches were discussed and overviews of the developments presented. It seems that critical geopolitics is unable to fully explore and interpret the Indigenous non-linearities of time, space and political scape. Therefore, some sketches of conceptual tools for the operationalisation of interpretations were introduced. These were

"Snowchange" as a macro tool to explore and interpret the Indigenous political scape, and
"Temporal Borders" of snowchange as an explaining concept to discuss the Indigenous spatiality, demarcation and geopolitics.

If the voices of the Indigenous scholars, institutions and organisations are taken seriously, the Northern Dimension framework, for example, could be the forum for the dialogue between regions and peoples in the attempt to address there issues in a

constructive way, bringing about the "new time" of the Arctic and north. We face a time of increasing complexity, for all humans on this planet, and yet at the same time great potential and acute ecological catastrophes are looming. Taiaiake Alfred writes in the first days of the winter 2002 – 2003:

"We have mistaken the mere renaming of our situation for an actual reconnection to our land and culture in practice. Coming to understand ourselves as Indigenous peoples in terms of both *being* and *doing*, whether one person or a nation, is the first step in breaking free of the control other people have on us now and in making the changes that are so urgently needed to ensure the survival of our future generations. This [understanding Ancestors] is the spiritual revolution that will ensure our survival." (2002).

Clearly, we need the peace, power and righteousness of the warrior politics of snowchange that Taiaiake Alfred sketches out now more than ever before.

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* Note: Interview Tapes, Translitterations and Transscripts Are Available on Request.

Appendix 1 for Snowchange Thesis

4.11.2002, University of Tampere
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TEMPORAL AND SPATIAL SCAPES - EUROPEAN AND INDIGENOUS TIME - SPACE

EUROPEAN-INTRODUCED TIME, SPACE AND TEMPORAL SCAPE

[MEASURED, LINEAR, DISCOURSE OF "NORMAL", "NORMALITY", ORDERLY WORLD OF "KNOWN", DEMARCATION OF LANDS, OWNERSHIP, NATIONSTATES, "BEING" (Alfred 2002)]

MANIFESTS AS "WESTERN POLITICS" – ELECTED BODIES OF PUBLIC GOVERNANCE IN ELECTORAL CYCLES, MAPS OF RIGID FAULT LINES, DEMARCATION LINES, FIXED NATIONSTATE BORDER SYSTEM
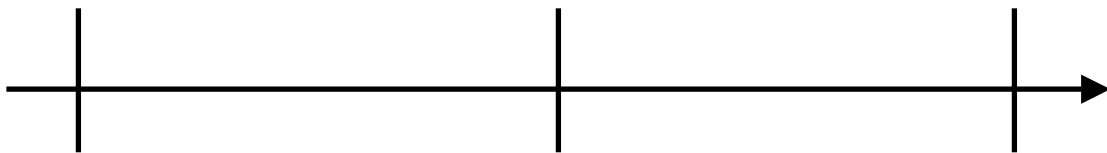
For example – Event Occurrance

"Event A."   *"follows"*→   *"Event B." which will produce*→   *"Event C."*

"BEGIN"   "PRESENT"   "END"

INDIGENOUS TIME, SPACE AND TEMPORAL SCAPE

[NON-MEASURABLE, "SINCE TIME IMMEMORIAL", NON-LINEARITY OF CYCLIC TIME, DISCOURSE OF "OCCURRANCE", EVENTS TAKING PLACE WHEN THEY SHOULD, ELEMENTS OF RANDOMNESS, USE OF THE LAND RATHER THAN OWNERSHIP, NATIONS WITHOUT STATE, MAY BE NOMADIC, HUNTING & GATHERING POLITIES, "DOING" (Alfred 2002]

MANIFESTS FOR EXAMPLE AS ADAPTATIVE POLITICS, INDIGENOUS WAR COUNCIL, CONCENSUS, CLAN- AND OBSHCHINA-BASED POLITIES, TOTAL ASSESSMENT OF SPATIALITY BASED ON LIVING "IN" THE ENVIRONMENT.

For example

- **"Neverending time"**
- **"Cycle of seasons"**
- **"Circle"**
- **Snow, ice cycles**   *Event A.*
- **Animal migrations**
- **Lifeworld of spirituality and**
 levels of being
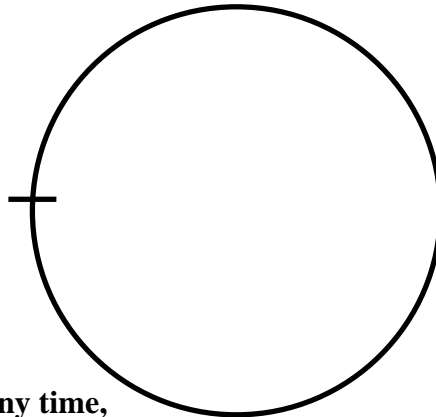
Event A. = All (situated) events all/any time,
Since "time immemorial, mythic time, everywhen".
(Giddens in Helander 1999: 7, Alfred 2002).

Events within the circle re/produce time & space of the Indigenous lifeworld.

Appendix 2 for Snowchange Thesis
16.6.2002, University of Tampere
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SNOWCHANGE, SCIENCE AND INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE

This Appendix is an overview of the two different systems of knowledge discussed in the inquiry regarding the time, space and political scape. The critical geopolitics of the international relations and other "post – modern" paradigms of western social sciences have started to grasp towards similar elements of non-linearities of knowledge of what can be found in the Indigenous fora.

SCIENCE (Natural / Social)	SNOWCHANGE	INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE
Answers "Why"		Answers "How"
Systematic, Universal		Local, Practical
Based on "laws"	[mitigates the two ways]	Based of Observation Stories, Experience
Written documents	TEMPORAL BORDERS	Oral histories
Binary		Holistic
Measured		"Known"