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## ECONOMICS, POLITICAL SCIENCE, SOCIETY AND CULTURE

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### Fertility in the European Part of the Russian North in 1990–2015<sup>1</sup>



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**Abstract.** Based on the Federal State Statistics Service data, the article examines the dynamics of changes in the system of indicators characterizing the birth rate in the regions of the European North of Russia (including urban and rural areas). General and special demographic methods were used for the analysis. In the course of the work it was revealed that by 1999 the number of births in the regions of the European North of Russia had greatly decreased, but by 2015 fertility rates had improved, although the birth rate had worsened. At the same time, the birth rate in the regions of the European North of Russia in general is higher than the average for Russia, but the reproduction of the population has been narrowed for quite a long time already. Finally, the differences between the urban and rural areas are large. In relation to the latter, it is possible to assume the existence of certain problems related to the collection of information.

**Keywords:** *fertility, fertility indicators, European North of Russia, regional differentiation*

#### **Introduction**

Socio-economic transformations of the 1980–1990 negatively affected the socio-economic development of the country: they led to a significant reduction in GDP, decrease in the standard of living of the population and the reduction of the state support. The most important negative result is the reduction of the population base. This problem is one of the key issues for the development of the whole country, but in the conditions of the North, it is especially relevant.

The population depends on a large number of factors (including the standard of living), therefore it is a complex integrated indicator and reflects the level of development of the territory where the population lives. At the same time, the population affects the security of the country, which means "the state of the object in the system of its connections in terms of the ability to survive and develop under conditions of internal and external threats" [1, Senchagov V.K., p. 35].

The demographic security is a specific kind of security. It means "the state of demographic processes, which is sufficient for the reproduction of the population without a significant impact of the external factor and the provision of the geopolitical interests of the state with the human resources" [2, Rybakovsky L.L., p. 22].

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<sup>1</sup> The article was prepared within the framework of RFBR grant 15-06-09027 "Causes and consequences of differentiation of the demographic development of the Russian regions and possibilities of its reduction".

There are many threats to demographic security associated with various aspects of the population reproduction. The purpose of our study is the research of the change in fertility indicators, since it is precisely the problem of the optimal level of fertility that is the basis for solving the problem of optimal rates of population reproduction on a countrywide scale [3, Kvasha A.Ya., p. 85], although the migration also plays a significant role in the northern regions, which is due to the specifics of the development of these territories.

### ***Methods of research***

In the Decree of the President of the Russian Federation No. 296 dated 02.05.2014 "On land territories of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation," it includes fewer territories than traditional allocation [4, Zhukov M.A., pp. 4–20; 5, Konovalov A.M., pp. 51–64; 6, Toskunina V.E., pp. 69–78]. Consequently, to consider the Arctic as the larger territory in comparison with the modern Russian Arctic is more correct, since in this case the researcher can take a comprehensive look at the problems of the development of these territories (including demographic ones) [7, Polovinkin V.N.]. However, the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation should be singled out separately, since these territories are priorities for development from the point of view of the state management, since the "Fundamentals of the state policy of the Russian Federation in the Arctic for the period until 2020" operate within these territories.

Nevertheless, in our opinion, considering the European North of Russia, we should also consider those territories that do not belong to the Arctic. Firstly, only part of the municipal formations belongs to the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation, while from the demographic point of view, other municipalities, for example, in the Arkhangelsk region, do not have significant differences in the level of demographic development from the Arctic ones. At the same time, it is impossible to collect data for constructing of long time series for analyzing changes in the birth rate in municipalities. We can make similar remark when conducting a comparative analysis between regions (for example, Murmansk and Arkhangelsk regions and the Republic of Karelia). Secondly, economic ties between the regions of the European North of Russia are close, which makes it possible to unite them geographically and economically into a single macro region, although from the demographic point of view it is not so homogeneous. Thirdly, priority is given to the development of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation, but the logic of its development requires the development of neighboring territories that are not included in it, but the climatic and economic differences in them are minimal.

In connection with this, the subject of study is the birth rate of the population of the regions of the European North of Russia (Murmansk, Arkhangelsk regions, Republics of Karelia,

Komi, and Nenets Autonomous District) in 1990–2015. The data for Russia is given to compare the demographic development of the country in general and the concerned regions.

We use the data of the Federal State Statistics Service in our work. Unfortunately, the Nenets AD is not allocated often from the Arkhangelsk region, therefore, in order to unify the submission of material, the data is given together with the Nenets AD, but it is also allocated as a separate region of the Russian Federation.

The analysis of fertility at any level cannot be conducted based on only one or two indicators, since each indicator has its advantages and disadvantages. In this connection, we will use the absolute number of births per year, the total birth rate, the age-specific fertility rates for five-year age groups, the total number of children born by women of different generations, and the total fertility rate.

This topic is relevant, but not so many works are devoted to it. It is possible to note the works of V.V. Fauzer [8–10], but they are mostly covering the North in general, not just its European part. In addition, in his works [8–9], the author emphasizes the demographic potential, not fertility, and [10, Fauzer V.V., pp. 129–144] the age-specific fertility rates and the total fertility rate are not considered. The second author is L.A. Popova. However, the sphere of her interests is predominantly the Komi Republic, while the rest of the European North of Russia is less considered in her works [11–14, Popova L.A.]. It is possible to mention some more works [15, Toichkina V.P.; 16, Shelygin K.V.; 17, Revich B.A., Harkova T.L., Kvasha E.A. et al.]. We can also note a number of works in which the regions of the European North of Russia are compared with other northern regions in terms of demographic development and in which the measures of the implemented state social and demographic policy are considered [18, Sinica A.L.; 19, Popova L.A.; 20, Shishkina M.A., Popova L.A.]. Nevertheless, the issues of fertility are considered not sufficiently enough. The difference between our work and the other works lies in the fact that we consider the birth rate in all regions of the European North of Russia over a long period of time, attracting a large number of indicators and affecting the differences between urban and rural areas.

Unfortunately, when studying the fertility differences in urban and rural areas, we are faced with the problem of taking into account the ongoing demographic events: the extremely high fertility rates in rural areas in 2011–2014, as well as the sharp decline in the birth rate in 2015, can be related specifically to problems in data collection.<sup>2</sup> Among the possible reasons, we can outline the birth rate among military personnel, prisoners, migrants, and also small sample data in rural areas (especially for age-specific fertility rates), although we do not deny the impact

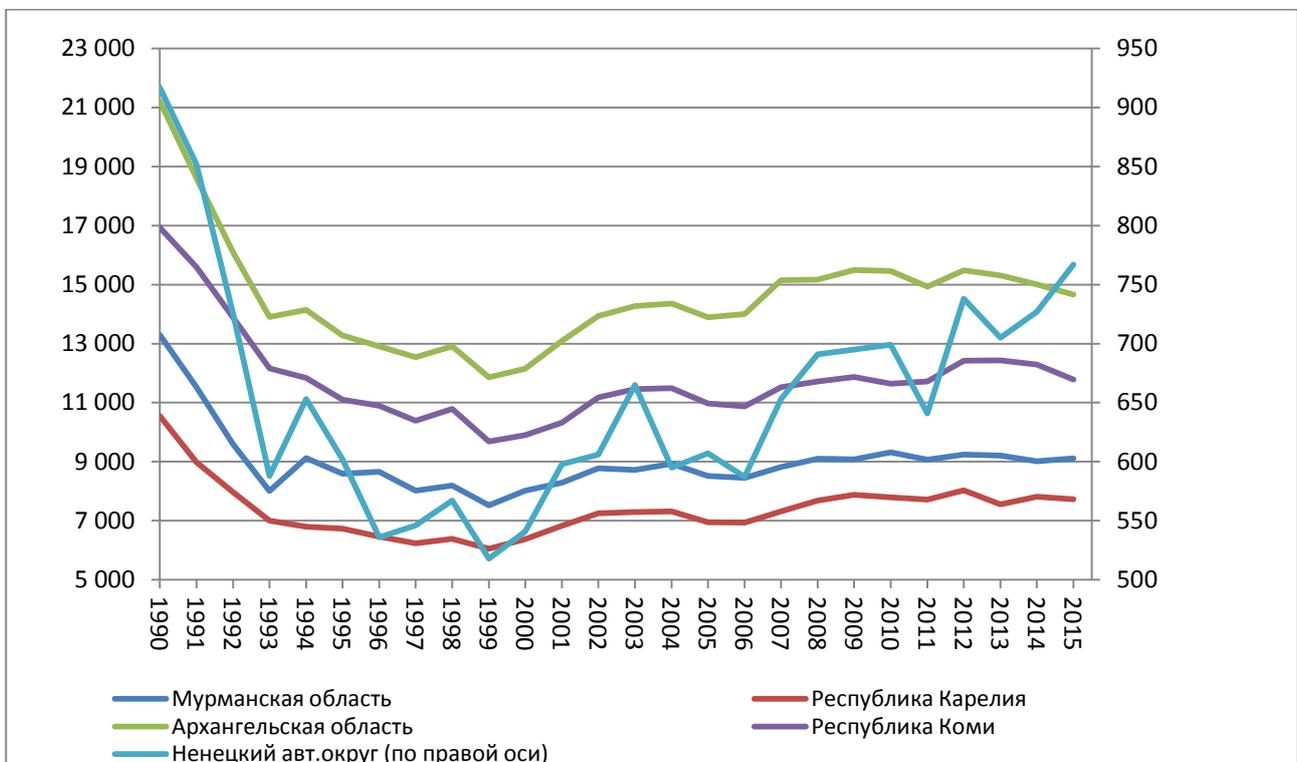
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<sup>2</sup> The decline in fertility in 2015 in rural areas was so significant that we provide data for 2014 and 2015.

of timings and demographic policy measures. In this connection, the conclusions on urban and rural areas are to some extent conditional, and additional research is required to determine the level of fertility in these areas.

***The dynamics of changes in number of births in 1990–2015.***

This indicator is important, since authorities need to know how many children are born. This is necessary when planning the amounts for various "child" benefits (for the birth of a child, childcare allowance, for families with different number of children and different income levels, etc.), various assistance to families with children and the development of infrastructure for children (hospitals, polyclinics, kindergartens, nurseries, dairy cuisines, shops, cultural facilities and others). In addition, the number of births is the primary information on the basis of which all other indicators are calculated.



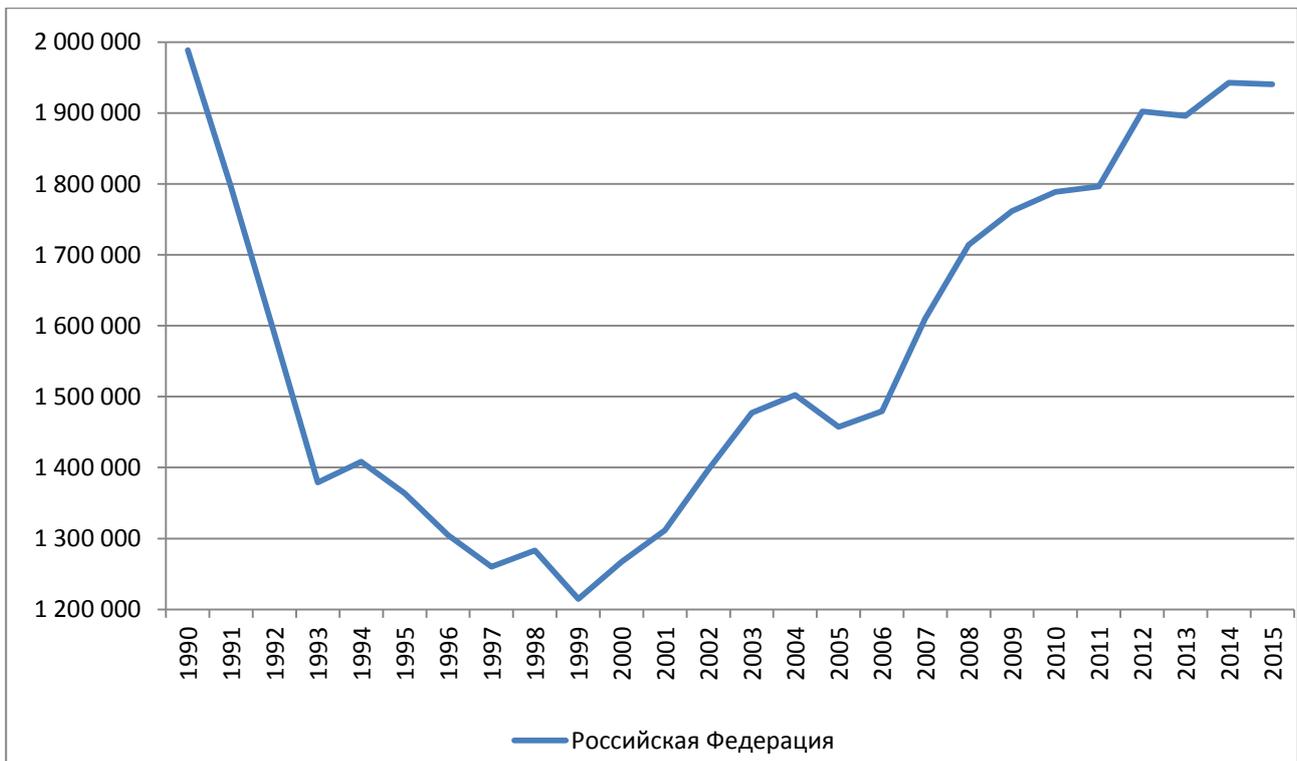


Figure 1. The change in the number of births in the Russian Federation (the lower image) and on the European North of Russia in 1990–2015.<sup>3</sup>

In the first diagram, the dark blue line is for the Murmansk region, the green line is for Arkhangelsk region, the blue line is for Nenets AD (axis in the right), the red line is for the Republic of Karelia, the violet line is for the Komi Republic.

Fig. 1 shows the dynamics of changes in the number of births in the Russian Federation and in the European North of Russia in 1990–2015<sup>4</sup>.

The decline in the birth rate in Russia was the highest in 1991–1993. During this period the annual number of births decreased from 1,989 thousand to 1,397 thousand (by 30.7%). It was connected with a sharp change in the socio-economic environment and with the fact that the population did not immediately adapt to the changed conditions. As the economic situation in the country worsened, the birth rate continued to decline. In 1999 the absolute minimum number of births (1,215 thousand births) was recorded, and the decrease was 38.9% (see Table 1).

After the beginning of the process of economic stabilization and entry into the reproductive age of numerous generations born in the 1980s, the absolute number of births began to increase. The active state demographic policy contributed to it, which began to be carried out starting from 2007. 1,941 thousand children were born in 2015, which is 97.6% of the 1990 level. It means that the pre-reform level was almost reached.

<sup>3</sup> Chislo rodivshikhsia (bez mertvorozhdennykh) za god. [The amount of born (without stillborn) during 1 year] URL: <https://www.fedstat.ru/indicator/31606> (accessed: 15 February 2017) [In Russian]

<sup>4</sup> Since it is not possible to display such large differences in the absolute numbers of births on one graph but necessary, Russia was represented separately.

Table 1

The number of births and its percentage change in the Russian Federation and on the European North of Russia In 1990, 1999 and 2015.<sup>5</sup>

Region	Number of births in 1990	Number of births in 1999	Number of births in 2015 <sup>6</sup>	Percentage change (1999 to 1990)	Percentage change (2015 to 1999)	Percentage change (2015 to 1990)
The Murmansk region						
Polulation in total	13,301	7,525	9,111 (9,017)	56.6	121.1	68.5
Urban population	12,182	6,895	8,564 (8,322)	56.6	124.2	68.5
Rural population	1,119	630	547 (695)	56.3	86.8	70.3
The Republic of Karelia						
Polulation in total	10,553	6,054	7726 (7816)	57.4	127.6	73.2
Urban population	8,643	4,448	6355 (5971)	51.5	142.9	73.5
Rural population	1,910	1,606	1371 (1845)	84.1	85.4	71.8
The Arkhangelsk region						
Polulation in total	21,216	11,855	14,662 (15,005)	55.9	123.7	69.1
Urban population	14,768	8,701	11,480 (11,011)	58.9	131.9	77.7
Rural population	6,448	3,154	3,182 (3,994)	48.9	100.9	49.4
The Nenets AD						
Polulation in total	917	518	767 (727)	56.5	148.1	83.6
Urban population	499	518	529 (472)	52,9	200,4	106.0
Rural population	418	264	238 (255)	60.8	93,7	56,9
The Komi Republic						
Polulation in total	16,930	9,680	11,789 (12,291)	57.2	121.8	69.6
Urban population	12,608	7,216	8,853 (8,850)	57.2	122.7	70.2
Rural population	4,322	2,464	2,936 (3,441)	57.0	119.2	67.9
The Russian Federation						
Polulation in total	1,988,858	1,214,689	1,940,579 (1,942,683)	61.1	159.8	97.6
Urban population	1,386,247	842,640	1,455,283 (1,394,860)	60.8	172.7	105.0
Rural population	602,611	372,049	485,296 (547,823)	61.7	130.4	80.5

On the European North of Russia, the situation was slightly different. Similarly, the minimum number of births was reached in 1999, but before 1993, the decrease in the number of births was larger than the average for Russia in all regions except for the Komi Republic. In 1990–

<sup>5</sup> Chislo rodivshikhsia (bez mertvorozhdennykh) za god. [The amount of born (without stillborn) during 1 year]. URL: <https://www.fedstat.ru/indicator/31606> (accessed: 15 February 2017)[In Russian]

<sup>6</sup> The number of births in 2014 is in brackets.

1999 the decline was 43–44%, which is higher than the average for Russia. The increase in the number of births in 1999–2015 was much less, which is due to the migration outflow of the population in reproductive age (it was especially large in the Murmansk region). In the Nenets Autonomous District, it was 48.1%, but even this value is significantly lower than the average in Russia (59.8%). In other regions, the number of births increased only by 21–28%.

As a result, the number of births in these regions for 1990–2015 significantly decreased. In the Nenets Autonomous District, the decrease was 16.4%, and in the others — 27–32%. This means the state policy measures (migration, demographic, socio-economic and other) aimed at developing the demographic potential are not enough in the regions of the European North of Russia. The relatively small decrease in the number of births in the Nenets Autonomous District could be explained by more favorable economic situation in this region, by the younger age and sex structure of the population, as well as by the presence of significant proportion of indigenous small peoples of the North, who are at an earlier stage of the demographic transition and have a higher birth rate.

The areas of the European North of Russia are the territories with extremely high proportion of the urban population [21, Sinitza A.L., pp. 112–123; 22, Fauzer V.V. et al., pp. 40–50]. However, the differences in fertility between urban and rural settlements are large.

In general, the number of births in the Russian Federation in urban areas<sup>7</sup> increased by 5.0%, and in rural areas decreased by 19.5% for 1990–2015. The birth rate in rural areas in most regions is higher, so it is not surprising that the birth rate decrease was larger there. The number of births in urban areas increased only in the Nenets Autonomous District (by 6.0%). In the Arkhangelsk region the decline was 22.3%, in the Murmansk region — 29.7%, in the Republics of Karelia and Komi — 26.5% and 29.9%, respectively.

The decrease in the number of births in rural areas was more significant. E.g., the minimum rates were recorded in the Republics of Karelia (28.2%) and Komi (32.1%). In the Nenets Autonomous District, the decline was 43.1%. The greatest decrease was observed in the Arkhangelsk (50.7%) and the Murmansk (51.1%) regions — the areas with the highest proportion of urban population.

The important factor affecting the number of births is the number of abortions. Fig. 2 shows the dynamics of changes in the number of abortions per 100 births in 1992–2014<sup>8</sup>.

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<sup>7</sup> If a mother lives in the rural area, and has come to a city to bring birth, this demographic event will be reflected in the statistics of the urban area, which leads to a distortion of the birth rate.

<sup>8</sup> The breakdown of the diagram for the Nenets Autonomous District is related to the lack of data for some years.

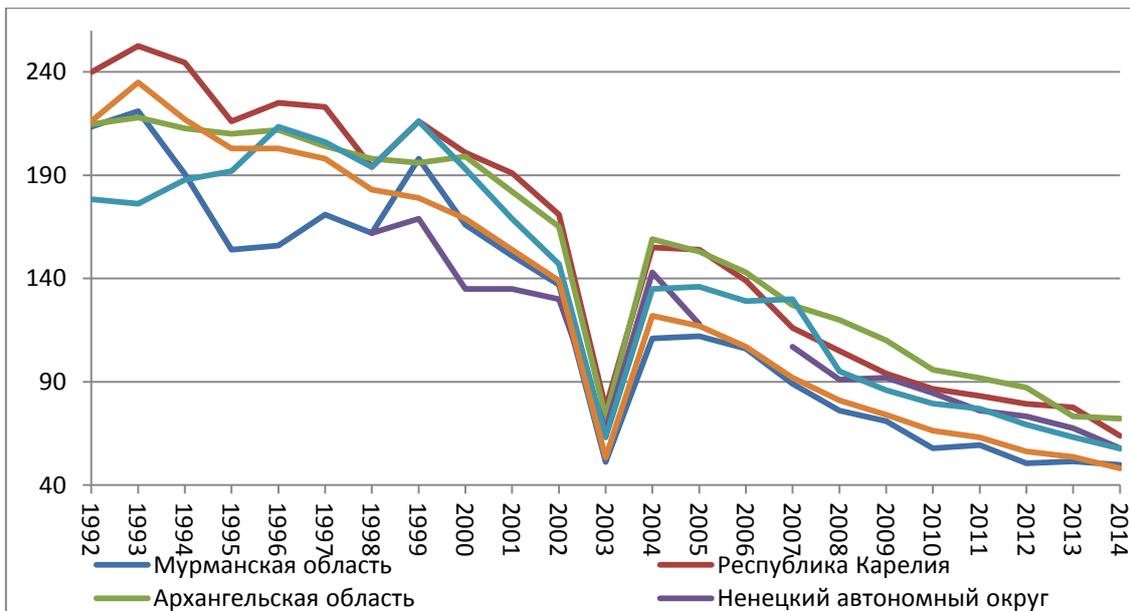


Figure 2. The number of abortions per 100 births on the European North of Russia in 1992–2014.<sup>9</sup>

The blue line is for the Murmansk region, the green line is for the Arkhangelsk region, the red line is for the Republic of Karelia, the violet line is for the Nenets AD.

In the times of the USSR, the number of abortions in Russia was great: 4,103.4 thousand pregnancy interruptions were made in 1990<sup>10</sup>, and only 1,988.9 thousand children were born. It means that one birth accounted for slightly more than two abortions. During the period of reforms, the number of abortions in the Russian Federation decreased from 216.1 per 100 births in 1992 to 48.1 in 2014 (the maximum value was 235 abortions per 100 births, recorded in 1993). The decrease in number of abortions favorably influenced the birth rate in the country, but the existing norm of children, which assumes that there should be not more than two children in the family but min. one is necessary for a woman, is too low [23, Sinyavskaya O.V. et al., p. 35].

During the whole period under review, the number of abortions in relation to the number of births decreased both on a national scale and in the regions of the European North of Russia. However, if in the early 1990's the number of cases of abortion in relation to the number of births was below the national average in these regions, then since the mid-1990s this indicator has become higher than the national average in the most of the regions. The exception here is the Murmansk region, where almost all the time, it was below the national average. The highest values were in the Arkhangelsk region and the Republic of Karelia.

<sup>9</sup> Tsentralnaia baza statisticheskikh dannykh. [Central Statistic Base]. URL: <http://www.gks.ru/dbscripts/cbsd/DBInet.cgi?pl=7000088> (accessed: 15 February 2017) [In Russian]; Preryvanie beremennosti (aborty) po regionam Rossiiskoi Federatsii. [Termination of pregnancy. (abortion) in the regions of the Russian Federation]. URL: [http://www.gks.ru/bgd/regl/B01\\_34/IssWWW.exe/Stg/d010/i011120r.htm](http://www.gks.ru/bgd/regl/B01_34/IssWWW.exe/Stg/d010/i011120r.htm) (accessed: 15 February 2017) [In Russian]; Preryvanie beremennosti (aborty). [Termination of pregnancy (abortion)] URL: [http://www.gks.ru/bgd/regl/B03\\_14/IssWWW.exe/Stg/d010/i011280r.htm](http://www.gks.ru/bgd/regl/B03_14/IssWWW.exe/Stg/d010/i011280r.htm) (accessed: 15 February 2017) [In Russian]; Regiony Rossii. Statisticheskii sbornik. Tom 2. M.: Goskomstat Rossii. 2001. 807 p. pp. 248–249.

<sup>10</sup> Demograficheskii ezhegodnik Rossii. 2005: Stat. sb. M.: Rosstat, 2005. pp. 248.

### *The dynamics of the total fertility rate changes*

The approximate scale of the evaluation proposed by B. Ts. Uralnis and V.A. Borisov shows that the values of the total fertility rate (hereinafter — TFR) less than 16%, are considered low. Therefore, we can say that during the period under review, the birth rate in Russia was low (see Fig. 3).

The dynamics of the TFR changes in the country repeats the dynamics of changes in the total number of births. Similarly, the maximum value (13.4%) was observed in 1990, and the minimum (8.3%) — in 1999. In 2015 the TFR value was slightly lower than the level of 1990 — 13.3%.

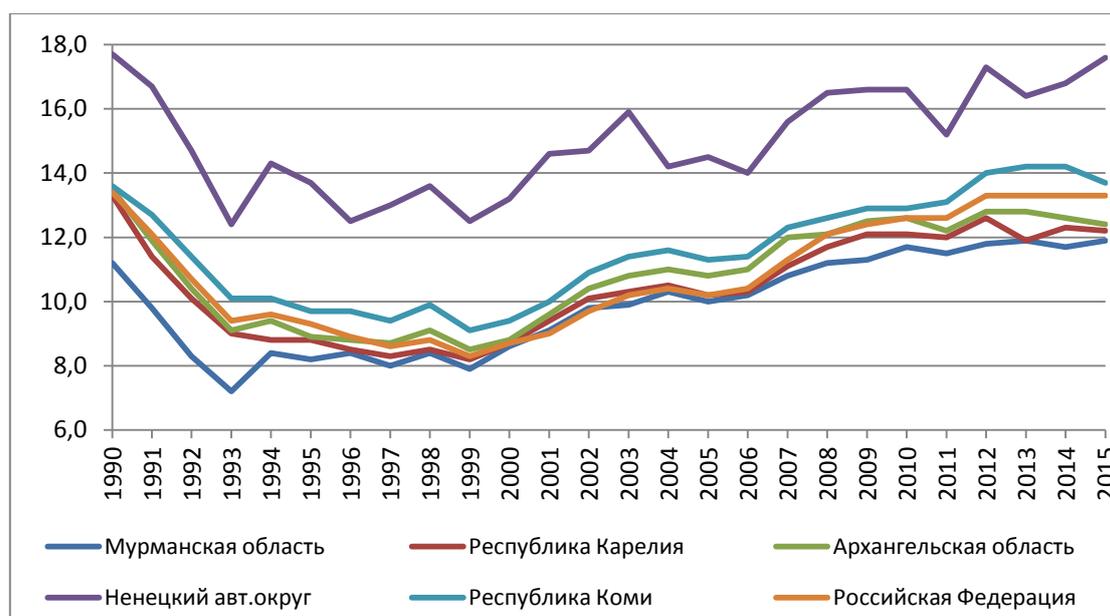


Figure 3. The TFR in the Russian Federation and on the European North of Russia in 1990–2015<sup>11</sup>

The dark blue line is for the Murmansk region, the red line is for the Republic of Karelia, the green line is for the Arkhangelsk region, the violet line is for the Nenets AD, the blue line is for the Komi Republic, the orange line is for the Russian Federation.

The TFR changes in the regions of the European North of Russia were approximately the same as in the whole country, but in contrast to the dynamics of the total number of births, the TFR in these regions reached the level of 1990 by 2015. In the Murmansk region, its values for the most of the period were the lowest in comparison with other regions and the country, and in the Komi Republic — they were higher. The Nenets Autonomous District should be highlighted separately, as there the TFR was much higher than in other regions. Moreover, the birth rate there in 1990–1992, 2008–2010 and 2012–2015 was more than 16.0%. Significant fluctuations in the Nenets Autonomous District were connected with the small amount of residents and therefore small amount of children. So even small changes in the number of births have a strong influence on the TFR.

<sup>11</sup> Demograficheskii ezhegodnik Rossii. 2005: Stat. sb. M.: Rosstat, 2005. P. 248.

Table 2

*The TFR in the regions of the European North of Russia in 1990, 1999 and in 2015<sup>12</sup>*

Region	1990	1999	2015 <sup>13</sup>	Region	1990	1999	2015
The Murmansk region				The Nenets AD			
Polulation in total	11.2	7.9	11.9 (11.7)	Polulation in total	17.7	12.5	17.6 (16.8)
Urban population	11.2	7.9	12.1 (11.7)	Urban population	15.1	10.3	16.8 (15.3)
Rural population	11.1	8.5	9.9 (12.3)	Rural population	22.3	16.3	19.5 (20.6)
The Republic of Karelia				The Komi Republic			
Polulation in total	13.3	8.2	12.2 (12.3)	Polulation in total	13.6	9.1	13.7 (14.2)
Urban population	13.4	8.1	12.6 (11.9)	Urban population	13.4	9.0	13.2 (13.1)
Rural population	13.2	8.4	10.7 (14.1)	Rural population	14.4	9.2	15.3 (17.7)
The Arkhangelsk region				The Russian Federation			
Polulation in total	13.5	8.5	12.4 (12.6)	Polulation in total	13.4	8.3	13.3 (13.3)
Urban population	12.7	8.3	12.6 (12.1)	Urban population	12.7	7.8	13.4 (12.9)
Rural population	15.6	8.9	11.8 (14.5)	Rural population	15.5	9.6	12.8 (14.2)

As in the other parts of Russia, the fertility was higher in rural areas in the regions of the European North of Russia (see Table 2), although the fertility was higher in some urban areas in the late 1999 and early 2000s.

The important conclusion is that the measures of the demographic policy, which began to be implemented in 2007 in the mentioned regions, are probably less effective. If before 2008, the TFR for them was above the average for Russia, then starting from this year it has remained the same only in the Komi Republic and in the Nenets Autonomous District. However, such situation can be associated with a change in the sex and age structure of the population. In turn, such changes are related to the failures of the demographic policy of the past years (especially in the sphere of migration). All this raises the question of its effectiveness for these territories.

The TFR depends on the structure of the population, therefore, if other terms are equal, it will be higher in regions with a younger population, but this indicator can be used to get a more complete picture, because it shows the dynamics of the change in the birth rate, taking into account the population change. Unfortunately, the TFR depends not only on the intensity of the fertility process, but also on the age, gender and marital structures of the population and gives only a general idea about the level of fertility. Therefore, we need to consider the additional indicators.

<sup>12</sup>Chislo zaregistrirrovannykh rodivshikh sia v raschete na 1000 naseleniia [The amount of newborn registered per 1000 people]. URL: <https://www.fedstat.ru/indicator/33536> (accessed: 15 February 2017) [In Russian].

<sup>13</sup>The TFR for 2014 is presented in brackets.

### *Dynamics of the age fertility rates*

The Federal State Statistics Service publishes data on age fertility rates for five-year age groups, but not for one-year. It gives less accurate result, but we will use exactly this information. The age fertility rates are calculated for the age group of 50–54, but in whole Russia and in the studied regions it has the meaning of zero for this group, so it was excluded from the examination, and the last group considered is women of 45–49 years old.

In 1990, the sum of the age fertility rates for the Russian Federation and the regions of the European North of Russia was the largest. That year the birth rate was at the highest level. Before 1999, the birth rate was decreasing. In Fig. 4, it was noted as a decrease in the peak value in the ages of 20–24. In addition, the birth rate at other ages was below the 1990 level.

After the increase of the birth rate in the 2000s, we see the increase in the birth rate for the ages of 25–29 and 30–34, whereas at the ages of 15–19 and 20–24, it continued to decline, that is, the birth rate began to grow old. It has increased especially in the age groups over 35, but the number of births in these groups is small. This is due to the implementation of the deferred births, demographic policy measures aimed at stimulating the birth of children of the second and higher birth order, which usually occurs in later ages. Also we see the increasing importance of careers and other values in comparison with the value of having several children in the family [24, Arkhangelski V.N., p. 45] and the desire of a single women to have a child [25, Toloknova S.S., p. 111].

The lowest age fertility rates for the entire period were observed in the Murmansk region, where they were lower than even the average for Russia. In other regions, they were slightly above average. The highest values for the entire period were observed in the Nenets Autonomous District. Probably, in 2015, they were even higher than in 1990 there, but we cannot be sure because of the lack of data for this period.

If we look at the age fertility rates for urban and rural areas, we will see that for 25 years the birth rate has grown stronger in cities. In 1990 (for the Nenets Autonomous District — in 1993), the maximum values in Russia and in the regions of the European North of Russia, in both urban and rural areas were for the group of 20–24.

In 2015 in Russia and in these regions in urban areas, the maximum value was recorded for the age group of 25–29 years. In rural areas of Russia, the maximum birth rate was for the age group of 20–29 years, while in the European North of Russia, in the Republic of Karelia, the birth rate was the maximum for this age group. In other regions and its rural areas, the age coefficient was the maximum for the ages of 20–24 (see Table 3).

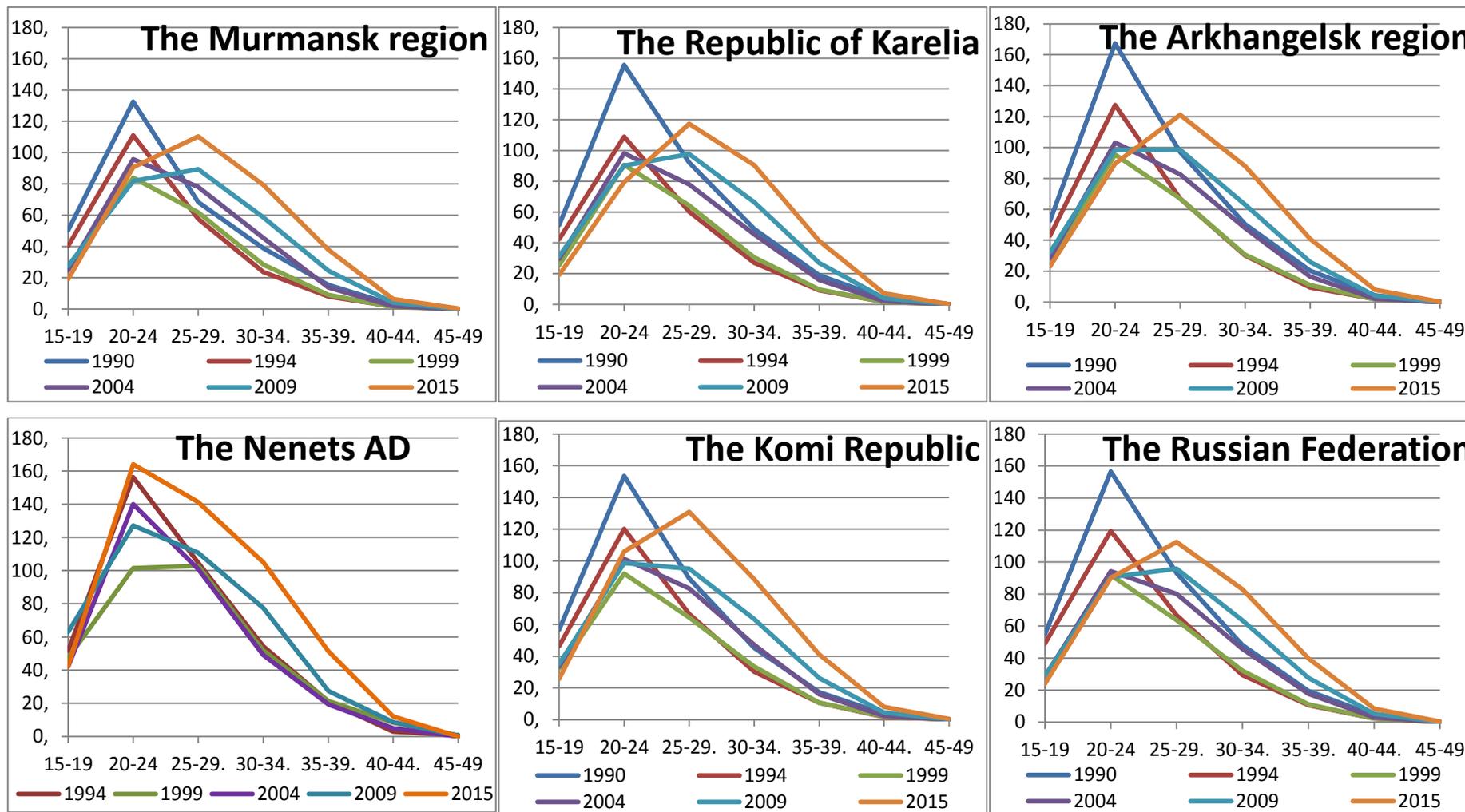


Figure 4. The dynamics of the age fertility rates in the Russian Federation and on the European North of Russia<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Vozrastnye koeffitsienty rozhdaemosti. [Age-specific fertility rates]. URL: <https://www.fedstat.ru/indicator/30973> (accessed: 15 February 2017) [In Russian].

Table 3

The maximum value of the age fertility rates in the Russian Federation and on the European North of Russia in urban and rural areas in 1990, 2014 and 2015.<sup>15</sup>

Region	Year	Age Group	Value	Region	Year	Age Group	Value
Urban areas							
The Murmansk region	1990	20–24	133.4	The Nenets AD	1993	20–24	141.9
	2014	25–29	104.3		2014	25–29	116.9
	2015	25–29	112.1		2015	25–29	127.4
The Republic of Karelia	1990	20–24	149.5	The Komi Republic	1990	20–24	144.7
	2014	25–29	98.1		2014	25–29	105.1
	2015	25–29	110.0		2015	25–29	116.4
The Arkhangelsk region	1990	20–24	151.7	The Russian Federation	1990	20–24	141.2
	2014	25–29	100.2		2014	25–29	103.9
	2015	25–29	108.3		2015	25–29	109.9
Rural areas							
The Murmansk region	1990	20–24	124.6	The Nenets AD	1993	20–24	218.6
	2014	20–24	144.7		2014	20–24	551.4
	2015	20–24	116.5		2015	20–24	578.9
The Republic of Karelia	1990	20–24	189.0	The Komi Republic	1990	20–24	185.9
		20–24	301.0		2014	20–24	413.8
	25–29	195.7	2015		20–24	347.4	
	2014	20–24	194.5	The Russian Federation	1990	20–24	207.1
		25–29	172.5		2014	20–24	156.9
	2015	20–24	217.7		2014	25–29	132.5
The Arkhangelsk region	1990	20–24	217.7	The Russian Federation	2015	20–24	138.7
	2014	20–24	378.6			25–29	122.8
	2015	20–24	319.4				

On the national level, the birth rate in urban areas in all age groups was lower than in the rural. In the regions of the European North of Russia, the birth rate in urban areas was also lower in average, but in the early 2000s, and since 2009–2011 the birth rate at the age of over 35 years was at or above the rural level. In the first case, we can relate this to the implementation of deferred births. In the second case, we can connect it with the measures of the demographic support, which began to be implemented in 2007 and 2011 — the maternal (family) capital (including regional) and the provision of land, which led to the birth of children of the second and higher order of births. Another reason is the migration outflow from rural areas in the most active reproductive age — 15–39 years. The only exception is the Murmansk region where the dynamics of age-specific fertility rates is extremely controversial. As a result, for the significant periods of time the birth rate in urban areas was higher or the same as in rural areas. E.g., at the age of 15–19 years, it was lower for all periods, at the age of 20–29 years it was lower, starting from 1993, and at the age of 30–34 and 45–49 years, it was higher. However, in this region the share of the rural population is extremely low.

<sup>15</sup> Vozrastnye koeffitsienty rozhdyaemosti. [Age-specific fertility rates] URL: <https://www.fedstat.ru/indicator/30973> (accessed: 15 February 2017) [In Russian].

***The change in the dynamics of the average number of children born by one woman  
and the total fertility rate***

The authorities need to assess the consequences of the current policy. The total fertility rate (hereinafter — TFR) makes it possible. However, it does not give an answer to the question whether the observed increase or decrease in the birth rate is related to the effectiveness of the pursued policy or we are dealing with a change in the calendar of births (timing shift). In order to get an answer, we need to consider the average number of born children in real generations. However, it is necessary to wait for the end of the reproductive period or to consider generations that have not yet completed the process of fertility, which leads to an underestimation of the number of births per woman in younger reproductive ages.

The data on the average number of born children for five-year age groups is from the All-Russian Population Census <sup>16</sup> (see Table 4).

Table 4

*The average number of children born by one woman before 1990 in the Russian Federation and on the European North of Russia <sup>17</sup>*

Region	Year of birth	Average number of children born	Region	Year of birth	Average number of children born
Total population					
The Murmansk region	1940 and over	1.892	The Nenets Autonomous District	1940 and over	3.239
	1941–1945	1.726		1941–1945	2.662
	1946–1950	1.744		1946–1950	2.393
	1951–1955	1.799		1951–1955	2.272
	1956–1960	1.749		1956–1960	2.253
	1961–1965	1.627		1961–1965	2.048
	1966–1970	1.492		1966–1970	2.010
	1971–1975	1.411		1971–1975	1.809
	1976–1980	1.227		1976–1980	1.535
	1981–1985	0.839		1981–1985	1.141
1986–1990	0.346	1986–1990	0.578		
The Republic of Karelia	1940 and over	2.193	The Komi Republic	1940 and over	2.528
	1941–1945	1.917		1941–1945	2.083
	1946–1950	1.837		1946–1950	2.007
	1951–1955	1.911		1951–1955	2.046
	1956–1960	1.885		1956–1960	1.967
	1961–1965	1.754		1961–1965	1.815
	1966–1970	1.591		1966–1970	1.661
	1971–1975	1.466		1971–1975	1.526
	1976–1980	1.263		1976–1980	1.300
	1981–1985	0.864		1981–1985	0.921
1986–1990	0.367	1986–1990	0.433		
The Arkhangelsk region	1940 and over	2.310	The Russian Federation	1940 and over	2.083
	1941–1945	1.999		1941–1945	1.881
	1946–1950	1.967		1946–1950	1.822
	1951–1955	2.038		1951–1955	1.879

<sup>16</sup> This indicator is for the 1-year age groups and TFR and the features of their calculation is per the North-West Federal District, incl. the order of birth, are considered in detail by V.N. Arkhangelsky [26].

<sup>17</sup> Itogi Vserossiiskoi perepisi naseleniia 2010 goda. [Results of the All-Russian popular Census 2010]. M.: Statistika Rossii, 2013. 869 p. Pp. 6–7, 48–55, 62–63. [In Russian]

	1956–1960	1.996		1956–1960	1.859
	1961–1965	1.832		1961–1965	1.761
	1966–1970	1.647		1966–1970	1.637
	1971–1975	1.513		1971–1975	1.508
	1976–1980	1.295		1976–1980	1.289
	1981–1985	0.905		1981–1985	0.886
	1986–1990	0.400		1986–1990	0.374

The data above testify that the low birth rate issue appeared not yesterday and even the day before yesterday. At the level of the Russian Federation, the replacement of generations was ensured only by women at the age of 70 years and over, as the birth rate at younger ages has provided only a narrow reproduction of the population.

In all the areas of the European North of Russia, except the Murmansk region, the birth rate for real generations is above the all-Russian average. There are three groups among the areas. The first one is represented by the Murmansk region, where the birth rate in any age group did not exceed even 1.9 children per woman. Even the measures of family support of the 1980s did not have a significant effect on fertility there. The second group includes the Republic of Karelia and the Arkhangelsk region, where the birth rate was slightly higher (equal to the all-Russian average) and exceeded 2.0 children per woman for generations older than 70 years, and in the Arkhangelsk region and for women at the age of 55–59 years. In addition, we may also assume some influence of the 1980's demographic policy on the birth rate. The third group contains of the Komi Republic and the Nenets Autonomous District, where the number of children exceeded 2.0 to the generations that were respectively 50–54 and 40–44 at the time of the census.

In urban areas of the Russian Federation, the number of children did not exceed 1.825 per a woman, which means only a narrow reproduction. In the Murmansk region, the number of children did not rise above 1.869, and in the Republic of Karelia — above 1.976. In the Arkhangelsk region and in the Republic of Komi the number of children exceeded 2.0 (2.039 and 2.149, respectively) only among women born in 1940 and older. The highest birth rate was in the Nenets Autonomous Okrug, where the number of children per woman became less than 2.0 only for women aged 50–54 and younger, whereas there were 2,653 children for one woman over 70.

In rural areas of the Russian Federation, the birth rate is significantly higher (2.703 for women aged 70 years and older), only for women aged 35–39 years the number of children is less than two. In the Murmansk region and in the countryside, the birth rate was the lowest: among the women aged 45–49, the number of children was less than 2.0, and women aged 70 and older gave birth to only 2.324 children in average. In the Republics of Karelia and Komi, the decrease in the birth rate to less than two children per woman occurred for women aged 40–44. Although in the Komi Republic, the level of 2.0 children might be overcome. In the Komi Republic, the

decrease was more significant, as for women aged 70 and under, the number of births was 3.403, while in the Republic of Karelia – only 2.766. In the Arkhangelsk Region, the number of children born became less than 2.0 only for women aged 35–39 (women aged 70 and over had an average of 3,539 children). Probably this level will be exceeded in the near future. In the Nenets Autonomous District, the birth rate was the highest for women aged 70 years and over (4.199 children), and also at younger ages, as the number of children was less than 2.0 only for women aged 30–34.

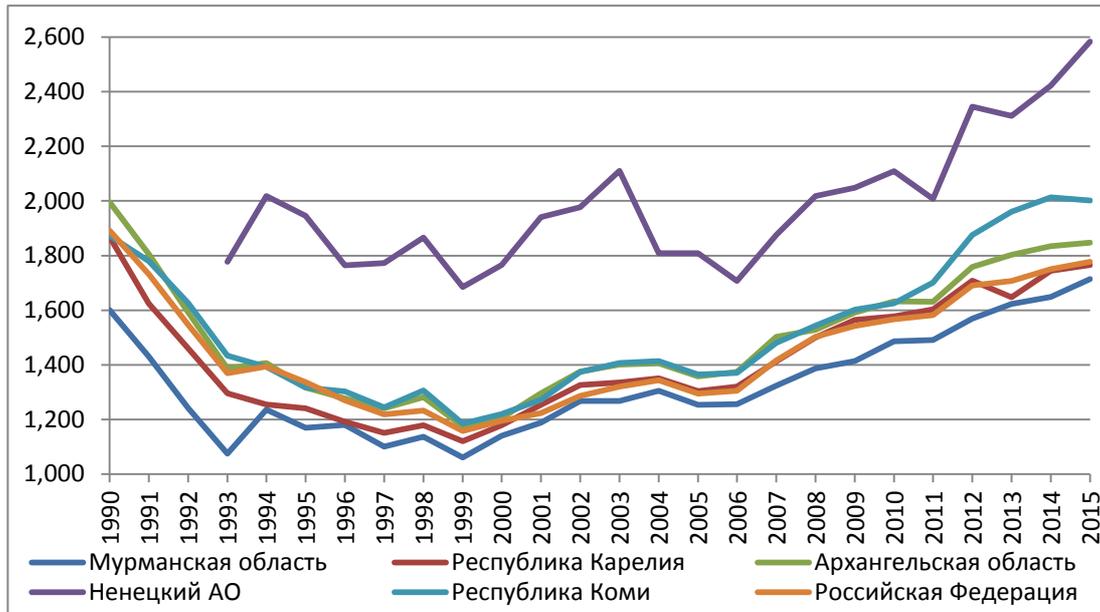


Figure 5. TFR in the Russian Federation and the European North of Russia in 1990–2015.<sup>18</sup>

The dark blue line is for the Murmansk region, the red line is for the Republic of Karelia, the green line is for the Arkhangelsk region, the violet line is for the Nenets AD, the blue line is for the Komi Republic, the orange line is for the Russian Federation.

Fig. 5 shows the change in the birth rate for conditional generations<sup>19</sup>. The birth rate in the 1990s declined quickly. In 1990, the TFR was 1.892, which is below the level of simple reproduction of the population (2.100), but still quite high. In 1999 it was only 1.157, which is extremely low, and sharply raised the question of the demographic security of the country.

The subsequent increase in the birth rate, related to the improvement of the economic situation, the implementation of deferred births and the active demographic policy, allowed to increase the TFR in 2014 until 1.750, and in 2015 until 1.777, which exceeds the level of 1991. However, nowadays the birth rate is low enough, it is necessary to increase it.

The TFR change dynamics in the regions of the European North of Russia was the same as in the whole country. At the same time, the birth rate of more than 2.0 children per woman was in

<sup>18</sup> Summarnyi koeffitsient rozhdaemosti. [Total fertility rates] URL: <https://www.fedstat.ru/indicator/31517> (accessed: 15 February 2017) [In Russian].

<sup>19</sup> The data for the Nenets Autonomous District 1990–1992 is absent.

the Komi Republic in 2014–2015 and in the Nenets Autonomous District in 1993, 2003 and 2008–2015. The birth rate in the Murmansk region and the Republic of Karelia was below the national average, while in the Arkhangelsk region and the Komi Republic it was above average. Nevertheless, the birth rate in the regions of the European North of Russia was low and did not provide even simple reproduction of the population (see Table 5).

*Table 5.*  
*The TFR in the Russian Federation and the European North of Russia in 1990, 1999 and 2015.*<sup>20</sup>

Region	1990	1999	2015 <sup>21</sup>	Region	1990	1999	2015
The Murmansk region				The Nenets AD			
Total population	1.601	1.061	1.714 (1.649)	Total population	н.д.	1.685	2.584 (2.423)
Urban population	1.609	1.051	1.724 (1.625)	Urban population	н.д.	1.253	2.057 (1.828)
Rural population	1.538	1.185	1.609 (2.005)	Rural population	н.д.	2.562	5.803 (6.094)
The Republic of Karelia				The Komi Republic			
Total population	1.868	1.120	1.766 (1.744)	Total population	1.873	1.184	2.002 (2.013)
Urban population	1.798	1.043	1.644 (1.517)	Urban population	1.755	1.096	1.720 (1.672)
Rural population	1.755	1.441	2.873 (3.712)	Rural population	2.394	1.583	4.239 (4.741)
The Arkhangelsk region				The Russian Federation			
Total population	1.996	1.175	1.847 (1.835)	Total population	1.892	1.157	1.777 (1.750)
Urban population	1.797	1.074	1.636 (1.542)	Urban population	1.698	1.05	1.678 (1.588)
Rural population	2.709	1.594	3.964 (4.265)	Rural population	2.600	1.534	2.111 (2.318)

In urban settlements the birth rate was lower compared to rural ones, and so much lower that even in the Nenets Autonomous District it exceeded 2.0 children only in 2015. It should be noted that in the Murmansk region the birth rate in urban areas was at or above the level of other regions (moreover, for the years of reforms the TFR had been increasing there), since 1999. The spread between the regions did not exceed 0.1.

The TFR in rural areas was much higher. In the Russian Federation, it exceeded 2.0 in 1990–1992 and in 2011–2015; it did not fall below the level of 1.5 children per one woman. In the Murmansk region, the TFR was the lowest. It surpassed the 2.0 mark only in 2014, while in other areas in the early 1990s and 2007–2008 it exceeded this level, and in Nenets AD, it did not fall below 2.56.

<sup>20</sup> Summarnyi koeffitsient rozhdaemosti [Total fertility rates]. URL: <https://www.fedstat.ru/indicator/31517> (accessed: 15 February 2017) [In Russian].

<sup>21</sup> The TFR for 2014 is in brackets.

High age fertility rates mean a high TFR value. Therefore, it is not surprising that in the Arkhangelsk region and in the rural areas of the Komi Republic, the TFR was close to or exceeded 4.0, and in the Nenets Autonomous District, it was about 6.0, which is not much lower than the TFR in the Republic of Tyva. However, certain problems with accounting of births exist. We do not exclude the existence of the same problems in the European North of Russia and the need to adjust the indicator to the side of reduction.

### ***Conclusion and recommendations***

The analysis showed that during the reviewed period, the number of births in the European North of Russia had significantly decreased, and nowadays the rates of population reproduction are not optimal there. It negatively affects the demographic security of the region, which makes a significant contribution to the country's GDP. This is probably connected with the migration outflow of the population in the reproductive age, occurred against the background of negative socio-economic changes caused by a low standard of living in these regions and a weak infrastructure development. After 1999, the number of births began to increase slowly. It is still far for the restoration of the 1990 level, even in case of the significant reduction in the number of abortions, since the population has significantly decreased. At the same time, in 2015, the number of births per 1000 people was almost at the level of 1990 or even higher.

Over the past years, the birth rate has got old. While in 1990 the majority of births occurred within the age group of 20–24, in 2015 in all regions, except for the Nenets Autonomous District, births began to occur more often within the group of 25–29. At the same time, the peak of the age profiles of fertility has become less expressed, and in the age groups of 20–24 and 30–34 the number of births became comparable, and in the latter group sometimes even higher.

The level of births by real generations ensures a narrow reproduction for a long period. In conditional generations, the birth rate is also below the level of simple reproduction of the population, but in most areas, it is above the national average. This means that the migration inflow is necessary in order to maintain the population, and the government should have a wide range of incentives for it, both material and nonmaterial.

In connection with the fact that the thin generation is now entering in the reproductive age, we can expect the reduction in the absolute number of births during coming years. It is reflected in forecasts of the Federal Service of State Statistics for the period up to 2030, and Laboratory of Population Economics and Demography of the Faculty of Economics of Lomonosov

Moscow State University up to 2050 and will lead to the continued decline in the number of population in this important region of the country.

It is necessary to raise the standard of living of the population and to change the norm of childhood in order to increase the birth rate. The first goal could be achieved by increasing wages, by increasing the amount of child allowances, so that they take a more significant place in the family budget, and by improving the condition and accessibility of the infrastructure (especially "child" and housing). Important measures include: the creation of jobs (especially in single-industry towns), the increase in the amount of payments for children (up to 1.5–2% of GDP and not less than 2% of GDP for the European North of Russia) and the introduction of more flexible work schedule of organizations connected with children care and their upbringing. The second goal could be achieved by creating the well disposed atmosphere in the society (especially among employers<sup>22</sup> and employees of organizations related to servicing the interests of families with children) which assists to support the families with children, including preschool age, and also propagandic measures, aimed at improving the situation. In particular, there is need in a flexible work schedule that takes into account the living situation of mothers with preschool children, and in the public recognition of the caring for children as the important work and not just "staying at home".

Of course, the connection between the standard of living and the birth rate is not direct. Smith A. wrote about it [28, Smith A., pp. 87–88]. However, this concept is complex and reflects a whole range of needs in the spheres of employment, medicine, education, leisure, pricing policy, housing quality, accessibility of transport etc. The current policy does not allow the population of the European North of Russia to meet the needs of the population living in areas with complex natural and climatic conditions. As a result, there is a discrepancy between socio-economic and demographic policies.

The demographic policy is trying to influence the reproductive attitudes and it has some success in this matter. The importance of the need for children and the nature of the relationship has been discussed (e.g., [29, Arkhangelskii V.N., pp. 36–41, 30, Zvereva N.V., p. 156]). Specialists note that "demographic policy, aimed at creating conditions for the realization of the existing need for children, will not lead to the increase in the birth rate to the level that ensures a simple reproduction of the population ..." [30, Zvereva N.V., p. 156]. It is necessary to increase the value

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<sup>22</sup> Kvasha A.I. substantiated the thesis about the need for the demographic policy comprehensive impact on the life of the employee. The most significant level of this impact is the level of the employer, since even the most developed demographic policy will not give the expected result, if employers do not contribute to the promotion of its goals, because the main volume of reproductive and other demographic settings is formed at this level [27, p. 196].

of having several children in the family [30, Zvereva N.V., p. 162], since the change in need for children can give a lasting result and increase the birth rate in a larger volume than just raising the standard of living [30, Zvereva N.V., p. 163]. Nevertheless, the situation when the ideological component of this policy is not fixed by the necessary amount of financial resources is also unacceptable. The upbringing of children begins with their provision and care [31, Rimashevskaya N.M. et al., p. 54; 32, Harchev A.G. et al., p. 36], which means the need to create a certain standard of living for both children and parents. E.g., without the development of the preschool age children care services, the policy of stimulating the birth rate will give a short-term effect, since young mothers and women of pre-retirement age will have difficulty entering the labor market [33, Gosha Z.Zh., p. 69; 34, Sinyavskaya O.V. et al., p. 373].

All discussed above confirms the necessity of combining the increase in the standard of living on the European North of Russia with measures aimed at changing the norms of childhood, increasing the importance of the family and the prestige of childcare work [30, Zvereva N.V., p. 163; 35, Shishkina M.A. et al., pp. 147–158]. This is reflected in the list of measures proposed by us, which, we hope, will contribute to the increase of the demographic security on the European North of Russia.

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## Moving to a new place of residence: the item semantization in modern culture (on materials of the Kola Polar region) <sup>1</sup>



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**Abstract.** The article represents the study of the meanings and functions of family items when moving to a new place among the residents of the Kola North. The change of residence is always connected with the interruption of established lifestyle and placement of items. It revealed that while moving, the items environment of the family was reorganized and transformed completely or partially. It means the accelerated change of meaning and status of the moved family items.

**Keywords:** *adaptation, lifestyle, item, dwelling, the Kola North, memory, moving, semantics*

### About the study

The interest to the moved family items has arisen not accidentally and it is connected with the historical and demographic features of the studied ethno-cultural area. Due to the peculiarities of the development of the Kola North, in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, its population was involved in intensive migration [1, Razumova I.A., pp. 290–298]. E.g., in 1926–1989, the population of the Murmansk region increased in 36.3 times, and since 1990, there has been a sharp outflow of population<sup>2</sup>. At the same time, due to the regional infrastructure, the residents are actively moving within the region. Consequently, almost every family has the experience of moving. All these processes affect the life of the northerners. In this regard, the study is aimed at analyzing the dynamic aspects of life of things, their semantic and functional changes when moving.

The relevance of the study of items on the move is stipulated by the fact that the postmodern society as a sociocultural phenomenon requires a new understanding of consumption [2, Douglas M., Isherwood B.; 3, Rakitnykh M.B.]. Semiotic analysis contributes to the study of the symbolic aspects of consumption, including in-depth understanding of semiosis (the endowment of items with meanings and reassignment of things). Semiosis is especially clearly traced in crises, when many meanings of things and actions are actualized and the revaluation of values occurs.

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<sup>2</sup> Demoskop Weekly. Vsesoiuznaia perepis' naseleniia 1926 goda. M.: Izdanie TsSU Soiuzu SSR, 1928. Tom 9. Pp. 2–13; Tom 17. Pp. 2–3. URL: [http://wiki.laser.ru/index.php/Vsesoiuznaia\\_perepis'\\_naseleniia\\_1926\\_g](http://wiki.laser.ru/index.php/Vsesoiuznaia_perepis'_naseleniia_1926_g). (accessed: 17.03.2016); Naselenie SSSR: Po dannym Vsesoiuznoi perepisi naseleniia 1989 g. / Goskomstat SSSR. M.: Finansy i statistika, 1990. 45p; Chislennost', razmeshchenie i vozrastno-polovoi sostav naseleniia Murmanskoi oblasti. Itogi Vserossiiskoi perepisi naseleniia. Federal'naia sluzhba gosudarstvennoi statistiki, Territorial'nyi organ Federal'noi sluzhby gosudarstvennoi statistiki po Murmanskoi oblasti. Murmansk, 2012. Tom 1. 75 p.

Such situations include relocation. It reveals the constants and features of dealing with things and imparting their meanings in the culture of various communities, including family and ethnic.

Families of the region we studied (the Kola North) are mostly urban. Small towns of the Murmansk region were built and mastered by their current residents during the Soviet period. Visitors not only "built" the towns, but also formed the modern urban culture of the region.

We turned to the biographical experience of those who migrated to the Kola Peninsula during the Soviet and post-Soviet periods. The interviews with the urban residents of the Murmansk region (the towns of Apatity, Kirovsk, and Kandalaksha) were the data we used. These are the texts of family and biographical interviews. The respondents were both arriving to the Kola North from other regions of Russia, and from the countries of the former USSR. Data collection was carried out during 2009–2015, 51 people were interviewed. In addition, the sources of the personal archive of I.A. Razumova were used: written interviews, self-recordings, interview records and documents of family archives. Nineteen informants born between 1945–1988 were selected among 110 sources (each represents a record of one informant) for 2001–2004 and 2006. These people were living in the cities of Polarnye Zori, Snezhnogorsk, Monchegorsk, and Kirovsk. All of them had an experience of moving (within the city, country, etc.).

Theoretical and methodological grounds of the study are represented by the works of leading Russian researchers in the field of the semiotics of things and space: P.G. Bogatyreva, V.V. Ivanova, V.N. Toporova, T.V. Tsivyan, A.K. Bayburina, O.A. Sedakova [4–11] and other authors, who accentuated the cultural anthropological aspect of things. We suppose that the deep aspects of the functioning of things are manifested only if they are studied in the unity of the "essence" and "sign", and "the history of things can be represented as movement along the scale of semioticism," and "the change in the semiotic character of things is easier to trace at the present stage, than in ancient times, due to the greater flexibility of the informational structure of society" [8, Baiburin A.K., p. 9].

In this study, a family is seen as the collective bearer of the culture and traditions of a particular society in which it exists and to which it belongs. The family adapts, modifies, uses, creates and transmits cultural values. The specificity of the family communication lies in the fact that participants have a common experience and shared memory. Family-historical knowledge helps a person to build up a self-identification on a number of grounds: personal qualities, anthropological characteristics, ethnic, social and local affiliation, etc. Family memory is transmitted both verbally, and through family photos, relics, etc. The study of the theory of social

memory has a great importance now. It contributed to determining the functions and meanings of certain categories of family items and their typologization [12–15].

### ***Functioning and meanings of household things in a dwelling space***

The interior of a dwelling is a complex cultural phenomenon which is closely connected with the social environment and is determined by various factors. One way or another, the design of everyday life, the organization of the dwelling space is predetermined by the value system that underlies in the worldview. Individual features of people and families, determined socioculturally and ethnoculturally, manifest themselves there. Whatever homogeneous the urban culture seems, the modern urban dwelling exists in the diversity of ethno-cultural options, just as it is observed in the traditional cultures. In both cases, the variability is a consequence of the different factors.

In the East Slavic dwelling, every thing and the object of the interior had its own specific function and were located strictly in accordance with the tradition. The study of the traditional dwelling of different peoples and elements of interior has always been one of the priorities of ethnography [8, Baiburin A.K., pp. 16–26]. In the traditional culture, the house is symbolically "loaded". It is not just an object. All the major categories of the world perception were correlated with the concept of a "house" in one way or another.

The traditional rural dwelling has been thoroughly studied, as for the urban dwelling – more or less systematic studies have been conducted only after the late 1950s and early 1960s. [27, 28, Krupyanskaya V.Yu.; 29, Anokhina L.A.; 30, Urazmanova R.K.; 31, Feldman M.A.]. The results are devoted to the description of the Soviet period, while the thing behavior of the post-Soviet period, despite a well-known activation of interest to the topic, remains less studied.

In the framework of this study, we are interested in the most common, but still "special" case, when a group, identified as a "family", has a joint dwelling (or residential complex). In this case, we can talk about the presence of a family housing culture or a family living environment. Regardless of its type ("house", "apartment", etc.), such a dwelling, together with the objects inside, their structural and functional interrelations and the dwelling as a whole, is defined by the concepts "house material environment", "house spatial objective world".

You can study the living environment in two main angles. On the one hand, it has the objective properties: the ways of organizing, characteristics of objects, etc. On the other hand, the real use of space and objects is determined not only by the set of cultural contexts, but it is highly subjective.

We consider the entire material and objective world, in which the family is immersed as the family things. It includes furniture, utensils, and even various trinkets, means all the items purchased or manufactured by members of a family-related group and used by it. All the other things can be conditionally designated as "productive" (equipment, machinery in production), "public" (benches in a park, street lights, etc.), "historical and cultural" (cultural monuments, museum exhibits). These symbols are for sure conditional and interchangeable. E.g., cultural monuments are public property, and before they become it, they had been produced by someone and for some reason.

Things can be considered as family items if they: 1) exist in the family and make up its objective environment; 2) characterize this environment in a certain way (e.g., they are indicators of the social and economic status of the family); 3) recreate the peculiarities of the everyday life of families of different ethnic groups; 4) help to recreate the social environment through the reconstruction of the life of the family (the everyday style of the era); 5) symbolize and help to preserve the family history and memory; 6) constitute the family property when all members of the family are involved in using a particular thing (e.g., furniture; utensils used by all members of the family; a family relic recognized by all – are also a family property); 7) are in personal use of individual family members or are "significant" for one member only; 8) belong to family members within the residential environment (house, apartment).

All things included in the objective world of the family (dwelling), on a functional basis, can be divided into three conventional groups: household, decorative and memorial things. In the family dwelling, the objects of the first group serve as the everyday life assistants ( a knife, a chair, a table, etc.), the objects of the second group serve as adornment (a picture, a vase, etc.), while others keep the memory of any events of the history of the family-related community ( an album with photos, souvenirs, family relics, etc.). This classification is rather conditional, since decorative things can simultaneously be memorial, and belong to the category of everyday things. Family things can be typologized for different reasons, but according to the chosen approach, the main criterion is their position on the semiotic scale (utilitarian/symbolic meaning). Household and memorial things can be endowed with different characteristics, starting from their value and external characteristics. The thing can be expensive/cheap, prestigious/not prestigious, beautiful/ugly, etc.

Every family has items used and perceived as "purely home". Pragmatic attitude often refers to the furniture, household appliances, and utensils. It is difficult to imagine family life without them, but they, at first sight, do not play any role in a family history. Such things are

actual now, they can symbolize time, its technologies etc., but from the "intra-family point of view" they do not possess any symbolic meanings. Utilitarian things are an objective indicator of social, professional status, economic status, hobbies of the family or individuals, sanitary and hygienic norms and habits, etc. The designation "everyday" indicates the satisfaction with the help of these things above all ordinary needs. The world of everyday things is infinitely diverse.

The group of things called "memorable" (memorial) occupies a special place in the object world of a family. Their main function is to preserve the memory of events, places, people etc.

Individual memory depends on the degree and nature of the involvement in various groups, beginning with the family. A special place is occupied by the objective memory among the other types of memory. It is embodied in things that fulfill the function of "a place of memory" [12, Nora P., pp. 17–50; 14, Assman J., p. 20]. The personal thing of each member of a family, one way or another, is included in the general subject world of the related group, and under certain circumstances, it becomes the part of the general fund of the family memory or passes into the category of the family relics. The memorable things are valuable in a direct, material sense. They can be used for the utilitarian purpose, or can only have a symbolic value, which is determined by a special attitude towards the thing, acting as an intermediary in preserving the memory of something significant in the life of a person or a family. In this case, the physical and functional characteristics of the objects recede into the background.

In addition to family relics, the interviews and acquaintance with the objective world of urban families in the Murmansk region, helped to identify various types of memorabilia, which we designated as "individual memorabilia"; "memorabilia of relatives"; "memorabilia associated with the "social achievements"; "things-memories of ethnic, national and religious affiliation"; "things-memories of territorial or local affiliation".

Things that function in modern families of the northerners can also be distributed according to a number of temporal criteria. There can be several grounds for classification: by belonging to a historical epoch or a specific period ("old", "Soviet", "pre-war", "modern" thing), by the duration of use ("old" / "new" thing); conformity to the style of time ("fashionable"/ "unfashionable"). "The semantic meaning of a thing can not be understood without knowledge of the concrete historical conditions of people's lives, the history of culture (both material and spiritual)" [32, Miroljubova L.R., p. 59].

### ***Things on the move (in the "road" space)***

The reorganization of the family's objective world takes place when moving. Things that are in the space of "road" lose their status of "home" for a certain time. The "road" is a ritually and

sacredly significant locus that has multivalued semantics and functions. Road customs and representations have repeatedly appeared in the focus of ethnographic research [33, Agapkina T.A.; 34, Toporov V.N.; 35, Tolstaya S.M.; 36, Klyaus V.L.; 37, Tsivyan T.V.; 38, Schepanskaya T.B.].

All things in transit can be divided into two main groups — luggage and travel items. In the situation of resettlement, when collecting goods for moving, the entire objective world is wrapped up in a certain thing complex called "luggage" with the inevitable loss of its certain part as a result of selection (some of the items are sold, distributed or discarded).

Dictionary of V. Dal defines the term "luggage" as "luggage, belongings, things, property, especially the road one" [39]. In the dictionaries of D.N. Ushakov and S.I. Ozhegov similar definitions are given: the luggage is "things, cargo of passengers packed for shipment, transportation. <...>. Hand luggage (passenger's things that are with him)"[40; 41]. The dictionary of T.F. Efremova: the luggage is understood as "packed things that a passenger takes with him for a trip" [42]. In the framework of this study, the luggage is understood as any thing, household items that a family or individual is transporting from a former place of residence to a new one.

The definition of the concept of "road things" was found only in the dictionary of the Russian language, edited by D.V. Dmitriev: "The object is called the road one if you take it for traveling" [43]. T.B. Schepanskaya subdivides road things into two main groups: equipment — means of life support on the trip, and memo-charms — things that have rather symbolic value [38, Schepanskaya T.B., p. 109]. Memorabilia should prevent the complete alienation of the outgoing, preserving the invisible connection with the homeland and home. This relationship was only temporarily blocked, folded into a symbol (the same memorable thing). Currently, traveling things—amulets continue to exist. In her special study T.B. Schepanskaia shows how such things function among drivers [44]. Some things act as the protection against "unforeseen situations", among them are utilitarian (a tire iron, a bat, etc.) and symbolic (e.g., images of saints); others remind of the house (toys on the windshield) etc. In addition, the things used as a "container" or means of packaging and carrying cargo can also be considered as the road ones. Individual ethnographic studies are devoted to the traditional means of transportation and road equipment [45, 46, 47, 48, Vasiliev M.I.; 49, Lebedeva A.A.]. At the moment, bags, suitcases are used as travel utensils, sometimes boxes are used for transportation convenience.

In every family dealing with the change of residence, there is usually a person responsible for moving. As a rule, this is a member of the family who either had the experience of moving, or, in his opinion or opinion of other relatives, knows how to organize the process properly. Most often, this is the elder woman in the family (grandmother, mother, aunt). In some cases, there

may be two persons responsible for moving, usually a husband and his wife. It is believed that women are more responsible, and, in the opinion of men, "they are better at it". When preparing for the relocation, the informal distribution of duties occurs in the family. It is especially well observed at the stage of transportation and collection of luggage, when each member of the family has a role to play. Usually women are responsible for selecting the right things and proper packaging. In cases where packaging requires considerable physical efforts, women usually instruct and supervise the corresponding actions of men. Men help to carry things (to load and unload), children can guard the luggage and carry out various small packs (e.g., to bring boxes from the store for packing). The distribution of roles in families varies: "We actively dragged things with my brother. It is clear that only small, feasible things. Collecting boxes — our mother did it without us, as I recall, but we dragged them a lot"(1)<sup>3</sup>.

Packing things is the important stage of moving. The safety of things during transportation depends on the proper packaging. Each member of a family has his own methods and ways how to pack things properly. They use various sources of knowledge: someone uses the advice of parents and relatives, and the representatives of modern youth usually use the Internet.

The treatment of things is affected by such factors as age, financial situation, the composition of those moving to a new place, the motives for resettlement, setting for temporary or permanent residence, ideas about life in a new place and other factors. Naturally, when family people move with their children for permanent residence, they collect the luggage more thoroughly. Young people, as a rule, take almost nothing with them, except equipment and personally significant things. Young people, according to their own and external evaluations, "strive for minimalism", "easily part with things", "focuses on fashion," "does not cling to things." People of the older generation (especially the elderly) try to take as much as they can, and, if possible, take all the acquired property they have.

During the move, the attitude to different types of family things – memorial and purely everyday ones varies. Differences are evident at all stages of preparation and implementation of the move. The attitude towards memorial things is careful. The criteria for sorting out the things of these types are different and the process of their transportation is not the same. The study showed that the absolute majority of those moving to the Kola North, regardless of age and individual attitude towards things, tried to keep items that belonged to family relics. This applies especially to photos and family albums. This behavior is considered as a matter of course, many

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<sup>3</sup> Sequence number of the informant.

informants confirmed it only in response to a clarifying question ("of course", "sure", "first of all," "necessarily").

Household items, as a rule, are selected on the basis of practical considerations: their cost, functionality, convenience in use, and their condition. Significant reorganization of the objective world of the family when moving is primarily related to getting rid of things of certain categories. In most cases, these are items that are considered unnecessary and obsolete: "When preparing to move, of course, first of all, we got rid of all rubbish. <...>. Those were old things that had to be thrown away long time ago, but we had no time to do it" (2).

The old, unused things ("junk", "trash") that were stored in the attic, in the shed, in the storeroom were thrown out first. They lost functionality long time ago, they were out of date, but it was hard to throw them away. Most people who moved did not want to take them to the "new life". In other cases, this behavior is motivated by the inability to transport all things for some reason: lack of sufficient living space in a new location, transportation difficulties, etc. Memorial family things are less subject to such sorting. People try to transport them intact and safe, and it is out of the question to give them to someone or throw away. There are some exceptions, of course.

During the move, it is customary to keep the most valuable things "with you" or "closer to yourself." The treatment of these things is almost not affected by economic, social and other circumstances. Here the personal, psychological factor plays a big role. First of all, people take family photographs.

In stories of settlers from the villages, icons are often noted among the things taken for memory: "My grandmother told me that the grandfather's mother, before they left to the North to her grandfather, had removed the fold from the red corner, wrapped it in the kerchief on which it stood, put it in the bag and gave it with the words: "Give it to your son, and he will give it to Verka when she grows up" (3). The elder relatives tried to hand over the icon as a family relic and a guard to protect relatives on the trip and in a new place from various troubles. In addition, the migrants took those objects which they were emotionally related to, as they were identified with the abandoned house and relatives. Most often these were things made by the hands of loved ones (father, mother, grandmother): "My mother keeps old grandmother's kerchiefs, tablecloths, cloths that my grandmother made herself" (4).

Family relics occupy a special place among all the types of memorabilia. People consider "relic" and "thing-memory" in different ways. For some of them, they are synonymous, for others they denote absolutely different categories of objects. In particular, the distinction between

"relics" and memorabilia can be made by the criteria of collectivity/individuality of the embodied memory or property. From this point of view, "relics" are always the "family" things. The analysis of usage shows a lot of variations when using these terms. Anyway, after clarifying questions, the informants began to explain what "family heirloom" means to them, and what is "a memorable thing". The status of the "family relic" is much higher than other types of "memorabilia". Hence there is more emotional attitude to them when moving. Since all family relics are endowed with high symbolic value, and some of them possess material value, people try to save and preserve these things under any circumstances [50, Razumova I.A., pp. 3–76; 51, Razumova I.A.; 52, 53, Suleimanova O.A.].

Individual memorabilia are stored for a relatively short time. This is so because small things and trinkets (e.g., even tickets left after visit of a museum) are often kept until they cause certain emotions of their owner. Usually, individual memorabilia lose its status and relevance with the death of the owner. However, it can have another fate: memorabilia of relatives become a family heirloom and begin to be inherited. In order to become a relic, the thing must be "selected" from many others. As a rule, it is only a very original in form or valuable thing. These include jewelry or aesthetically highly valued things. The more interesting are the cases of exclusive symbolization of objects that do not possess any commodity or aesthetic value, meaningful only for a narrow circle of persons and on a sole basis — to serve as a memory. E.g., a piece of soap is stored as a relic in one of the Northerners' families.

Some people accumulate enough memorabilia during their lifetime and can periodically get rid of them. Moving promotes this process. People moving to a new place of residence try to get rid of all the "superfluous". The desire not "to litter" the new apartment (house), as well as the difficulties of transportation, help to get rid of even such things that were previously considered "very necessary". More often these are things that have a memorial value to the individual and do not have any material value. As a rule, they include subjects related to personal biography, but not connected with other people (friends, relatives). E.g, student notebooks, reminiscent of their own childhood and adolescence, admission tickets as evidence of visits to certain places, collections that have lost relevance due to changes of interests and have no material value (collections of candy wrappers, bottles, etc.).

The lost relevance distinguishes memorabilia from the family relics. A family relic will never be thrown out because it is difficult to transport it or there is not enough space for it in a new house. Respect to family relics removes the issue of trowing. Only emergency circumstances can be important here. The status of memorabilia is very unstable. They are constantly balancing

between the opportunities to become a family heirloom or to be in a garbage dump. Anyway, in the situation of moving, a strong reflection arises in relation to these things. The real saved objects are a special occasion for pride. In addition, it turned out that the more complexities arise in the process of transporting a thing, the more symbolic value increases: "How many difficulties we had to transport these carpets from Krasnodar to Apatity! Now they are keeping twisted behind the wall, waiting for their hour. As soon as the son marries, they will be inherited. For me, they are no longer just ordinary carpets; so many memories are associated with them, as I dragged them from there "(5).

Thus, the practice of handling things during the move depends not only on the circumstances of the move, but also on the value of the thing for the family and its individual members. When selecting things and choosing methods of transportation, settlers are guided by the memorial, material and symbolic value of objects.

***"With old things to the new apartment": items as a means of adaptation  
in a new place of residence***

The process of developing the uninhabited space goes after the move. The acquaintance with the subject world of the residents of the Murmansk region (Apatity, Kirovsk, and Kandalaksha) shows that when creating the interior of a dwelling, the attitude of people is changing to certain things and their categories (furniture, utensils, household appliances, interior decorations, etc.).

The arrangement of everyday life in a new place is influenced by the very process of moving and the related aspects of thing behavior. In order to start settling, you must first leave the old housing, carry your things, and relive the related difficulties. In the ethnographic tradition, the concept of "road" contrasts the concept of "house". The house is associated with stability; settled way of life, a place inhabited and "one's own"; the road is a movement, instability of the situation, "alien" and unknown. At the same time, the house and the road are connected as different poles of a single scale, combining settled way of life and mobility. As A.V. Golovnev notes, "in the anthropology of motion, dynamics and statics are contrasted only to show their variability and range of intermediate states. This is not about replacing static measurements with dynamic ones, but about two-dimensionality"[54, Golovnev A.V., pp. 4–14].

Various options for moving are possible depending on the changes that the family is undergoing: 1) the actual resettlement, when the whole family moves; 2) dividing, if part of the family is resettled, 3) separation – one person leaves. Depending on the type of moving and the composition of those who is moving, the thing behavior also varies. In all cases, there is a

complete or partial transformation of the family's objective world. If the all the family moves, then, as a rule, there is just a transfer of property from one house to another. Naturally, the objective world, one way or another, is transformed. Some of the things can be damaged during the move or owners can throw some things away, etc. However, in most cases, there is no drastic change. The exception is the situation of forced (emergency) resettlement.

Moving from the parental home of one of the members of the family is different as the reorganization occurs due to the transfer of a part of the object fund of the family to a new place of residence. The ritual parallel represents the redistribution of the "share" in the rituals of the person's life cycle with the aim of stabilizing the crisis situation, ensuring a smooth transition [55, Sedakova O., p. 54–63]. The property share is allocated from an organized and ordered subject world. A person leaving a parental home, as a rule, takes away not only personal things, but also things of common use, since he has not yet had time to acquire his own things necessary for everyday life. In such a way, there is a redistribution of the object fund of the family. The "share", which is allocated to the leaving person, in each case depends both on the material capabilities of the family, and on the individual preferences of the person: "The student needs, in principle, where to sleep. Well, also some furniture. In general, some kind of utensil, like, e.g., a mother has given a pan, a frying pan, and an iron. So, some necessary things and clothes"(6).

In process of moving, some things get a "second" life. E.g., what was stored in the garage for a long time or in the shed (there were cases when things had been brought from the garbage dump) is given to the separated children, referring to the fact that it can still be good for some time.

When moving family things can change and often change their status. The objects of the everyday life that were previously used for purely utilitarian purposes or performed decorative functions can become family relics: "I took crocheted napkins from my parental home. <...>. They just gathered dust in their house, and now I keep them quiveringly. <...>. I took it as a memory of my mother, to save them, so to speak "(7). In particular, a number of items from the status of family (which all family members used) are transferred to the category of things of individual use; things get a "second" life and a new history.

As I.A. Razumova notes nowadays "the basic ritual moments during moving in are observed not only by rural, but also by urban residents" [50, Razumova I.A., p. 131]. Now in the culture of urban residents of the Kola North, one can observe the certain elements of the traditional rite of moving in a new house when moving to a new place of residence. Some of the informants said that they had made the cat first enter the house, and where the animal would prefer to stay for a

while, they decided to put a baby crib or arrange a bed. There were reports about the use of various amulets, e.g., hanging the horseshoe above the door. This kind of ritual was a bit modified in modern conditions, of course.

Those who moved to a new place face the difficulties connected with the perception of a new place as "uninhabited" or "alien". They have to re-create their house and get used to it. If moves happen often, this perception either becomes the additional stress factor, or, on the contrary, becomes blunted and disappears (the following model is formed: "my house is where I am at the moment): "I love when the house is in order and everything is in its place. <...>. After moving we could not find anything for a long time, forgot where were our things. All this kicked me out of my track, my hands just dropped, and I did not want to do anything "(8). Apparently, a change in the arrangement of things leads to psychological discomfort. People consider the objective environment not only as a means of ensuring functional processes, but also as a necessary individual sphere, connected with the peculiarities of their personality.

The uninhabited space is perceived as "alien", "cold", "uncomfortable". Old things help to make space more familiar and mastered. Many travelers take personal things that have symbolic significance with them for this reason: "we took all sorts of trinkets, yes, although my husband grumbled that it was not necessary to litter the new apartment. I do not know how to explain this, but I would feel uncomfortable if I had to live among all new and unfamiliar things"(9). According to informants, these kinds of things, despite all their uselessness, help to miss the house and left friends less, they help not to feel lonely in a new place — so they connect people with their former place of residence and act as communicants.

Leaving parental home, children often take away trinkets (figurines, toys, etc.) from relatives, "to be less homesick and miss close people less." If before leaving these things served to create coziness or were used for other purposes, now they acquire additional meaning. Usually old things or trinkets in the parental home are considered as "littering" space; people periodically want to throw them away, but for some reason do not do it. When the departing person takes them to a new place of residence, these items begin to be perceived differently, serve as "connection" with the old house and "domestication" of the new, creating a sense of comfort.

The study confirmed that young people adapt more easily to a new place. However, there were cases when young people arranged a "museum" of memorabilia in their apartment, storing various trinkets, as well as things of relatives. It is natural that people of median age and older often perceive things as a part of their biography. Making property is an important line of the spent life: the history of how the property was earned, how it was "received" and so on. Things

give calmness, the sense of stability. This "protecting mechanism with the help of things in the daily practice of older people" was analyzed in detail by M.E. Elyutina [56, Elyutina M.E., pp. 101–109].

As a rule, the symbolic significance of a thing increases more when you move, the further is the distance or the sharper is the border separating relatives. One thing is to move within the region and the other is to immigrate to a distant country. Ethnic migrants in the towns of the Kola North noted that the things familiar to them in everyday life became more than just household items in a new ethnic environment. They reminded of homeland, past way of life, close people who came to their house, and many other things; that is how things became commemorative ones.

The way of adaptation depends on the type of space. In a rented apartment, the decisive factor is the unstable situation of the resident (the request to clear the dwelling can follow at any time). Moving to your own new apartment is accompanied by the desire to replace old things with new ones, to minimize the presence of old things in a new apartment. In the hostel, on the contrary, people take something valuable from the house there. Moving to a new apartment is often a reason to get rid of old and annoying things. For young respondents the following set is typical: "new life — new things".

Moving of representatives of ethnic cultures from the "alien" regions is a special case. The mandatory conditions for the successful social adaptation of ethnic migrants include the gradual transformation of the material and objective environment of life in a new place. In order to feel comfortable and able to lead a habitual way of life, migrants need a suitable object and household environment. Its creation is facilitated by imported "national" things (clothes, utensils): "I am pleased to drink tea not from different mugs, but from bowls. <...>. Cooking in a frying pan, for example, is not very convenient for me. It's good that we have cooking pots — both small and large "(10).

Utensils for cooking belong to the basic necessities, and its use in a new place can be considered as the element of household adaptation. As further to the south the region of departure is, the more important the climate differences are, the more exotic the North is: "I brought all sorts of dresses, sarafans from Tajikistan with me. I have a lot of beautiful summer things, but I think I won't be able to put them on here, bearing in mind what a short and cold summer is here"(11). The change of place of residence forced to give up the old habits in handling things. Some immigrants did not have a clear idea of the northern climate and got in by surprise. In autobiographical stories, the motive is very stable for the disparity between the items of

clothing and footwear taken to the northern conditions. Some things, habitual in the past, can not be used in the alien environment, they are used only on holidays. In addition, ethnic migrants often have to completely abandon their national dress. Some could not bring it by force of circumstances; others feel sorry for wearing, since the object is in one copy; someone is ashamed (usually young). Thus, national things can be transferred to the category of stored exhibits.

Summarizing, we emphasize that certain categories of things can act as a cultural and psychological "stabilizer", helping to get used to new conditions and overcome the gap with the former place and time of life.

### ***Conclusion***

The research has shown that any movement influences the semantics and functions of things. Any spatial movement can affect the status and purpose of an object, and conversely, changing the status or function of a thing results in a change in its location. During the move, the object environment of the family is reorganized and transformed completely or partially, which leads to accelerated re-identification of its individual elements and the change in the status of things.

At all stages of preparation and implementation of the move, the behavior varies in relation to things with different status. This applies to the criteria for their selection, and the process of transportation. The actions to "collect" and "select" things (categorization) are taken, related to getting rid of certain categories of things at the preparatory stage. Memorial family items are least subjected to any sorting; they are also liable to the most careful transportation.

In general, the study of the transfer of things, bearing in mind the variable circumstances of the relocation of family members, makes it possible to trace the semiosis and commemoration, to understand the mechanism of functioning of family material culture in different historical contexts and, above all, in the current conditions of the increasing territorial mobility of the population.

### ***The list of informants:***

1 — Female, born in 1978, native of Bobrov, the Voronezh region. She is currently living in Apatity, Murmansk region. She has the experience of moving within the region and the country.

2 — Female, born in 1966, native of Apatity, the Murmansk region. She has the experience of moving within the region.

3 — Female, born in 1982. The native of the Tver region. She is currently living in Apatity, the Murmansk region. Field materials from personal archive of I.A. Razumova.

4 — Female, born in 1983, native of Apatity, the Murmansk region. She has the experience of moving within the region.

5 — Female, born in 1957, native of the Krasnodar region. She is currently living in Apatity, Murmansk region.

6 — Female, born in 1981, native of Monchegorsk, the Murmansk region. She is currently living in Apatity, Murmansk region.

7 — Female, born in 1988, native of Apatity, the Murmansk region. She has the experience of moving within the Murmansk region.

8 — Female, born in 1958, native of Kirovsk, the Murmansk region. She has been living in Apatity since 1966. She has the experience of moving within Apatity, the Murmansk region.

9 — Female, born in 1968, native of Apatity, the Murmansk region. She has the experience of moving within the Murmansk region.

10 — Male born in 1977, native of Dushanbe (Tadjikistan). He has been living in Apatity since 2003.

11 — Female, born in 1982, native of Dushanbe (Tadjikistan). She has been living in Apatity since 2003.

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## The objectives and strategy of the spatial development (the case of the Solovetsky archipelago)



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**Abstract.** This article is devoted to the objectives and working-out of the strategy of the spatial development. The correlation of goals and strategies is shown, their role in the management of the territory is determined. Using the example of the Solovetsky Archipelago, the mechanism of conducting the SWOT analysis was reviewed, the system of strategic goals was analyzed, and

the model of the integrated spatial development strategy was presented. The methods of morphological and comparative analysis, synthesis, and modeling were used. The necessity of more complete correspondence of the mission, goals and strategy, as well as their correspondence to the factors of the internal and external environment of the development of the territory was identified. The importance of working out of comprehensive strategy of the territory aimed at its sustainable development is substantiated.

**Keywords:** *objectives, goals setting, strategy of the spatial development, strategic management, working out of the strategy, the Solovetsky archipelago*

The goal-setting and the working out of the development strategy are the key steps in the process of the strategic management of the territory. The correct approach, set goals and strategy establish the right direction of development, ensure the achievement of the necessary results, serve as the basis for planning, organization and control in the management of the territory.

The main difference between the concepts "goal" and "strategy" is that the goals determine the desired results of the development of the territory, whereas the strategy indicates the way of movement towards the goals. In this sense, we can say that the goal statement answers the question "What do we want to get?", and the strategy — "How to achieve this?" At the same time, the strategy is the most important tool for achieving goals.

As Fedulov D.V. notes, "at the present time there are various interpretations of the concept of "strategy", common for all of them is the approach of defining a strategy as a set of rules and postulates underlying in the base of the strategic decisions that determine the company's future" [1]. In our opinion, this approach is fully applicable to the strategy of the territory.

The strategy for the development of the territory is a long-term, qualitatively defined direction of the development of the territory, concerning its purpose and target points, which makes it possible to achieve the set goals. It can be said that the strategy is a key element in the process of strategic management of the territory.

To determine the strategy, it is necessary to conduct a thorough analysis of the factors of the internal and external environment of the development of the territory, to determine its competitive advantages, strengths and weaknesses, as well as opportunities and threats of the external environment. The most common method of such analysis is SWOT analysis. Indeed, in practice it is used most often in the framework of expert evaluation procedures.

Let us consider the implementation of goal-setting and strategy-defining processes using the the Solovetsky archipelago as the example. The Solovetsky archipelago is a unique object of spiritual, historical, cultural and natural heritage. The order of the Government of the Arkhangelsk region dated July 16, 2013, No. 310-rp, approved the Development Strategy of the Solovetsky Archipelago (hereinafter referred to as the Strategy), in which its mission was determined. According to this document, "the mission of the Solovetsky Archipelago in the modern world is that it ensures the revival, preservation and adequate perception of traditional values in the Russian and world society, serves the formation of a highly educated, morally-oriented, creative, socially responsible person. The heritage of Solovki in all its uniqueness and multicomponence helps the modern people to find the life guides and values of their ancestors — the people, characterized by a holistic worldview, high spiritual and moral qualities, immense creative potential, colossal viability, a high civil feeling and the ability to unite"<sup>1</sup>.

The mission reflects the global purpose of the territory, its special role in preserving the historical, natural and cultural heritage of Russia, shows the multidimensionality, integrity and uniqueness of the territory. In strategic management, the mission's value is that it serves as the basis for the goal-setting and strategy-making processes, facilitates the unification of the territory, the understanding of the unity of the territory's purpose by all entities, which ensures the development of consistent goals. The detailed analysis of the mission of the territory and its significance in the strategic management (using the Solovetsky archipelago as the example) is presented in the author's previous works, which state that " The mission of the territory should be determined at the junction of three parameters: the needs of the external environment in relation to the territory, the possibilities of the territory and the purposes of territorial development "[2, Tsvetkov A.Yu., pp. 52–58].

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<sup>1</sup> Strategija razvitiia Solovetskogo arhipelaga [Development Strategy of the Solovetsky Archipelago]. URL: [http://solovki-monastyr.ru/media/attachments/Project\\_strategy.pdf](http://solovki-monastyr.ru/media/attachments/Project_strategy.pdf) (accessed 14 February 2017). [In Russian]

During the SWOT analysis, within the frame of the Solovetsky Archipelago Development Strategy, the expert group assessed positive and negative factors, as well as opportunities and threats for development in the following areas<sup>2</sup>:

- 1) Aquatic bioresources (seaweed, fish).
- 2) Natural resources (forest).
- 3) Agriculture.
- 4) Demographics.
- 5) Air transport.
- 6) Power engineering.
- 7) Tourism.
- 8) Consumer market.
- 9) Health care.
- 10) Education.
- 11) Culture.
- 12) Science.
- 13) Ecology.
- 14) Finances.
- 15) The Russian Orthodox Church.

As we can see, the comprehensive analysis was carried out in key areas of the development of the territory, which made possible to formulate the goals and strategic objectives of the socio-economic development of the Solovetsky Archipelago.

The Strategy sets forth the overall goal: to "preserve the Solovetsky archipelago — the nationwide and global spiritual, cultural and natural heritage, the spiritual Orthodox center of Russia, ensuring the formation and perception of traditional values, with a developed hospitality created on the basis of modern infrastructure, ecological balance and respect of the population, pilgrims and tourists to the historical and cultural heritage".

To achieve this goal, it is necessary to implement subgoals in the following main areas:

1. The effective preservation of the spiritual, cultural and natural heritage of the Solovetsky Archipelago.
  - Creating favorable conditions for the Orthodox monachism and the growth of the Orthodox community.
  - The study, memorialization, popularization of the lives of Solovetsky monks and new martyrs for the Orthodox monachism and the growth of the Orthodox community.
  - The creation of an effective system of protection of cultural heritage sites.
  - The development of the traditional crafts.
  - The creation of favorable conditions for the development of a high culture of management and land use.
  - The creation of the effective system of the protection of the natural heritage.

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<sup>2</sup> Strategija razvitiia Solovetskogo arhipelaga [Development Strategy of the Solovetsky Archipelago]. URL: [http://solovki-monastyr.ru/media/attachments/Project\\_strategy.pdf](http://solovki-monastyr.ru/media/attachments/Project_strategy.pdf) (accessed 14 February 2017). [In Russian]

2. The use of the potential of the triune Solovetsky heritage for spiritual, moral and cultural influence on the Russian and world community.
  - The creation of favorable conditions for the effective organization of excursion services.
  - The development of the pilgrim–tourist infrastructure.
  - The formation of the educational system for the Solovetsky heritage.
  - The positioning of the Solovetsky Archipelago as the outstanding historical, cultural and natural complex at the federal level.
  - The involvement of the local population in the activities related to the preservation of the heritage and its careful use.
3. The creation of proper conditions for labor, life and social life of the population of the Solovetsky Archipelago.
  - To answer the population's need in modern housing and engineering infrastructure.
  - The development of the transport infrastructure.
  - The conformity of the material and technical base of the social sphere to the modern requirements.
  - The ensuring of the food and environmental safety.
  - To provide the population with protection from emergency situations and ensuring fire safety.
  - The creating of the "barrier-free" environment.
  - The assistance in the economic development of the Solovetsky Archipelago.
  - The effective use of the program-target method.

Thus, it can be noted that social goals, as well as economic and environmental goals are set as the priority targets. At the same time, special attention is paid to the spiritual and moral component, which fully corresponds to the specifics of the territory as a unique object of spiritual heritage, where the Solovetsky Monastery is operating.

The further specification of the strategic goals occurs in the process of development of the specific programs and projects for the development of certain vital areas of functioning of the territory. In our opinion, special attention should be given to the economic aspect of planning, improving the efficiency of development of financing, infrastructure projects aimed at the development of the transport accessibility, the quality of life of the local population and the tourist attraction of the Solovetsky Archipelago. At the same time, it is necessary to highlight the cultural and scientific components as the fundamental core of strategic transformations: complex scientific research in social, economic, ecological, cultural, historical and architectural and other spheres is required, taking into account the diversity and multidimensionality of the Solovetsky archipelago environment.

Thus, the optimal harmonious strategy for the development of the Solovetsky archipelago can be constructed at the junction of three basic parameters:

- social,
- economic,

- environmental.

To form the optimal strategy for the development of the territory, the method of the "strategic cube" can be proposed. This approach is presented in the scientific works of O.S. Vikhansky [3] and in this article was modified with reference to the management of territories.

OOT strategies:

A — economic;

B — social;

C — environmental;

D — environmental and economic;

E — social and economic;

F — social and environmental;

G — complex (sustainable development of the territory);

O — lack of the strategy.

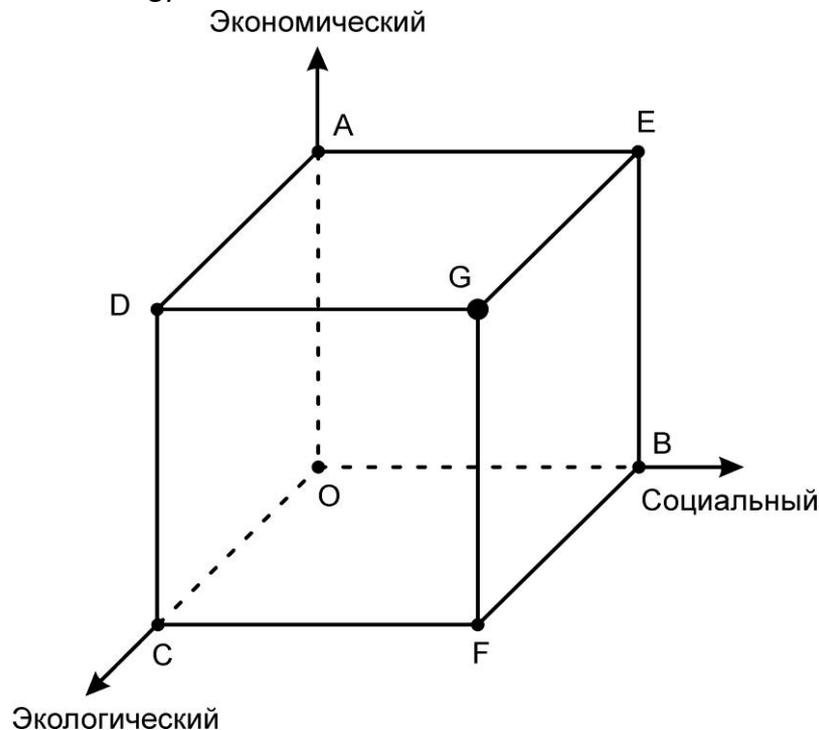


Figure 1. The "strategic cube" of the territory. It consists of environmental (OC), economic (OA), social (OB) axes

The integrated strategy of the territory (point G in Fig. 1) is aimed at sustainable (balanced, long-term) development of the territory, which ensures the increase in the efficiency of its activities through the achievement of the synergistic effect. The implementation of a comprehensive three-dimensional strategy represents the example of optimal strategic management of the territory.

The concretization of the strategy is expressed in the system of plans and programs for the development of the territory. For example, the list of organizational and legal measures for the

implementation of the Strategy is given in the Development Strategy of the Solovetsky Archipelago, the following items can be pointed out:

- 1) The inclusion of the port station "Solovki" (Onega port) in the register of ports open for foreign passenger ships, and the introduction of 72-hour visa-free regime for foreign citizens arriving to the archipelago on cruise ships and passenger ferries with tourist purposes.
- 2) The improvement of regulatory legal support in the sphere of trade within the framework of the implementation of the provisions of Federal Law No. 381-FZ dated December 28, 2009 "On the Basics of State Regulation of the Trade activities in the Russian Federation".
- 3) The assistance to the development of the off-store forms of trade (distance trading, vending machines).
- 4) The organization and holding of fairs, other trade events with the involvement of commodity producers of the Arkhangelsk region.
- 5) The conclusion of lease agreements for land plots occupied by the property complex of OJSC "Arkhangelsk Experimental Seaweed Factory".
- 6) To work out the problem of the technical modernization of karbasses for seaweed extraction, which are on the balance of OJSC "Arkhangelsk Experimental Seaweed Factory".
- 7) The Preventive work aimed at motivating the population towards healthy lifestyle.
- 8) The organization of the voluntary work aimed at escorting elderly citizens and invalids residing in the Solovetsky archipelago and in difficult life situation.
- 9) Making the status of a specially protected natural area
- 10) The organization of environmental monitoring of the environment of the Solovetsky Archipelago

The implementation of these activities is a priority task for the development strategy of the given territory.

Thus, when working out the strategy for the development of the territory, it is equally necessary to focus on the ecological, social and economic parameters of its activities. The implementation of the concept of sustainable development can ensure long-term integrated effective functioning of the territory, aimed at improving the quality of life of the population, attracting investment, getting income from tourism and recreational activities, forming a competitive infrastructure, and improving the image of the territory and the region as a whole.

Thus, the effectiveness of the strategic management of the territory as a whole is determined by the effectiveness of the processes of analyzing the factors of the internal and external environment, the goal-setting, the development and implementation of the strategy, which is expressed in the strategic planning system and ensures the coordination of the mission, objectives and development strategy of the territory.

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## THE SÁMI: SOME ASPECTS OF NORDIC RESEARCH

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### Introduction. From depictions of race to revitalizing a people: aspects of research on the Sámi in Finland and Norway<sup>1</sup>



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**Abstract.** In this special section of journal “Arctic and North” renowned and younger scholars from Finland and Norway take on the topic of research on the Sámi, from the era of “Lappology” to the era of “Sámi research”. The focus in the articles varies between research history, historiography and history of science. Thematically, the articles range from longer overviews of the historical evolution and transformation of “Lappology” in their national settings to more focused articles on individual scholars, as well as an article on Sámi historiography with a methodological approach. Two articles focus on the genesis of more culturally sensitive Sámi research.

**Keywords:** *Sami, Sami research, Lapps, lappology*

This special section of journal “Arctic and North” is based on the results of international workshop “Research on the Sámi over three centuries”, which was held at the Tromsø University Museum on 22<sup>nd</sup> of November 2014. It provides a novel perspective on Nordic scholarly production and discourses on the Sámi by casting a critical light on several actors and research institutions. There exists very little research on this topic that has an international take on the subject-matter. Transnational and cross-national studies have not yet been undertaken, but the articles published now provide a foundation *per se* to compare national ways of studying the Sámi. This genre calls for a cross-national study of scholarly networks and the way in which individual books and other research materials ‘travel’ across time and borders in citations, in their reception and in critiques [1, Dear P., p. 203; 2, Simon J., pp. 251–252].

In this special section, “Lappology” is used as a term referring to the multi-disciplinary body of research on Sámi culture and society written between the late nineteenth century and the 1950s, approximately, when an early transformation took place. Lately, the term has fallen into disfavour due to the outdated choice of ethnonym and the Sámi critique of the colonial

<sup>1</sup> Jukka Nyysönen wishes to thank Mr. Evgeny Shepelev for cooperation in editing this special section. Veli-Pekka Lehtola wishes to thank Centre for Sami Studies at the University of Tromsø — The Arctic University of Norway, for providing working facilities during his research leave in 2016–2017.

production of knowledge. We are conscious of its potentially pejorative connotations towards the object of study, but we use it as the title of a research genre that, in choosing the term, considered it neutral and unbiased, relying on the scholarly practices of the time (cf. “Eskimology”). In one sense, the politics behind the term is what most of the articles are implicitly dealing with and we do shed a critical light on the genre, its transformation and ultimate disappearance. The term has been substituted by the more ‘politically correct’ term “Sámi research”. Lappology has not yet been thoroughly studied and different kinds of studies are sometimes lumped into this category unjustifiably. In addition, it has been customary in research into Lappology to define the term as covering all of the Nordic research communities, but then to concentrate on national Lappologies [e.g. 3, Seurujärvi-Kari I., pp. 58–60].

As a sub-discipline, history of science is concerned with the social framework and the cultural and professional/academic factors that influence the way in which scholars explain their observations. Typical fields of interest have included (to name but a few) the genesis of new branches of scholarly enquiry; discerning national features in theorizing; and charting the resonance and interaction between science and popular ideologies in society, especially national, nationalistic and imperialistic projects. The interest, in other words, is in the interaction of science and the interest in society and politics. This discipline has evolved from an empirical, non-theory-advanced listing of scientific findings (‘facts’), or the narratives of a triumphal progress of discoveries, to a “sociological analysis” of institutional, social, cultural and societal-political conditions of doing science, or an approach typical of intellectual history/history of ideas: demonstrating an interest in the connection between theories articulated and their contemporary context. One starting point for this is that science, modern or otherwise, reflects the values (towards nature, the environment, other groups of people, etc.) of the societies in which they are practised. In order to comprehend these frames, one has to chart the social, cultural and political “surroundings” in which the scientific hypotheses were invented and formulated [4, Bowler P.J., pp. 11, 15, 17, 213, 228–235, 345; 5, Enebakk V., pp. 33 et passim; 6, Nordlund C., p. 25; 7, Rousseau G.S. and Porter R., pp. 1–2, 5; 8, Shapin S., p. 176; 9, Shapin S., passim].

This sociological approach to the history of science, with an interest in the soci(et)al in science, has been relinquished only very recently, at the turn of this century, in favour of historical approaches interested in the impact of science on society. In order to be historical, the direction of analysis should be in the implementation, the impact of science in historical settings, as one of the explanatory factors, especially in the field of politics, rather than focusing on the socio-political frames that influence the production of scientific knowledge. The ways in which scientific

knowledge has been encountered, managed and represented, attempts to build national identities with it, and reactions, reflections and responses to it, have become a central theme in the history of science. The focus has shifted to the ideas and results of science, to science as a set of concepts, practices, technologies, social and institutional relationships, values and ideologies embedded within society [1, p. 198; 10, Gouyon J.-B., pp. 37, 39; 11, Ryymin T., pp. 13–14 et passim; 12, Skålevåg S.A., pp. 265–266, 272, 283]. Sámi research offers numerous possibilities for this more recent approach — its level of implementation varies from state to state; from Norway, where studies of law are routinely and rather successfully referred to and applied in bargaining Sámi rights, to histories of near-non-implementation within the state of Finland. In both cases, Sámi research and its implementation have become a site of contestation. In this special section, nation-building is one of the aspects grasped, following this recent trend.

All the articles in this section share the starting-point, implicitly or explicitly, that research is to a great extent an exercise in the power of definition, both in constructing the “researching self” as well as the object of the scholarly activity, the Sámi. Research is a discursive practice: rather than strictly reflecting reality, science is entangled with social and political relations, and involves an ideological and discursive construction of the object of its enquiry. These relations can be traced historically and studied as context-specific to the research. Many articles in this section share an interest in studies on race, where this constructivist aspect of research is blatant and has had practical social consequences: research actively produces its subject, e.g. a racial difference between the majority and the Sámi. Knowledge produced consists not merely of facts, but also emergent property between and among differently-positioned individuals, including the researcher, which can be used discursively and analysed. Scientific discourse has produced many competing ‘truths’ about different races, for numerous purposes, to give politicized meanings to distinctions between different parts of the world, as well as classifying and distinguishing differences within colonial populations [13, Gunaratnam Y., pp. 7–9].

Concerning the researcher, both scientific and lay research hierarchized, positioned and defined the Sámi as the lowest, and the results were diffused back into society, producing pleasant subject positions for the members of society majorities. The withering away of race as an explanatory factor in Sámi studies after the Second World War was no less dependent of societal discourses, just as its implementation was in research before the Second World War. Only the article by Veli-Pekka Lehtola attempts to shed light on the whole dialectical cyclus of the circulation of knowledge, from its production to its dissemination and reception, but all the

articles deal with the aspect of research that involves addressing and finally problematizing the powers of definition which the researchers possess.

### *From “Lappology” to Sámi studies*

Exoticism attracted numerous researchers and authors to Lappmarken from early on, resulting in a body of writing on the wild and primitive Sámi, the powerful sorcerers of the north. *Lapponia* (1675) by Johannes Schefferus was the first monograph on the Sámi and is considered a scholarly work in its approach and quality. Based not only on ancient and repetitive medieval sources but also on reports by contemporaneous clergymen, Schefferus pioneered depictions of Sámi history, for instance. As the agricultural settlement of Lappmark regions increased during the eighteenth century, the expert gaze became more stringent in two senses: firstly agricultural, as southern peasant settlement was used as a contrast to the Sámi culture, the latter compared unfavorably with the former. Secondly, economic interests carried more weight as the states grew stronger [14, Lehtola V.-P., pp. 16–17].

The Lappologist K.B. Wiklund described the research interest in the following manner: During the eighteenth century, the early structuring factor for an interest in the knowledge of the Sámi on the part of officials and scholars was the introduction and presence of *Lapp-byer*<sup>2</sup> in various inland areas and island/coastal areas. This created the possibility of taxation, and establishing relations of power and Crown/State sovereignty. Knowledge about them was expanded in the eighteenth century by Peter Schnitler, who focused on pasture areas and described the organization of Sámi villages up to that time in great detail, as well as charting the tax lands (*skatteland*, or just *land*). The focus was on external factors, which defined what are now called *siida*, and which was juxtaposed with the “Territorio” of the kingdoms, within which the tax lands existed. The structuring term was *bye*, or *Lapp-bye* (“village” in old Swedish), originating from Swedish tax documents and the administrative needs of the officials. A knowledge of the spatial organization and whereabouts of the Sámi, important knowledge due to increasing competition concerning land and resources, was in high demand among Crown/State officials [15, Wiklund K.B., pp. 16–55].

The scientific level of this genre of research varied from ‘proper’ academic research to numerous amateur undertakings. Lappology was religiously and politically inspired. In the nineteenth-century Grand Duchy of Finland, for example, state officials were increasingly interested in the resources and productivity of the northern region. Simultaneously, numerous researchers with increasingly diversified disciplinary backgrounds entered the north, sharing

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<sup>2</sup> “Lapp villages”, later referred to more politically correctly as *siida* or “Sami villages”.

different kind of interests in knowledge as well. Ethnographers' interest, for example, focused initially on a comprehensive depiction and later on a synthesis of Sámi culture, while the gaze evolved in a social evolutionist direction, an ideology touched upon in many articles in this special section. As a result, the scholarly field became more diversified in its research interests and a genre of research, later defined as "Lappology", began to emerge [14, Lehtola V.-P., pp. 16–17].

When Professor Olavi Korhonen was studying Swedish scientific dictionaries at the beginning of this century, he noticed that in 1939, *lappologi* was known as a colloquial expression denoting research on "Lapp language, customs, etc." But Lappology was no longer included in the 1998 dictionary of scientific terms. "Is Lappology dead?" — asked Korhonen, and answered that as a term it is dead, because it is mostly understood negatively. Furthermore, Sámi cultural research has expanded so much that a single term is not enough to describe the whole field. "This does not mean, however, that the subject matter contained by 'Lappology', i.e. accumulating knowledge of the different areas of Sámi culture, has changed." [16, Korhonen O., p. 15]

According to *Svenska Akademiens ordbok*, the term *lappologi* in Swedish occurred in 1929, when Väinö Tanner used it in his study on the Skolt Sámi.<sup>3</sup> Here, Tanner used Lappology as a somewhat negative term: "By disregarding geographical aspects, Lappology has often led to excessive generalizations, mostly *in abstracto*, and significant issues have therefore remained on the borderlines of intuition." In Tanner's view, these included the stereotypical notion that nomads were the core and elite of Sámi culture, while coastal and forest Sámi were commonly considered degenerate descendants of their culture [17, Tanner V., p. 8]. In Norway, however, Kristian Nissen, a friend of Lapland, used the concept of Lappology as early as 1928. In the preface to J.K. Qvigstad's commemorative volume, he mentioned that Qvigstad's children did not adopt their father's "special interest, Lappology" [18, Nissen K., p. 11]. Nissen used a corresponding term in his letter to T.I. Itkonen in 1928.<sup>4</sup>

In fact the prehistory of the concept of Lappology dates at least a few decades further back in time. K.B. Wiklund used the word *lappolog* (a Lappo-logist) as early as 1909 in his book *Lapparnes sång och poesi*. He used it in inverted commas when he wrote a negative appraisal of Sámi priest Anders Fjellner's poetic work *Beaivvabártnit* (Sons of the Sun) and stated that even "a slightly adept Lappologist" could easily find countless errors in Fjellner's texts [19, Wiklund K.B., p. 54]. Sverker Sörlin and Lars-Gunnar Larsson have emphasized that K.B. Wiklund used the term to

<sup>3</sup> Svenska Akademiens ordbok 1939, see [http://www.saob.se/artikel/?seek=lappologi&pz=1#U\\_L225\\_71713](http://www.saob.se/artikel/?seek=lappologi&pz=1#U_L225_71713). Thanks to Håkan Rydving for this reference.

<sup>4</sup> In the introduction to J.K. Qvigstad's commemorative volume in 1928; see also K. Nissen to Itkonen, 2.1.1928. The Archive of T.I. Itkonen, National Archives of Finland.

denote pervasive Sámi research, covering Sámi history and language, as well as culture. In his appraisal of later researchers, Wiklund considered that Björn Collinder's concentration on just one field of study was one-sided, while he approved younger researchers such as Israel Ruong, Nils Erik Hansegård and Olavi Korhonen as "genuine" multi-disciplinary Lappologists [20, Sörlin S., pp. 96–97; 21, Larsson L.-G., pp. 33–55].

In a letter to Ernst Manker in 1933, Wiklund referred to Lappology as a certain kind of passion, even a scientific Lapland mania that carried him away: "when you have once been entranced by Lappology, you can no longer sit back and tinker with your — ultimately perhaps quite futile — scientific trifles, but on the contrary you have to deal with important social issues, whether we want to or not [...] where you really have to get to work with white knuckles" [22, Karlsson C., p. 29].

Nowadays, the term Lappology carries connotations of cultural imperialism and social evolutionist thinking, not to mention the burden of the more sinister advances in comparative physical anthropology. Amongst others, ethnographers, folklorists, historians and geographers all aimed to contribute to the nation-building processes of their time by means of their scholarly production [23, Mathisen S.R., pp. 104–105]. In synthesizing, descriptive and systematizing studies, the research material, and in some cases the research results as well, were created to suit the needs and world-views of the researcher. This happened at the cost of understanding the internal rationale of the Sámi societies [24, Sergejeva J., p. 181]. In general studies, the Sámi were often viewed as possessing a lower cultural value, less sophistication, and they were separated from the economic and political progress of society in general. In Norway, the scholarly gaze turned from being patronizingly positive to condescending and negative towards the Sámi from the 1870s onwards, with diffusionist and social evolutionist ideology used as a means of creating academic legitimacy; physical anthropology, undertaken by Halfdan Bryn and by Kristian and Alette Schreiner, amongst others, was used as a methodological approach in constructing a Norwegian identity and superiority [3, Seurujärvi-Kari I., pp. 58–60; 25, Pentikäinen J., pp. 9–10; 26, Eyþórsson E., pp. 27–41].

By comparison with the research on the Sámi carried out in Norway, Finnish Lappology exoticized and displayed an interest in philology and the Sámi adaptation to the harsh natural environment, but as shown by Kylli, Lehtola and Nyysönen, the Norwegians did not possess a monopoly on social evolutionist approaches. The Finnish critique of "Lappological" approaches emerged at approximately the same time as in Norway, during the 1950s. According to the critics, Lappologists had bypassed the real (as in, Sámi-defined) Sámi cultural spheres, or language

groups, as a focus of study, while the national borders had been allowed to limit the scope and classification of research material. Sámi opinions and perspectives had been marginalized: the demand that Sámi scholars should participate in research on Sámi culture had become commonplace by the 1970s, aiming to ensure that Sámi belief systems, attitudes, etc. would guide the analysis of Sámi culture. A more profound shift towards Sámi research took place only at the end of the twentieth century, though, when the Sámi themselves began to take research into their own hands, as Irja Seurujärvi-Kari has explained. Quite recently, as in this special section, Lappology in the broad sense of the word has evolved into a research object in its own right [3, Seurujärvi-Kari I., pp. 57–58; 24, pp. 181–182], constituting part of the process of efforts to understand the history and mind-set of majority societies.<sup>5</sup>

The transformation was tightly interwoven with the rise of ethnopolitical activity among the Sámi. One of the fields in which Sámi resistance and ethnopolitical advocacy became visible was in academia. Sámi issues have entered text books, curricula and teaching, the sites where aspects of power, in stressing and blocking knowledge systems, are evident. The partial victory that the Sámi movement can point to has resulted in research projects, work positions, new recruitment policies, new research themes and new ways to pursue research. This has changed the Nordic academia as well — three universities (Umeå, Oulu and Tromsø) each boast a centre devoted to Sámi studies; one university college has created a Sámi-speaking campus in Kautokeino; and less continuous research projects in the Nordic universities on Sámi matters are too numerous to be mentioned here. The break-through is far from total, however. The legitimacy of post-colonial and indigenized theories, epistemologies and aims of research, in particular, are continuously labelled as particularistic, biased and essentializing [27, Junka-Aikio L., *passim*; 28, McGovern S., pp. 20–22]. There are numerous agents uneasy with the idea of turning academia into a field of indigenous voice, advocacy and resistance, leaning partly on the old discourse of ‘objective’, non-political scholarly knowledge production. The marginalizing effect of this discourse on postcolonial theorizing and other advocacy-aiming approaches may, however, be criticized as being no less political, with regard to its silencing effect and the prioritization of ‘Western’ epistemologies and voices.

### ***This section***

University lecturer **Ritva Kylli** focuses on Anders Andelin, a relatively little-known Finnish priest who studied the Sámi in Finland and who worked in Finnish Lapland during the latter half of

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<sup>5</sup> According to Veli-Pekka Lehtola, the importance of studying Lappology lies in part of the process of understanding the history and mind-set of majority societies and European cultural history. Lehtola V.-P., *Sámi kultuvra dutkamuša hástalusat*, Kaltio 5 /2005. URL: <http://www.kaltio.fi/vanhat/index0699.html?762>.

the nineteenth century. Kylli describes how novel ideas of the time were reflected in the writings of Andelin, who was a contemporary of e.g. Charles Darwin (1809–1882). Finns regarded the Sámi as a lower, dark race, and priests and other officials wanted to document their culture because they considered the Sámi as a people heading inevitably towards extinction. The priest wanted to prevent the extinction of the Sámi by teaching them a civilized, Finnish way of life: according to another priest, E.W. Borg, the Sámi had the potential for development — as long as it happened under the watchful eye of fatherly Finnish officials. Andelin's writings of the time are also characterized by an attempt to portray the Sámi as stereotypical savages.

In knowledge production terms, the texts by the priests were treated as serious research, partly because of the absence of more 'serious' research. Already, these amateur texts were having a constitutive effect both on the research object, but also on the researcher. A priest was transformed into an agricultural counsellor, echoing the ecologically poorly-informed campaigns of agricultural civilization that were typical of that time. The dialectics of representation meant that each representation of the Sámi was always a self-representation of the (wished-for) ideal of the more capable and serious Finns. Kylli shows as well how the image of the Sámi was not produced in a vacuum, but was reliant on contemporaneous, even global discourses. What is also of interest is that as early as the nineteenth century, the research object, the Sámi, had the means and channels to express their condemnation of the images produced about them. Kylli also demonstrates how the reception of the scientific texts relies on the context in which they are read or heard.

The article by Professor **Veli-Pekka Lehtola** provides an in-depth overview of Finnish Lappological research on the Sámi during the 1920s and 1930s. The main focus is on the representations made of the Sámi in research and the circulation of this imagery in the Finnish public sphere. The main focus is on the Skolt Sámi, who aroused huge scholarly interest after the annexation of Petsamo to Finland in 1920. This era was permeated by the paradigm of racial difference and among the themes taken up in the article is the diffusion of racial ideas in the political, administrative and literary spheres. The circulation of knowledge was a process of simplification, vulgarization and transformation; it resulted in the most aggressive racialization of the Sámi, which also served the creation of the Finnish national identity. A critical look at Lappological research is undertaken, together with the multiplicity of this research. While some of this research had/has deservedly poor reputation, on some occasions this was to some extent unearned, as pointed out by Lehtola.

Unlike the other articles in the section, which study Lappology as a multi-disciplinary field, Professor **Lars Ivar Hansen** focuses on Sámi history and historical methods. The focus is also on

the politics of Sámi history and research. Hansen presents some principal results of recent studies on Sámi history, utilizing a relational approach. Hansen takes up the issue of who is 'allowed' to write Sámi history, and who gets to do research on the Sámi. Nowadays, the democratization and instrumentalization of Sámi research in the service of the various societal-cultural needs of the Sámi is the main current in Nordic research, with a high level of expectation concerning the applicability of the research or unveiling of ancient circumstances concerning Sámi rights to their territories. This concerns both the desire to have Sámi history written in general and the realization of more delimited efforts to present situated accounts of Sámi cultural practices, traditions and experiences in relation to others. Hansen presents methodological considerations and recommendations concerning Sámi history. Hansen's programme is demanding, requiring an arsenal of methodological competences and the in-depth usage of numerous source categories, i.e. the prerequisites of quality research.

Researcher **Jukka Nyysönen** studies the racial thinking of professor of geography and one of the outstanding "Lappologists" Väinö Tanner (1880–1948). His article concentrates on one work, Tanner's monograph on the Skolt Sámi, *Antropogeografiska studier inom Petsamo-området. 1 Skoltlapparna* (Human Geographical Studies in the Petsamo region. 1 The Skolt Lapps, 1929), which enjoys a reputation as a classic in the Lappological genre of research, due to its 'Sámi-friendly' stance. Tanner's chapter on the Skolt Sámi race and its viability has, however, mostly been bypassed in research prior to this, since the subject-matter does not suit the positive image that he enjoys. Why did Tanner pursue knowledge on Skolt Sámi race and what did he actually write in this lengthy chapter? Tanner is studied against the background of the racial and hygienic discourses of the era: what kind of image was produced and what kind of racial position did he reserve for the Skolt Sámi? Which were the influential and provoking discursive resources that he reproduced and wrote against? The article aims to contribute an understanding into how complex societal and biographical background factors can confuse the identity politics in a researcher's work. In addition to the inherent problems of the speculative race studies, more mundane issues, such as a lack of time for Tanner's text to be edited, also add up as factors in the blurring of the end result.

Until the 1950s, Sámi research was in most cases part of the programmatic national sciences, with the explicit aim of nation-building. The relationship between research and the nation-state, as well as that between nationalism, industrialism and imperialism, is sometimes presented as organic, where scientists saw themselves in the service of expanding empires. This image is true to some extent, and is an apt description of sections of the national sciences in Finland as well, but once again there is a greater variation to be found. Peter Bowler has stressed

that during the period when this connection was thought to be strongest, in the nineteenth century, the motives of the researchers entering academia varied tremendously: sometimes scholars were openly hostile to the imperialistic industrialism many wished they were meant to serve, or to the conquest of different parts of the (British) Empire [4, Bowler P.J., pp. 189, 202]. Tanner is a good example of a scholar who engaged in research from different angles than just the nationalistic, and who had to tone down the nationalism he found it unsuitable to advocate in his study. The motives of a scholar might originate from personal values and include moral motivations and agendas, connected both to nation-building and to a larger, personal world view [29, Jalava M., Kinnunen T. & Sulkunen I., p. 13].

Research fellow **Lena Ingilæ Landsem** examines how research into Sámi and Kven minorities during the period between 1979 and the mid-1980s at the University of Tromsø operated on a spectrum between science and politics. The national responsibility for undertaking research on Sámi and, later, Kven issues was placed on the University, which was established in 1972 with the purpose of becoming a research institution for the benefit of the region. Three factors which influenced the choice of themes, priorities and approaches to minority research in North Norway are discerned. Firstly, the period was marked by the case of the damming of the Alta-Kautokeino river in Finnmark County, followed by the Sámi struggle for their rights and political changes at a central level towards the Sámi population in Norway. What consequences did this political process have for research and for the academic environment in North Norway? The second factor is related to academic policies: scholars could benefit at that time from a minority-related research programme run by the Norwegian General Scientific Research Council (NAVF). Which arguments formed the basis for the research programme, which lasted for nine years? Which, according to scholars, were thought to be the relevant themes and focus areas within research on minorities? Thirdly, methodological and research political discussions concerning emic and etic research positions had begun in the 1980s, demonstrating different approaches to research into minorities. Was it the Sámi themselves, or also researchers belonging to the majority, who had the right to pursue research on the Sámi?

Extrapolating from Ingilæ Landsem's findings, it may be claimed that the Sámi research launched at the University of Tromsø was mostly research-politically conservative in the cautious stress on ethnic relations, which eased up on the discussed 'threat' of an ethnically exclusive, emic, from-within approach. It became possible for majority researchers, too, to pursue the relational approach, which became the dominant approach (see also the article by Hansen), since this included intra-state relations in its scope and widened the choice of actors to include majority

actors as well. Now even researchers of majority extraction were able to take an oppositional stance against state actors, a 'fashionable' position in the anti-imperialistic political climate of the 1970s and 1980s, as well as enjoying the moral superiority of subaltern research, which Sámi researchers could point to. The research ethos varies from country to country: historical research in Finland has remained more modest than the Norwegian, perhaps reflecting the perception of less colonial guilt on the Finnish side. Conversely, researchers reacting negatively to programmatic Sámi research are still more numerous on the Finnish side than in Norwegian academia. Here, an apologetic attitude is routinely taken in relation to the wrongs committed as a result of Norwegianization policies [30, Nyssönen J., p. 377].

Although Ingilæ Landsem concentrates on the internal discussions within North-Norwegian academia, her case is illustrative of the changing power relations under which Sámi societal and cultural research were undertaken. Knowledge streams were earlier thought to be one-directional, from the state/imperial centre/capital to (colonized) peripheries. It has been argued that knowledge production no longer originates from a single institutionalized site, or "knowledge base", which makes state or colonial power operational: the knowledge streams, or circulation of knowledge, alter the material culture, cultural patterns and identities, within host states as well [31, Ballantyne T., pp. 128–129 et passim; 32, Ballantyne T., pp. 231–238]. In the Norwegian case, perhaps lacking an imperial scale, but not the state-periphery and majority-indigenous minority structures, the demand for knowledge changed: now the Sámi societies demanded scholarly knowledge concerning how to cope with the Norwegian presence and build their own society, with matching rights.

There is no longer necessarily a sharp division between dominant and subaltern knowledge systems — in the Norwegian case, Sámi knowledge systems are now, at least to some extent, included in the research agendas, due to changes both in the surrounding society, a (generational) shift in academia and a paradigmatic shift concerning the place the prior object of the study possessed in research design. The change is not straightforward, though: both fields, those of the state/society and of academia, have become more fragmented and operate within a power relation that is no longer straightforward in terms of power or resistance. Rather, they involve varying forms of agencies, entanglement, interaction, indigenous appropriation, adaptive knowledge production, the creolization of local knowledge systems, and overlaps. From a methodological point of view, the charting of this relationship requires detailed textual and empirical work, as well as a highly contextualized and situated analysis of power, agency and

knowledge [28, McGovern S., pp. 14–19, 27].<sup>6</sup> We hope a step has been taken in that direction with this special section.

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## “The Lapps are used like camels in distant lands”: Sámi research in the northernmost parsonage of Finnish Lapland



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**Abstract.** Anders Andelin was a Finnish clergyman who engaged in Sámi research in the northernmost parsonage of Finland in the 1850s. His efforts were not exceptional, as the residents of 19th century European rural parsonages practiced a lot of research. Andelin himself was an amateur ethnographer, historian, archaeologist, meteorologist, geographer, natural scientist, linguist, and toponymist. He was, as a Sámi researcher, between old and new scientific traditions: The middle

of the nineteenth century has been regarded as a turning point in the history of academic research in Finland. Until then, researchers collected folklore, historical sources, plants, and meteorological observations. Around the 1850s the focus shifted from collecting and listing towards more analytical and experimental research. Andelin published his writings in scientific journals but also compiled a lot of detailed information related to the Sámi people, as the Sámi were thought to be a primitive people heading towards extinction. The clergymen who came to Lapland also viewed the Sámi lands through the lens of cultivation. They gathered statistics, which could be used to justify the need for the efforts of agriculture in Lapland.

**Keywords:** 1800s, Anders Andelin, Finnish Lapland, Sámi research, Sámi

### Introduction

In 1772, Finland's first newspaper, the *Tidningar Utgifne Af et Sällskap i Åbo*, published minister Anders Hellander's description of the Lapland village of Utsjoki (*Kort underrättelse om Utsjoki By i Torneå Lappmark, samt dess Inbyggares lefnadssätt, tillstånd, wilkor, m.m.*). Since the area being reported on was such a remote and unknown place, a decision had been made to publish Hellander's text unabridged. In the article, Hellander describes the nature and the sources of livelihood in Utsjoki (*Ohcejohka*), which was completely inhabited by the Sámi (or the Lapp) population.<sup>1</sup>

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Utsjoki (with approximately 300 Sámi inhabitants) was the northernmost region of Swedish Lapland, situated near northwestern Russia and next to Norway. Many Finnish pastors considered Utsjoki as an exceptionally troublesome parish because there were hardly any Finnish inhabitants in the whole area, except for the priest and a rural police chief. The parishioners were partly so-called mountain Sámi, practising reindeer herding, and partly fisher Sámi, who lived alongside the Teno River and supported themselves by fishing and raising cattle. The mountain Sámi lifestyle involved constant moving. The fisher Sámi families

<sup>1</sup>And. Hellander, Kort underrättelse om Utsjoki By i Torneå Lappmark. *Tidningar Utgifne Af et Sällskap i Åbo*, 19 March 1772.

could move twice a year, in Autumn and in Spring, which meant they had separate dwellings for winter and for summer. The Utsjoki mountain Sámi lived in mobile huts, while fisher Sámi built their dwellings mostly out of turf [1, Kylli R., pp. 20–49].

Anders Hellander, who moved to Lapland in the 1740s, was the first pastor of the parish of Utsjoki. His article was part of an effort to build knowledge of the peripheries of the kingdom of Sweden. Information on the northern lands was in demand in the 18<sup>th</sup> century because the Swedish realm needed new resources. It had recently lost Livonia, until then one of the kingdom's principal granaries, to Russia in the Treaty of Nystad in 1721 [2, Jutikkala E., p. 333]. Consequently, resources had to be allocated to the remaining territories and the development of agriculture in them. In censuses performed in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century the kingdom's population was found to be surprisingly low, and more efficient agricultural production was seen as a way of increasing the kingdom's population. In Finnish histories, this period is called the Age of Utility [3, Vainio-Korhonen K., pp. 15–16; 4, Niemelä J., passim].

The pursuit of utility and collecting and classifying new information was also evident in the 18<sup>th</sup> century publications of the *Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences*, founded in 1739. In the same year that Anders Hellander's text was published in Finland's first newspaper, the *Royal Academy of Science* published an issue with detailed information on the border area — including the area inhabited by Sámi people — between Sweden and Norway. The researchers in this issue were especially interested in finding out which areas of Lapland were fertile and suitable for new human settlements.<sup>2</sup> Carl von Linné (1707–1778), who became famous for the Linnéan classification system of plants — also made his famous expedition to Lapland in the 1730s. He observed the environment of Lapland also from the perspective of agriculture [5, Linnaeus, 97].

In 1749, the clergy of Swedish and Finnish Lapland was issued an official regulation concerning scientific and economic observations. They were ordered to make meteorological observations, prospect for ore, archive old records and documents, and draw up statistics concerning the population of Lapland.<sup>3</sup> The fact that the clergymen working in Lapland the 18<sup>th</sup> century were asked to pay attention to matters such as potential ore deposits shows that attempts were made to harness the clergy to serve the economic growth of the kingdom — in tune with the utilitarian ideology of the time.

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<sup>2</sup> Slutet om Land- och Fjäll-ryggarne, samt Gränsen imellan Sverige och Norrige. Kongl. Vetenskaps Academiens Handlingar för år 1772, Vol. XXXIII, <http://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/181815#page/7/mode/1up> (Accessed January 22, 2017).

<sup>3</sup> Direktionens över Lappmarkens ecklesiastikverk arkiv: Lappmarksbeskrivning av Johan Elers (Instruction 12 April 1749, 1262–1272). Riksarkivet (RA).

At the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Finland became part of the Russian Empire. If in the 18<sup>th</sup> century the writings of the clergymen mostly described the circumstances and conditions of life in Lapland, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century they started to focus also on the features and the habits of the Sámi. The Age of Utility, which had coloured the descriptions of Lapland written in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, was a thing of the past, and new ideas and ideologies encouraged the clergymen (at least partly) to regard the Sámi in a new light. One of the officials who studied the Sámi in 19<sup>th</sup> century Finland was Jacob Fellman, a pastor of Utsjoki in the 1820s, and an enthusiastic amateur scientist of various disciplines. Among other things, he studied the plants and insects of Lapland. Botany was not established as a field of study at the Imperial Alexander University of Finland (University of Helsinki, the only university in Finland) prior to the 1850s. Until that time, the study of the plants of Finland was in the hands of physicians and other amateur enthusiasts. In addition to botany, Fellman was interested in entomology, the study of insects. He corresponded with scientists in European universities about matters related to it. He was also a member of various natural science associations.<sup>4</sup>

In addition to insects and plants, Fellman was very interested in researching the Sámi. He wanted to document as much as he could of their culture because he considered the Sámi a people heading inevitably towards extinction. Fellman met many Sámi also on his travels outside Finland (the Sámi were living in the northern parts of Finland, Norway, Sweden and the Kola Peninsula of Russia), and he realised that the Sámi were a people divided across different lands and kingdoms. He understood that foreign influence had caused their language to diverge into regional dialects that were no longer understandable to each other. Fellman considered this the primary reason for the looming extinction of the Sámi:

*Dreary is the fate of the inhabitants of Lapland. What role has this people, at one time perhaps so numerous, played in the development of the human race remains secret to us. But we can be certain that those times are now in the past, and that the people will never regain any position of significance; instead, it has for a long time been in decline. Surely the moment that they will only live in our memories is not far, especially on the scale of historical eras [6, Fellman J., pp. 626–627].*

A contemporary of Jacob Fellman, Lars Levi Laestadius, born in 1800, had worked in northernmost Swedish Lapland (Karesuando parish) since 1826. Laestadius was also a keen botanist. He still listed and classified the plants of Lapland in the spirit of the 18<sup>th</sup> century:

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<sup>4</sup>Membership books of scientific societies. Fellman family collection 11. The National Library of Finland; Jacob Fellman's letters to C. G. Mannerheim. C. G. Mannerheim's letters Coll 141.4. The National Library of Finland.

Laestadius' plant collection was characterized by a Linnéan attempt to map out all information and organize it systematically. At a later stage, Laestadius also examined Sámi folk religion and tried to organize it into systematic mythologies. Laestadius — who since the late 1840s became known as the founder of a new Lutheran revival movement Laestadianism — saw plants as God's creations, but plant collection also brought some extra income to provide for his large family. Laestadius also made meteorological measurements in Lapland, which were paid moderately well too [7, Pentikäinen J. & Pulkkinen, R. pp. 41–51].

Clergymen such as Laestadius and Fellman became self-styled authorities on all questions related to the Sámi in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Sweden and Finland. Their expertise was in great demand within the church as well as among the secular decision-makers. The clergymen who were posted to Lapland represented a small group of men who had lived in the lands of the Sámi and wielded an important instrument of power: writing.<sup>5</sup> There were also some lesser-known officials, who nevertheless achieved expert status on Sámi issues while working in Lapland. This article focuses on a relatively little-known clergyman who studied the Sámi in Finnish Lapland: Anders Andelin, who worked as a pastor in Utsjoki during the latter half of the 19th century. I investigate how the traditions of earlier centuries — the utilitarian ideology, a high regard for agriculture, research duties assigned to the clergymen — as well as the novel ideas of the time were reflected in the work and especially in the writings of Andelin, a contemporary of English naturalist Charles Darwin (1809–1882), for example. One interesting question asks whether Andelin made any racial distinctions in his texts. As my source material I use Andelin's popular and scientific articles about the Sámi.

In the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, Lapland was still a remote hinterland separate from the rest of Finland. No roads led there, and the postal service reached the northernmost Lapland only seldom. The clergymen who worked in Lapland needed to make their work as prominent as possible; otherwise they ran the risk of simply being forgotten in the far north for the rest of their lives. Most of them hoped to spend just a couple of years in the far north among the Sámi and then be reassigned to a nicer post in southern Finland with their fellow Finns. In other words, the work experience earned in Lapland could be converted into a secure future in the warm and cosy parsonages of the south — a reward that made learning the Sámi language worthwhile, as well as getting to know their way of life by means of amateur ethnographic research, for example [1, passim].

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<sup>5</sup> The Sámi were, at one point, taught to write at a school in Utsjoki in the 1740s, but this was soon ended by order: 'In certain conjunctures in borderland settlements, and especially among general and simple public, it is not likely to be politically healthy or useful.' Utsjoki visitation protocol 14 February 1748 § 6. Turku Cathedral Chapter to Dir., 23 April 1748. Direktionens över Lappmarkens ecklesiastikverk arkiv, Ink. skriv. 1748. RA.

*Anders Andelin (1809–1882)*

Anders Andelin was born in Häme, a province in southern Finland, in 1809. Kustaa, the father of the family, was a village tailor. He died when Anders was still young. Although of limited means, the son managed to finish school: he studied theology in the Imperial Alexander University of Finland and graduated as a priest in 1835. After graduation Andelin was employed as the associate priest and a preacher in a village called Honkajoki in southwest Finland. He later worked as the minister for Utsjoki from 1853 to 1859 and, at the beginning of 1860, assumed the post of the minister in Paltamo (in the Kainuu region of Finland), where he worked until his death in 1882.<sup>6</sup>

Near the end of 1852, Anders Andelin applied for the post of pastor at Utsjoki. Until that point he had spent his life, 43 years, in the rural villages and towns of southern Finland. Compared to Honkajoki, the subarctic Utsjoki was another world. Practically all Utsjoki inhabitants spoke Sámi as their mother tongue, meaning Finnish clergymen did not find it easy to communicate with their flock without learning their language. Also the arrival to Lapland was often a shocking experience to the Finnish clergymen. One priest, who had moved to Lapland in 1837, had been so shocked by his first meetings with the local Sámi that he had to run away to the nearby forest for some time before braving the ‘filthy nests of the Lapps’ again [8, Castrén M., pp. 37–38]. The priest was in a state of culture shock, which often occurs when adapting to a new culture. The new situation causes stress, evoking longing for the old, more predictable, and more understandable environment. The more reluctant one is to adapt to the new situation, the more difficult the culture shock will be [9, Raiskio T., *passim*].

Andelin found many things troublesome in his new parish. He harboured no romantic missionary calling, as he was thinking of relocating to a more southern parish already during his first months in Utsjoki. He had probably applied for the post of the pastor in Utsjoki because his present post as an associate priest no longer felt satisfactory his age. In May 1817, the imperial senate had decided that clergymen would be granted a right of promotion to more attractive posts after a certain number of successful service years in Lapland. In order to earn the promotion, clergymen were required to spend eight years in Utsjoki. As he managed to secure a post in a southern parish earlier, Andelin did not spend the full eight years in Utsjoki. He suffered in Lapland from rheumatic pain, in the same way as Jacob Fellman and many other pastors of 19<sup>th</sup> century Utsjoki [1, *passim*].

In April 1854, Andelin married Jemina Kantinkoski, the daughter of a house-owning farmer born in Honkajoki. They had a total of eight children, three of whom were born in Utsjoki. During

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<sup>6</sup> Anders Andelin’s resume. Oulu Cathedral Chapter Archives Bb:1. National Archives (NA).

his time in Utsjoki, Andelin taught himself the languages of the Sámi and translated the key texts of Christianity into Sámi together with his language instructor, Sámi teacher Aslak Laiti (1836–1895). In addition to his linguistic efforts, Andelin actively studied Lapland and the Sámi. He wrote a number of articles about his observations, and also wrote an extended account of Utsjoki and its inhabitants, which has been used as a general source regarding 19<sup>th</sup> century Utsjoki. In his work as a minister, Andelin focused on developing the education of the common folk and promoting and advancing agriculture [1, passim].

Andelin wrote to many Finnish publications, including the oldest newspaper in northern Finland, the Finnish-language *Oulun Wiikko-Sanomia*, established in the city of Oulu in 1829. The newspaper was founded at the same time as the *Economic Society of the Province of Oulu*, the purpose of which was to promote agriculture in northern Finland. *Oulun Wiikko-Sanomia* also concentrated on Finnish agricultural education. The editors were also interested in publishing natural scientific articles, as they considered that this kind of information raised the level of public awareness. During the 1830s, *Oulun Wiikko-Sanomia* was practically a natural scientific publication [10, Tommila P., pp. 10–39].<sup>7</sup>

Andelin also published his texts in scientific research journals. The most notable of these was the published article in the *Suomi*-journal of the *Finnish Literature Society*. Society was founded in 1831 in order to promote the Finnish culture inspired by Finland's autonomous status in the empire of Russia. Some of the founders were also interested in the languages of ethnic minorities. *The Finnish Literature Society* published a lot of books aimed for example at the needs of schools in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but *Suomi: Tidskrift i fosterländska ämnen* was considered to be Finnish society's main scientific publication [11, Sulkunen I., pp. 17, 104]. Andelin's report on the Utsjoki parish was accepted for publication in this scientific series in 1858.

It was not always easy to carry out research in Lapland. Scholars of southernmost Sweden and Finland did not trust the level of science conducted in the isolated parsonages of Lapland. Laestadius was criticized, for example, for the fact that he did not have a decent library, which was why his research results became (at some point) rather one-sided [7, pp. 57–58]. There was a small library in the Utsjoki parsonage, but it provided mainly Christian, medical and linguistic knowledge.<sup>8</sup> Pastors usually brought their own libraries to Lapland. Andelin's predecessor, who died in Utsjoki in 1852, had owned (according to his estate inventory deed) for example the books called *Opetus kirja maanviljelemisestä* (instruction book on agriculture), the ethnographical

<sup>7</sup> No Sámi-language papers were published until the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. The *Nuorttanaste*, for example, a Christian magazine that gained popularity in Utsjoki, started operations in 1898.

<sup>8</sup> Inventory lists 1858–1950. Utsjoki parish archives IIIWI:1. NA.

*Anteckningar om Kemi Lappmark af Sjögren* (Notes on Kemi Lappmark of Sjögren) and the botanical *Botanologi och Skandinaviens Flora af Haartman*.<sup>9</sup> Andelin himself died, as mentioned, in 1882. His book property was not mentioned in detail on his estate inventory deed. He had, however, owned during his lifetime thermometers, barometer, maps and other essential tools for scientists.<sup>10</sup>

### *Lens of Cultivation*

Frederick Cooper [12, p. 164] mentions in his book *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History*, that during the conquering of the Americas, for example, the missions were much more than just sites of conversion: they were agricultural colonies as well. This was the case also in the parsonages of the Sámi area. The research conducted in Lapland was in many ways connected with this agricultural thinking.

The agricultural revolution (the intensification of agriculture effected by mechanised farming practices and the breeding of plants and animals) had started in England in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, while gardening had simultaneously become more popular in northern Europe. The new esteem of the tilling of land and the growing of crops gave rise to new ways of seeing the environment, which was articulated through a language of ‘cultivation’. This was also reflected in interactions with indigenous peoples. Europeans with seeds and farming tools colonised the native lands of indigenous people, and generally regarded the lands they had taken through the vocabularies of their native landscapes. The clergymen who came to Lapland also viewed the Sámi lands through the lens of cultivation — despite the fact that making crops grow in the frozen land was usually extremely difficult [13, Thrush C., pp. 1–35].

Also Lars Levi Laestadius, who studied Sámi in Swedish Lapland, was at first very interested in the promotion of agriculture in Lapland. In his first publication *Om möjligheten och fördelen af allmänna uppodlingar i Lappmarken* (About the possibility and the benefit of general cultivation in Lapland, 1824) he pondered how crops and people adapted to the harsh conditions of northern areas.<sup>11</sup> In this writing Laestadius had a quite positive attitude to the possibilities of cultivation in Swedish Lapland. His conclusions were based on statistics and tables — he had made observations and measurements (such as comparisons of soil temperatures in different areas) when visiting Lapland during one of his early scientific explorations [7, pp. 52–53].

<sup>9</sup> Fredrik Wilhelm Stjerncreutz’s estate inventory deed 1852. Lapland Judicial District, Court District of Muonio etc. parishes Ecl:2. NA.

<sup>10</sup> Anders Andelin’s estate inventory deed 1882. Kajaani Judicial District EclV:8. NA.

<sup>11</sup> Lars Levi Læstadius, *Om möjligheten och fördelen af allmänna uppodlingar i Lappmarken*. Stockholm 1824, <http://runeberg.org/omlappmark/0003.html> (Accessed January 22, 2017).

The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland had high hopes for Andelin's term as the minister. In his previous post in Honkajoki, Andelin had worked hard to advance the cause of agriculture, including leading a state campaign for the building of subsurface drains, for which he had been awarded imperial honours. Andelin's closest superior, Lapland's county dean Jacob Fredric Liljeblad (1809–1862), hoped the Sámi would embrace the Finnish ways of earning a living. He had great trust in Andelin's skills in promoting agriculture: In his words the person who had been appointed to the post in Utsjoki was 'a famous farmer from Honkajoki' [14, Raittila P., p. 114].

Andelin wasted no time. In addition to promoting agriculture, he worked hard to civilise the Sámi in all ways imaginable, emphasising the importance of cleanliness, abstinence from alcohol, and hard work. Andelin also considered it necessary to improve the state of cattle rearing in Lapland. According to one of his articles, the Sámi usually kept their cows in dark peat huts that resembled caves. Wintertime feeding was minimal, and summertime pastures were not much better. While travelling along the Teno River — the border river between Norway and Finland — Andelin also made observations of life in Finnmark, Northern Norway, as well. According to him, the inhabitants of Finnmark managed to be even worse in animal husbandry than the Sámi of Utsjoki. They did not, for example, remove the cow's manure from the shed using a shovel but with their bare hands, after which they would commence milking the cows while simultaneously ladling milk to their own mouths with their soiled hands. The fingers of the milker would become clean again during the milking, and milk was also handled by hand afterwards. Andelin believed the inhabitants of Finnmark had a desire to improve their lives, but like the Sámi of Finnish Lapland, tended to cling to the old ways very stubbornly, in effect blocking all efforts to civilise them.<sup>12</sup>

In the spring of 1856, the *Economic Society of the Province of Oulu* sent, at Andelin's request, 12 hoes and shovels to Utsjoki and Inari, a neighbouring Sámi parish of Utsjoki. The tools were to be distributed free of charge, as Andelin had suggested, to those who vowed to devote themselves to the cultivation of fields. The association also sent seeds of commonly cultivated crops to Utsjoki. To promote the cultivation of the potato, the association also tried to arrange for seed potatoes to be sent to Utsjoki over the next few years. The seeds were sown in the summer of 1856. The yield, however, was a disappointment, as some of the crops failed to germinate at all, and many died soon afterwards. Turnips sown after Midsummer started to grow, thanks to a period of rain, but so did weed, and the Sámi, unaccustomed to agricultural work, considered

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<sup>12</sup> A. A., Utsjoelta 19 p. kesäk. *Oulun Wiikko-Sanomia*, 7 August 1858.

clearing the turnip field of weed too tiresome a task. June frosts eventually laid to waste even the turnips.<sup>13</sup>

Andelin [15, p. 176] also wrote about the prospects of agriculture in his report on Utsjoki in 1858: He had tried, for example, to find fertile soil in Utsjoki. There were some islands, which — even though they were very stony — might have been used as fields. There were also some pieces of land alongside the Teno River, which might have been possible to use either as farm- or grasslands. The soil was, however, sand, but it was possible to make it cultivable with the help of clay and manure.

When people meet strangers from foreign cultures they usually try to define the ways the representatives of alien cultures are different from themselves. The more there are features that set the 'other' apart from the culture of the observer, the more difficult it becomes to fully comprehend and appreciate him or her. In this case, observers often fall back on stereotypes, which are one way of making the world around the observer less complicated and easier to understand [16, Löytty O., p. 11]. Stereotypical thinking, however, easily substitutes for fact and leads to the qualities and characteristics of the foreign culture being rejected and ridiculed [17, Berry J. et al. p. 299]. The nomadic way of life of the mountain Sámi, for example, was in total opposition to the values of Andelin and other Finnish clergymen. Their rejection of the traditional Sámi way of life often resulted in excesses when the clergymen wanted to change the lives of the Sámi community overnight into something completely different. One of the excesses was the attempt to make the Sámi give up reindeer herding, a source of livelihood very well suited to the arctic conditions, and to settle down as farmers.<sup>14</sup>

In Utsjoki some of the Sámi made their living, as mentioned, by fishing and cattle tending, while some herded reindeer, spending their summers on the coast of the Arctic Ocean and winters inland. By the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the mountain Sámi had become a great source of indignation to the clergymen of Utsjoki, since they did not know Finnish very well and therefore — according to the clergymen — remained ignorant of the teachings of Christianity. The mountain Sámi were also disapproved of by the church due to their carefree way of life. They suffered the fate of many other nomadic peoples: because they had no permanent dwellings or farmland they were considered uncivilised [1, p. 425].

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<sup>13</sup> Suwi (kesä) Utsjoen lapissa w. 1856. *Oulun Wiikko-Sanomia*, 11 October 1856.

<sup>14</sup> See e.g. Aslak Laiti, Nöyriä toiwotuksia Lapinmaalta! *Tapio*, 18 January 1862.

### *Settlers as Cultural Beings*

Andelin was, as mentioned, a correspondent of the *Oulun Wiikko-Sanomia*, a newspaper published in Oulu, a major town in Northern Finland roughly halfway between Utsjoki and the capital city Helsinki. He compiled his extended article about Utsjoki, which was published in its entirety in the *Suomi* ('Finland') periodical in 1858, partly from his write-ups published in the *Oulun Wiikko-Sanomia*.<sup>15</sup>

The year 1848 was the year of revolutions in Europe. The Hungarian Revolution of 1848 also affected conditions in Finland (which was part of the Russian Empire). Nicholas I, Emperor of Russia, marched to Hungary with his troops. Soon after, at the beginning of the 1850s, increased censorship measures were introduced in Finland, which included considerable restrictions on the articles that could be published by newspapers. No articles about religious or social matters were allowed; fiction and news were also out of question. Articles that promoted the benefits of agriculture, however, were highly recommended. After the Crimean War (1853–1856) the censorship measures were eased somewhat from the very strict policies of the early 1850s [10, pp. 52–68]. Censorship, however, did not restrict Andelin's writing in Utsjoki to any great extent, as writing about topical matters was impossible in any case from his remote outpost, which was connected to southern Finland only by means of slow and unreliable postal connections. He wrote in 1854: 'From here I cannot write about war or like matters, only about my own excursions and changes of weather.'<sup>16</sup>

Andelin was very productive and studied Lapland from different perspectives. He was an amateur ethnographer, historian, archaeologist<sup>17</sup>, meteorologist, geographer, natural scientist, linguist, and toponymist. He was interested in, among other things, the etymology of the name *Utsjoki*.<sup>18</sup> He also eagerly wanted to publish the results of his explorations for contemporary Finnish readers. Andelin's article about the parish of Utsjoki was, for example, 126 pages long.

Andelin enthusiastically took advantage of previous Sámi research, as he sometimes cited Norwegian publications in his writings about the Sámi. He also produced a considerable amount of original content. Andelin read, for example, the old documents of the Utsjoki parish archives. He made excursions to the areas near Utsjoki, and also recorded observations on his official journeys.

<sup>15</sup> Andelin's letter to the Finnish Literature Society 1858. Letter Collection 62vir. The Literary Archives of the Finnish Literature Society (Helsinki).

<sup>16</sup> A. A., Utsjoelta 16 p. elokuuta. *Oulun Wiikko-Sanomia*, 21 October 1854.

<sup>17</sup> Andelin worked as an amateur archaeologist also after leaving Lapland. He became interested in Sámi-based names (such as Akkovaara) in his new area of residence, Kainuu region, and he also made some archaeological excavations there. Henkilösarja osa 19: Antti Andelin (interview of docent Reijo Heikkinen 9.2.2012), <http://areena.yle.fi/1-1440781> (Accessed January 25, 2017).

<sup>18</sup> A. A., Utsjoen Lapinmaalta. *Oulun Wiikko-Sanomia*, 6 October 1855.

When meeting his Sámi parishioners, he could ask them, for example, to furnish him with local proverbs or information about traditional ways of healing. One might say that Andelin used interviewing as well as participant observation as his research methods. Andelin's work took him to many Sámi homes, opening a window through which he could observe the lives and the customs of the Sámi from up close. Having the Finnish official sitting in a Sámi dwelling did not, however, evoke natural behaviour in the inhabitants — a fact Andelin was very much aware of. The Sámi did not treat an official guest as they would an ordinary friend or relative.<sup>19</sup>

During his years in Utsjoki, Andelin collected his knowledge about the Sámi traditions into a book of children's stories and proverbs called *Mainac'ak ja Sädne-Vadjasak Ocjogast c'okkijuvvum*, written in Sámi. He had tried to collect children's stories already during his first year in Utsjoki, but because of his limited command of the language this initial effort was not successful. The Sámi, moreover, were not always willing to become a priest's informants. Eventually, however, Andelin managed to record at least a couple of children's stories.<sup>20</sup>

Anders Andelin was not the only one interested in studying the Sámi at the time. On the contrary: many Finnish officials, scientists, and explorers studied more or less everything related to the Sámi in Lapland. This was done, as mentioned, because the Sámi were thought to be a primitive people heading towards unavoidable extinction: the effort was taken to record information about their culture for future generations. The general consensus among Finns in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was that the Sámi had sealed their fate when they had decided not to follow with the times. It was thought that if a people went on living in the Stone Age while others advanced into the Iron Age, their only possible fate would be extinction [1, pp. 444]. Jacob Fellman [6, p. 233] had described the situation as follows:

*Here [in Inari] the habits, needs and ways of life of ordinary folk have remained almost unchanged since time immemorial, with the exception that the bow and arrow have been replaced by gun and gunpowder, and heathenism with Christianity; but in most matters they are as they were centuries ago. Ways and habits, however, tend to change in a lively environment. A good example of this were the Lapps of Utsjoki, who lived relatively close to Inari, and often spent time on the coast of the Arctic Ocean, from where they returned with many new ways and experiences. These develop into needs, which soon turn into habits.*

<sup>19</sup> Utsjoen Lapinmaalta. *Oulun Wiikko-Sanomia*, 18 August 1855; Utsjoen Lapinmaalta. *Oulun Wiikko-Sanomia*, 25 August 1855.

<sup>20</sup> A. A., Utsjoelta 1 päiw. marraskuuta. *Oulun Wiikko-Sanomia*, 2 December 1854; Andelinin utsjoenlappalainen satu- ja sananlaskukeräelmä. *Suomalais-ugrilaisen seuran aikakauskirja LIII*. Helsinki 1947.

Different Sámi populations were considered to be on different steps in the ladder of evolution. Some held the view that the fisher Sámi had previously been reindeer-herders. The fisher Sámi were thought to be relatively close to the next step, the pioneers and settlers, who were nevertheless considered to be one step above the fishers. In the framework of 19<sup>th</sup>-century thinking, the settlers were, in any case, believed to be considerably more cultural beings than the nomadic and ostensibly primitive Sámi [8, p. 39]. Those of the Sámi who became settlers were given awards for inhabiting new areas, digging drains, and cultivating new areas of land [1, pp. 428–429]. Agriculture was the noblest goal even in northernmost subarctic Europe.

### ***'Might is Right'***

The attitudes of Sámi researchers of Finland reflect the discussion on races that was underway in Europe. A Scottish doctor of medicine named Robert Knox [18, pp. 148–153] had in his *The Races of Men* (1850) classified the Sámi as one of the 'dark races' that were doomed and would inevitably face extinction:

*After some 4000 years of historic period, all we have is a chronology full of errors and falsehood; unintelligible, incomprehensible; we find the dark races still on the earth; of their ancient history absolutely nothing is known: nor does it matter in what region of the globe we first view them. They are confined to no particular zone, but spread as it were from pole to pole; from the arctic to the Antarctic circle: if the Laps be a dark race, then the dark races exist in Europe as a race; — By this kind of right, that is, power or might, we seized on North America, dispossessing the native races, to whom America naturally belonged; we drove them back into their primitive forests, slaughtering them piteously; our descendants, the United States men, drove us out by the same right, that is, might. — Look all over the globe; it is always the same; the dark races stand still, the fair progress. — The Saxon will not mingle with any dark race, nor will he allow him to hold an acre of land in the country occupied by him; this, at least, is the law of Anglo-Saxon America. The fate, then, of the Mexicans, Peruvians, and Chilians, is in no shape doubtful. Extinction of the race — sure extinction — it is not even denied.*

The price of the European's conquests was therefore extinction of the 'dark races' of the world. Whereas Sámi and other 'dark races' would have to make way, the Anglo-Saxons especially were considered a winning race.

The popularity of the notion of inherent differences between primitive and cultured people and the inevitable extinction of the former reached its peak after 1859 when the ideas of Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of the Species* were applied to the development of populations and peoples. Racist thinking relating to human populations, however, dates back to the 18<sup>th</sup> century,

when the classification systems of plants and animals developed in natural sciences were first applied to societies. Rauna Kuokkanen [19, pp. 240–264] writes in her article *Alkuperäiskansojen diskurssi ja dekolonisaatio* (Discourse and Decolonisation of Indigenous Peoples):

*Indigenous peoples have been studied — categorised, collected, classified, described, assessed — along with local flora and fauna. According to the Maori filmmaker Merata Mita, they have been placed under a microscope and studied like a scientist would examine an insect. Those who look through the microscope grant themselves the power to define. Research methods like this, along with the use of terminology coming originally from zoology, have been used to make the indigenous people appear less human, used to justify their subordination and exploitation. As indigenous peoples were not considered human but something more akin to animals, it was easier to think of them as a commodity that could be traded, sold into slavery or relocated at will as required by the colonial powers.*

Darwin's thinking influenced the sociologist-philosopher Herbert Spencer (1820–1903). Spencer formulated the notion of a 'struggle for existence', combining biological factors with the principle of free competition and opposing, for example, the granting of state subsidies to the poor because he considered the poor as an unadaptable surplus that humanity should be rid of. Nature only wanted the fittest to survive. Those of lesser value deserved to be destroyed in the great struggle for survival. The Europeans now found it relatively easy to justify their colonisation of, for example, Africa, as the indigenous peoples (representatives of 'dark races') would in any case be facing extinction at some point in the future [20, Taylor M., pp. 88–89].

In an ethnocentric move the Finnish clergymen also defined the Sámi as a primitive people, somewhere below the Finnish culture of the ministers in every way. From their point of view the Sámi lived incomprehensible lives in a barren, remote land far from the comforts of the world and the society of civilised people. Unlike more advanced people, such as the clergymen and those who were like them, they were not even thought to long for any higher standards of living. In writings coloured by the racial thinking of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Sámi were usually described in a very formulaic and stereotyping way [6, p. 10]. This was also the case with Andelin, whose way of writing about the Sámi was more simplistic than of any other priest who served in Utsjoki. In 1855 he wrote in this way:

*His [a Sámi's] countenance is melancholy, eyes small, cheekbones protruding; males generally thin and with long beards, which they cherish; wives hairy like men; fat, rosy-cheeked, lascivious and lusty. Towards any stranger the Lapp tends to be suspicious. He gives curt responses, usually only 'don't know', seemingly assuming that any question asked about him is made to cause*

*harm. When asked about a distance between places he will generally say he never measured the way. In domestic life he is peace-loving — ponderous and circumspect in his affairs, very skilled in riding up and down rapids, never lost in woods, never fatigued under burden — for which purpose the Lapps are used in Lapland like they use camels in distant lands. In other works and chores generally slow of uptake and neglectful.*<sup>21</sup>

Although Andelin appeared to have a very clear-cut attitude towards the Sámi in his writings, he also made close friends among them. Andelin probably regarded, for example, Sámi teacher Aslak Laiti, his language instructor, as more than a mere subhuman beast of burden. On the contrary, Andelin was so close to Laiti that he took him with his family to Paltamo in the early 1860s. However, Andelin's writings of the time are characterised by an attempt to portray the Sámi as stereotypical savages. Perhaps he had read similar black-and-white descriptions of the Sámi before coming to Lapland, and kept the same style in his own writings [1, p. 449].

In his extended article about Utsjoki Andelin described the Sámi in his typical style. According to him, several families had moved to Utsjoki from Finland and Finnmark over the centuries, and some children of Finnish officials had also remained in Utsjoki: the Sámi family of Högman, for example, were descendants of David Eric Högman, who had worked as a priest in Utsjoki sometime in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Families who had moved to the area had subsequently mixed with the Sámi, but, according to Andelin [15, pp. 199–201], traces of them could be seen in the appearance of the Utsjoki's inhabitants: 'The Lapp families of Utsjoki no longer look like the true Lapps — their shape is different. In some families, which have had less contact with Finnish folk, one can still see that the Lapps of old were short of stature and weak of the limb. Yet mixed with other folks they grow fully tall, and no longer have weakness in their limbs.' When making observations about the appearance of the Sámi, Andelin compared them against Finns — although he also remarked that some of the Sámi were more or less up to the standard.

Many presentations and writings about foreign cultures purposefully emphasise the unattractive characteristics of the 'other', often to highlight the more positive features of the writer's own culture. In this case the norm was Finnish culture, from which the Sámi constituted a disagreeable deviation. Apparently the Finns were in need of 'weaker brothers' because their own standing among the European people was not very strong to begin within the framework of the racial thinking of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. On the other hand, according to some 19<sup>th</sup>-century Finnish researchers, Sámi were *neither* brothers *nor* even half-brothers to Finnish people. They were 'hardly even cousins', as Finnish historian and nationalist author Zachris Topelius (1818–1898)

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<sup>21</sup> A. A., Utsjoen pitäjästä. *Oulun Wiikko-Sanomia*, 28 April 1855.

pointed out in his lecture in 1872. Topelius excluded Sámi from the people of Finland together with 'Gypsies', Jews, and other 'foreign' nationals [21, Isaksson P., pp. 180–202].

The Anglo-Saxons were busy conquering the entire world, and now the Finns also had their own tiny colony in Lapland. The Finns decided to regard the Sámi as a lower race — despite the fact that they were also considered a kindred people related to Finns. Being able to encounter the Sámi minority group as conquerors and force the distinctive features of their own hegemonic culture — namely agriculture and Christianity — on them boosted the self-esteem of the Finns. In newspaper articles, the primitive Sámi were pitied because of their impending extinction [22, Isaksson P., pp. 158–161].

In 1864, the *Anthropological Society of London* arranged a debate about the extinction of the so-called lower races. It was argued in the conference that the vanishing of the lower races was only a question of time. The Europeans were in the process of conquering their lands; rapid adoption of 'civilisation' would be the only chance of survival available to the 'dark races'.<sup>22</sup> Similar lines of thought also characterised life in the northernmost parish of Finnish Lapland. The clergymen wanted to prevent the extinction of the Sámi by teaching them the civilised, Finnish way of life. According to Anders Andelin's successor, E. W. Borg (who worked in Utsjoki in 1860–1867), the Sámi had potential for development — as long as it happened under the watchful eye of fatherly Finnish officials. He wrote: 'The Lapp people are still in their infancy, and therefore need a good upbringing. Let us therefore provide them with excellent and proper officials, as any good and understanding parent would arrange the best teachers for his children.'<sup>23</sup>

Andelin wrote that even if Sámi were short and dark-haired (and they sometimes had even thought to be related to the Jews), recent studies had showed they were in no doubt related to Finnish people. According to Andelin, the Finns and the Sámi belonged to 'one single nation', and even if Sámi were not quite equal with Finns, there was a chance to elevate Sámi to the Finnish level.<sup>24</sup> According to the prevailing ideology, the clergymen had, in a way, been assigned the right, even a duty, to control the lives of the Sámi. Like the imperial colonial masters of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Finnish clergymen assumed the 'white man's burden' [1, p. 448].

The critical attitudes of the clergymen towards the Sámi, as reflected in the pages of newspapers and more scientific publications, do not, however, tell the whole truth about their interaction. The published writings are like skeletons, having had the diversity of their mutual

<sup>22</sup> January 19th, 1864. James Hunt, Esq, President, in the Chair. *Journal of the Anthropological Society of London*, Volume 2 1864.

<sup>23</sup> E. W. B., Kuinka Lapissa eletään. *Suometar*, 10 August 1860.

<sup>24</sup> A.A, Lappalaisten alkuperä. *Suometar*, 8 May 1857.

relations stripped away. Although the role of the simplistic notions communicated by the clergymen should not be exaggerated, the clergymen who worked among the Sámi were nevertheless considered experts in all matters related to them. People of southern Finland trusted their expertise, and in the minds of the Finns the stories of the clergymen could produce very black-and-white impressions of the Sámi.

This becomes especially evident in a newspaper article from the early 1880s about certain skulls of deceased Sámi that had been retrieved from a cemetery in Inari in 1878 for research purposes. The Sámi population of Inari had expressed their disapproval of the fact that their ancestors were not allowed to rest in peace but had their skulls exhumed and removed to distant lands instead.<sup>25</sup> One reader writing to the newspaper *Uusi Suometar* found the grief of the Sámi amusing:

*After reading the article 'Lapp-skulls and the Inari Cemetery' in today's Uusi Suometar I felt both gratification and grief — gratification for the fact that it is delightful to see even the miserable Lapps consider the graves of their ancestors holy; grief because it is so disagreeable to be reminded of this exhumation of dead bodies, in which more than one hundred graves were opened.*<sup>26</sup>

Stereotypical descriptions of the Sámi had probably played a part in building the conception among the 19<sup>th</sup> century Finns, that the primitive Sámi would not be able to even respect their dead. Perhaps the readers would have assumed that — regardless of all the changes taking place around them — the Sámi should have wandered off to the fell with their reindeer, happy and ignorant, leaving lofty thinking to more advanced races. This notion is a far cry from the curious, informed, and up-to-date Sámi the clergymen met during their years in Lapland in the 19<sup>th</sup> century [1, p. 453].

### ***Conclusions: research in the Sámi area parsonage***

Anders Andelin engaged his Sámi research in the Northernmost parsonage of Finland in 1850s. His efforts were not so exceptional, since residents of 19th century European rural parsonages practiced a lot of science. Even Charles Darwin — who suggested in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, that 'headless hermaphrodite molluscs were the ancestors of mankind' — had studied for a while to become an Anglican country parson in the 1820s. Darwin was in this situation under pressure from his father, but he had even for his own part considered to becoming a pastor. Adrian Desmond and James Moore [23, pp. 47–48] write that in a quiet rural parish, Darwin could have

<sup>25</sup> Kirjeitä Pohjan puolelta. *Pohjois-Suomi*, 21 July 1880.

<sup>26</sup> Eräs lukioistanne, Uuden Suometaren Toimitukselle. *Uusi Suometar*, 11 January 1881.

devoted 'himself to the tiniest members of creation'. There were similar examples in Finland: Elias Lönnrot (1802–1884) became known as an important developer of written Finnish language and the compiler of the Finnish national epic *Kalevala*. Before Lönnrot was appointed professor of Finnish language in the Imperial Alexander University in 1854 he worked for many years as a physician in Northern Finland. In that position, he thought he did not have enough time to follow his scientific pursuits, which was why he planned to apply for a pastor position within the peaceful Sámi parish of Utsjoki in the 1840s [24, Majamaa R., pp. 394–400].

The middle of the nineteenth century has been regarded as a turning point in history within the Finnish academic research. Up to that point, researchers collected folklore, historical sources, plants, and meteorological observations. Published works were often encyclopaedias of Finland's insects, mineral resources etc. Around the 1850s the focus shifted from collecting and listing towards more analytical and experimental research. The establishment of scientific associations and the establishment of new scientific publications made it possible to conduct science on an entirely new level. The 1840s became a crucial decade for Finnish scholars and scientific publications. *The Finnish Literature Society* as well as the *Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters* (Suomen tiedeseura, founded in 1838) started publishing their scientific journals during that decade. *Suomi*-journal — which was meant for the researchers of human sciences — was published for the first time in 1841 [25, Tommila P. & Tiitta A., pp. 274–306, 420].

Data collection was still needed, however, and research work was not limited to the university or scientific associations operating in Helsinki. Amateur scientists were also still able to publish the results of their research in the second half of the 19th century in scientific journals. Anders Andelin was, as a Sámi researcher, between the old and new scientific traditions. He published his writing in a scientific journal and, in keeping with the older tradition, also compiled a lot of detailed information relating to the Sámi people. Andelin gathered statistics, which could be used to justify the need for efforts at agriculture in Lapland. Altogether, the research results gave the Finnish authorities possibilities to use power against ethnic minorities. According to the texts of Andelin, the Sámi were sometimes compared even with animals. The Sámi of Utsjoki were not given a lot of opportunities to correct these views, even when many of them started to obtain writing skills during the late 19th century [1, p. 415].

After moving to Paltamo, Andelin started to regard Lapland from a new, Southern perspective. This became apparent when the village of Outakoski (in the western part of Utsjoki by the Teno River) was causing problems to the Finnish officials during the late 1800s: the village seemed to be plagued by excessive drinking and rowdy behaviour. In order to be able to address

the problem the authorities asked the pastors who had earlier served in Utsjoki as to what should be done to pacify the troublemakers. Andelin commented he had good memories of the Christian character of the inhabitants of Outakoski village — in other words a turn for the worse must have happened after he had left Utsjoki. Andelin seemed to have assumed a gentler, although still stereotypical, attitude towards the Sámi — at least compared to the remarks he had made during his time in Utsjoki. He now said the Sámi loved the authorities and were obedient towards officials as long as they were treated kindly. But should they be treated severely and with anger, they might very well run away to the fell or to the Norwegian side of the border [1, p. 320–324].

Andelin's memories of the Sámi had probably grown sweeter with time, or his attitudes had never been as extreme as they sometimes seemed to be judging from his articles published in the 1850s. The overall tone of the newspaper articles he published in his old age had also changed. Writing in the Oulu-based newspaper *Kaiku* in the 1870s, Andelin defended the inhabitants of Outakoski and blamed Finnish officials and their indifference for the situation. He advised the officials: '...he who goes there [to Utsjoki] must give up in his mind the Finnish ways'. Of the Sámi, Andelin now painted an honest and hard-working picture. He even expounded more or less acceptable reasons for the reindeer thievery practised by some Outakoski inhabitants, finding the rural police chief of Utsjoki and other officials at least partly to blame.<sup>27</sup>

In Utsjoki, Andelin's article was read with disbelief. According to a response, also published in the newspaper, one of the Sámi living in Outakoski had, while reading Andelin's article, cried out: 'What nonsense has that [\*deleted\*] now started writing?' The author of the reply wondered why Andelin had not stayed longer in Utsjoki where he would have had more to say in the affairs of the Sámi area, if he was so keen to criticise his successors and the authorities now.<sup>28</sup>

The tone of Andelin's writings changed when he no longer had to sleep in peat huts or wade in knee-deep in snow, or eat the bark gruel offered to him by his Sámi flock [1, passim]. Andelin's attitudes towards the Sámi had reflected the European racial debates of the 19<sup>th</sup> century — but, even more, his own situation in life. The ethnographic articles that Andelin wrote in Utsjoki might have reflected his frustration with his outback post. Andelin was appointed as the priest of Utsjoki at a relatively advanced age. He came to the Sámi area with the attitude of leaving it all behind him after the sentence of eight years had passed, and even his spouse was not originally from Lapland; adaptation to the new life among the Sámi therefore was not easy. With ill health

<sup>27</sup> s – n, Utsjoen Lapista. *Kaiku*, 18 December 1878.

<sup>28</sup> J., Utsjoen Lapista. *Kaiku*, 12 April 1879.

caused by the cold climate and life otherwise being difficult, bringing out the best sides of the Sámi in his published writings might have been beyond him.

Andelin's thinking had strong roots in Finnish culture: Compared to the Finns, Andelin considered Sámi a less developed, primitive people. He tended to assume a condescending, often critical stance towards them in his writings, sometimes even describing them as filthy, lascivious, and bibulous. He believed, however, in their potential for development, and never doubted their desire to improve their lives. This is what lies at the root of Andelin's attempts to bring the Sámi up to the level of the Finns. In Andelin's thinking, the civilised Finns had a duty to go among the Sámi to allow them to partake of something better and higher, in other words, of a more Finnish way of life [26, Kylli R., passim].

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## Vanishing Lapps, progress in action. Finnish lappology and representations of the Sámi in publicity in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>1</sup>



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**Abstract.** The article examines how the representations of the Sámi were constructed in Finnish studies on Sámi in 1920 and 1930s. The role of racial studies in the Finnish lappology remained a short-period influence, while the dominant scientific field of interest, the Finno-Ugric research, had its own hierarchies concerning the Sámi, implied in the multi-disciplinary field from linguistics to folkloristics and ethnology. This branch was challenged by the

human anthropological or cultural geographical position, emphasizing the cultural adaptation to the environment as the guiding force formulating Sámi societies. Besides purely scientific knowledge, the article studies the extensive field of other Sámi descriptions, which spanned from travel guides to newspaper articles. It suggests that this mixture of scientific and political interests together with stereotypical representations of the Sámi forms the context for the poor reputation of lappology among the later researchers.

**Keywords:** *Finnish lappology, Finno-Ugric research, human anthropology, representations of the Sámi*

Lappology (early research on Sámi carried out by outsiders) has often been discredited by current Sámi research. According to the encyclopaedia on Sámi (2005) published in Finland, lappology “was vitiated by numerous scientific and social prejudices, such as a search for the exotic, a Romantic concept of man, social Darwinism, and so on”. [1, Pulkkinen R., p. 189] The Norwegian researcher Stein R. Mathisen points out that lappology was originally a neutral concept but which now carries implications of research controlled by the ruling class, social Darwinism, physical anthropology and the politics of assimilation. [2, Mathisen S.R., pp. 104–105]

The image of Sámi that was created by lappological research has been criticised, with reference to Edward Said, as a northern version of orientalism [3, Hirvonen V, pp. 33–34]. Lappology is considered an opposite to modern Sámi studies [4, Seurujärvi-Kari I., p. 356], the development of which has been described even as an apparent paradigm change [5, Pääkkönen E., p. 106]. In contrast with these arguments, historian of science Pekka Isaksson concludes in his dissertation [6, Isaksson P., p. 325] that the views of Finnish racial researchers at the beginning of the 20th century cannot be regarded outright racist. Isaksson claims that their views did reveal ethnocentric and stereotyping attitudes towards Sámi people but no racist accentuations. Some philologists, on the other hand, have stated that Sámi linguistics has not undergone any revolutionary developments. [Researcher Ante Aikio, personal communication.]

<sup>1</sup> Translated to English by Jouko Salo.

These divergent and partly contradictory views on lappology reflect the fact that the history of Sámi research in Finland has not been analysed in any great depth. Apart from linguistics, which is covered well in terms of research history [7, Sammallahti P.], and some basic articles on Sámi research history in Finland [8, Müller-Wille L.], discussions on the development of research on Sámi have largely been based on assumptions and, I would argue, even prejudices about the nature of lappology. Based on those assumptions, the shift from the "era of lappologists" to modern Sámi studies has been considered a dramatic change.

In his article on the researcher profile of the Norwegian J.K. Qvigstad, professor Lars-Ivar Hansen formulates a fruitful model for examining lappological research. He examines the issue from three perspectives, that is, those of science, minority politics and cultural conceptions. According to Hansen, Qvigstad's merits as a representative of the empirical lappological research tradition are quite indisputable, whereas his cultural views are clearly tied to their time. Hansen regards Qvigstad's minority political influence the most problematic: as an expert on Sámi issues, he influenced decisions about Sámi politics, based on cultural conceptions that had clear connections with colonialist power [9].

Thus, Hansen's model connects the work of lappologists with the general scientific frameworks (paradigms) and with the effects that research and views regarding Sámi had on practical Sámi politics and representations. This setup makes research and texts an intricate part of the relationships between Sámi people and majority populations in a time when there was a demand for expertise and knowledge about Sámi in the colonialist government. Although J.K. Qvigstad, in the same vein as his Finnish colleague T.I. Itkonen, for instance, wished to regard research as "pure science" that had nothing to do with politics or colonialism, their findings reflected the needs of outsiders and were welcomed by decision-makers as well as the general public in colonial situation [10, Rautio Helander, p. 121].

Recent studies have shown that the expert role (*experternas roll*) that lappologists gained was contradictory: Qvigstad, for example, benefited from Norwegianisation in that it offered him a position in which he was able to pursue his academic ambitions and his interest in Sámi culture; however, at the same time it made him a part of the politics of assimilation that was harmful to Sámi people. There are hints that he sometimes pondered his contradictory role but he was also convinced to do invaluable work when documenting the "last traces of a vanishing people" [11, Lehtola V.-P., pp. 47–49].

This mixture of scientific and political interests with the representations of the Sámi in general seems to form the context also for the poor reputation of lappology among the later

researchers. In my article, I examine how the representations of the Sámi were constructed in Finnish studies on Sámi in 1920 and 1930s, and how accurate the concept of lappology seems to be to evaluate them. Besides purely scientific knowledge, I have studied the extensive field of other Sámi descriptions, too, which spanned from travel guides to newspaper articles and which also seem to be reflected in the critical lappology comments I quoted at the beginning.

In addition to scientific descriptions and media representations, my interest focuses on the views of civil servants working in Lapland; they were in a significant position in the administration of Sámi and wielded background influence in decisions concerning Sámi. Consequently, “knowledge” on Sámi emerges as a focus in my article: what kind of information sources were available on Lapland and Sámi, and what starting points was new knowledge produced from? My purpose all along is to outline the vague “lappology” term more accurately.

### ***Multifaceted Lapland research***

The period from the 1910s to the 1930s seems to signify the golden age of “classical lappology” in Finland, because many subsequently renowned researchers of Sámi culture established their career during that period. At the turn of the century, the leading Finnish lappologists were the linguist Frans Äimä and the geographer J. E. Rosberg, who published the first modern monograph on the Sámi in Finland, *Lappi (Lapland)* in 1911. Also T. I. Itkonen, Väinö Tanner and Samuli Paulaharju started their research before the independence of Finland in 1917. In the Tartu peace treaty in 1920, the Pechenga region was annexed to Finland, and Finland acquired a new Sámi group, Skolt Sámi. Because of the closing of the Russian border by Soviet Union, the Finno-Ugric researchers had to turn their field trips to the north instead of the east, which had been very important direction this far [12, Vahtola J.].

Applying the division of Ludger Müller-Wille, it’s possible to perceive three perspectives in cultural studies concerning the Sámi in the 1920s and 1930s: Fenno-Ugric research, the human geographical approach and the racial studies. [8, Müller-Wille L.] The dominant scientific field of interest for the Sámi in Finland was the Finno-Ugric research, characterized by multi-disciplinary perspectives from linguistics to folkloristics and ethnology. Itkonen, for example, started his research on the Skolt Sámi and tradition already in his student years in the 1910s and by the 1920s he had become one of the leading Sámi scholars. Apart from linguistics, he was educated in ethnology and he also made studies in folklore, religious science and history.

Following the ideals of Finno-Ugric research, Itkonen accumulated extensive collections in material culture as well as in tradition and language samples in order to construct an overall picture of Sámi culture. In addition to the desire of Finno-Ugric researchers to preserve

information of vanishing cultures, Itkonen was convinced that the sufficiently large material would reveal the “true nature” of the primeval Finno-Ugric mentality and society. Similarly to Qvigstad in Norway and K. B. Wiklund in Sweden, Itkonen wrote numerous studies on the material and spiritual culture of Sámi for various scientific publications, crossing the boundaries of disciplines such as linguistics, folkloristics, ethnology, and even history. The wide output of articles constituted the foundation that Itkonen’s later magnum opus, *Suomen lappalaiset I–II* (Finland’s Lapps) (1948), was based on. [See 13, Itkonen T.]

Samuli Paulaharju, on the other hand, was not an academic researcher although he has also been known as a “lappologist”. In his ten quintessential works on Lapland and Finnmark in 1919–1939, which were very personal and stylised, as well as illustrated works, he guided the readers into the northern world on the levels of knowledge as well as emotion. Only two of his books actually focused on Sámi, because he considered Lapland’s history as an intermingling and overlapping of Sámi and Finns, as borderland culture, which was characterised by many special features in tradition, livelihoods as well as languages [14, Paasilinna E., pp. 299–300].

The strong branch of Finno-Ugric studies was challenged by the human anthropological or cultural geographical position, which already professor Rosberg represented with his “anthropogeographic perspective”. His followers geographers Väinö Tanner and Karl Nickul came into contact with Sámi as cartographers of Pechenga or “Finnish colony” and thus “mapped” the ethnic, demographic and cultural circumstances. In 1927, Tanner published a study of how to benefit from the economic possibilities of Pechenga. He accepted Finnish colonisation in the region, but wanted to divide the Finnish and Skolt Sámi livelihoods with a border similar to Swedish *odlingsgräns*. However, Tanner’s position was that the development had to be based on the local population and its livelihoods. In his human anthropological or cultural geographical study on Skolts in 1929, he emphasised that a traditional Skolt society, despite of its “unorganised” nature, was best-equipped in its adaptation to the environment. It was also multi-layered, because the existence of the *siida* was essentially connected with nature and land use. [For Väinö Tanner, see 15, Massa I.; 16, Susiluoto P.; 17, Nyysönen J.]

Also Nickul came to the north as a representative of the Finnish state, as geodesist, who became acquainted with Skolts and their culture during his land surveys. Like Tanner, he wanted to make Finns aware of the special nature of the Skolt culture and strongly contributed to public debate. Nickul’s scientific interest in Sámi culture started from Skolt place names and he also started to collect material on the *siida* system and its land use. Similarly to Tanner, he wanted to study the historical and local variations of Sámi culture as well as the different ways to actively

adapt to the environment. Geographers introduced an interesting viewpoint of environmental history into Sámi studies beside the mainstream ethnological research [18, Lehtola V.-P.].

Contrary to other Scandinavian countries, racial theories were not largely implemented in Finland until 1910s, because in European theories Finns themselves were generally counted among the undeveloped Mongolian race [19, Kemiläinen A., p. 136]. Partly the tendency of the Swedish-speaking intelligentsia to emphasize their Germanic roots started to provoke Finnish researchers to initialize a project of racial studies in 1910. However, it was the independence of Finland in 1917, intensifying Finnish national rhetoric and anti-Russian sentiment, even a downright Russophobia, which enhanced the desire to dissociate from the eastern or Mongolian roots in 1920s and 1930s [6, Isaksson P., pp. 189–198, 269–272].

Yrjö Kajava's extensive research project on the racial properties of the Finnish population in the 1920s and 1930s was largest survey of the time, including also Finnish tribes, as well as criminals, because of their interesting racial traits. A total of 37 percent of Finnish Sámi were measured between 1926 and 1934, 795 persons altogether. Research groups traveling with technical equipment caused various negative sentiments in Sámi territory. "Sometimes it turned out that a whole village population went into hiding when they heard the researchers were coming", lamented Näätänen. Special discontent among the Sámi caused a Finnish anthropological expedition in 1934, which exhumed 70 skeletons on the old Inari cemetery island, to be benefitted in scientific studies in the anatomical department of the Helsinki University [6, Isaksson P., pp. 250–257; also 20, Itkonen T. I. I, pp. 138–139, 144; 21, Itkonen T., pp. 330–331].<sup>2</sup>

Finnish racial studies quite soon ran into the same problems that were causing a scientific crisis elsewhere in Europe. The general picture was drowning into the "shoreless infinity" of measurements, vast numbers of characteristics and an almost limitless number of variables which made it impossible to make reliable conclusions. In addition to purely scientific reasons, social and political causes also influenced in the 1930s. The leading authority at the field, professor Väinö Lassila, dissociated himself from racial theories. He regarded them as outdated and scientifically inconsequential, but he also criticised politically strived racial hierarchies which were "artificially contrived and lack any scientific basis". He attacked the doctrine of racial hierarchy in 1935, which was justifying "to the inhumanities and cruelties" and served as a theoretical basis for European expansion and imperialism [6, Isaksson P., pp. 297–302].

The crisis of racial research did not, however, appear suddenly in the views of other

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<sup>2</sup> In 1995, the skulls exhumated from the Inari cemetery islands were repatriated and buried again in their finding places, see 22 Lehtola, V.-P.

researchers, not to mention the public discussions. In *Suomen maantieteen käsikirja* (General Handbook on the Geography of Finland) in 1936, for instance, geographer Kaarlo Hildén still presented Sámi in the light of racial hierarchies. He interpreted the long skull and vertical teeth of the European and Finnish race as a sign of advanced development, while the small stature, short skull and small teeth of Lapps reflected underdevelopment [22, Hildén K., pp. 449–450].

### ***Stronger and weaker cultures***

The racial theories remained a short but prominent phase in Finnish research. However, they did not initiate the idea of Sámi inferiority compared with Europeans and Finns. The idea of hierarchies between cultures was already an old classification convention of Finno-Ugric research, which can be considered the other theory based on evolutionism. Cultural development was there understood as a gradually ascending and progressing phenomenon.

It was clear to many Finnish researchers that more developed peoples had displaced weaker ones, such as Sámi, who were forced to retreat to the north. The way natural peoples “remained” on the hunting culture level indicated that they had come to a standstill in their development. They represented an ancient Finno-Ugric cultural form, which had always remained the same. This gave rise to a view of some ethnologists that when studying the Skolt Sámi *sijd* system, for instance, the researcher could reconstruct an image of the ancient Finnish society at the same time. Similarly, Erik Therman stated that many memories from “the childhood of our people” lived in Sámi tradition [23, Therman E., pp. 109].

The reverse side to stagnated development was the conviction that Sámi were “a people without history”. The Hegelian idea was adapted in Finland by a well-known fennoman, J. V. Snellman with the idea that only a people on a level capable of forming a state can talk about its own history. With a natural people remaining on a tribal community level, it was a case of folk culture, which had been influenced by external factors at most. For example, for the author of *Suomen historia* (1926, History of Finland), K. O. Lindeqvist, there was only one significant event in Sámi history: conversion to Christianity. This was also the only reference to Sámi in the whole book [24]. Schoolbooks on history ignored Sámi completely.

Describing Sámi as a people without history was easy from the European viewpoint. They had not waged wars, built cities or fortresses, and they had no written history. And there was no trace of an organised society in the Sámi past. It was typical to talk about “wandering Lapps” who, in J. W. Ruuth’s words, “roamed back and forth in boundless wilds and erected their simple ‘huts’ now here, now there. When they had stayed long enough in some area, they disappeared again completely” [25, p. 1033].

Apart from attitudes, the conceptions of researchers in the 1920s naturally reflected the amount of knowledge on Sámi at that time. It was not until the studies of Väinö Tanner and Karl Nickul from 1920s and 1930s that the diversified social organisation, which was highly advanced also among Sámi, started to become discernible. Instead of simple "roaming" and "wandering Lapps", new research revealed that the annual cycle of Sámi took place in strictly limited areas according to strictly agreed rules.

The underlying conclusion in the concept "wandering Lapps" was clear: Sámi had never had permanent dwellings, not even usufructuary territories. This was a matter of owning land and proving the ownership, which came up also in purely historical studies. J. W. Ruuth, for example, commented that Sámi "can hardly be taken into account when talking about settling the land, in the proper sense of the word" [25, p. 1033]. Kaisa Korpijaakko has considered this notion unfounded, but points out that it has become crystallised as the foundation of wide literature on the history of settlement and law in Finland in the 1920s and 1930s [26, pp. 47–71].

The view of Sámi history reflects the fact that many conceptions of Sámi were born as some kind of by-products when national sciences tried to fathom the special national character of Finns. The studies of Jalmari Jaakkola and Väinö Voionmaa, for example, did not in any way focus on Sámi history, which these two nationalist historians discussed only inasmuch as it was involved in Finnish national benefits. The image of Sámi was therefore constructed in relation to Finnish identity, as a reverse side of sorts.

As the heterogeneity of perspectives implies, the field of Sámi research was by no means homogenous in the 1920s and 1930s. Lappologists include such researchers as Itkonen and Nickul, who did their central life's work on Sámi subjects, and such researchers as Eliel Lagercrantz, Kustaa Vilkuna, Ilmari Manninen and Uno Holberg (Harva), who made only some studies on Sámi. Some of them were solely linguists (Paavo Ravila, Erkki Itkonen), while T.I. Itkonen, for example, was characteristically a multidisciplinary scholar. Finnish research activities were liveliest in Pechenga, where representatives of almost all possible disciplines from geologists to archaeologists and botanists to folklorists worked especially in late 1920s. The Skolt Sámi issue was, however, the most central [12, Vahtola J.].

Lappologists represented different disciplines of science as well as different manners of approach. Itkonen's understanding wanted. Lappologists also had dissimilar attitudes in their (research) policies. Many researchers considered Sámi studies predominantly a scientifically interesting attempt to record the characteristics of a "moribund" kindred people. The opposite notion was represented by Karl Nickul, who felt that the Sámi issue was a "cultural problem" with

ethical undertones. He tried to influence the conditions of Sámi with his writings and practical political actions. He was one of the strongest proponents of the Suonikylä preservation project in the 1930s [For Nickul, see 18, Lehtola, V.-P.].

***“A true Lapp never eats with fork and knife”***

Scientific research published in the publications of different disciplines and in international arenas often remained out of reach from the general public. Tanner wrote in Swedish or French, Itkonen published in scientific periodicals, and linguists in their own publications. Samuli Paulaharju’s works were popular, although the Sámi identity in them was often related to the old, even mythological past. Scientific studies were perhaps commented in the press, and researchers could sometimes publish popular articles in magazines or in national *Helsingin Sanomat* newspaper.

Content favoured by the public required more popularized expressions, which could represent science to audience in suitable forms, incouriging e.g. the prevailing national thinking. Thus the racial image of the Sámi, for instance, remained prevalent in spite of the crisis of racial theories in scientific spheres. The public image of Sámi was elaborated in a wider field than science and research. A great deal of ordinary Finns — even of civil servants heading for Lapland — adopted their notions from a quite diverse field of communication, from newspapers to fiction and travel guides, as well as textbooks, which could, in fact, have an inestimable importance through school teaching.

The Sámi representations were largely born as a by-product of the “Finnish national identity project”. Sámi were scrutinised in the light of the Finnish national self-image and often as an antithesis. The “information” about Sámi in these sources could be permeated with many kinds of preconceptions and beliefs. Scientific concepts could easily change into simple evolutionary thinking, which was applied to the Sámi. Racial theories intermingled with notions of developmental differences between cultures, and Finnish national sentiment of grandeur dressed into exaggerated claims of the survival of the fittest. Furthermore, Finnish colonial thinking and Russophobia were added to the mixture in Pechenga.

When traffic connections to Lapland improved with the Arctic highway to Pechenga, ordinary Finns came increasingly into contact with Sámi. Apart from old stereotypes about Lapps, tourists had their own expectations and prejudices, which applied to the conditions of a “lower” and “undeveloped” people. The views expressed by the press and travel guides had a strong influence in attitudes of the travellers who, as T. I. Itkonen criticized, “somewhat arrogantly raised dust clouds along Lapland’s roads” [20, p. 156]. A civil servant from the south could comment in

the *Rovaniemi* newspaper in 1923: "Lapland's culture is not as lowly as it used to be. A Lapp is already quite well informed of the conditions in our country. Literacy is already quite common and newspapers circulate in surprising numbers. But a lot of primitive and undeveloped still exists there, too."<sup>3</sup>

Many Sámi representations of the time reflected the culture and attitudes of their authors rather than expressed anything essentially new about Sámi. Lapland visitors could themselves come from any kind of one-horse town, but in Lapland they could act like lords, despising the Sámi and treating them arrogantly as if these were lower beings, although there was necessarily nothing commendable in their own housekeeping<sup>4</sup>. The difficulty was mutual, of course, when the conditions and knowledge level of the others was unknown, but usually only the statements of the majority became public. You can read, however, similar Sámi attitudes in some travel reports. The school counsellor Rauhamaa, for instance, was carried away by northern lights on a reindeer sleigh ride, and he wanted to share his enthusiasm with the driver boy. "Are these the northern lights then?" he chatted to begin with. The boy pointed to the sky and replied: "Well, when the sky flashes, it's northern lights, and those small white dots are stars and the big round one at the back is the moon!" [27, Hämäläinen, A., p. 78.]

Similarly, the prototype of a Reindeer Lapp, Juhani Jomppanen, could surprise tourists with accurate knowledge about the long plains and big cities of Germany. In 1910s, he had been travelling Middle Europe in a "lapp caravan", a Sámi group that introduced Sámi culture in the frames of colonialist ethnological shows [See 28, Lehtola V.-P.]. He considered Hamburg and Stettin to be grand cities, but the finest of all was Königsberg, where Juhani's son had been born. Jomppanen's knowledge of Helsinki and Vyborg may have surprised or even disappointed the tourist, who was perhaps prepared to ask if the Lapp had ever heard of streets or apartment buildings. Jomppanen had visited the Finnish Parliament already during the Russian rule and could discuss with the tourist about collections in the National Museum, for example [See e.g. 29, Pälsi S., p. 24].

The Finnish tourist was not far from the suspicion that this was not a genuine Lapp at all. The question of the authenticity of Lapps often preoccupied travel guide writers, because the established notion was that a Lapp should be a true child of nature with accompanying characteristics. A writer in search of genuine Sámi tradition may have been disappointed, when Laestadian Pjera Tornensis, for example, offered to sing hymns instead of the requested traditional yoik music [23, Therman E., p. 47]. Educated or otherwise modern Sámi brought

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<sup>3</sup> Rovaniemi 5.11.1923.

<sup>4</sup> Suomenmaa 1931, pp. 263.

surprises to travellers who did not quite know how to react to them. Ernst Lampén wondered about the first "proper Sámi" he saw, an Inari Sámi boy assigned as his guide who, despite his purely Lapp appearance, started to sing "continental jingles" in the wilderness, melodies from operettas such as *The Merry Widow* and *The Count of Luxembourg*. The boy had been with Jomppanen's Lapp caravan and the stay in German cities had yielded many kinds of influences [30, Lampén E., pp. 78–80].

The incident was a funny curiosity to Lampén and it made an entertaining chapter in a travel guide. Sometimes modern Lapps could, however, make Finns even irritated. A Sámi sitting in the backseat of a Ford made Ilmari Turja snort that "a Lapp costume does not go with a car nor does a South Bothnian knife agree with a Lapp costume" [31, Turja I., pp. 58–70]. In the school children's book *Kotimaan kirja*, Salme Setälä disapproved of the Norwegian Sámi who drove "even bicycles in their regional costumes, which seemed quite a ridiculous victory of civilisation". Setälä criticised that Sámi had erected their souvenir kiosks along great travel routes and on the outskirts of such towns as Tromsø [32, Setälä S., p. 46]. Many visitors to Pechenga felt the same when they saw Skolts making "affairs" near inns along the Arctic road and the bus route. Although the poverty of Sámi was deplored by the travellers, such activity at the expense of tourists was not tolerated. Culture offered for money did not feel authentic.<sup>5</sup>

The claim for "authenticity" was closely connected to the traditional way of life and avoiding modern influences. In an article published in the *Suomen kuvalehti* magazine, E.N. Manninen put his own view indirectly to the mouth of his Sámi friend Post-Ovla (Guttorm). When speaking of the Sámi Hans Skaiti, who used to visit Helsinki, Manninen wrote in his characteristic light style: "Skaiti is not by far a real Lapp: he has visited Helsinki once and eaten with a fork in the Fennia hotel with gentlemen." [33, pp. 145–149]. Sakari Pälsi also commented at the turn of the 1930s that modern times with their haircuts, gold watches and polished nails had arrived to the Sámi [29, pp. 19–20].

Generally the Sámi who had acquired modern influences were considered "deserters" from their own culture. Travel guide writers solicitously regarded modern influences as harmful to the Sámi people. This was often expressed as a compassionate view that an authentic natural people was damaged by contact with civilisation. "Higher culture is contagious like pestilence", lamented Lampén [30, p. 122]. There was a social Darwinist idea in the background that a lower culture was not capable of merging into a higher culture. The Sámi "infected" by culture were believed to either deteriorate — as it was seen to have happened to many Skolts in Pechenga — or renounce

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<sup>5</sup> Kaleva 21.8.1924.

their culture and become Finnish. Even Armas Launis, who had a profound understanding of Sámi culture, stated: "They cannot thrive in better and more favourable conditions, they wither like a forest plant in a garden." [34, pp. 24–25]

Sámi were not considered to have chances to adapt influences into their culture. According to Ilmari Turja, they had been deprived of "all weapons in the fight against the world", and therefore their extinction as a people was just a matter of time. Turja advised Sámi culture to stand still: "... a Lapp is best suited to his original purpose, to roam in the fjells with their reindeer. There he can keep to himself like a child in a sandbox. Because a Lapp has a child's mind, a woman's memory, although he has a bearded manly face" [31, pp. 69–70].

There were quite few voices to oppose of this view in publicity. Karl Nickul continuously emphasised that, in the course of their history, Sámi had remarkably well adapted to quite drastic changes without losing their Sámi identity [35]. Erik Therman suggested the same in his comment that Sámi were among the most resistant peoples in the world and therefore most capable of development due to their old-fashioned character. In his view, the Sámi mind "constantly as water in its inflexible flexibility, obstructive in its receptivity, comprehends all experiences in its Lapp way and explains and interprets everything to Lapp" [23, p. 67].

### ***"Skolt out!"***

Road construction to Pechenga had many effects on the development of Finland's "new colony" and on Skolt Sámi, who were annexed to Finland in the peace treaty. Apart from settlers, civil servants and various researchers, the road brought tourists, who headed in masses to the Arctic Sea and Finland's unique fjords. While the most industrious Skolts erected souvenir booths or had their pictures taken together with tourists for money, tourists were seeking for "genuine experiences", in other words they wanted experiences and pictures of Skolts on their own and definitely without a payment.

So Skolts often received unexpected visitors — and what kind of visitors! Like Vaasan Jaakkoo, a known Finnish writer, they could come quite straightforwardly into Skolt homes and start appraising both the dwellings and the dwellers: "Skolt dwellings are measly looking and the door is so small that you have to stoop on all fours to squeeze yourself in. I was badly distressed when I pushed in, and when Hermanni started to come in through the same opening, his shoulders got stuck in the door." In this humorously intended description, the Ostrobothnian writer despised his hosts by picking at the motley interior as well as the dwellers, who were "crossbred Russians and Lapps" [36, pp. 96–97].

Vaasan Jaakkoo and Ernst Lampén, a travel writer, are perhaps extreme examples of the

arrogant insolence that reflected the attitude of Finns towards Pechenga. Despite the fact that Pechenga was one of the most multiethnic regions in Finland together with Vyborg, Finnish national circles had a very negative attitude towards the original populations of the region — Skolts, Karelians and Russians. They had an idealistic view of Pechenga as a gateway of the expanding Finland to welfare. In that light, Skolts appeared as an absolute antithesis of the dreamed industrial progress. Because the Finnish identity of the south constituted a point of comparison for development, old Finnish or Norwegian settlement aroused positive appraisals in visitors and also sympathy due to the severe conditions. In comparison, travel guide writers had an openly contemptuous attitude towards Skolt Sámi.

Like Vaasan Jaakkoo, many Finns gawked at "these strange and funny-looking, small old dwarves" and wondered that "Russian faces there were in half-Lapp bodies". The Lapp huts also "had the same size and look as a pigsty in our parts". Lampén described a Skolt at a Trifonanniemi inn: "What a silly stump! — This descendant of Rasputin had a thick beard, matted hair, and looked like he was scaled down from bigger size. Face of a wild Russian, but stature in pygmy size. Could not watch him without laughing. Head size and shoulder width too big for his length. Tintamarresque creature!" [30, pp. 114–118, 122] Similarly, dressed in the cloak of humour, Vaasan Jaakkoo mocked Skolts for stupidity in his work when, for example, a Skolts child saw a train and asked "is a reindeer pulling the train". Jaakkoo was also amused when a Skolt slammed his money on the desk in a shop and said: "What do you give for these?" [36, pp. 101–102]

Contempt of the Finns towards Skolts can partly be explained by anti-Russian attitudes, which manifested themselves as downright Russophobia after independence. "Every Skolt is descended from a Pechenga monk from the father's side", Lampén commented. Skolt descriptions, however, were largely aligned with the old tradition of Sámi descriptions. They included untidiness, laziness, simplicity and primitivity as well as immorality. Travel guide writers were eager to interpret the dissimilarity of the Sámi in ways of life and cultural forms as a racial characteristic or as an indication of cultural inferiority. They did not even try to understand the contexts.

Astonishment and mockery could be aroused by such things as the fact that "the roadside Skolts" did not eagerly seize the developing livelihoods brought by the Finnish society, such as agriculture or wage labour in fish or mining industry. Travel writers considered this an example of the Skolt besetting sin, laziness. [37, Mörne H., p. 245]. Finns thought that Skolts should immediately have changed from declining natural livelihoods to new, "future livelihoods". Karl Nickul's view was that Finnish civil servants had the notion that all Skolts should start growing

potatoes and keeping cattle when they were asked to. However, Nickul had many negative examples of the difficulties that keeping cumbersome cows, for example, could cause in a semi-nomadic culture [See 18, Lehtola V.-P.].

Notions about Skolts as incurable reindeer thieves is a theme of its own in descriptions by Finnish writers. Already in 1920, Juho Koskimaa had published a short story, which depicts the guarding of a fence at the eastern border before World War I. In the short story, Skolts are considered such hopeless cases that the cruel killing of two Skolt thieves — father and son — is seen as a justified act [38, pp. 5–19]. The best-known example — perhaps the most racist book in Finnish literary history — may well be K.M. Wallenius' *Ihmismetsästäjiä ja erämiehiä* (1933), where the writer reminisced his punitive mission as commandant of Lapland's border guard to the Skolts in the aftermath of the civil war. Finnish soldiers in civilian clothes made a military attack against Skolts, who were suspected of reindeer thieving. In the manner of adventure books, Wallenius used many literary stereotypes of the Sámi of to enemize the Skolts, in order to justify the military action [39, Wallenius K.M., pp. 19–92; 40, Lehtola V.-P., pp. 227–241].

Erkki Ilmari, who admired Wallenius' book, also published a short story of Reindeer Skolt Kiureli, "the only honest Skolt", who at the end results to be dishonest [41, pp. 134–141]. Compared with descriptions written about Fjell Sámi or Tana Sámi, for example, which were admiring in a certain way despite their fatherly condescension<sup>6</sup>, the anti-Skolt sentiment of writers is striking. It is no exaggeration that there are no positive Skolt descriptions in fiction in the 1920s and 1930s. In non-fiction, you can find some more positive appraisals.

Folklore collector Armas Launis [34, pp. 28–29] and J.E. Rosberg sharply criticized the tourists about their prejudices. According to Rosberg, many visitors to the north — not to mention Southern Lapland — had not seen a real Sámi but mostly individuals belonging to the "degenerated class", who attract tourists or earn money by having their pictures taken [42, p. 113]. Even the opinion of Rosberg and Launis was that Skolts presenting themselves to tourist cameras were degenerated and had lost their "authenticity". This division into degenerated "roadside Skolts" and more advanced Suonikylä Skolt villagers was typical also among officials, such as the bailiff of Pechenga statements indicate.<sup>7</sup>

Due to the negative Skolt image and the national self-esteem of Finns, it was not surprising that even racist actions against Skolts are known to have taken place. Launis mentions that when a

<sup>6</sup> Cf. e.g. 33, Therman, E., taking place in Enontekiö, and Manninen, E. N. 1933/1998: Lapin sarja VI: Lappalaispolitiikkaa. Helsingin Sanomat 5. 8. 1933, from Utsjoki. Published also in Manninen, E. N.: Kahdentoista härjän raito. Inari: Kustannus-Puntsi, 213–226.

<sup>7</sup> Pechenga bailiff's situation report to the Oulu county governor 10.2.1927. OLKA Hc5:3.

Skolt entered an inn somewhere in Pechenga, the innkeeper could raise his arm and point to the door and command: "Skolt out!" [35, Launis A., pp. 24]. The attitude extended all the way to civil servants. Lapland civil servant Eero Lampio described Skolts in his hunting book among other "fauna" and other "creatures", wondering about their half-meter long paws and their meter-long shapeless body. On hunting trips, Lampio amused himself and his fellows by making Skolt boys bark at hares [43, Paasilinna E.].

### ***Weakening population and Lapp racial noses***

As examples from different scientific disciplines as well as from wider publicity indicate, ideas about racial and cultural hierarchies constituted the basis for extensive popular conclusions about Sámi culture. The chain of deduction they created, which was also internally inconsistent, painted a gloomy picture of Sámi future. It suggested that their lack of history was understood as a sign of a stagnated culture's incapability of developing to the level of agriculture. Development was seen to cause only degeneration to Sámi, as the "roadside Lapps" living on the outskirts of settlement proved. On the other hand, degeneration revealed that the tendency of Sámi to abandon culture belonged to the characteristics of their racial inferiority, which also included primitive social life and slack moral.

Together these conclusions led to a clear result in scientific publications and travel guides: Sámi were a vanishing people. Sometimes it was commented with melancholy; more often it was used for promoting development and progress, which was to "displace the unimportant and inviable". Ilmari Turja stated: "Lapland's people are roaming towards their quick death" [31, p. 70]. According to Rosberg, the Sámi language was disappearing in the modern age which flattened all diversity, and nothing would remain of Sámi except "the name and some elusive tale" [42, p. 162]. This view was so self-evident that leading Sámi researchers expressed similar notions, starting from T. I. Itkonen.

Especially problematic these views became when civil servants in the Sámi territory adopted them as guidelines of their actions. The county constable of Utsjoki, jaeger captain E. N. Manninen, could therefore declare in a newspaper that Sámi were helplessly about to succumb and vanish as representatives of a weak cultural form. Manninen warned Finns not to spend any state funds on a dying language and vanishing culture. The boundary between the cultural world and Sámi culture was insurmountable in Manninen's thinking. The substance of a Lapp included natural livelihoods, non-literate culture, language and Lapp costume. They were all giving way to civilisation. When the Sámi absorbed new influences, they became corrupt and lost their authenticity. For Manninen, a Sámi appearing in the modern age could only be a "wonder on

display for money".<sup>8</sup>

Manninen represented a certain kind of social Darwinist thinking, according to which the actions of the society to help minorities were unnatural tampering with natural order and would prolong the inevitable development: disappearance of the weaker. The struggle for existence and natural selection worked also in societies, as a parallel to nature. Therefore, it was wrong for the society to direct supportive actions at groups that natural selection has doomed to extinction [For social Darwinism, see 45, Broberg G.; 19, Kemiläinen A.]. Many other civil servants thought that development imposed a barrier to the Sámi they were not capable of surmounting. For them, the cultural and racial weakness of Sámi signified an opposite to the development needs of the Finnish society. In a document addressed to the county governor, Pechenga bailiff W.F. Planting characterised Skolt culture as a stagnated primitive level cultural form, which had no place in the developing Finnish society. The drastic view was based on the bailiff's desire to develop Suonikylä with state funding as a showcase of Finnish development work, completely ruling out other Skolts from state care.

The fact that racial research was a focal area in medical research was also reflected in the views of physicians. The representative of the national board of health, L. F. Rosendal, expressed a typical view that Skolt Lapps were "in a rather primitive state". On the other hand, Finns explained the primitiveness of the Skolts with political arguments, for example that they had lived "in the far dark north under czar oppression and then with the Soviet-Russian sword of Damocles poised above them".<sup>9</sup> One of the district nurses, Saimi Lindroth, still pondered in Utsjoki at the turn of the 1940s if the Utsjoki inhabitants fitted the racial characteristics. Reportedly they did not: some were too tall for a Lapp, some too blond [45, p. 43].

Sodankylä district physician Onni Laitinen saw racial weakening as the cause also for the spreading tuberculosis. The disease spread at the end of the 1920s to Lapland's jurisdictional district, which was inhabited by both Finns and Sámi, but Laitinen regarded it especially as a collapse of weaker races: "Tuberculosis bacteria does not infect healthy people. It targets those who have otherwise weakened and become susceptible to diseases." Basing on the stereotype that the reindeer herding was the original Sámi way of life, Laitinen stated that the Sámi had made a mistake by abandoning "the healthy nomadic life" and settling into log houses as permanent dwellers. According to Laitinen, hot Lapland costumes had a racially "weakening" effect especially to children who became susceptible to diseases. Decreased interaction and marriages between

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<sup>8</sup> Manninen E. N. Lappalaista ei ole tarvis sortaa, se sortuu itsestään. *Rovaniemi* 27.4.1929.

<sup>9</sup> L. F. Rosendal's travel account in August 1921. Copy of social welfare administration poor relief inspector's register 1921 Ac:2. Ks. ALRK. University of Helsinki Archive.

racés also influenced the weakening of the race. Laitinen, the highest medical authority, declared:

"All senior scholars on Lapland have made the observation that the mental sharpness which was characteristic of the Lapp population still thirty years ago is now a thing of the past. There may still be exceptions, of course, but as long as they continue the unhealthy way of life that this previously vigorous nomadic people have adopted, the Lapp population will be continuously weakening and the race will vanish. The Lapp population lost their roots when they became estranged from their reindeer cattle and became settlers."<sup>10</sup>

For civil servants, development also meant promoting agriculture, which was the culmination of a rising development also in the Finno-Ugric theory. Next to it, reindeer husbandry was considered a livelihood of the past. This attitude was represented by important civil servants, such as master of laws Arthur Aspelin, who was elected member of Finnish parliament from the progressive party in 1922 in Lapland's electoral district. He argued "that reindeer husbandry in Lapland is a moribund livelihood and that it would be harmful for the province to try to revive it". Aspelin thought that subsidising nomadic life would just prolong the period of transition to agriculture. The influence of reindeer husbandry to human nature was "... reluctance to regular work, especially farm work, suspiciousness, shyness, and eradicating them takes decades, if not centuries. It is illustrative in this respect that only few Lapps have enrolled or are enrolling in jobs offered by the state or by companies, although the wages are fabulous these days. No, he will rather lie down at home and live in poverty".

The superiority and omnipotence of agriculture was a matter of fact beyond any doubt for Finns. Aspelin assured that "farming spirit is the only true value, saviour of the land and people, which has to be cultivated, inspired, revived". His view was that reindeer husbandry should be allowed to cease in natural death or it should be developed to a new level. His proposal was to change the reindeer-grazing association system into a cooperative, where the reindeer would be managed together, without private reindeer ownership.<sup>11</sup>

The development could also be described reversely from the Sámi point of view. Samuli Paulaharju saw how the Reindeer Sámi of Kittilä and Muonio changed into settlers and considered it a demotion: "The nomad who had tended a thousand-head wild forest cattle has been forced to care for stupid and slow dung beasts. A forest dweller, who had grown sorrel for his own pleasure, has started to burrow his former reindeer pasture in sweat and blood to make a measly potato field and a tiny barley patch." [46, p. 76] Similarly, Karl Nickul commented that in many cases

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<sup>10</sup> Rovaniemi 7.2.1929.

<sup>11</sup> Aspelin A. "Tulevaisuuden elinkeinot Lapissa." *Kaleva* 27.2.1921.

southern farmers, importing livelihoods that were developed in different circumstances, suffered smarting losses in the barren nature of Northern Finland: "They often won at first, but usually the second generation subsided." He thought that the cultural form developed in northern regions was better suited to the local requirements than a foreign "road settlement":

"The road partly liberates settlement from the local limitations of the region and enables it to interact with the regions where it originated and which supply material prerequisites through the road. But its machinery does not work in different conditions where economic shortages and other weaknesses afflicting the technical culture and its organisation disrupt its smooth operation; then settlement must suffer distress, and needs acquired in more prosperous regions are not fulfilled, its living standard decreases, it must receive emergency help" [36; 47, p. 65].

The understanding of the survival chances of Sámi culture was not dependent on whether the writer had a positive or negative attitude towards Sámi. In its fatherly condescension, a positive or admiring opinion could contain the same notion of a primitive or childish level natural people, which did not have the qualifications to survive in the modern world. One of the most full-blooded examples of this attitude was Erik Therman, a Swedish-speaking writer from Helsinki, whose works combine the astuteness of a researcher with social Darwinist views. In his main work, *Bland noider och nomader* (1939), Therman showed that he was good at observing everyday life and listening to people, while his keenness to collect stories of witchcraft and the mythical Sámi history indicated a romantic tendency.

Therman's interest on racial theories led him to observe the head shapes of Sámi, the small stature of Lapps and the noses of representatives from different clans with a seemingly scientific manner. When integrated on his fatherly condescending attitude towards Sámi, Therman's conclusions were quite folksy applications of the race theoretical ideas that were cultivated in press and general non-fiction. Therman's references to racial theories were just frosting on a more traditional Sámi image, which included hierarchies between cultures, as well as beliefs of the primitive character of a natural people [30, pp. 152, 163, 223, 290, 369].

### **Conclusion**

The critical or even disparaging appraisals I quoted at the beginning of this article illuminate how lappology fell into disrepute especially at the onset of new Sámi research from the 1970s. Research activity by the Sámi themselves emerged in a clearly articulated form in 1973 at the latest when Sámi University College started in Koutokeino in Norway. The Sámi-administered research institute emphasised the Sámi right to define their own starting point for research. Among the best-known manifestos was Alf Isak Keskitalo's 1974 critique on the asymmetry

between research on the dominant population and the minority, and demand for the "samification" of research on the Sámi.

The radical Sámi movement also introduced the concepts of colonialism and imperialism into the sphere of research, and it was "lappology" that represented them best. As in other sectors of society, the radical and antithetic attitude resulted in problems before long; they came quite close to the notions of lappologists that they wanted to dissociate from. The idealised Sámi culture and our own information systems were contrasted with "western culture" and "lappology", which were understood stereotypically. This antithesis was necessary in the phase where questions were formulated.

As research on the Sámi developed, many positions have turned out to be more complex than it was believed earlier. Ethnographic, linguistic ja geographical research has been complemented by research methods of archaeology and history, research methods of social anthropology and education theory, and strong influences from research on indigenous peoples have also had an effect on their reception. Antagonism between external and Sámi researchers becomes a subject of discussion from time to time, but the result has often been a statement that both are needed. Sámi research has its own starting points, which are linked to the needs of the Sámi community. Research conducted by externals reflects the interest and considerations of the dominant population, and it is also important to respond to them from the viewpoint of interaction between the majority and the minority.

Although the image of Sámi research has become more varied, the image of lappology has remained quite controversial and dualistic. When emphasising that the current Sámi research also rests upon the results of earlier research, some people emphasise the significance of lappology quite uncritically, unwilling to scrutinise their work in relation to day-to-day political reality. Contrary to this view was the attitude that lappologists were minions of colonialism, who did not in any way understand Sámi notions and conventions, but wanted to assimilate them into dominant cultures.

Lappology is often understood as a consistent way of thinking and a system with researchers as its agents. My article indicates already in the case of Finland that the so-called lappologists represented different branches of science from linguists to geographers and ethnographers. They represented many scientific trends, and the traditions of human geography and Fenno-Ugric research were clearly separate in Finland. Researchers had various ideas of what role research had in majority-minority relationships, i.e. were they just practicing "science as science" or did they see their own research activities as part of social, even political debate.

The approximate nature of the term lappology is an even trickier issue. In my article, I have suggested that many later statements, scientific texts, semi-scientific or popular Sámi descriptions as well as publicly made provocative claims have been grouped under the concept of lappology. A nationalist presenting his prejudices in travel guides or a civil servant with poor knowledge of local circumstances is called a “lappologist” just like a researcher, although the “-logist” suffix of the term basically refers to a person who produces scientific knowledge.

The vagueness of the concept reflects, however, the vagueness of the “knowledge” on the Sámi more generally. Be it Lapland’s civil servants, columnists in national media or decision-makers on different levels, it seems that the “knowledge” concerning Sámi that they drew upon was not necessarily based on scientific views. In addition to facts, the image of Sámi included plenty of conceptions, myths and stereotypes that had evolved over centuries and that had been enforced by the then prevailing ideas of development theory and even social Darwinism. This image of Sámi was elaborated further in the press, textbooks, travel guides and other popular publications. These views may have laid the basis even for decisions that concerned Sámi people about legislation on reindeer herding, educational politics and local government.

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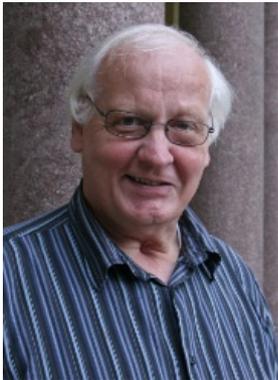
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## Perspectives on Sámi historiography



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**Abstract.** The article focuses on Sámi history and historical methods. The main results and central aspects of Sámi history, in its relational context, are gone through. What effects and consequences — regarding both methodology and narrative styles — these aspects have had, and ought to have, for the processes of doing research on and writing Sámi history? The focus is on the politics of Sámi history and research. The issues, who is “allowed” to write Sámi history and the way Sámi research is demanded to stand in the service of different societal-

cultural needs of the Sámi is dealt with. This expectation of applicability concerns Sámi history in general, and the more delimited efforts of presenting situated accounts of Sámi cultural practices, traditions and experience with relations to other folk groups. Finally, methodological considerations and recommendations of Sámi history are presented, in which a number of methodological competences and in-depth usage of numerous source categories are called for.

**Keywords:** *historiography, Sami history, relational approach, methodology*

### Introduction

In this article I will first present some main dimensions which in my opinion stand out as central aspects of Sámi history through the centuries, in its relational context. Then I shall discuss what effects and consequences — regarding both methodology and narrative styles — that these aspects have had, and ought to have, for the processes of doing research into and writing Sámi history.

After giving a brief sketch of some basic dimensions of Sámi history in its interaction with the histories of the other peoples of Fennoscandia, I shall dwell on some basic urges and needs for having Sámi history written — both as viewed by Sámi proponents, authors and scholars, and as part of the complex, compound history of Northern Fennoscandia. This concerns both the wish for having Sámi history written in general, and the realization of more delimited efforts of presenting situated accounts of Sámi cultural practices, traditions and experience with relations to others.

But the multi-cultural context which the encompassing states have imposed on the Sámi, has also led to other challenges: On the one hand to a need for making explicit, describing and analyzing historical processes and effects which for a long time, through several centuries have been silenced or suppressed, as a result of various state policies for assimilation and integration. (This also includes efforts of documenting or analyzing former Sámi customary or legal rights, which may have bearings also under the present conditions, — and it will include measures for correcting and supplementing the histories of the encompassing states, in order to make such

accounts more totalizing and comprehensive, than they traditionally have been.) And on the other hand, to an ever stronger demand from the Sámi vis-à-vis the majority populations, to influence them to acknowledge and recognize that research into Sámi affairs, social institutions and cultural phenomena carried out by non-Sámi belonging to the majorities, constitutes a real “inter-ethnic relation” in itself, where the asymmetrical power relationships traditionally has played a decisive role for the “monopoly of interpretation” held by scholars of the majorities.

Finally, I will present some more precisely formulated methodological considerations and recommendations, that would seem appropriate given the basic and throughgoing characteristics of Sámi history, and the challenges posed.

It should be emphasized that I do not have any pretensions of being able to give a full overview over the extensive field of works relating to Sámi history, nor being representative on a Fenno-Scandinavian basis, when it comes to the selection of works and books cited. Apart from some few references to classical works on Finnish and Swedish side, I have almost exclusively referred to works published on Norwegian side, to illustrate my main points under each topic of discussion and find examples that would fit in with the categories presented. Chronologically, I have concentrated the discussion primarily to Sámi history between the Early Middle Ages and the last part of the nineteenth century.

### ***The relational history of the Sámi***

In our days, it should probably not be perceived as controversial to ascertain that the history of the Sámi to a great extent stands out as a relational history, so far back in time as it is possible to trace separate ethnic or cultural entities in Northern Fennoscandia at all. To the extent that we may follow the lines backwards, the Sámi seem to have been heavily engaged in contacts, exchange and interaction with other social/ethnic groups in their surroundings. Such contacts and interplay even seem to have played a central part in the process leading to the formation of a particular Sámi ethnic identity, and which had its earliest beginnings during the middle of the 2. millennium B.C., and stretched until the beginning of our era [1, Hansen L.I. & Olsen B., pp. 26–38]. During the last millennium before BC/AD, when some of the presumably heterogeneous hunter-gatherer groups along the coasts of Northern Fennoscandia gradually replaced their hunting occupations with farming, other societies of hunter-gatherers, situated in the interior and northernmost areas, carried on and specialized their hunting-based economy, while simultaneously establishing closer contacts to metal-producing communities in the south-eastern regions. This dawning economic and social dualism would turn out to be decisive for the later cultural and ethnic divide in northern Fennoscandia [1, p. 351].

Such a view upon Sámi ethnogenesis — as a product of a protracted interactional process involving several groups, and simultaneously, through the very same process, leading to the establishment of other separate ethnic identities (North-Germanic and early Finnish) — owes much to the dissemination of the viewpoints first held by Fredrik Barth in the 1960's, viz. that the construction and maintenance of ethnic identity should not be considered as primarily a product of long-time isolation, absence of contacts and cultivation of “own culture features”, but rather as a form of organizing the interaction between diverse groups. As such, it would be seen as resulting from contacts and communication, whereby the consciousness and identity of ones own group in relation to others, is perceived and expressed [2, Barth F., passim]. The first scholar who adopted such an approach upon the development of ethnic identities of northern Fennoscandia, was the anthropologist and archaeologist Knut Odner in his book “Finner og terfinner, etniske prosesser i det nordlige Fenno-Skandinavia” (1983) [3, passim].<sup>1</sup>

According to such an approach, the more concrete contours of a separate Sámi ethnic identity seems to have emerged during the last millennium B.C., due to a cultural diversification process among various heterogenous groups of hunter-gatherers in northern Fennoscandia. This development seems to be part of a mutual identification process involving intensified interaction with other groups who at the same time evolved a separate North Germanic identity in the west, and groups identifying themselves as Hämäläiset and Suomalaiset — the predecessors of the later Finnish population — in the east [1, p. 126].

At least from the first centuries of our era, the Sámi therefore stand out as an indigenous people of the north, inhabiting the northern and central parts of Fennoscandia. The approximate extension of their habitation area in historically and traditionally known times, can be seen on the map, figure 1, which depicts the localization of the various Sámi dialects or languages, all belonging to the Finno-Ugric language family. It should be emphasized that the Sámi dwelling area in the Middle Ages and the beginning of Early Modern Times stretched further to the south and south-east, in the central part of present-day Finland and along the western shores of the White Sea.

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<sup>1</sup> Odner K. Finner og terfinner, etniske prosesser i det nordlige Fenno-Skandinavia [Finns and Ter Finns. Ethnic processes in Fennoscandia] (Oslo Occasional Papers in Social Anthropology; v. No. 9), Oslo 1983. The concept of ethnicity was studied in: Jones S. The Archaeology of Ethnicity. Constructing Identities in the Past and Present, 1997, also in: Banks M. Ethnicity: Anthropological Constructions, London & New York, 1996. Main ideas shown in: Hansen L.I. and Niemi E. Samisk forskning ved et tidsskifte: Jens Andreas Friis og lappologien — vitenskap og politikk, Vitenskap, teknologi og samfunn. En innføring i vitenskapenes teori og praksis/ed. Seglen, E., Oslo, 2001, p. 350–377.

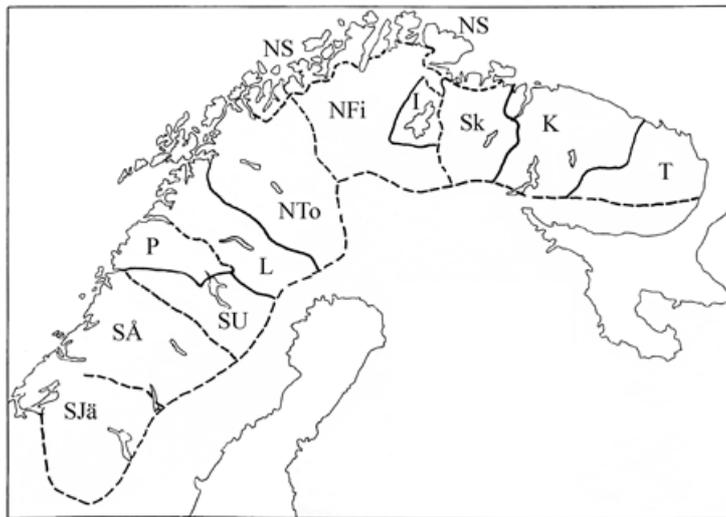


Figure 1. Localization of Saami languages and dialects. Sjä — Southern Saami; SÅ — Ume Saami; P and SU — Pite Saami; L — Lulle Saami; NTo, NFi и NS — Northern Saami; I — Inari Saami; Sk — Skolt Saami; K — Kildin Saami; T — Ter Saami.

Korhonen M. Johdatus lapin kielen historiaan. Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seuran toimituksia 370, Helsinki, 1981.

### ***Complex and varied relationships to neighbouring groups***

During the first millennium of our era and into the early phase of the Middle Ages — before the emergence of more organized state units among their neighbours — the Sámi appear to have had complex and varied relationships to other population groups both in the west, to the south and to the east. These relationships seem to have been both of a more symmetrical and asymmetrical nature [4, Hansen L.I., pp. 35–37; 5, Hansen L.I. et al, pp. 42–48]. The relations with other groups in Fennoscandia seem to have encompassed extensive barter and exchange relations, as well as reciprocal service-rendering to a certain extent, similar to the ones that have been observed between various groups of Sámi in modern times (e.g. so called ‘verdde’ relations between reindeer herding inland Sámi and coastal Sámi).

To the east, both ethnological evidence, special linguistic terms and toponymic studies seem to substantiate that the Sámi have had rather symmetrical exchange and barter relations of an institutionalized character with Baltic-Finnic population groups in present-day Finland and on the Karelian isthmus, such as the Hämäläiset and Suomalaiset [6, Itkonen E., passim; 7, Valonen N., passim; cf, 4, passim]. In early Medieval times (i.a. during the twelfth century), extensive exchange network stretching further eastwards appear to have secured regular and institutionalized contacts with Baltic-Finnic peoples situated at the great lakes of Ladoga and Beloozero and in the Vaga river basin [4, pp. 43–35].

To the west the Sámi had contacts and partly extensive exchange relations with the more hierarchical Norse societies, which were organized in a series of separate but cooperating

chieftainships that had emerged during the Migration Period (A.D. 370–570) and Merovingian times (A.D. 570–800). These chieftainships probably functioned as so called “redistribution systems” where different kinds of surplus production was channelled to the chieftain, who could then redistribute part of it and keep the rest for himself and his retainers. Some of the Sámi seem to have been attached to these redistribution centres in their capacity as specialized hunters — who on the one hand enjoyed voluntary exchange of products within such a system, but on the other hand also were obliged to yield certain compulsory contributions to the chieftains.

Also to the south did the Sámi keep relations with local elites settled around the northernmost coasts of the Gulf of Bothnia, who both carried out trade with the Sámi and exacted tribute-like contributions. In the early Middle Ages these elites mostly appear to have been Kvens, a people speaking a finno-ugric language, but due to colonising efforts during the high and later Middle Ages the settled regions were supplemented with both Swedes and Finnish-speaking peasant from the southern parts of Finland [1, Hansen L. I. and Olsen B, pp. 152–155].

Thus, from the end of the Iron Age and well into the beginning of the Medieval Period, the Sámi maintained relatively stable and mutually binding, institutionalized relations with several of their neighbours. In addition to the above mentioned trade and barter, these relationships seem to have been established and maintained by reciprocal exchange of gifts and to a certain degree marriage partners, as well as partaking in some of same cosmological notions, on themes where Sámi, Finno-Ugric and Norse religious conceptions possibly shared a common ground [1, pp. 348–349]. This does not necessarily mean that the interaction was symmetrical, stable and alike throughout the entire period. On the contrary, there seem to have occurred varying types of specialization and changing contact routes and circumstances of cooperation. In line with this, a certain regional variation also seems to have prevailed with regard to how the Sámi cultural identity was shaped and expressed within the Sámi settlement area. Regional traditions and various groups of “others” to relate to caused this identity to take on different expressions. The language, though, could have functioned as a unifying factor among the hunting communities and contributed to contrasting them relative to surrounding, especially Germanic people. Sámi language apparently has great time depth in all later known Sámi regions, and probably extends back to the last millennium BC.

These various forms of interaction were altered when the more organized statehoods in the North did appear, accompanied with ever more systematical efforts of Christianizing the population — first the neighbouring peoples but then successively the Sámi. The Norwegian kingdom was the one first to be consolidated in the southern part of Norway during the eleventh

century, and tightened its control over the north-western coast during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Secondly, the city republic of Novgorod — first mentioned in the 9th century — developed and established during the tenth and eleventh centuries widespread trade networks and fortified, administrative strongholds along the rivers of the north — well into the territories of finno-ugric-speaking hunter-gatherers [8, Martin J., *passim*; 9, Koht H., *passim*; 4, pp. 52–57]. And from the south, the Swedish monarchy went through a consolidation and strengthened during the thirteenth and especially the fourteenth century its administrative and economic control over inland territories in northern Fennoscandia — in good understanding and cooperation with the Swedish church [5, pp. 54–57, 71–74]. In this way, the chieftainships along the western coasts were replaced by the unified Norwegian monarchy, who took over the claims for exacting tax and tribute from the Sámi [10, Hansen L.I., *passim*], and a little later officials from Novgorod established themselves in the easternmost parts of the Sámi area, and demanded tax from the Sámi living there (along the western shores of the White Sea and on the Kola peninsula) [11, Lukjančenko T.V., *passim*]. A peculiar feature that occurred, was that parts of the Karelian population also expanded as settlers into Sámi areas in the east, and took on a special role as tax collectors and traders acting on the behalf of Novgorod [12, Storå N., *passim*; 4, p. 56; 13, Hansen L.I., *passim*; 14, Hansen L. I., *passim*]. They kept on to this role throughout most of the Middle Ages and into Early Modern times, travelling all over northern Fennoscandia, even to greater parts of the coast in the north and west. But from the south, the tax demanded from the Sámi was still collected by private tradesmen, acting only on behalf of themselves, and keeping on an extensive trade with the Sámi.

The ensuing result was that the northernmost parts of Fennoscandia during the late Middle Ages became divided into common, or mutual overlapping taxation districts, where two and two states claimed the right to collect tax from the Sámi. In the north, a common, mutually overlapping Russian-Norwegian tax district was stretching from the Lyngen fiord and Målselva river in the west, to the easternmost point of the Kola Peninsula (the location of the Sámi village ‘Pyenne’), and further southwards and along the southern shores of Kola until a river named ‘Velega’ (probably identical with ‘Vieljoki’/‘Vjala’, a tributary to the river Uмба) [5, pp. 62–68; 13, p. 32; 14, p. 300]. At the same time, the greater part of the interior of Northern Fennoscandia was covered by a common, overlapping Russian-Swedish taxation area. Both this overlapping taxation districts seem to have been established during the third decade of the fourteenth century [4, *passim*; 14, pp. 298–303; 15, Hansen L.I., *passim*].

This common taxation regime lasted until the end of the sixteenth century. But long before this time the surrounding state authorities had launched various offensives, in order to have the

Sámi habitation area divided between them according definitive, mutual excluding, territorial borders. The states sought to promote their own sovereignty or “rights of hegemony” over as great districts as possible by a series of measures: By taxing the Sámi as regularly as possible, by establishing local administrative and jurisdictional institutions in the Sámi areas, and by organizing a defence organization. The erection of churches and missionary activity vis-à-vis the Sámi also played an important role. Thus, the more indirect control that the states had earlier exercised over the Sámi areas through taxation and trade, should now be replaced with direct control. This policy led to several wars between the states during the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries. For most of the Sámi areas, these conflicts got their final political solution with a peace agreement and border drawing in 1751, after The Great Northern War. Apart from some of the East Sámi siidas, the majority of Sámi communities pertaining to more than one state, were then either distributed among the states, or became divided by the new border) [13, passim]. The exact border between Russian and Norwegian territory, distributing the territory of the East Sámi siidas, was first established as late as 1826 [16, Aarseth B., passim; Cf. 17, Johnsen O.A., passim; 18, Hansen L.I., passim]. The most first and foremost effect of this definitive division and unambiguous subjugation to the respective surrounding states and their new governmental agencies in the Sámi areas, was that it undermined the basis for autonomous Sámi systems. The Sámi became subject to secular and religious jurisdiction from the outside. Not only did this policy have great consequences for legal jurisdiction and the administration of resource management. It also had grave repercussions on the religious level. Towards the end of the seventeenth and during the first decades of the eighteenth century, a decisive offensive against the Sami religion was launched, through intensified missionary activity. The Christianization intervened in Sami culture in a decisive manner, and established new premises for how Sami identity should and could be articulated) [1, p. 353].

### ***The realization of Sámi livelihoods from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries***

The conditions for practicing and developing various Sámi ways of livelihoods, were therefore quite altered from the seventeenth century and onwards, due to the tighter administrative, judicial and ecclesiastical control with the Sámi districts from the surrounding states. At the same time, central parts of Sámi society underwent fundamental transformation processes. In the first place, it is from the early part of this period that there exists well documented evidence about the Sámi social organization in the form of siida units. Siida was the traditional local Sámi community or co-operative organization, consisting of several families or household units, who controlled a common resource territory and used it jointly for seasonal migration, hunting and the exploitation of various resource niches. As such, the concept of siida

connotes both a unit of social organization and the spatial extension of the corresponding usufruct territory [10, *passim*; 19, Vorren Ø., *passim*; 20, Vorren Ø., *passim*; 21, Helander E., *passim*]. The study of tax registers and taxation principles implemented for the Sámi both confirm this kind of community organization over great parts of the interior of Northern Fennoscandia, but also makes it clear that the social organization in the coastal regions varied to a great extent. In some coastal regions, a sort of *siida* organization must have existed, but it may have been of varying extent and composition, while the Sámi settlement in other parts seem to have been basic on single farms or dwelling sites [22, Vorren Ø., *passim*; 23, Holmsen A., *passim*; 24 Holmsen A., *passim*; 25, Bjørklund I., *passim*; 26, Grydeland S.E., *passim*; 27, Grydeland S.E., *passim*; 28, Hansen L.I., *passim*]. Furthermore, a more detailed analysis seems to give at hand that while the *siidas* to a high degree were used as basis for the taxation in those districts where they existed, the taxation system that was implemented (as the “tax land” institution on Swedish side) could also have served to support and confirm this way of organizing the social units [1, pp. 279–293; 29, Korpijaakko K., *passim*].

During these centuries, fundamental and decisive transformation processes related to the Sámi’s use and exploitation of the reindeer populations also occurred, with the further development of reindeer pastoralism, and finally full-scale reindeer herding or ‘ranching’ [30, Ingold, T., *passim*]. Together with an intensified population pressure and settlement urge from the other populations of Northern Fennoscandia, this led to restructuring and new constellations in wide parts of the area. Central themes are here: 1) the restructuring of the territories used by the nomads in their extended migration routes, 2) the efforts of drawing a line or border between those areas that should be open for agricultural settlement and colonization, and those who should be reserved for the reindeer nomads [Cf. “the lappmark border» — 1, pp. 288–293], 3) the transition in some areas from nomadic and semi-nomadic lifestyles to permanent farm settlements — and 4) the strife around and the delineation of the so called ‘common lands’ in the mountainous areas on Norwegian side. Together with new administrative measures and changing priorities from the state authorities, this led to a situation where the options for continued Sámi customary rights were highly varying. In some areas and aspects heavy impediments for the carrying on of Sámi traditional livelihoods were introduced, while at other places Sámi customary rights were even accepted by the jurisdiction of the states, and given a legal protection, though sometimes temporary. The space of this article does not, however, allow for a further discussion of these processes.

*The writing of Sámi history: A double urge and several perspectives in interaction*

This multifaceted relational situation that the Sámi have found themselves in, throughout history, has also had effects for the way Sámi history has been approached, when it comes to research, analysis and representation. In the first place, one can distinguish between an “insider-” and “outsider”-perspective: Between efforts among the Sámi themselves for giving an account and a representation of their own history, as viewed and experienced from their own position and geographical situation (“place”) on the one hand — and Sami culture and history as an object of research for traditional academic disciplines in the fields of humaniora and social sciences on the other. From the beginning and middle of the nineteenth century Westerly academic activities underwent a differentiation process, whereby the modern, separated disciplines of history, sociology and ethnography became more precisely defined, delineated and “disciplined” so to speak — in contrast to an earlier, more holistic, undivided approach to culture, society and history of different peoples. A distinction was established, whereby historical dynamism and development (“evolution”) primarily were ascribed to some peoples of Western and Central Europe as well as North America, while many peoples elsewhere were construed as showing less dynamism, lack of development and more stagnant social conditions, based on very stable, almost permanent ways of livelihood and social institutions. To a great extent the last ones became characterized as “primitive” [31, Kuper, A., passim]. And whereas the discipline history became primarily concerned with analyzing and explaining the historical development of the allegedly “dynamic” societies of the west, and seeking for historical conditions and roots of these modern “nation states”, the supposedly “primitive” and stagnant societies to a great extent became the research object of the newly independent discipline ethnography. An accompanying effect of this was that the history discipline also took on a pronounced “nation-building” function for those of Westerly states which lately had been unified or institutionalized along national lines, not least inspired by the German historian Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803) and seeking evidence and continuity for the existence and delineation of the same people or nation backwards in time [32, Iggers G.G. and Wang Q.E. with contr. from Mukherjee S., passim].

Although the Sámi in this period fell outside the basic frame of reference of the historical discipline, and thereby the academic efforts of studying the early expressions and manifestations of national culture, cohesiveness and identity, there were nevertheless some Sámi authors who endeavoured to engage in presenting accounts of Sámi history, adaptations and way of life, as well as relations to others, as they saw it, based on passed down information, conceptions and

traditions, as well as their own experiences.<sup>2</sup> Exponents for such works are Johan Turi (1854–1936) with “Muitalus sámiid birra” (33, “A story about the Sámi”), Anta Pirak (1873–1951) with “Jáhttee saamee viessoom” (34, 35, “The Life of a Nomad”) and Anders Larsen (1870–1949) with “Mearrasámii birra” (36, 37, “About the Seasámi”, 1949).

A contemporary, but different approach can be found in the writings of Henrik Kvandahl (1865–1950) from Ofoten, who published three editions of the “History of the Sámi/Sámi people” in 1925, 1947 and 1950. Kvandahl i.a. presented a survey over viewpoints about the origin and early history of the Sámi, based on a broad selection of classical authors, ranging from antiquity to the eighteenth century. But at the same time he referred with meticulous detail and accuracy a long series of empirical sources, documenting the settlement and presence of Sámi in the region of Southern Troms and Northern Nordland, within a time span from the sixteenth century, and until the censuses of the late nineteenth century [38, Kvandahl H., passim; 39, Kvandahl H., passim; 40, Kvandahl H., passim; 41, Minde H., passim].

Most of these works may be said to represent various “situated approaches”, in that they present pictures and syntheses of Sámi culture, history and way of life defined by certain local or regional points of view, based on locally or regionally transmitted traditions or experiences.

Alongside this trend, Sámi culture and history were — as we have seen — very early taken on as an object of research by certain academic disciplines analyzing culture and forms of social organization, even if these approaches were biased by the dichotomy of the construction of “primitive” vs. “developed” societies, as mentioned above. At first, Sámi material and immaterial culture, history and social organization were made the object of the study of such disciplines as ethnography, ethnology, folkloristics and geography, and then — only at a later point of time — by history and archaeology. A certain number of Sámi were also recruited to these disciplines pioneering in the study of Sámi social and cultural features and conditions, and the result was a series of work written from a scholarly — but at the same time — a specific Sámi point of view. Within this kind production one can observe works of a more local character and point of view, dictated by the standpoint and interests of the author, but still representing scholarly investigations. An outstanding exponent for this trend is Israel Ruong (1903–1986), who published

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<sup>2</sup> Of course, many Sámi — like for instance Samuel Rheen and Olof Sirma — had at a much earlier date been engaged as informants or provided well documented reports about Sámi cultural traits, ways of living and livelihoods, to serve as basis or preparatory material for the more totalizing, ethnographic descriptions written by various authors from the end of the seventeenth and on through the eighteenth century, like Johannes Schefferus and Knud Leem. Cf. *Berättelser om samerna i 1600-tallets Sverige, faksimileutgåva av de s.k. prästrelationerne m.m.*, Umeå, Kungl. Skytteanska Samfundets Handlingar Nr. 27), 1983. But as these efforts precede the differentiation of scholarly authorship concerning Sámi history that I have described above, they will not be discussed further here.

both deep-going analyses of more delimited social processes [42, passim; 43, passim] and broadly conceived syntheses, like “Samerna — i historien och nutiden” [44, passim]. Other Sámi scholars who might be said to follow up this trend in later times, are Samuli Aikio [45, passim], Sverre Fjellheim [46, passim; 47, passim], Johan A. Kalstad [48, passim; 49, passim] and Åge Solbakk [50, passim; 51 passim]. — Other specific investigations from recent times have been carried out by Oddmund Andersen (the emergence of reindeer nomadism), [52, passim; 53, passim] Thomas Andersen (the combination of livelihoods among the “outlying field Sámi” of Southern Troms) [54, passim], and Leif Elsvatn (the livelihoods and resource exploitation among the settled South Sámi population in certain communities) [55, passim].

### ***More specific goals and challenges posed by the multi-cultural situation***

Though we can observe a series of central works on Sámi culture and history published by Sámi scholars, it cannot be concealed that the situation within this field is highly complex and characterized by different viewpoints and contradictions, precisely due to the relational and multi-cultural position which has characterized the context of Sami cultural and social development.

On the one hand, one may observe a legitimate demand for the strengthening of Sámi ethnic identity, and using the conceptions and accounts of earlier social and cultural processes relating to Sámi society in an effort of building a separate, own identity alongside with the other peoples of Northern Fennoscandia. This would amount to a justified effort for making explicit, describing and analyzing historical processes and effects which for several centuries have been silenced or suppressed, as a result of various state policies for assimilation and integration.

But in this context there is also a deeply felt need for implementing research along more specific lines and investigating more specific matters, which may be shown to imply great repercussions, or have a strong potential, for safeguarding and giving legal protection to the present-day or future position of Sámi culture, social institutions and way of life in society of today. In this context, investigations into — and the meticulously charting of older legal conditions pertaining to various Sámi ways of livelihood and forms of resource management, have shown to be of great value. Not least the very task of demonstrating and verifying Sámi presence in various regions during older times, has been very significant, as an endeavour to counter and refute the picture mediated by the “silencing techniques” of earlier times. Also many non-Sámi scholars have been engaged in, and contributed to this field. Classical works are Väinö Tanner’s investigation of East Sámi social organization and way of life from 1929 [56, passim] and Erik Solem’s studies into Sámi legal traditions from 1933 [57, passim]. Some of this perspective was followed up with Helmer Tegengren’s study of the history of Kemi Sámi through the centuries (1952) [58, passim], but a more stringent

continuation of the legal historical approach came with Sverre Tønnesen's investigation into the legal effects of the construction of the so called "un-matriculated" state property of Finnmark (1972) [59, passim]. A monumental study of the sedentarization process and the growth of farm settlement among the Sámi in Lule lappmark on Swedish side, is Filip Hultblad's treatise from 1968, with its in-depth reconstruction of kinship relations situated in a geographic-topographical setting [60, passim]. In the same perspective must be mentioned the charting of traditional local practices and customary law regulating Sámi resource exploitation in the inner parts of Finnmark county, undertaken by Ørnulv Vorren, Johan Albert Kalstad and Dikka Storm and published 1978 by the state commission "Ressursutvalget for Finnmarksvidda" in an official report [61, passim]. This approach was followed up five years later with a cultural-historical presentation of the criteria that were considered when evaluating the need for preservation of various kinds of cultural remains (1983).<sup>3</sup> In the years that have followed, there has been published a series of more specific investigations into the conditions and histories of more specific Sámi groups, defined either regionally or thematically by habitat or by way of livelihood. Among these studies may be mentioned Astri Andresen's study of reindeer nomads of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Torne lappmark [62, passim], Allan Kristensen's study of the traditional, customary rights of the Varanger Sámi during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries [63, passim], Lars Ivar Hansen's study of the Sámi allodium institution of the seventeenth century [64, passim], and Dikka Storm's investigation of the settlement and resource exploitation of the "outlying field Sámi" (markasamer) in the southern part of Troms county [65, passim, 66, passim]. An investigation into the practices and customs regulating the use of common land resources in a valley with predominant Sámi habitation in North Troms has been published by Bjørn Bjerkli and Trond Thuen [67, passim]. A lot of these research results and viewpoints from later years has also been summarized, referred and published in the official reports serving as preparatory evidence for the work of the State appointed committees commissioned with the task of clarifying and making suggestions for the implementation of Sámi resource rights — both within Finnmark county and in the areas south of Finnmark as well.<sup>4</sup> What kind of particular rights the sea Sámi might have had traditionally, relating to various kinds of fisheries, has also been deliberated by specially appointed committees.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Kulturminner og vassdragsvern, utredning fra Styringsgruppen for vurdering av kulturverdiene i 10 års vernede vassdrag oppnevnt av Miljøverndepartementet 30. juni 1978, NOU 1983:43.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Samisk naturbruk og rettssituasjon fra Hedmark til Troms. Bakgrunnsmateriale for Samerettsutvalget (Norges offentlige utredninger 2007:14), Oslo, 2007.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Innstilling fra samisk fiskeriutvalg, 1993; Retten til fiske i havet utenfor Finnmark, 2008:5.

### *Reflexiveness*

At the same time, the analysis and writing of history has through the later decades met with new theoretical challenges resulting from the renewed focus on history as narration, and its implications. Due to inspiration from postmodern and constructivistic positions, the scepticism versus “great narratives” and “one single (progressing, flow of) History” — whether it could be narrated and explained or not — has grown. For one thing, the urge for many, specified and particularistic histories has been advocated; on the other hand one observes also an attitude which tries to take into consideration that many methods or approaches may be at hand as prerequisites for analysing and understanding more general historical processes, but that these methods and approaches at the same time offer challenges or boundaries for comprehension (68, *passim*). Thus, the task of writing and constructing “one, single national history” has to a certain extent become discredited, and been replaced by an appeal for “many histories”, written from multiple positions and multiple relationships. In a way, many of the more recent particularistic efforts of analysing and describing the history of various Sámi subgroups, according to regional or adaptational delimitations, may be seen as a fulfilment of this call — intentionally or not.

However, a far more profound of critique — relating to the field of the theory of science — has been raised, about what kind of basic assumptions and notions that non-Sámi researchers have used, when approaching various parts of Sámi society in order to do research and collect data. This critique was launched in 1974 with the programmatic article “Research as an inter-ethnic relation”, written by the Sámi scholar Alf Isak Keskitalo [69, *passim*]. Here, Keskitalo launched a fundamental critique of the so called “ethno-sciences”, that is: those social sciences which traditionally had been most engaged in charting and analyzing cultural features and social institutions of Sámi societies, like: ethnology, ethnography, social anthropology and parts of sociology. He maintained that they did not pay sufficient attention to the fact that their approaches when doing field work and participant observation in Sámi local communities, as well as their methods of publishing their research results, all were embedded in the fundamental power relationships between majority and minority in society. Thus the research appeared as an inter-ethnic relation in itself, with many asymmetric aspects. Among such expressions can be mentioned: 1) The difficulties or impossibility for an external researcher to communicate in fact the real motives and methods of research, and the failure of the field-worker to grasp the complexity of the social relations within the community in question. 2) The researcher’s “upper hand” when it comes to interpreting the observed social facts of the community, and furthermore supported by the fact that the outcome of the research — which at that time most often were

published in a form and language which the studied community did not have easy access to — also might have effects or repercussions for the policy decisions taken by the state authorities vis-à-vis the group in question. This might further emphasize the asymmetry that was manifest in every aspect, and the impossibility of establishing a real, and practical reciprocity. For Keskitalo, the central question was whether “ethno-scientists [would] give up the scheme of making holistic programmes for the exhaustive theoretical understanding of the minority, thus establishing a monopoly of knowledge, to which the minority itself has to refer” [69, p. 35]. According to Keskitalo, this can only be done by replacing the anthropological universalist dogma of scientific, social and cognitive transparency — by which internal complexity is externalized as “general understanding” — with essential opacity, whereby the final theories of the minority’s own problems and relations are left to itself.

A few years before, the Nordiska Museet in Stockholm had arranged a broadly composed symposium on various research into Sámi culture and society [70, *passim*]. Many scholarly fields of research were presented at this occasion, in particular pertaining to the disciplines of archaeology, ethnology, ethnography, geography, history, demography, sociology and linguistics. Already at this event Ole Henrik Magga touched upon some of the same questions as Keskitalo later was to treat in greater depth. Among other things, this concerned the great pressure exerted by scholars and students from a great many countries to study Sámi society and culture, irrespective of what point of departure they had, and the need for recruiting Sámi scholars to these fields, in order to benefit from “inside knowledge” of Sámi relations and conditions [71, *passim*].

To some extent, the weaknesses and challenges pointed out by Keskitalo and Magga, have been mended through the last 40 years, by an ever growing number of Sámi recruited to academic professions, and not least the social sciences, while at the same time major steps have been taken in developing Sámi language into an academic language as well. The regular publishing of the Sámi academic periodical *Sámi dieđalaš áigečála* is evidence of this.

***Correcting and supplementing the histories of the encompassing states  
and their “national histories”***

Apart from the urge to study into older Sámi customary and legal traditions and investigate what kind of remnants that still might exist of earlier legal or customary rights — and the demand for clarifying what kind of consequences that might be drawn on this basis — there also exists a basic need for correcting or “filling out” the “national histories” of the respective states on several points.

Thus, the actual multi-cultural and multi-ethnic foundations of these states throughout the centuries should be emphasized. As it has been shown, this involves a long, protracted process stretching from the High Middle ages and until the first decades of the twentieth century, whereby the Sámi areas in northern Fennoscandia became divided and partitioned between the various surrounding state powers. This protracted process — or rather several encompassing processes — may be said to have started with the delineation of the partially overlapping taxation areas in high and late medieval times, then developed through the more acute rivalries over land, populations and resources from the end of the sixteenth century and until 1751, and then having its final culmination with the border closings for various groups of Sámi nomads through the last years of the nineteenth century — and for some of the reindeer herders, in fact not until the first or the middle part of the twentieth century [72, *passim*].

These processes are of course interesting and should be studied as such, as the story about how Sámi habitat and society came to be colonized and integrated within the surrounding state structures. But the most important aspect of these incorporating and integrating processes from a Sámi point of view, and the point to be made here, is that a study of them also reveals the “darker side” of the various “nation building” measures applied by the states, and the injustices and encroachments carried out in this connection. Thus, this aspect of research into and presentation of Sámi history must also comprise a critical analysis of how Sámi ways of life, livelihoods, beliefs and cultural traits were being treated by the state administrations: Either by plainly setting them aside, and trying to define them as non-existent, i.a. by way of employing special categorizing processes — or more actively and aggressively — having them opposed and abolished, by measures like missionary activities and assimilation policies in the cultural and linguistic field (by way of education and schooling systems), as well as deliberate, discriminating legal measures in order to delimit and confine the opportunities for practicing specific Sámi ways of living/livelihoods.

Certain agendas in the political field, for instance by sorting the Sámi population into various categories constructed from the viewpoint of the states, and designed according to their political aims of establishing national borders through landed resource areas used by the Sámi, have among others been analysed by Dikka Storm and Evjen & Hansen [73, *passim*; 74, *passim*].

The missionary activities of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries stand out as a central measure in this context [75, Rydving H., *passim*; 76, Storm D., *passim*; 77, Storm D., *passim*; 78, Storm D., *passim*]. The assimilation policy and its effects have also been studied and analysed by several scholars. In fact, one of the earliest treatises, which also tried to analyse the undertakings

of the so called “Norwegianization policy” from a Sámi point of view, was made by the well renowned linguist and researcher of Sámi culture, Just Knud Qvigstad as early as 1907 [79, *passim*; cf. 80, Hansen, L. I., *passim*].<sup>6</sup> During the first decades of the twentieth century this theme was raised at several occasions, also by the so called radical opposition against the Norwegianization policy, with whom Qvigstad seems to have collaborated to a certain degree [81, Otterbach, J., *passim*]. — The severe demands and sanctions vis-à-vis the Sámi in the field of Norwegianization, and the repercussions it had for cutting off their ability to control and dispose their traditional landed resources in certain parts of Norway, have been studied by Regnor Jernsletten, who focused on the so called “Jordsalgsloven” of 1902 [82, *passim*]. According to this ‘land sales act’, it was laid down as an absolute condition for those wishing to purchase land for agricultural purposes in Finnmark, that they could prove good ability in the Norwegian language. The regulations and hindrances put down by the various state authorities vis-à-vis the Sámi reindeer herding has also been widely exposed and analysed, i.a, by Nils Johan Päiviö [83, *passim*]. Evidence of more documentary character, for instance presented in the form of traditions and recollections of earlier forms of nomadic migration between various resource areas on both sides of the Swedish-Norwegian border, may also serve important functions in this respect, like the presentation of the traditional movements of the Könkämävuoma-Sámi by Lars J. Walkeapää [84, *passim*].

### ***Methodological considerations***

The points that have been highlighted and examined above should clearly indicate that both the research into historical processes within Sámi society, and the analytical presentation of such themes, meet with considerable and fundamental challenges. This flows not only from the source situation, and the varying ‘agendas’ and cultural perspectives of those who have produced or influenced the written sources, so that former social processes and cultural meanings and traditions may be misunderstood, misrepresented, restructured or censured. The most fundamental dilemmas and problems of interpretation are raised by the various changes and transformations that the cultural and social interaction with other groups undergo, on the background of shifting symmetrical/asymmetrical power relationships with one or the other. Under these conditions, the manifestations of Sámi ethnic identity also undergo considerable transformations through the centuries. This follows from the dynamics of ethnic signals and expressing ethnic identity under various circumstances and in different contexts: What it meant to be Sámi — in relation to, in cooperation with and in juxtaposition to others — changed in its

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<sup>6</sup> I wish to thank senior lecturer *Ketil Zachariassen*, IHR, UiT —The Arctic University of Norway, for having called my attention to this aspect of Qvigstad’s book.

practical, geographical and interactional context over time. And so did the way this was signalled or displayed.

The reconstruction of Sámi history in its relational and dynamic sense, seems therefore to be dependent on the attention to a number of specific methodological considerations, when approaching the social and historical processes within this field. As some sort of concluding remarks, I would like to suggest the following:

***An integrated combination of several disciplinary approaches***

The purpose would be to try to compensate for the variety of different, misrepresented and possibly contradicting traces of evidence which various Sámi practices have left in matters/source categories that traditionally have been focused and studied most intensively by one or a few of the cultural historical disciplines. This would for instance involve the analysis of cultural remains in relation to written sources, respectively linguistic material; arts and handicraft (duodji), folklore, and tacit knowledge (“handlingsbåren kunnskap”) [85, Dunfjeld M., passim]. The usefulness of supplementary interviews, in order to document remains of traditional knowledge or preserved bits of information, may also be relevant.

By basing oneself on such a combined approach, one could possibly make corrections for any built-in bias in one of the source categories, where empirical evidence traditionally studied by one discipline might contain information that otherwise is overlooked or not intercepted by other types of evidence. In an analysis of the probable relationships between Sámi society in South Troms and the neighbouring Norse chieftain elite during the later Iron Age and early Medieval times, L.I. Hansen has used an integrated approach, based on both toponymic studies, retrospective analysis of property relations and studies of the complex set of cultural remains in the area (86, passim]. But evidently, such an approach would also pose fundamental methodological challenges as how to draw definitive conclusions from potentially contradicting forms of evidence.

***An approach that takes into consideration the changing expressions of Sámi ethnic identity and cultural practices throughout the centuries***

A long range of studies have substantiated that what was regarded as particularly significant cultural features for signalling Sámi ethnicity — so called “diacritical markers” in the social anthropological terminology [2, passim] — have changed considerably from period to period. Two simple examples may be offered as illustrations: The Russian archaeologist N.A. Makarov has shown how a lot of metal pendants with “zoo-morphic” ornaments and figures which were produced by other finno-ugric peoples at central production areas in the Perm-Volga area, as

well as the areas southeast of Ladoga and around Beloozero, came to be deposited in Sámi graves in northern Fennoscandia during the eleventh — thirteenth centuries [87, passim]. The majority of them have forms or depict animals which can be connected to conceptions of a shaman's voyages. Evidently, these objects were considered so precious by the Sámi that they went at lengths to get hold of them, and have them deposited in the graves. In this way, they also came to serve as important ethnical markers vis-à-vis the Norse population and other non-Sami people in Fennoscandia. — Another feature that has been emphasized, is that certain traits of the traditional Sámi costume (gákti), can be identified with earlier traits in Scandinavian or Central European clothing style, which supposedly can have been borrowed and accommodated at various points of time — for instance during the early Middle Ages or during the Renaissance [88, Zachrisson I., passim]. — An investigation into the distribution of recorded first names among the Sámi and the Norwegians in the Southern part of Troms county from 1567 to 1661, also reveals interesting features. It turns out that both ethnic groups to a certain extent used as naming material the names of old Norse people that had been regarded as saints in the Middle Ages, or had otherwise been accepted by the church, like St. Olav and St. Hallvard. But apart from this common tradition, Sámi and Norwegian used quite different first names during the sixteenth and early part of the seventeenth century. While the Norwegians primarily used names of saints that had been very popular in Europe through the most recent centuries (late medieval times), the Sámi kept away from those name forms. In stead they used renderings of the really old Norse material, like the heathen names documented in the Saga literature. To be sure, it is only the names recorded in the official, Norwegian sources that one may study, and one cannot rule out that there might have existed a separate, non-recorded naming tradition among the Sámi, but anyhow this should demonstrate that for the names in "official use", the two groups distinguished themselves in adopting various parts of the preserved name supply [89, Hansen L.I., passim; 90, Hansen L.I., passim]. — Various direct expressions of ethnic affiliation might also be toned down in periods, and not signalled so energetic as before, but then against brought to forefront and revitalized at other times — like experiences from the later years demonstrate.

***An approach that takes into consideration the relevance and importance of social interaction with neighbouring groups and partners, encompassing both symmetrical and asymmetrical relationships***

This might serve as a remedy for tracing and correcting negative and discriminating state measures towards the Sámi, as described in point "Correcting and supplementing..." — cf. the effect of special categorising efforts by one or more of the authorities involved. In addition, this could serve as an inspiration for trying to chart, document and analyze the character of Sámi

settlement in regions where the presence of Sámi people formerly has been thoroughly under-communicated due to prevailing stereotypes about the ethnic composition of the population. Alf Ragnar Nielsen's reconstruction of a considerable Sámi presence and settlement in the Lofoten islands from the beginning of the Middle Ages and on through the nineteenth century, may serve as an example [91, *passim*]. At the same time, it is based on a multi-disciplinary approach, as advocated under point about integrated combination.

In the continuation of this one might also benefit from adopting an approach that welcomes the use of all kinds of sources and material that might be brought to highlight the situation or processes concerning the Sámi. — As I see it, this would mean that one should not confining oneself only to sources that speak directly or explicitly of the Sámi, or are related to the activities of the Sámi in a directly, positive way. Relating to questions where Sámi presence or the existence of former and present Sámi rights is hard to substantiate, it would be just as rewarding — and in many instances much more rewarding — to study the sources that reflect the activities and fluctuations of the interactional partners of the Sámi, such as the Norwegians, the Swedes, the Finlanders and the Russians. In this way, Sámi presence or behaviour might be indirectly reflected by the social and demographic behaviour of the other groups.

The reconstruction of a special kind of older Sámi property rights in Troms and Nordland counties during the seventeenth century — the so called “Sámi allodium institution” — may serve to illustrate this: The central question was whether the extent of the alleged Sámi property rights were so far-reaching, that they really had “the upper hand” and could force away possible Norwegian tenants, who had occupied the original Sámi dwelling places during periods when the Sámi had moved temporarily out from them, attracted by other forms of livelihoods, like specialized fisheries. If the Sámi had no special rights, their original places should have no special status, but could be hired by Norwegian tenants on ordinary land lease conditions. Thus, the real, decisive question was whether the individual succession order on the localities followed a common order, influenced by the general demand for land, or whether the succession order revealed sudden take-overs by Sámi tenants, when they otherwise should be supposed to act on the same premises and in the same way as Norwegians. In this way, no definitive conclusion about the real effect of the alleged Sámi rights could be reached, before the succession order of both Sámi and Norwegian tenants had been charted and compared. In other words, a detailed examination of the succession order among the Norwegians was the essential, decisive methodological step, before anything conclusive could be said about the legal status of the Sámi customary rights [92, Hansen L.I., *passim*; 93, Hansen L.I., *passim*].

### **Conclusion: A regional and local situatedness triggered off by a relational perspective**

Thus, it would seem that the analysis and narrative presentations of Sámi history take on several challenges — on quite different levels. Not only does this spring from the relational and “minority” position that has been ascribed to the Sámi since the surrounding states got control over various parts of the Sámi population and territory, and which has had great repercussions for defining both “Sámi history” and “Sámi culture” in a relational, but asymmetric perspective. Evidently this had great consequences for the way research into “Sámi affairs” was to be conceived and constructed from the “outsider” versus the “insider” perspective. But the dilemmas are not only confined to such questions on a more general level, but have also consequences for the approach to the sources and the factual engagement with them. The conditions for coping with these problems stemming from the analysis on a general level, seem nevertheless to be best, when approaching them with a locally or regionally situated investigation, where the specific singularities of the source material can be studied in full detail, while at the same time drawing on a broadest set of possible sources and given indications.

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## Väinö Tanner and the discourse on racial difference



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**Abstract.** The article charts a previously lesser-known aspect of research on the Skolt Sami by Väinö Tanner — his ideas on the Skolt Sami as a race. Tanner's place in the scholarly field of racial theorizing and the discursive resources on which he relied are examined. One inspiring contemporaneous discourse was the Finnish hygienic discourse and the improvement of the nation's health, towards which

Tanner leaned. He reproduced aspects of the more aggressive eugenic discourse articulated by his ethnic peers, the Finland-Swedes, but the discourse on their racial superiority was unusable, given the agenda of his book, to elevate the Skolt Sami in the racial hierarchies. The economic organization of society was decisive for Tanner, rather than race, making him a Social evolutionist.

**Keywords:** Väinö Tanner, research on race, studies on Sami, the Skolt Sami

### Introduction

At the time when Väinö Tanner (1881–1948), geologist and Professor of Geography at the University of Helsinki, was writing the seminal work on the Skolt Sami, *Antropogeografiska studier inom Petsamo-området. 1 Skoltlapparna* (Human Geographical studies in the Petsamo-region. 1 The Skolt Lapps, 1929, hereinafter *Antropogeografiska*), the intellectual life of the Nordic countries, Western Europe, North America and the British Dominions was pervaded with a discourse on racial difference. Research on race, and the discourse on which it depended, illustrated both the division of mankind into racial categories and, before its criticism, the “truths” of that time, which were measured and discussed like any scientific research results. Craniology had a reputation, prior to its scholarly dead-end, as an exact and neutral science practised by professionals using statistical methods. Eugenics had a political appeal to both the conservative right and the progressive left, not to mention the new radical political movements, all of which shared a sense of fear regarding the degeneration of society. This affected politics: fears linked to the co-existence and blending of races, as well as to the disappearance of the white race, formed a constituent part of policies on racial segregation and restrictions on immigration. Anthropology and the search for correlation between biological and cultural features were criticized from the 1890s onwards, while a more serious crisis for racial science evolved in the 1920s and 1930s. Anthropologists and biologists began to undermine the central concepts of racial thought, all the while that — and because — they were practised aggressively in Nazi Germany. The existence of

pure races was already being denied by scholars at this time [1, Kemiläinen A., p. 186 et passim; 2, Lake and Reynolds, pp. 254–255, 310–335; 3, Tydén M., pp. 24–25, 32].

The issue of race was linked to concerns regarding the survival and health of nations, as well as the competition regarding the alleged place each nation possessed in the racial hierarchies of that era. Finland was defined as a domicile to three races, including the Finnish (classified as either a Mongoloid or Eastern-Baltic race) and the Germanic, represented by the Finland-Swedes (a minority to which Tanner belonged and with which he identified). Racial status and purity was also a matter of concern and interest regarding the third racial group: the Sami population in Finland. Officials and scholars were interested in Sami kinsfolk, who were in the process of cultural and ethnic “Finnicization” or “Samification”. This process could go both ways: a Finnish kinsfolk could be in the process of adapting to Sami ways. However, the Finnish educated classes entertained ideas of “pure” Lapp and “genuine” Finnish folk, to which the lower and weaker Sami were in the process of assimilating. These classifications also had a racial angle and people were categorized according the parameters towards which the “mixed population” were inclined [4, Lehtola V-P., p. 41; 5, p. 265].

This article charts the racial thinking of Väinö Tanner. Tanner has enjoyed a reputation as a “Sami-friendly” scholar, so the racial aspect of his Skolt Sami studies has been a somewhat troubling side of his scholarly production: acknowledged but bypassed, with a lesser focus in recent studies on Tanner. Geographer Paulo Susiluoto mentions Tanner’s interest in the racial character of the Skolt Sami, but he does so in passing and claims that Tanner offered no explanatory power to race biology in his research on Skolt Sami culture and society [6, p. 16]. I shall explore Tanner’s ideas concerning the racial status of the Skolt Sami and the branch of theorizing to which he adhered in anthropological/race-biological terms, as well as ideologically. What were the provoking discourses he wrote against? The outline of the article is as follows: I shall first examine the racial discussion in the book itself, with a contextualizing side-view concerning influences upon Tanner. Thereafter I shall study the Finnish discussion on eugenics and national hygiene, a context which I claim influenced Tanner’s thinking.

Though a social construction, rather than having its foundation in biology [7, Gunaratnam Y., pp. 3–4; 8, Isaksson P., pp. 360–362], race and race research has always been constitutive to the members of the “races” as a social, categorizing fact and serving as a distancing and in-group forming, delimiting function for the researcher and the researched. Self/Other dialectics are always present in research on folk-groups; these dialectics do not always need to be racialized and they do not need to have social and political implications, but in the time of Tanner these

implications were present in the racial discourse [8, Isaksson P., pp. 55, 57]. It is not possible to go through the history of research on race and racial categorizations of the Sami in detail here, only to the extent necessary to contextualize and position Tanner's approach. This troubled history of intuitive and speculative scholarly enquiry struggling to be scientific is covered in previous works on the subject [e.g. 3, Tydén M., passim; 8, Isaksson P., passim; 9, Kyllingstad J.R., passim].

The sources for this article are Tanner's *Antropogeografiska* text itself, and the notes and manuscripts collected by Tanner in his personal archive. From the point of view of method, the approach is indebted to a typical approach from the history of ideas, identifying influential segments of scholarship and authorship that affected Tanner, and positioning him in the scholarly field. My approach and reading of the sources is also discursive — the interest lies in the way scholars and Tanner positioned, hierarchized and coded different folk groups. Which discourses did he echo and which did he write against? Research is a discursive practice: rather than reflecting reality, science is entangled with social and political relations, and involves an ideological and discursive construction of the object of its enquiry. These relations can be traced historically and studied as context-specific to the research. Research actively produces its subject, e.g. the racial difference between the colonizer and colonized. Knowledge produced is not mere facts, but emergent property between and among differently-positioned individuals, including the researcher, which can be used discursively and analysed [7, Gunaratnam Y., pp. 7–9]. The subject of my study is therefore not Skolt Sami ethnicity as such, but the discursive process of its construction, as well as its contestation by Tanner.

Before we embark on Tanner, it may be noted that the Sami were neither unaware of nor untouched by the numerous down-grading opinions held by and behaviour of the majority folk in the encounters in which their racial position was in some way explicated. Reactions varied from unease and a sense of unsafety to general mistrust and agitated pride [10, Rosberg J.E., pp. 158–159, 191–192]. However, this side of the issue falls outside the scope of this study. Another thing is that the Finnish political thinking of the era was permeated by ideas of differences between nationalities as well as of opinions about Russians/Soviets. The text that follows contains contemporaneous ideas of the "Other" of the Finnish, the Russians. These ideas, sharpened by the racial characterizations, are to be read contextually as historical statements, not as those held by the author of this article.

### ***Tanner and the race problem — were the Skolt Sami a blended race?***

Discourse on racial difference was articulated by both amateurs and scholars intent on serious research. Tanner made no effort to escape this, but used and modified the existing,

racializing scholarly tools. The main agenda of *Antropogeografiska*, Tanner's great synthesis of Skolt Sami adaptation and societal form, and the history and geography of the Skolt Sami *siida* (Sami village), was his endeavour to elevate the Skolt Sami within the existing categories, by scholarly means that were taken to be legitimate and within the limits that the racial discourse allowed. Another agenda on Tanner's part was to establish a foundation for his own expert position, which was evident in his paternalistic advice to the Skolt Sami on the adaptation form best suited to them, that of semi-nomadic reindeer herding; that these agendas may seem to contradict one another is one of the many internal contradictions from which his book suffers. The book is actually unfinished, something of which Tanner himself was aware.

Nineteenth-century writings on the Sami included numerous ponderings about the Sami as an assimilating and oppressed people and copious lists of the character of the Sami folk ("they are in every respect grown-up children, curious, thoughtless, vain..."<sup>1</sup>). Tanner was sparing in his provision of such lists in his book and there is a scientific foundation for his choice: he might have found the lists insufficient from the perspective of method and scientific accuracy. Lists of folk characteristics had begun to appear out of date and received (deserved) criticism during the 1920s: they lacked hard empirical foundation; they were unverifiable, contaminated and subjective; they had earlier been used in a confusing manner as a synonym for race and were an indication of amateurish conceptual and scientific apparatus. Among physical anthropologists, these measurements had been taken to a new level of accuracy and stringency. The new branch of science was measuring visible, somatic variables, on the basis of which scholars were making more controlled estimations of the capabilities and character of different peoples as seemingly hard scientific facts [1, Kemiläinen A., pp. 88ff, 184–185, 202, 224–225, 238, 242; 11, Cvetkovski R., p. 11]. Advanced, avant-garde research had provided tools for study of peoples in a more scientific manner, through measurable variables concerning race. Tanner had chosen to upgrade his study on the Skolt Sami, relying on this paradigmatic transformation.

Tanner used racial reasoning and terminology such as *type*, originating from racial studies in several other passages in the book, as well. Early on in the book Tanner assumes that the Sami were originally an agglomeration of different racial elements. The oldest foundation was the Arctic stone-age culture, through which Tanner constructs a lengthy first-comer history. This culture adopted other Eastern-Baltic and Nordic elements, which were strengthened or consolidated into a culture around the tame reindeer (*tamrenkulturen*), constituting a Lapp, or Sami, culture. This

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<sup>1</sup> ATUM (Archive of Tromsø University Museum), AVT (Archive of Väinö Tanner), box 2, folder 1e, notes. Undated notes on Vahl (1866). Tanner quotes I. Vahl's *Lapperne og den lappske mission* (Kjøbenhavn 1866).

had already taken place during prehistoric times. Tame reindeer would have served to gather together the “peuplades” (*Fr.*, here signifying small, isolated groups of Sami) as a culturally unified people [12, Tanner V., p. 28].<sup>2</sup> This may be seen as a comment on the racializing and diffusionist discourse on the Sami; instead of becoming a separate race and a people capable of receiving cultural elements only by diffusion, the Sami had absorbed various racial elements and actively adopted cultural elements. This complicated the hierarchization, more so than under the presumption of classical physical anthropology that races were separate entities and race-blending produced only degenerate forms. It was most likely also a comment on Norwegian and Swedish studies concerned with racial purity and the Germanic origin of the Scandinavians. Both Norwegian (race eugenic Jon Mjøen) and Swedish (Herman Lundborg) researchers warned aggressively and repeatedly against the dangers of race-blending — the Sami appearing as a factor worsening the racial stock. This was especially true of the writings of Uppsala professor and, until 1936, head of the Swedish State Institute for Race Biology, anti-Semite and Nazi-sympathizer Herman Lundborg, whose race biological texts propagating racial hygiene are well known for their racism [3, Tydén M., p. 29; 8, Isaksson P., pp. 55–64, 147–148; 9, Kyllingstad J.R., pp. 82–85]. Tanner had read and borrowed some basic terminology from Lundborg, but not from Mjøen.<sup>3</sup>

The list of the origins of the borrowed racial elements (Nordic, Eastern-Baltic) is different from that of an earlier manuscript, which lists the sources as “Finnish, Nordic and Slavic”.<sup>4</sup> “Nordic” most likely refers to the Scandinavian races. “Finnish” was substituted by a proper and recent anthropological term, the “Eastern-Baltic”, which had emerged in Swedish race studies early in the twentieth century; it was depicted as a race in its own right in the Baltic region, dominant in Finland and slightly less cultured than the Swedish. Finnish scholars adopted the idea, partly because the new term distanced the Finns from undesirable categorization as one of the Mongoloid races. Rolf Nordenstreng, originally from Finland, and Kaarlo Hildén were the main advocates of this theory [1, Kemiläinen A., pp. 234–252]. The latter is also listed in the *Antropogeografiska* references. The term Slavic was simply removed. Tanner had problems accepting cultural and racial loans from this direction.

Later in the book, in the chapter on the (physical) anthropology of the Skolt Sami, Tanner commented on the most extreme findings by German scholars that placed the Skolt Sami as a

<sup>2</sup> ATUM, AVT, box 5, folder 6a: Notater om samer, Manuskript (delvis): Nordlapparna och deras differentiering: manuscript with the same title.

<sup>3</sup> ATUM, AVT, box 2, folder 6b, diverse antäckningar, undated notes on Lundborg H. & Linders, F.J.: The racial character of the Swedish nation (1926) and Backman, G.: Ett standardverk över svenska folkets antropologi, *Ymer* XLVII, 2, 1927.

<sup>4</sup> ATUM, AVT, box 2, folder 6a: Notater om samer, Manuskript (delvis): Nordlapparna och deras differentiering.

pathological race (with the potential connotation of threatening the life and vitality of the stronger race) because of race-blending; Tanner did not wish to see the Skolt Sami positioned too low in the racial hierarchies. Another aspect that he denied, or in the first phase declared himself not competent to discuss, was the Mongoloid features of the Skolt Sami, a typical categorization of the racial affinity of the Sami [8, Isaksson P., p. 46].

In Tanner's eyes, the Skolt Sami were not a Mongoloid race, nor did they have any greater genetic contact with them: they did not possess the typical physical distinctive marks, neither the Mongoloid, or epicanthic fold (mongolvecket) nor the Mongolian spot (mongolfläcket), and therefore they were not genetically connected to the Samoyed people. Tanner defined the Skolt Sami as a racially separate, isolated proto-Lapp people, as a "semi-pygmic" (halvpygmeisk) and hyperbrachycephalic folk, that is, low on the cephalic index [8, Isaksson P., pp. 69, footnote 5, 323–324; 9, Kyllingstad J.R., pp. 20–25, 134], who had survived the last ice-age in some isolated area of Central Europe, from where they followed the melting ice to the inner parts of Fennoscandia. Tanner used parallels between the rock carvings in paleolithic settlement areas and certain areas populated by Central European hunting people. Tanner suddenly omits any reference to racial and cultural loans (see above) in this passage. Because of the specificity of the natural environment in which the Sami found themselves they would have sustained the genetic isolation, the genotype, as well as the features of the original culture, including the strength created by a special stability characteristic to the subarctic regions, which Tanner coded positively, and not as stagnation [12, Tanner V., p. 287].

Even though Tanner's reasoning shows, if anything, the intellectual handicaps inherent in anthropological reasoning, he also reveals his agenda, that of positioning the Skolt Sami away from troubled, stigmatized categories like the Mongoloid race, considered degenerate. The discussion also demonstrates a programmatic following of his thesis of the mismatch between racial and cultural borders [12, Tanner V., p. 16]. Having said this, all the classical race categorizations — Mongoloid and Lappish/hyperborean — placed the Sami lower than the Caucasian, ideal race. So did the categorizations that Tanner used: "semi-pygmic", which in the earlier literature at least referred only to the short height of the Sami [13, Rosberg J.E., pp. 2–5], and "hyperbrachycephalic", short-headed. Either Tanner had no trouble with these categorizations or he could not solve the problem of their inbuilt hierarchies. However that may be, Tanner displayed another kind of racial bias: the Sami were elevated through their genetic separateness from the Finnish and the Slavic people, constituting a group in their own right.

Instead of building hierarchies, race studies could also study degrees of kinship and types of interaction [14, Mogilner M., pp. 94–95, 106–107]. It was the Karelian people with whom Tanner wished to establish a genetic bond and kinship. Even though the Karelians found themselves in the eastern sphere and were on many occasions presented as being blended with the Russians [e.g. 15, Friis, J.A., p. 291], they constituted a less burdened choice for Tanner, bearing in mind the Karelianism of the era. The Karelian element had been present from medieval times onwards, as the few roamers were totally assimilated and “Lapponized” (“lapponiserad”) into the Skolt Sami culture. Karelians were also present on the Arctic sea-coast, enjoying a marital preference among the Skolt Sami women, at least in the Paatsjoki and Petsamo *siidas* [12, p. 288]. The Karelians could also be used, as many Finland-Swedish scholars did, as a contrast to the unfavourable portrayal of the (ancient) Finns as the lowest of the folk groups residing in Fennoscandia.

In contrast to Susiluoto, it appears that racial blending was a definite problem for Tanner, as numerous positions taken in the next passage of the book show. To begin with, Tanner sympathized with a passage on racial blending written by German race theorist Rudolf Virchow. For Virchow, racial blending was a factor that worsened the race and Tanner comes very close to defining the Sami as a people with less capacity for development (elsewhere in the book, Tanner denied the notion expressed by Virchow of the Sami being a pathological, i.e. degenerate race, the result of race-blending [12, p. 289]). Tanner discusses a hypothesis that the race blending had been stronger in Petsamo than in other regions populated by the Sami. The “racial starting-point material” of the Petsamo Skolt Sami is then hypothesized as not Lappish, but Karelian. This Karelian “racial core”, lesser adapted to the extreme conditions in the Arctic, would constitute the reason why the Skolt Sami were so repressed in their environment. Tanner comments on Amund Helland’s notion of the Skolt Sami as a lower and dying race as a fable (Helland wrote in 1906: “The ‘Skolts’ are a race low in the hierarchy, without life-force or future.” “‘Skolterne’ er en lavstaaende race, uden livskraft og uden fremtid.”) and hastened to include the Skolt Sami — with a positive reference to Norwegian historian and geographer Yngvar Nielsen — with the Norwegian Lapps, who could not be taken as a degenerate race. For Tanner, the Sami were physically and culturally developing group; the fact that they were physically shorter than the “Western Lapps” was due to dietary reasons and the acute poverty from which the Skolt Sami suffered [12, Tanner V., pp. 290–291; 16, Helland A., p. 6]. Tanner’s literature included early environmentalists, such as

Carl von Linné, who correlated the shortness of the Lapp with the small amount of food consumed.<sup>5</sup>

By stressing the Skolt Sami potential for development, Tanner positioned himself in the ranks of the Lamarckian school of non-deterministic racial reasoning, though without any direct reference. The Sami were not pre-destined to their low standing because of race or biology, as numerous schools inspired by the foundational theorizing of Joseph Arthur de Gobineau believed. But the passage shows that Tanner was not in control of the writing process or the analysis: the way the racial blending and its results are coded appears to contradict numerous previous passages in the text, and to be following Tanner's favoured literature (Virchow, Nielsen). Environment has now become a factor that does not elevate, but which binds the Skolt Sami to their originality. This passage in the book can be used with the greatest certainty as evidence of the speculative method of race research: the lack of empirical material, which would most likely only have confused the discussion further, resulted in a text, where earlier, speculative scholarly stances guide the reasoning, the choice between them is presented in a self-contradictory manner and the resulting chaos is exacerbated by Tanner's own biases. The passage also shows how deeply Tanner was immersed in the racial discourses, where the variables studied were social and everyday facts and scientific variables worthy and in need of discussion.

#### ***Levels of hygiene and the Skolt Sami condition***

The chapter on the anthropology of the Skolt Sami in *Antropogeografiska* forms part of a larger discussion concerning the viability of the Skolt Sami, a topical aspect of scholarly and political enquiry of the time. As Tanner set out to investigate the Skolt Sami "anthropological type", he categorized the task ahead as being one aspect of charting the "condition of the population". This chapter had the outspoken function of defying the notion of the Skolt Sami as a disappearing or dying people, a widely-held view among Scandinavian researchers. Tanner joined forces with updated research: the Skolt Sami were sinking in numbers only in relative terms, in terms of the percentage of the total population, verified with positive reference to K.B. Wiklund; also J.E. Rosberg stressed the same [13, Rosberg J.E., pp. 38–54; 17, Wiklund K.B., p. 149]. Tanner proved in great detail, with reference to various Russian and Finnish-Swedish original sources and literature, that their total number was in fact slowly increasing. The factors that stunted their population growth included epidemics and high infant mortality. Tanner does not point to any hierarchizing or biological explanations for this, instead the explanation arises from the social conditions: Skolt Sami women now make a rare appearance in the book, weakened by constant

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<sup>5</sup> ATUM, AVT, box 5, folder 6b, notes, undated notes on Iter Lapponicum, by Linné.

toil and by periods of having to support a great many children on their own by means of lake fishing, while husbands were fishing out at sea. This led to many miscarriages and fatal accidents in the household, because the children were left alone [12, pp. 293–325].

Tanner was of the opinion that the overall health situation of the Skolt Sami was better than that of other Sami groups, while their record on hygiene was mixed: there were many aspects of handling waste that left room for improvement in household hygiene, but Tanner depicted personal hygiene as being better among the Skolt Sami than among many other populations (M.A. Castrén and J.A. Friis [15, p. 296] had made observations pointing in the same direction). Tanner opens his discussion by referring directly to variations according to the “climatic and cultural latitude”, which interprets levels of development according to a more northern level of climate correlating to a less cultured level of development. Hygiene — physical/personal, as well as mental — were perceived by Tanner as very relative terms, but the text does not escape the hierarchies established at the beginning. Tanner refers to improvements that took place following the example of the settlers who had recently moved into the area — this concerned old “prejudices”, and particularly superstitions of spiritual impurity, once again defining the Skolt Sami as receivers of higher cultural impulses [12, Tanner V., pp. 280, 325–328].

From another point of view, the discussion on the anthropology of the Skolt Sami, and on race biology, was part of a section devoted to disproving doubts about the physical foundation of possibilities for development among the Skolt Sami. After taking the trouble to go through the research and include his own rather minor contribution, Tanner diminished the worth of the race-biological evidence in “our age of practicality” (“vårt praktiska tidevarv”). “For our age it would be illogical to judge the feasibility of the physical development of a folk only according to outdated numerical material, since in the age of eugenics one does not allow free rein to the powers of nature and chance, as was usual in the past. Our age requires knowledge of the quality of all the elements that determine the progress of the amount of population, and the people’s capacity for administrative powers, according to the indications that the nature of these elements empowers and invites them to.” This quotation indicates a mild sense of distrust towards eugenics and race biology, especially when conducted on a poor empirical foundation [12, Tanner V., p. 328].

Accordingly, it was not necessary to improve the gene pool, but instead, levels of hygiene and health could be administered. A need for improvement was evident in the poor quality of housing, nourishment and garments, as well as “helplessness against acute diseases”, overstrain, etc., all of which encroached on the physical condition of the people and limited their growth. The biggest curse was an exceptionally high infant mortality — this was attributed, according to an

unnamed “Russian physician”, to a low quality of care, which resulted in the death of healthy babies, due to weakening in their early years. Tanner turned down the usage value of eugenics and race hygiene: the rest of his concluding chapter proposed hygienic, but not race-hygienic measures of improvement to the health of the Skolt Sami society. He suggested systematic enlightenment in the general hygiene and child care most devotedly given by an “educated holder of a scholarship” (“fackligt skolad stipendiat”, Tanner wishing to underline this point). The Skolt Sami had hope and vitality, due to their receptive minds and their subsistence inherited from their forefathers, which was healthy as such (a notion backed by a reference to another Russian physician, Schmakoff) [12, pp. 328–329]. In the actual historical setting, the Skolt Sami were connected to the national health project: district physician Lauri Halonen began to visit the Suonikylä winter village and vaccinate babies, and school children received a medical examination once a year; there was also a small store of medicines and dressings at the school [18, Nickul K., p. 57].

Tanner returned to the main agenda of his book, the poverty caused by giving up the old Skolt Sami form of subsistence, semi-nomadic reindeer herding, resulting in the disintegration of the northern society. Tanner added a new element to the scheme, the way in which no new settled subsistence had yet replaced the old one and the Skolt Sami had not yet entered the phase typical in the development of a ‘natural’ people in contact with the more ‘advanced’ cultures: well-being first sinking drastically, but slowly rising again once the value of the new subsistence was grasped and the natural people learned to take advantage of it, and when the individual and collective benefits of the new subsistence revealed themselves. The key would be the improvement of the economic situation of the Skolt Sami, enabling them to attain a happy life sometime in the future. Tanner added that the Finnish state should not be a hindrance in this. If the economic situation were to improve, then *“we do not at all have to be afraid that the orthodox Petsamo-Lapps either become extinct or degenerate, as has been asserted”* (italics in the original) [12, Isaksson P., p. 329]. Tanner’s stance in relation to race biology and the most racist writing of the Sami finally becomes clear — the Skolt Sami are a folk capable of development. But hierarchies still taint the text, due to the position in which the Skolt Sami found themselves, on the lower rungs of the ladders of development and culture, as defined by Tanner. There is no contradiction between Tanner’s positive coding of semi-nomadism and the new position he took regarding the poor state in which its abandonment had resulted: the semi-nomadic option was now lost and the folk was progressing on a scale set by Tanner. This was, in addition, an implied criticism of Finland’s unsuccessful state policies.

It may be said, as a preliminary conclusion, that Tanner did not have a problem placing the Sami at a low level of cultural evolution (wildness-hunting-pastoralist-agrarian-industrial/urban), like many other scholars who were becoming increasingly social evolutionistic and theorizing about Aryan and other stronger races pushing the Lappish ur-folk to the fringes of Scandinavia. Concerning Scandinavian nation-building projects, this idea had a good resonance and the role of the Sami was fixed as lower [8, Isaksson P., pp. 99–104; 9, Kyllingstad J.R., pp. 23–25]. Finnish theorizing about the Sami was equally triumphalist and (the most racist) Finnish literature was loaded with remarks concerning the low origin of the Skolt Sami, which provoked Tanner [12, Tanner V., pp. 281–282]. These ideas of evolutionary schemes, or historical matrixes, were naturalized in the world-view of the people of those times, but what Tanner did was to code in positive terms the long pastoralist phase in which the Sami had been living. In this discussion he could not control the effect that the environment had on the status of the Sami throughout the book. Concerning Sami capabilities and the aptness of choice, Tanner displayed traits, which are at least paternalistic, but he made an effort to comment on the most aggressive hierarchizations. Tanner showed no willingness to get rid of race as a functioning, normative and constitutive category: one that was obvious to the eye, a psychologically pleasant position to adopt by those higher in the hierarchies, and definitely a part of the accepted beliefs of the scholarly traditions of the time. Tanner was most consistent in his negativity towards race hygiene.

### ***The Swedish-Finnish racial and hygienic discourse***

Three of the discourses, which provoked Tanner have been traced: the Scandinavian and Finnish discourses on the lower Sami, the way to locate the Skolt Sami in the Russian sphere, and a dislike of eugenics. Which positive influences and contextual factors might be said to be decisive in Tanner's hygienic salvage program? The levels of hygiene and the health of the nations were a debated issue in the young republic of Finland and this discussion provides a way of locating Tanner in the ideological field. First, a short inquiry into Finland-Swedish reasoning concerning racial hierarchies and after that, a discussion on Finnish and Swedish-Finnish debates concerning national and racial hygiene is undertaken.

The Finland-Swedish ideologists and politicians had a tradition of referring to Germanic racial superiority which they, in contrast to the Finns and Russians, possessed during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The idea of two nationalities residing in Finland originates from the Svecoman, Finland-Swedish nationalist movement's reaction to Finnish nationalism, Fennomania. The difference between the two nationalities was racialized by Axel Olof Freudenthal during the 1850s and 1860s. The idea of the Swedes being a Germanic/Aryan race,

capable of state-building and higher up the ladder of culture in comparison to the Finns, received wide resonance among Finland-Swedes from the latter part of the nineteenth century onwards. In these vernacular hierarchies the Finns were placed alongside the Russians, while Swedish and Germans stood highest as the idealized standard [1, Kemiläinen A., pp. 144–150]. The Finnish originally belonged to the primitive, Turanic, Asian or Mongoloid races (according to various scholars). The Mongoloid characteristics were in a process of vanishing, however, because of a blending between the Finns and European races [19, Molarius P., pp. 94–97]. One of the groups to stress the racial difference between the Finns and the Swedes was that of Swedish-speaking physicians. This, together with the eugenic movement, was a matter of scholarly debate and only later was the notion of two folk-groups denied following research into blood-types [1, Kemiläinen A., pp.151–183; 20, Hakosalo H., p. 44].

The Germanic racial features of the Swedish-speaking population were said to include stamina, activity and other positive characteristics. Smaller, big-headed, oblique-eyed, serious and melancholic Finns were more prone to depression, passivity, collectivity, a tendency to mass-suggestion and other characteristics signifying primitiveness. This doctrine was backed up by a Scandinavian orientation and was advocated by, amongst others, the Swedish people's party (est. 1906). The dispute was about the possession of cultural and political power, since racial characteristics according to Gobineau, for example, were thought to determine societal relations and cultural potential. According to Hippolyte Taine's theories, humans were bound to their biological foundation, but a rise in cultural hierarchy was possible if taken gradually — too great a step up the socio-cultural-racial ladder would lead to tragedy and mismatches between character and the new environment. Taine's theories were applied in, for example, the literature of Finland-Swedes and are also visible in Tanner's ponderings on the Skolt Sami finding themselves in an unhappy phase of their development. One aspect of this was the fear of racial blending and the degeneration of the Swedish-speaking population, as well as fears concerning the threat that lower and more brutal racial characteristics posed to societal order. Culture was a force taming these primordial impulses in people [19, Molarius P., pp. 97–112].

In Finland-Swedish texts published at the turn of the century the racial status of the Finns was insecure: the position varied in different studies, but in many cases the Finns were categorized as Mongoloid; during the "Russification period" (1899 onwards), the Mongol race was affiliated to the Russian sphere and was further contaminated by Russophobic notions that flourished at the time concerning cultural stagnation, political instability and communism. The eastern connotations of Mongol-blame became a growing problem for the Finns as well, because

of increasing Russophobia and anti-Russian sentiments on the Finnish side [1, Kemiläinen A., pp. 112–114; 8, Isaksson P., pp. 261–270].

The racializing discourse about Russia and the Russians grew increasingly hostile during the 1910s and parts of the Swedish-speaking elite developed highly chauvinistic and anti-Russian attitudes. The battle for the Swedish language and culture also took on a societal-political dimension: a racial and cultural battle was being fought for independent Finland. The war of 1918 sharpened this discussion: the elite pointed out how during the war the Swedish-speaking population had shown greater immunity to Russian influence and Bolshevism. A racially healthy, Swedish-speaking population was a guarantee for Finland's independence within the parameters defined by the victorious White army [21, Knapas R., p. 142; 22, Mattila M., p. 121]. In race studies of that time, Finland appeared to be divided into Germanic and Mongoloid races, while the Swedish were safely and firmly in the highest Germanic ranks, or part of the "Nordic race" [1, Kemiläinen A., pp. 168–183; 8, pp. 270–281, 284, 297].

Tanner's book is mostly silent on the discourse on the racial superiority of the Germanic/Swedes, but there are quite a few passages that show a Scandinavian bias: the list of the gene pools of the Skolt Sami, dealt with above, and the way in which Tanner placed the Nordic race ahead of the Eastern-Baltic are explications of this. In an archived manuscript Tanner depicted Finnish settlers as less capable than Scandinavian peasants in adapting reindeer-herding as part of their multiple economy, but instead assimilating to Sami reindeer-herding, with an implication of collapsing downwards in the cultural hierarchies.<sup>6</sup> This shows an indebtedness to the discourse on Swedish superiority, with which Tanner had an ambivalent relationship: it was an idea easy to adapt, but unusable, since the triumphalist stress on the superiority of the Germanic races cemented the low position of the Skolt Sami in the hierarchies and in the book. One undeniable inspiration is the troubled relationship with all things Russian — a discourse shared on the other hand by the nationalist Finns as well.

### ***Tanner and the debate on national hygiene***

In Finnish-Sami encounters, the most typical way in which the hygienic discourse is detectable is in the numerous assessments of the Sami level of hygiene provided by scholars and tourists in their travel accounts. Among the first things the tourists reported were the cleanliness of the clothing, personal hygiene and the hygiene of their housing; without much variation, the Sami ranked lower than the Finns or the Norwegians [23, Nyysönen J., p. 47]. Tanner reproduced

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<sup>6</sup> ATUM, AVT, box 3, folder 6a: Notater om samer, Manuskript (delvis): Nordlapparna och deras differentiering: manuscript with the same title.

this literary tradition as well in the section on the Sea Sami, where Tanner depicted their housing as clean, praising the way the Sea Sami detested vermin [12, pp. 68–69]. The *national* hygienic discourse, in its turn, was the site of debates aimed at finding ways to improve the situation encountered in Lapland and Petsamo. In Finland, the hygienic level of the nation needed to be elevated, as well as the national health and prosperity. The hygienic project had the patronizing task of elevating the morals of the lower classes to match those of the rising middle-classes: the ideals were thriftiness, industriousness, a high moral sense and high ethics [24, Halmesvirta A., pp. 13ff.].

The young nation was the object of numerous gathering projects. These projects built on the belief of the existence of a folk character, shared (in an essentializing way) by the whole group. This, like the shared culture of the nation, was prone to degeneration or regeneration, to decay or elevation, but could be moulded by the different national projects. The intrusion into the sphere of life was possibly deepest in the case of the hygienic project, known also from imperial policies, which elevated some aspects of the life quality of the objectified people at the cost of losing several of their cultural traits and subjecting the objects to cultural violence, through definition as lower, as uncivilized, as indigenes [24, Halmesvirta A., pp. 13ff; 25, Thuesen S., pp. 118, 128]. In nineteenth and early twentieth-century Finland, the elite bracketed wastefulness and poverty with a low level of hygiene, all of which were taken as the sign of a lack of culture among the lower classes [26, Heinonen V., pp. 137–138]. The priests of northern Lapland struggled with the culture shock of encountering levels of hygiene, the best that could be maintained in the living conditions of the nineteenth-century nomad Lapps, often living in turf huts. Ritva Kylli has also detected indications that priests engaged in enlightenment projects directed at the Sami, intended to elevate them closer to Finnish standards [27, Kylli R., pp. 312–314].

As elsewhere, where a “higher race” was confronted or existed and procreated in the same society as a “lower race”, the health and vitality of the higher race was perceived as threatened. The fear of degeneration, especially strong among Finland-Swedish physicians, lurked behind the dutiful attitude of the middle class. The racial hygienic discussion was initiated by Finland-Swedish physicians, who received inspiration from Sweden. The era was marked by debates between Swedish-speaking practitioners of medicine in favour of active eugenic measures of negative racial hygiene; these included the active prevention of reproduction among the Finnish-speaking lower classes, as well as among many other groups deemed biologically ‘useless’ from a physical, psychological, moral and social standpoint. The intended means included the denial of welfare measures and the right to marriage; sterilization and institutionalization; even castration [24, p. 139].

Some of the Finnish-speaking physicians took the view that eugenic reasoning was uncivilized; a truly civilized nation would allow even its weakest members to procreate. This principle of a love for mankind continued, for example, in Finnish medicine after the First World War. The task of medicine and elevated hygiene levels was to “democratize” the Finnish folk: instead of marginalizing the weakest and banning them from procreation, they were to be made stronger and fit, to become active citizens of the nation. The idea of a caring nation was thus introduced. Early in the twentieth century, the great majority of the Finnish-speaking hygienists felt that the good of the nation would not be served by eugenics and restrictions concerning marriage and reproduction in a thinly-populated country such as Finland. Reproductive effort was needed from everybody and rehabilitation was stressed as a means of improving and generating the working capacity of “degenerate” people. Finnish hygienists were more concerned about the pre-conditions of health, including both mental and physical factors. However, there was a small minority among Finnish-speaking hygienists who supported ideas of social and racial hygiene, and the war of 1918 led to a radicalization of this project during the 1920s and 1930s [24, Halmesvirta A., pp.13–23, 26, 30, 35, 41, 86, 142, 279–281; 28, Halmesvirta A., p. 219].

Given Tanner’s views on the hygiene and health of the Skolt Sami, his position concerning the national debate on (racial) hygiene was clearly that of opposing Finland-Swedish physicians and was almost identical to that of the Finnish debaters. Whether he was directly influenced by the debate or by Finnish arguments has been impossible to verify — Tanner made no reference to the debate, so one has to be open to the view that Tanner’s position and his programme of improvements to the national health of the Skolt Sami had other sources. He did refer, however, to the need for intervention on the part of medical experts, which may hint that he was aware of the discourse.

Having said that, some characterizations place Tanner in troubled areas of race research. The hygienic discourse addressed both individual morals and the collective health of the nation. Tanner sometimes added a moral element to his texts: in *Antropogeografiska* he mentioned syphilis among the threats and showed a tendency to represent the Skolt Sami as people with high sexual morals — a lack of which would constitute a serious risk to the health of the nation in the eugenic discourse [12, Tanner V., p. 329; 29, Tanninen M., p. 160].

A long literary and (often amateurish and repetitive) scholarly tradition had existed for over a millennium concerning depictions of the Sami which, some hundred years before Tanner’s career, had stopped comparing the Sami to monkeys in their appearance and sexual behaviour. Monkeys did figure in the racial discourse, however, in the way in which certain groups of people

of small posture were categorized as a group in-between a monkey and a man. This category was called the pygmy people. The biggest group to be categorized as this missing link were the blacks, who were sometimes considered to be akin to primates [8, Isaksson P., pp. 40–44; 9, Kyllingstad J.R., p. 119]. Note the categorization of the imaginary proto-Lapps, on Tanner's part, as semi-pygmy. The intertextual sources for this term are potentially numerous, but they do not differ in the position of pygmy races in evolutionary terms, where they rank lowest<sup>7</sup>. The discourse concerning racial difference had a strong appeal for Tanner, at times resulting in identifications that positioned him in a dubious corner of race studies.

In *Antropogeografiska*, Tanner employed several methods of physical anthropology. Tanner determined that the Skolt Sami were a blended race on the basis of a method deriving from amateur physiognomics, an analysis made on the basis of the first impressions gained by looking at the facial characters of the Skolt Sami he met [12, pp. 282–286]. Tanner also expressed a hope for a study on psychic anthropology, the thought and emotional life of the Skolt Sami. This last-mentioned demonstrates some level of readiness on Tanner's part to glide from a purely quantitative interpretation of the races in a more socio-biological direction, drawing analogies from racial measurements to the spheres of culture and social characteristics. Race psychology and the study of mental characteristics of groups of people was a debated field, criticized for its use of subjective, unverifiable data by, for example, Halfdan Bryn (even though he used it in his studies), by Kristian Schreiner (ditto, in his popular scientific production) and by Herman Lundborg (who thought this scientific aspect would require more detailed observation) [9, Kyllingstad J.R., pp. 88–90, 133, 152]. Tanner remained mostly on the quantitative side, however, avoiding normative-descriptive passages of the races.

### ***Conclusions — Tanner the Social evolutionist***

As mentioned, Paulo Susiluoto was of the opinion that Tanner did not lend any explanatory power to race biology in his interpretation of Skolt Sami society and culture [6, p. 16]. The key term here is race biology, the most aggressive results of which Tanner disputed. He appears to have shared the racial paradigm, but racial discussion in his book was a discussion of the 'facts', the results of current scientific research, proof (desired) of the Karelian origin of the Sami. These were legitimate elements of the scientific discourse at that time, which could be discussed in a scientific manner and, in Tanner's case, could be and were chosen to transform the negative image of the Skolt Sami. The problem was that the very scheme and discourse, which Tanner used

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<sup>7</sup> This term might originate from Bryn, Halfdan: *Menneskerasene og deres utviklingshistorie*, Olaf Norli forlag, Oslo 1925, on the reference list in *Antropogeografiska*.

to elevate and halt groups of people on the ladders of rationality and adaptation, still positioned the Skolt Sami as the lowest on the racial and societal ladders.

A decisive question in deciding Tanner's position in the field of racial thinking is whether he distinguished between and acknowledged a racial variation of mental abilities. *Explicit* ponderings on the alleged superiority of the Germanic race are absent, and he did not use the term "Aryan race" in the book. However, Tanner perception of western as a stronger cultural and economic form is visible in coding the Sami as eastern group, and Tanner's perception of Slavic impulses: both entities were coded as lower. On the other hand, Tanner's way of dealing with reindeer-herding does demonstrate a sensitivity to different kinds, contexts or environmentally-specific rationalities. This kind of cultural relativity became the rule only after the ideological collapse of physical anthropology after the Second World War.

If race did not determine the Skolt Sami culture, then what did? Tanner was more blatantly a social evolutionist, in stressing the role of the economy: he showed how the ideal subsistence economy would have to give way to economic forms that resonated better with the needs of the current time. This was already taking place among the semi-nomads of the region, and would also be the fate of the peasants, if the region or wilderness was modernized "suddenly". Tanner stressed the role of modern transport and the road reaching the Skolt Sami domicile, which would lead to an influx of cheaper food, which would in turn render subsistence farming unprofitable. Cultural impulses would label the old means of subsistence unwanted, in the face of the benefits of modern life. Tanner coded modernization as positive and referred to the strong modernization already taking place due to impulses from cultivated areas. The risk was that modernization might make living conditions so easy that this would attract a loose and idle population to the region. This would make the "natural selection" among the "strongest characters" ("voimakkaimmat luonteet") more difficult, highlighting the social evolutionist traits in Tanner's thinking [30, Tanner V., pp. 79–80, 83, 90].

During the 1920s, Tanner wrote an outline paper about the semi-nomadism of the Skolt Sami, in which he credited nature and the environment as an elementary force in building the material and the semi-nomadic culture. The foundations of the semi-nomadic way of management were laid early on in history during times of natural self-subsistence. The foundations comprised nature and the environment, the driving force was the economy, a way of organizing the economic foundation of life, which then moulded the cultural form. The last two mentioned are in dialectical relation with each other, adding a materialistic vein to Tanner's ideas. The culture was consequently nature-given, a typical way of thinking about layers of culture among the

bourgeoisie, who found themselves safe on the upper ladders of ideal, higher forms of culture [e.g. 9, Kyllingstad J.R., p. 184]. Intellectual culture could also be developed through cultural loans, but it was a function of the material culture for Tanner [compare Halvdan Bryn, for whom cultural evolution was a by-product of the biological evolution of mankind, quoted in 9, p. 127], which offers a clue concerning the possibility, at least, of a capability for internal development within a culture.<sup>8</sup>

What is remarkable is that Tanner did not lean towards the Finland-Swedish eugenic discourse, but to the Finnish hygienic discourse and to his own scheme of economy as the founding element of the culture. On this point Tanner shows his independence as a scholar, capable of dissociating himself from the racial discourses. Susiluoto is right, that Tanner sought order in the Skolt Sami society from societal practices, as well as from nature, and not so much from the perspective of race [6, Susiluoto P., p. 16]. Tanner used racial studies for their ability to elevate the Skolt Sami in those categories, and in addition, the concept of “type” does return in some passages of the book as an explanatory category. The number of variables resulted in ruptures in their prioritization: sometimes race was awarded the grand role it received in, retrospectively, more dubious segments of scholarship on race. This chapter is among the passages in the book that is unfinished, as Tanner obviously ran out of time to streamline the order of the variables, which expands Tanner’s reasoning in numerous partially contradictory directions.

In the same way as in archaeology and history, physical anthropology may be used to construct a new image of the past and national identity by homogenizing, diversifying or redefining the ethnicity of archaeological cultures [31, Okkonen J., pp. 65, 68]. Tanner took part in these struggles concerning pasts and contemporaneous presences, from a racial point of view as well, by constructing a race and settlement history where the main point appeared to be one of a distinct first-comer racial unit that began to assimilate with other peoples only later. In spite of a partial failure in producing coherent pre-histories in the book, the race studies were for Tanner not only avant-garde science but normal science, to use the typology coined by Thomas S. Kuhn; they were a legitimate branch of science in the quest to try to understand a folk and their future. Race studies were also a legitimate means in Tanner’s effort to convince the academic world of his research skills, and that *he* was avant-garde.

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<sup>8</sup> ATUM, AVT, box 4, folder 4, Notater om samiska forhold, undated manuscript.

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**Research into minorities: between science and politics**<sup>1</sup>

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**Abstract.** The article examines the interplay between science and politics in minority research in the period 1979 to mid-1980s at the University of Tromsø. Research was influenced by different conditions at the time, such as political events and policy priorities and ideological of streams in academia. Three factors influenced the choice of theme, priorities and approaches to minority research in North Norway. The first factor was the damming of the Alta-Kautokeino river, followed by Sami rights struggle and political changes towards the Sami population in Norway. What consequences did the political case for the research for the academic environment in the Northern Norway? The second factor was the research program run by the Norwegian general scientific Research (NAVF). An analysis on the relevant themes and focus areas within minority research is undertaken on basis of the research program. Finally I will use the methodological and research political discussions on emic and etic research positions that took place in the 1980s. Was it the Sami themselves, or also the researchers belonging to the majority that had the right to pursue research on the Sami? Sources consist of internal documents, reports, research papers and oral sources from the UiT.

**Keywords:** *research on minorities, research politics, University of Tromsø, Sami and Kven research*

**Introduction**

The theme of this article is research on minorities undertaken in North Norway between 1979 and the mid-1980s. One principal aim is to illuminate the interplay between research and politics during this period. The University of Tromsø (UiT) was one of Norway's four universities at that time, and when it was established in 1972 it took on the responsibility of drawing forth knowledge that might be relevant and useful to the regional community, including the Sami and Finnish localities in North Norway.<sup>2</sup> Research on minorities was formed of political events, academic policy prioritization and ideological trends. The period I have selected illustrates how academic external and internal relations influenced researchers' prioritization of research themes, as well as disciplinary and ideological approaches.

This article is in three parts and addresses three issues. The first issue relates to the political community, characterized by a power development lawsuit in the county of Finnmark, known as the "Alta case", with a subsequent Sami civil rights struggle and central political changes concerning the Sami population in Norway. How did academia in North Norway handle the political action, and differentiate between political and academic roles?

<sup>1</sup> Thanks to Mary Jones for translating the article into English, while it is the author who stands responsible of the remaining faults in the text.

<sup>2</sup> Since the term 'Kven' was the usual name of this group in academia during this period, I shall use it throughout this article. The term was an out-group name and not generally used by the minorities themselves.

The second issue is linked to the matter of academic policy, in which academia confronted prioritization in an abundant research programme, under the direction of the Norwegian General Scientific Research Council (NAVF). The argumentation that formed the basis of the research programme, which lasted for nine years, shows what were thought to be relevant themes and areas of focus within the research on minorities. The programme was aimed at two minorities: the Sami minority and a Finnish border minority (the Kven) which established itself in the region between 1700 and 1900. The Alta case had brought into being the theme of minority rights and the research programme was to contribute to preserving the minorities' language and culture — but could they be treated equally?

In the final section of the article I shall highlight various approaches to the research on minorities that emerged in academic theoretical discussions during the 1980s. Is it possible to detect a paradigm shift in the debate on cultural research? A central issue is how the research community constructed Sami as a “weak” group in relation to the Norwegian society, to underline the needs of research.

The article covers a small part of a doctorate spanning the period 1972–1990 on the same topic, which analyses the relationship between research and politics in Arctic research on minorities in Norway. Seminar papers, programme documents and evaluation reports are the principal sources that have been examined to follow up these questions. I have also made use of oral interviews. Prior to this, the theme has not been studied with such width and depth. Therefore, this article bears traces of fundamental research and methodologically the article is hermeneutic and contextualizing in grip. The sources are read with interest to the scholarly intentions strived for and the positions taken in the debate on the preferred scholarly direction. Interaction between the societal debate, the Sami and Kven struggle for their rights and the impact that these contextual developments had for the negotiations within the UiT are concentrated on.

### ***The political struggle for Sami rights***

The power development in the Alta Kautokeino watercourse (the Alta case) dominated politics in Norway during the period 1979–1982 and in retrospect achieved watershed status in the Sami political mobilization because of a shift in governmental policy concerning the Sami people. Part of the reason for these changes was probably because the case engaged the academic world just as much as it did the world of politics. Involvement in the case was comparable to the political culture of engagement during the 1970s, which had been coloured by the student uprising in 1968, the EEC campaign in 1970–1972, the environmental movement and

the women's movement, as well as a general focus on identity and roots. Ethnic political mobilization was part of this and also an international phenomenon. In Norway the link to the Alta case became the generator that provided the Sami political movement with legitimacy in the eyes of the national authorities. The University of Tromsø served as the arena for political mobilization and academic problematization of the power development and Sami rights. The Alta case was the single issue that most clearly created the link between politics and social sciences in the North Norwegian academic world.

### ***What was the Alta case about?***

The circumstances of the Alta case illustrate what the researchers were a part of, and what they had to relate to, so a short explanation is needed here. The timeline for the case stretched from 1968 to 1982 and was concerned, in broad terms, with the conflict regarding plans, acceptance and the completion of a power plant in the watercourse between Kautokeino and Alta in the county of Finnmark. On the one hand it was maintained that the power development would have negative consequences for the salmon stocks in the river and the reindeer herding in the region, whilst on the other hand it was argued that this would provide energy for an anticipated technological development in the county. Those who opposed the development included environmental activists, sectors of local government (the Labour Party, which was in power at the time, was split on this issue), organizations concerned with Sami interests and a people's opposition movement, while the Norwegian Water Recourses and Energy Directorate (Norges vassdrags- og energivesen, NVE) and national and regional authorities wanted the energy development that the dam would provide.<sup>3</sup>

Opposition to the plans made itself known in earnest during the summer of 1978 in Alta, when the "people's opposition movement to the development of the Alta-Kautokeino watercourse" was established, and escalated in November of that year, after Parliament gave its consent to the government's development plan, which was then ratified in June 1979. Disagreement about the legality of this agreement led to the case heard at Alta County Court.

The largest-scale demonstrations took place in the summer and autumn of 1979, and at the beginning of 1981. The demonstrators pitched camp at Stilla, where the construction road would start, and a Sami activist group positioned themselves outside Parliament with a clear set of demands to the government, resulting in a hunger strike when the government denied them. The interest groups raised various points of view. Some demanded a halt to the development until its

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<sup>3</sup> For a detailed description of the case, read Norges Offentlige Utredninger, nr. 13 om *Norske samers rettslige fremtid : samerettsutvalget med delinnstilling våren -84. Mennesker og rettigheter*, pp. 50–68.

legality was judicially clarified. Others demanded a halt to the development regardless of the legal decision, whilst a third section, including the regional authorities in Finnmark, felt that the development should go ahead.

In the aftermath of the development issue, the question of Sami legal rights was placed on the political agenda, and in October 1980 the government appointed the Sami Rights Commission (*Samerettsutvalget*) to sort out the question of the legal position of the Sami in Norway. The Alta case was heard in December 1980 at Alta County Court, which reached the decision that the government's resolution in November 1978 was legally binding. The case then went to appeal at the Supreme Court and the planned construction work was put into effect in 1981, in the new year.

The opposition had now become well-established and was ready to take action again at Stilla. The authorities countered this protest with a 600-strong police force and on 14 January 1981 they removed 800–1000 demonstrators from the construction road, witnessed by 150–200 media who were covering the case. Four hundred of the demonstrators were prosecuted. By the evening the roadway had been cleared of people, but Sami activists continued in Oslo with a new hunger strike in front of the Parliament building. A group of Sami women now also arrived in the capital to talk to Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland. The Sami women did not obtain her support and remained in the prime minister's office from 6–7 February. Media coverage of the protests in the government office building mobilized a large number of people who sympathized with the Sami political movement. The group was broken up by the police at the end of the day. The Alta case was settled in the High Court on 26 February 1982 — the development was legal.

The Alta case started as a struggle to protect the river and turned into a struggle for Sami rights and the Norwegian State's handling of the Sami as an indigenous people. One key question in the conflict which was relevant in an academic context was whether, and to what extent, Sami spokespersons could plead legal protection as an ethnic minority and indigenous people, or whether the Sami — according to the government — (only) had rights and obligations as Norwegian citizens [1, p. 64].

#### ***Academics involved in the Alta case***

The Alta case was a political event which influenced the academic milieu in North Norway to a great extent. Participation in the public protests, students' use of the university as an arena to spread the political message, as well as the arrangement of a large-scale seminar on the case, demonstrate both political engagement and a focus on an academic study of the issues relating to the politics of that time.

Many academic fields concerned themselves with the case. The Sami intellectual scene linked to the Nordic Sami Institute (NSI) in Kautokeino combined its research role with active opposition to the government's decision to build the power plant. From the institute's point of view, the case was a reminder of how weak the Sami people's legal position was, compared to that of the Norwegian people. Ever since the NSI had been established in 1973, researchers had initiated and participated in the Sami cultural movement and both local and international policies, based on the general aim of serving the Sami population in the Nordic lands in all areas [2, Kalstad J.K.H., p. 41]. There was close cooperation with Sami organizations nationally and indigenous organizations internationally through, amongst other things, Aslak Nils Sara's active role in international arenas of cooperation. Together with the Sami organizations, NSI had several meetings with the Sami Rights Commission and in this way the researchers were contributors in the work of compiling the public report. Here the researchers contributed to the definition of "ethnicity" and made suggestions concerning the composition and model of a Sami Parliament [3, Keskitalo A.I., p. 34]. Three aspects are evident from the start: direct involvement of Sami scholars, aim of direct implementation of knowledge on the Sami and showing the relation between the Sami and the Norwegian societies as asymmetric.

The researchers at NSI had become known for their engagement in public affairs since the 1970s and 1980s. The institute regulations show that they navigated according to a basic principle of playing an active role in the political development of Sami society. Their knowledge perspective pursued the idea that science was ultimately concerned with political values and could not claim to be ethnically objective [4, Keskitalo A.I.]. Thus, the scholarly struggle had received an epistemological foundation: all science was coloured by the scientific observer's perspective. Western science, which was steered by the political authorities to their own advantage, was an example of this. In the same way, knowledge production and its transmission from and about Sami society would promote a desire for political change. Scientific activity occurred in the form of communicating Sami society's needs and view of the world to the government authorities.

For the University of Tromsø, the Alta case offered the chance to put its academic competence to good effect. For the Sami studies/ethnic relations research group, which had been given special responsibility for research into Sami relations, the Alta case was extremely welcome.<sup>4</sup> "There was an ongoing feeling that "this is important", "about time, too"; here they

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<sup>4</sup> The Sami studies/ethnic relations research group was one of five interdisciplinary research groups organized by the Institute for Social Studies at UiT. Members of the group had research backgrounds in ethnography, geography and anthropology.

could contribute and be “useful”, according to anthropologists Saugestad and Ramstad [5, p. 100]. The group committed itself to both the scientific and the political plan.

There was a need to put the facts on the table about the state of affairs concerning Sami rights. Scientific engagement became evident in a concrete fashion in the form of a seminar on “Indigenous people’s rights — what about Norwegian legal practice?” in the autumn of 1979 at the University of Tromsø, held at the same time as the first large-scale demonstration in Stilla. Some of those invited were international researchers and the research group hoped that their analysis of indigenous groups in other countries might provide a basis for comparison to debate the Sami situation in the Nordic countries [6, Thuen T., p. 5]. The seminar was funded by the University of Tromsø and was open to the public. Participants included representatives from various Sami organizations in the Nordic countries, as well as from the offices of the prime minister and the attorney general. These last two attended the seminar as observers.

One main aim was to illustrate how the structure of Norwegian public administration formed restrictions for safeguarding Sami concerns that existed on the group’s own cultural and business economic terms.<sup>5</sup> Contemporaneous administrative fields included reindeer herding, local planning and business enterprise, housing schemes and the Sami enterprise and development fund. One subsidiary aim was to show the interaction between administration and ethnic minorities, which could be interpreted on the one hand as a domain for the distribution of public resources and on the other hand as an area of communication. The researchers wanted to analyse ways of thinking and raising issues which they felt were being communicated through signals such as speech, action, representational cases, hearings and settlements [6, Thuen T.]. The national press reported the seminar as an attempt to reveal the contours of Sami claims, as well as “shaping the debate on the extent to which legal measures should not be applied with respect to the Sami”.<sup>6</sup>

Externally, the seminar shows how the researchers engaged in a contemporaneous debate about society, but the researchers were not entirely unanimous concerning which approach would be the most productive to use in this inflamed political situation. It was known that the Labour Party was split both regionally and centrally regarding the power development. There was an internal discussion at the University of Tromsø concerning which strategy researchers should use to address views that did not coincide with the government’s attitude to the case. This discussion illustrates internal tensions in the light of the researchers’ role as intermediaries between the

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<sup>5</sup> Herstad J. Institutt for samfunnsvitenskap, Universitetet i Tromsø, Årsrapport 1978. 1979. p. 41.

<sup>6</sup> Hjort-Larsen A. Seminar om same-rett. *Verdens Gang*. 07.11.1979.

majority and the minority, or as actors in bringing to light factual consequences of the state policy. On the one hand it was argued that focusing on the relationship between the workers' movement and the Sami movement might provoke the ruling Labour Party government. In an already heated conflict it could be strategically unfortunate to provoke the government, when it was hoped that academic evaluations of the case might get them to change their views. From the perspective of the students, some of whom were Sami, it seemed as though the researchers were adopting the role of advocate and were acting like guardians, speaking on behalf of the group, instead of Sami academics being able to present the case themselves [7, Stordahl V., p. 178].

The indigenous people's seminar received considerable coverage both before and afterwards and a deliberate publication activity followed the conference: The contents of the seminar were published in an anthology in 1980. A Sami bibliography was published as an appendix [6, Thuen T.; 8, Thuen T.]. Shortened versions of the lectures, adapted for a general readership, were published by Tromsø Museum in *Ottar*, a popular science journal, in 1981.<sup>7</sup> In the wake of the seminar, anthropologists Ivar Bjørklund and Terje Brantenberg wrote an account of the consequences the power plant would have for reindeer herding in the region. They were of the opinion that public discussion about reindeer herding in connection with the Alta case did not show a proper understanding of what was really involved [9, Bjørklund I. and Brantenberg T.]. The ethnography department of Tromsø Museum also instigated a written report linked to the law on cultural heritage in the region at that time.<sup>8</sup>

### ***Political work in academic disguise***

Students at the University of Tromsø used the academic community as an arena for mobilizing opposition in the Alta case.<sup>9</sup> This was achieved by spreading information and collecting funds. The university's copying machines were used to copy documents for the Sami political party Norwegian Sami Association (Norske Samers Riksforbund, NSR), which wanted to distribute academic articles on Sami relations written by people at the university. The work was carried out partly in secret. Academic staff at the University of Tromsø turned a blind eye and the students were allowed to do it on the pretext of copying academic articles. Money was collected on the NSR's behalf. The students used staff lists to distribute paying in slips. Academic titles were made use of to achieve things through political channels.

<sup>7</sup> Alta-sak - samesak - urbefolkningssak. *Ottar*, 1981, volume nr. 129.

<sup>8</sup> Storm D. "Ressursutnyttning i Vest-Finnmark og Kvænangen", Samisk-etnografisk avdeling, Tromsø Museum 1977; Storm D. "Undersøkelse om samisk bosetting og ressursutnyttig i Kvænangen Tromsø" Samisk-etnografisk avdeling, Tromsø Museum 1978; Storm D. "Registrering av samiske kulturlevninger." Samisk-etnografisk avdeling, Tromsø Museum 1978.

<sup>9</sup> Interview with Vigdis Stordahl 2015.

Both students and staff took part in the demonstrations at Stilla. There were differing attitudes to how, as a member of staff, to take part in this political action. On the one hand it was argued that “impartial information to all the affected parties was the best contribution to support the Sami case”.<sup>10</sup> Taking part politically could potentially weaken the academic argument in the public’s eyes. Anthropologist Per Mathiesen claimed that making a distinction between expertise and politics would make expert opinion much stronger. He maintained that the whole point was not to be suspected of being “politicians in academic attire”, something which was particularly important as far as the Alta case was concerned. Other members of staff chose to travel to Stilla, maintaining that taking part in political action was not only legitimate but necessary to put the research into perspective in such a way as to create political implications.<sup>11</sup> The academic demonstrators were formally required to seek permission from the Sami studies/ethnic relations research group so that people outside the academic sphere would not regard their activity as part of their academic work.<sup>12</sup>

To sum up, it may be said that the academic community in North Norway contributed in three different ways: their scientific critique of the case, their political activity, and the production of public reports. The Alta case brought about a high level of engagement in academia, with a focus on understanding minority rights, including rights concerning the Sami section of the population. The academic and the political were tightly woven together, making it difficult to define researchers according to their political or academic roles. It was generally accepted that research had political implications, but there were different views regarding the extent to which one should engage with this.

### ***Knowledge of the minorities in the north***

The debate about Sami rights created the need for a more research based knowledge about the minorities in the north, including in the humanities. Among the historians at the University of Tromsø pressure was applied to the research council to grant funds for humanistic research on minorities. A humanities report published in 1975 had shown that cultural studies on ethnic minorities in Norway was in short supply. This justified an interdisciplinary research programme entitled “Sami and Kven language, history and culture” which ran from 1981 to 1990 within an economic framework of 18 million kroner.<sup>13</sup> A preliminary project dating from 1980, led by historian Narve Bjørgo, describes the prevailing research situation in this field and gives a

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<sup>10</sup> Interview with Per Mathiesen 2014.

<sup>11</sup> Interview with Ivar Bjørklund 2016.

<sup>12</sup> Interview with Per Mathiesen 2014.

<sup>13</sup> Equivalent in 2016 to c. 64.8 million Norwegian kroner, i.e. US\$ 7,578,238.

picture of why it was necessary to invest in research on Sami and Kven relations [10, Baudou E., p. 10].<sup>14</sup>

The presentation of arguments centred on three factors. In the first place, the need to make use of new research perspectives; secondly, to recruit people from these minorities into academia; thirdly, to preserve research data before it disappeared.

The report referred to the debate in general society during the 1970s about what perspectives researchers assumed, who the research should serve, who should guide it and who should determine the needs of research.<sup>15</sup> These aspects of research policy had to be taken into account so that “those affected should derive reasonable benefit [from the research] themselves. Research on minorities and research on ethnic groups should not just comprise research into development techniques for the majority”.<sup>16</sup>

The recruitment arguments were divided. Some maintained that “research [should be] taken over by the indigenous peoples themselves and [...] take place on their terms”.<sup>17</sup> Research had previously been carried out on terms dictated by society at large and the nation state, and the minority groups had the right to take care of their spiritual and material values themselves. This argument illustrates the attitude that the Sami and the Kven would possess the cultural competence and linguistic competence to carry out better research than individuals who did not belong to those groups. Others maintained that people with a Norwegian ethnical background should also be recruited to such studies and could be equally useful. The recruitment would also provide “new” society sectors, which came to have Sami and Kven culture as their principal or partial content, with individuals with research training.

The preservation argument implied that research data relating to these cultures had to be safeguarded before it was too late. It was necessary to procure sources systematically, store them and prepare them for cultural sciences research.<sup>18</sup> There was potential for collaboration between researchers in Norway, Finland and Sweden, something the research council should make use of. The field was to be entered in a sensitive manner: To avoid exerting unnecessary pressure on the

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<sup>14</sup> Bjørgo assembled the notes from information and views provided by 15 researchers covering many academic fields linked to the Sami academic environment, the museum sphere, the regional administrative system for cultural conservation and three out of the four national universities. Bjørgo N. “Fagleg utviklingsprogram for samisk og kvensk: språk, historie og kultur. Oppsummerande notat til Rådet for humanistisk forskning.” (A. 99.00.114) Tromsø, 1980. pp. 1–8.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid. p. 11.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. p. 12. Venke Olsen, citing Bjørgo.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid. p. 13. Ørnulv Vorren, citing Bjørgo

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. p. 14.

informants in the Kven and Sami societies, it was necessary to limit and regulate Norwegian research with the existing Nordic research already taking place in this field.

It was claimed that many aspects of Kven and Sami language, history and culture were under-researched compared to other forms of national culture. Many topics needed to be illuminated, such as: 1. Theoretical studies of general interest for research on minorities; 2. The registration, collection, preservation and negotiation for the use of documentary material for research; 3. Linguistics, including dialect investigation, textual analysis, name studies, sociolinguistics, language teaching, vocabulary, terminology and regulation; 4. History, religious history; 5. Cultural studies within academic disciplines such as folkloristics, ethnology and ethnography; and 6. Specific social science studies.

Funds were awarded and emphasis placed on three areas: a scientific theory section and Kven and Sami programmes.

The intention behind the scientific theory programme for humanities-oriented research on minorities was to open the way for collaboration with the social sciences through the use of social science theory in analysing the relationship between the minority and the majority. Social science research on “weak groups” and conflict research were also to be linked in [10, Baudou E., p. 55]. An orientation towards a wider scientific framework would result in a contribution to develop the basis required for humanities-oriented research on minorities, and the programme would have an irrigation effect on the other two sections.<sup>19</sup> This approach sustained the weak position of the Sami in relation to the state.

The research programme for Kven language, history and culture had a clear cultural preservation element and aimed to save, preserve and systematize research material within the fields of Kven language and popular culture. Through this section, researchers were able to seek funding for research projects. Funds were not earmarked for student scholarships for postgraduate students to begin with, but this was changed in the midway evaluation in 1985.

The research programme for Sami language, history and culture was a recruitment and research programme, and was much more comprehensive than the Kven programme. In addition to financing research projects, funds were earmarked for a recruitment programme, as well as a study programme for postgraduate students. The topics in the Sami programme were also more detailed, centred on dialect research, language preservation/practical language work and grammatical studies, the preparation of source collections for studies of Sami history, pre-Sami history and settlement history (archaeology/demography), as well as minority political studies,

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<sup>19</sup> This is discussed later in this article, in the section entitled “Research perspectives”.

cultural processes of change within Sami culture over the past 500 years (Coastal Sami settlement relations), religious history and religious sociology [10, Baudou E., p. 57].<sup>20</sup>

Researchers at the University of Tromsø were active in this national programme and were also entrusted with its leadership after the midway evaluation in 1985. In all, the programme generated just under 50 projects supporting research and education, over half of which were carried out with the University of Tromsø as the institution in charge.<sup>21</sup>

### ***Sami and Kven — together or separate?***

Since the programme went by the name of “Sami and Kven language, history and culture”, it seems reasonable to compare how Sami and Kven topics were handled. Both groups had been subjected to the same policy of Norwegianization (from the mid-nineteenth century until after the Second World War) and had thus suffered the same consequences: their particular, non-Norwegian culture had disintegrated and become either partly or wholly assimilated. The Sami and the Kven had been located in the same geographical regions for 150–250 years, merged together and in their own communities. From a religious perspective many of them could be categorized as a Lutheran apostolic Christian movement (Læstadianism) that crossed national borders and built up a common identity as Christians and “God’s children” [11, Niemi E., passim].

Despite similarities in the state’s treatment of the minorities, questions were raised during the planning of the research programme about whether it was right to use the same approach for the Sami and the Kven communities. Nor was Sami culture homogenous. There was a need for nuanced research arrangements.<sup>22</sup> There was an emphasis on recruiting Sami to research Sami relations and funds were allocated for recruitment ventures in the form of student scholarships in the Sami section of the programme. The justification for this was that “the issue has a different subject matter and a different scope for the “Sami indigenous people” than for the “Kven minority””, without it emerging what this scope consisted of.<sup>23</sup> Another reason to treat the communities differently was that the assimilation of the Kven settlements had advanced so far, and the research would therefore take the form of a “salvage perspective”, something which did

<sup>20</sup> In practice, the work took place in three phases. Phase 1 (1981) was devoted to inaugurating and profiling the detail of the programme. Phase 2 (1982–1985) was called the project support phase, the phase in which the research would mostly take place. In Phase 3 (1986–1990) the programme was evaluated and a programme of institutional support was established. This phase was called the institutional support phase.

<sup>21</sup> Of 48 projects, 26 were linked to the University of Tromsø. Research documentation service. *Forskningsdokumentasjonstjeneste O. f. H. Program for samisk og kvensk språk, historie og kultur Forskningsprosjekter 1979–90*. 1991.

<sup>22</sup> Bjørge N. “Fagleg utviklingsprogram for samisk og kvensk: språk, historie og kultur. Oppsummerande notat til Rådet for humanistisk forskning.” (A. 99.00.114) Tromsø, 1980. p. 14.

<sup>23</sup> Attempts to recruit the Kven were initiated following the midway evaluation in 1985.

not have the same validity for Sami culture. Research topic proposals were thus more comprehensive in the Sami programme than in the Kven.

Several matters appear to have formed the basis for the different weighting between the two groups. The social science theorizing around the expression “ethnicity”, which manifested itself at the beginning of the 1970s, had contributed to an emphasis on the distinctiveness of the groups. The common identity relationships that had developed in the interplay between Sami and Kven over generations then became less visible. The Sami communities were generally better known than the Kven, partly because the Kven were rarely discussed by the central authorities and partly because the group itself did not at that time recognize themselves as Kven, but rather as Norwegian Finns, or of Finnish extraction, or as Finnish-speaking Norwegians.<sup>24</sup> From a Finnish academic perspective they were referred to as *Ruijan suomalaiset*, North Norway’s Finns, while the Norwegian public sector term and outgroup name was Kven (*kvener*).<sup>25</sup> Research on Sami relations had a longer tradition behind it and was far more comprehensive than research on the Kven [12, Minde H.]. Norwegian researchers carrying out fieldwork in North Norway after the war had an almost exclusive focus on Sami community relations, and much of this was to do with processes of assimilation and ethnopolitics.<sup>26</sup> The scale of research on Kven relations was modest by comparison [13, Niemi E., p. 11].<sup>27</sup>

The political status of these two groups probably affected the prioritization within the programme. The minorities debate of that time and the Sami political mobilization may have contributed to the prioritization of the Sami appearing more self-evident than that of the Kven. As early as 1965, the Sami Committee had worked towards the status of an “indigenous people” and during the Alta case this appeared as a hegemonic expression. The Sami ethnopolitical mobilization from the 1970s onwards, and the connections with the international indigenous peoples’ movement, redefined the Sami from being “Sami-speaking Norwegians” to being an ethnic group in their own right with the status of indigenous people. The differentiation was based on the fact that the Kven, unlike the Sami who constituted a minority under international law,

<sup>24</sup> The name *Kven* was interpreted as an odious label for an out-group by this minority.

<sup>25</sup> When researchers who themselves could represent this minority wrote dissertations, from the 1970s onwards, most of them chose less value-loaded expressions. In the encounter with the ethnicity paradigm circa 1980, more or less all of them went over to using the expression *kven*, having defined this as being an ethnic group in its own right which, as such, had a rights claim to preserve its language and culture. The Norwegian Kven Association (*Norske Kveners Forbund*) was founded about seven years later and sections of this minority then took up the name *kven* for their own use.

<sup>26</sup> In the fields of sociology (Vilhelm Aubert, Per Otnes), ethnology (Gutorm Gjessing, Knut Kolserud, Ørnulv Vorren), social anthropology (Harald Eidheim, Robert Pain), language research (Kondrad Nilsen, Knut Bergsland, Thor Frette and Asbjørn Nesheim) and pedagogy (Helge Dahl, Anton Hoëm).

<sup>27</sup> In the fields of Linguistics (Anna-Riitta Lindgren, Marjut Aikio), Immigration History (Terje Henninen, Einar Niemi), Politics (Einar Richter Hansen), Social anthropology (Ivar Bjørklund) and Local History (Hans Kristian Eriksen).

were in the same position as other immigrants, because they had chosen to leave Finland [14, Larsen C.B., pp. 97–98].<sup>28</sup> The Kven status was considered to be that of a distinct ethnic group, from a state point of view they were defined as immigrants, or “descendants of Finnish immigrants from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries”.<sup>29</sup>

Researchers with an academic background in Sami studies dominated the group that took part in the preliminary project. Oral sources maintained that the weighting between Sami and Kven topics was not perceived as problematic at the time, but that this occurred for structural reasons: there were simply more Sami academics than Kven. And there were not that many Sami.<sup>30</sup>

Historian Einar Niemi subsequently thematized the hierarchical categorization between indigenous people and immigrants [15, Niemi E., *passim*]. This was not really discussed in connection with the planning of the humanities programme, but became an object of focus during the 1980s in a scientific theory seminar in which Professor Pekka Sammallahti participated. He legitimized the distinction between the Sami and the Kven belonging to different minorities categories. According to Sammallahti, “minorities” had come into existence as the result of the national state and the ideals of national Romanticism concerning a nation, a language and a culture. The Sami and the Kven minorities were different, firstly because the Kven had a motherland and the Sami were without a land [16, Sammallahti P., p. 129]. Secondly, the Kven represented an immigrant minority, whereas the Sami were an indigenous people in their own environment. Thirdly, the Kven language and the Kven minority’s culture were in the process of rapid assimilation, whereas these processes were not so evident in the case of the Sami. Fourthly, a determination was growing on the part of the Sami to take back and preserve the Sami language and develop their culture, whilst that of the Kven minority had already been relinquished. The consequences of this were that those who were doing research on Kven community relations tried to find out what *had happened*, while those who were doing research on Sami community relations, from a future perspective, tried to find out what *would happen*. For the Sami it was a question of life; for the Kven it was a question of death.

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<sup>28</sup> This was claimed as early as 1962 by Supreme Court Justice Terje Wold and repeated in the report of The Work of the Sami Rights Commission. Norges Offentlige Utredninger, nr. 13 om *Norske samers rettslige fremtid: samerettsutvalget med delinnstilling våren -84. Mennesker og rettigheter* p. 386.

<sup>29</sup> Overruling this status as immigrants was a principal aim of the Norwegian Kven Association from 1987 onwards, by this means satisfying the requirement for teaching in Finnish to be provided in schools. In 1998, the minority achieved the status of a national minority in Norway.

<sup>30</sup> Interview Einar Arne Drivenes 2015.

Since these differences were so obvious, especially seen from Sammallahti's point of view, there are grounds for asking why research into Kven relations was included in the same programme as the Sami. The reason for this may have been trends in the field of history, as the previous decade had adopted a national perspective where history was viewed from below, in contrast to history seen from above. Local history and regional history were in opposition to the nation's history. Another significant element was the ratio of historians participating in the preliminary project, and Herstad and Bjørge's central positions in the programme. It is probable that the attitudes of the history section contributed to the Kven being awarded a place alongside the Sami in the research on minorities. The votes of some individuals may have been influenced in that direction, such as local historians who felt it was relevant to look at the population of North Norway as a whole, as well as the Kven communities who, like the Sami, had experiences linked to minority status. While the programme was being established, a book by historians Knut Einar Eriksen and Einar Niemi, "Den finske fare" [The Finnish Danger] was published as a central contribution to the history of Norwegianization. The book received a great deal of attention and brought Kven community relations into the spotlight [17, Eriksen K.E. and Niemi E.].

There is reason to believe that research efforts in the fields of Sami and Kven language, history and culture were influenced by the contemporaneous situation, as well as the general focus on ethnicity from the 1970s onwards. The fact that the minorities debate related to Sami rights may have influenced research choices in such a way that research on Sami relations received more notice than research focusing on Kven relations. Sami political engagement may have contributed to more Sami individuals finding their way into academia than people from the Finnish minority did; this in turn affected terms, topics and weighting between the two groups. But that alone does not explain the differentiation. The Sami research tradition was and had been more comprehensive. The reason why research on Kven relations was also included may have had something to do with the rediscovery of minorities in the 1970s, and researchers talking this up as a topic during that period as one of the issues within the overall responsibility for local history with which the history milieu in Tromsø was concerned. The programme's intentions were wholly in accord with the university's wish to promote regionally-relevant research that would benefit society.

### ***Research perspectives***

New research perspectives, recruitment requirements and conservation enterprises formed the motivation behind the application to inaugurate the humanities programme. This undertaking was a way of placing research on minorities on an equal footing with Norwegian

cultural research which would, during the course of the 1980s, constitute the foundation research within the topic of Sami and Kven relations [10, Baudou E., p. 53]. Together with the scientific theory section, the hope was to illustrate a more conscious or explicit theory concerning humanities-oriented research on minorities, where the main question centred on the relationship between research and society. What function would or could the research serve for the population groups which would now be researched? The programme demonstrated a clear connection between social science and humanities research, something which to some extent was linked to the interdisciplinary thinking at the University of Tromsø, as well as a general tendency towards the national and international [18, Fulsås N., p. 144]. Social science theory and method, such as Fredrik Barth's theory of relational ethnicity and Hans Skjervheim's critique of positivism, were to be used in humanities subjects such as history, archaeology and language. The critique of positivism was central to the new university in Tromsø and students, even at a preliminary stage of their studies, were being introduced to a critique of objectivistic research.

The programme synthesis and programme philosophy for the research were not carved out beforehand, but were meant to be developed in due course.<sup>31</sup> One of the challenges linked to research on minorities was that a series of central and fundamental problems had not been clarified, and the scientific theory contribution was, amongst other things, intended to resolve them [19, Kallerud E.N., p. 3].<sup>32</sup> A series of scientific theory seminars were held, like that in Tromsø held November 1983, where 55 linguists, historians, social scientists and museum staff researchers took part to discuss the fundamental issues relating to research of Sami and Kven relations. The participants represented the humanities programme, but also the Sami studies/ethnic relations research group's own Sami research programme.<sup>33</sup> The topic was broad and allowed space for many perspectives and points of view of both an academic and a political nature. In what follows I shall present a selection of researchers who may demonstrate which perspectives could to be included in research on minorities.

History Professor Narve Bjørgo maintained that the humanities programme lay on the borderlands between research, research policy and cultural policy; he also felt that this was where

<sup>31</sup> Bjørgo N. "Fagleg utviklingsprogram for samisk og kvensk: språk, historie og kultur. Oppsummerende notat til Rådet for humanistisk forskning." (A. 99.00.114) Tromsø, 1980. p. 9.

<sup>32</sup> The scientific theory section of the programme was led by philosopher Alf Isak Kekitalo from NSI. His steering group included Professor Narve Bjørgo as chair, Professor Inge Lønning (Theology, University of Oslo), Senior Lecturer Knut Venneslan (University of Bergen) and Executive Officer Egil Kallerud as secretary.

<sup>33</sup> Sami studies had received funds for the research programme "Cultural variation and inter-ethnic processes", which lasted from 1983–1988, financed by the Council for Social Science Research (*Rådet for samfunnsvitenskapelig forskning*, RSF) at NAVF, KAD (*Kommunal- og arbeidsdepartementet*, Norwegian Ministry of Local Government and Labour) and UiT.

it should be.<sup>34</sup> When cultural understanding was a topic, differing points of view were important. Bjørgo differentiated between an inner perspective and a comparative perspective, where both were central. Nonetheless, he made it clear that perspective from within had priority. A recognition that a small nation/group of people had “the same broad spectrum in total life expressions” as larger cultural communities was “in reality [...] nothing more than a claim for cultural justice”.<sup>35</sup> One condition of achieving this was to recruit minorities into the programme.

Culture was the chief analytic expression that functioned, according to Bjørgo, as an integrating element across the disciplines. He referred to history’s experience of research on minorities and was of the opinion that this had been a means of developing method, functioning as an “incentive” (*incitament*) in its own right in the objectivity debate that had been in progress since the end of the 1960s. One academic issue that was relevant for historians was the status of research on minorities in relation to traditional criteria for scientific quality.<sup>36</sup> This was felt to be of current interest at the meeting, with expressions such as “points of view” (*synsvinkler*), “terms” (*premisser*) and “value basis” (*verdigrunnlag*) becoming more evident in the research process. Development of meaning in this area had been useful and methodically liberating. He felt that academic and societal aspects of research did not need to pull against one another, but could “unite in an accepted norm system covering research ethics and research qualitative basic requirements.”<sup>37</sup> Research on minorities had essential theoretical impulses to inflict upon traditional research in established fields, a confrontation that should be encouraged.

The objective of building up basic research within these various disciplines sprang from the political aim of providing the minorities themselves with the potential for taking care of, protecting and developing their own culture. Bjørgo maintained that Sami and Kven cultural research needed to be done over and above the situation-defined range of research that had been carried out up until now [20, Universitetet i T., p. 198].<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, he saw no problem in emphasizing the foundation research perspective, at the same time as seeking to accomplish special societal tasks in the shorter term against a background of research based insight. The longer term and general accumulation of knowledge (foundation research) and the concrete

<sup>34</sup> Bjørgo N. “Fagleg utviklingsprogram for samisk og kvensk: språk, historie og kultur. Oppsummerande notat til Rådet for humanistisk forskning.” (A. 99.00.114) Tromsø, 1980. p. 12.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.* p. 10.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* p. 15–16.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.* p. 16.

<sup>38</sup> “Action research” (*Aksjonsforskning*) was a familiar term at the University of Tromsø, used especially by the social scientists, involving a type of research where the researchers extended their commitment beyond pure description and analysis of the area under consideration, taking steps to solve the problem and the need they came into contact with.

category of problem solution (applied research) were two dimensions of research. In addition, Bjørgo felt that a third dimension arose when the researchers ventured out from their framework of study and explicated constructivist empowering potential of research: “Research [is] in itself a cultural expression. Its very existence is culture forming and value forming. And it is power forming”. It was unfortunate that earlier research in this field had often been carried out by the majority. The feeling of belonging to a culture that, in a research perspective, had had first and foremost an object status for scientists outside the cultural fellowship had been a painful experience for many.<sup>39</sup> The Sami were to be emancipated and the societal power-relations were to be changed through research.

The seminar also revealed disciplinary positions, research institutional policies and tensions between humanities and social sciences. Representatives from the museum sector, professor of Sami ethnography Ørnulf Vorren and curator Dikka Storm from the ethnography department of Tromsø Museum, had encountered challenges relating to practical, disciplinary and academic policy in their cultural research. Their problem was that the museum’s activity was not recognized as research. The museum had a long research tradition, and yet the status of the research was considered to have been weaker [21, Vorren Ø., p. 50]. Vorren referred to a debate with NAVF in which was discussed the extent to which the collection of objects was scientific work, or not. The intimation from NAVF that this was not scientific was strange, since the object collections at the museum did comprise archaeological materials, interview materials, photographic and film materials. Vorren explained that the museums were documentation centres for scientific work and brought the objects to life so that they could be viewed in a meaningful context. The research implied knowledge of the material’s multiplicity, controllability and its functional context within its own cultural environment, and beyond, to that of other cultures. The new social sciences that had grown up during the post-war period had created problems for the museum’s research values as far as cultural historical subjects were concerned, which Vorren claimed were of a special nature in relation to institute research at the University of Tromsø. One problem was that there was no offer of education that could recruit people to museum positions, and this was because those in the teaching sector had moved “away from the traditional museum research, with comprehensive documentation material and a descriptive basis for analysis, and towards model thinking, and abstraction, problematization and hypothesizing within a synchronous perspective” [21, p. 52]. Vorren maintained that the trend that his predecessor Ole Solberg (1879–1946) had started during

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<sup>39</sup> Bjørgo N. “Fagleg utviklingsprogram for samisk og kvensk: språk, historie og kultur. Oppsummerande notat til Rådet for humanistisk forskning.” Tromsø, 1980. p. 21.

the 1920s and 1930s had not been able to develop because of a new “academic methodology” or “academic ethics” which had entered the field after the war “from the west” [the USA]. This implied that the historical perspective, the concrete museum materials and cultural documentation had lost their value. Such an education had previously been offered by the Ethnographical Museum at the University of Oslo, and now it was nowhere to be found.

Dikka Storm confirmed the need for the education of personnel. The department was pressed for time and needed qualified personnel to complete various tasks [22, Storm D., p. 62]. The research work comprised work with the collections and external activities, in addition to commissioned research work and documentation work [22, p. 63].<sup>40</sup> There were reports to be written for the Resources Commission for the Finnmark wilderness (*Ressursutvalget for Finnmarksvidda*), statements to rights authorities, supervision and preparation of materials for the Sami Rights Commission, investigations and the documentation of cultural heritage interests in connection with watercourse development, which were a drain on resources. Work duties in connection with the new cultural heritage law of 1978 were having a particularly detrimental effect on other activities. Storm advocated a greater emphasis on Sami cultural development as a teaching subject. She concluded that this would not only solve the practical challenges of cultural research but would also develop the field academically and theoretically [22, pp. 65–69].

The ethnographers’ criticisms mostly related to perceived ignorance, that their activity was not rated as research on a par with model thinking and social science theorizing within the synchronous perspective. From their standpoint, descriptive documentation was essential and its interpretation a presupposition for research. The criticisms were not directly addressed to the anthropologists at the University of Tromsø, but may be understood as such. Research on Sami relations had been going on uninterrupted at Tromsø Museum since the time of Lappologist Qvigstad. When the University of Tromsø was founded, the main responsibility for this topic was given to the Sami studies/ethnic relations research group, which identified itself with the new social sciences developed after the war, with new theories in the study of people and cultures.<sup>41</sup> Significant individuals who inspired this trend included, not least, anthropologist Fredrik Barth (1928–2016) who was the academic policy representative in the Academic Commission for Social

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<sup>40</sup> Documentation work was linked to a main research plan which had been formulated by the department as early as the 1950s. This was based on criteria such as who the research was for, which areas of Sami cultural development should be covered, how this should be arranged, and for whom. Themes included the old hunting and tracking community (hunting culture, in archaeological terms), pre-Christian religion and mythology, reindeer herding and nomadism, and Coastal Sami settlements.

<sup>41</sup> Researchers from Sami studies/ethnic relations were seminar participants but did not give lectures, even though the topic was obviously relevant to social sciences. The following scientific theory seminar, which was arranged in 1984 in Kautokeino, was organized in collaboration with the anthropologists.

Sciences during the planning process for the University of Tromsø, and who had introduced the relational perspective to the relationship between ethnic groups [23, Barth F.]. The Sami studies/ethnic relations researchers all had a connection with anthropology and adopted Barth's relational perspective as their main perspective in their analyses of Sami society. What was special about this research group was that they also analysed past societies using the same perspective, thus moving into traditional humanistic fields like ethnography and history.

The hypothetical collaboration between the Sami ethnographic department at Tromsø Museum and Sami studies/ethnic relations did not materialize. Anthropology Professor Per Mathiesen explained that the reason for this was because they stood up for different knowledge perspectives. Vorren's documentary and descriptive approach to Sami society was different from the anthropologists' analytical approach to the Sami's position in Norwegian society.<sup>42</sup> The anthropologists in Sami studies/ethnic relations were in charge of the transition from Lappology to an analytical social science form of study. Implicitly, the ethnographers represented the Lappologist tradition. Mathiesen perceived knowledge as something that implicated the academic and the political simultaneously, while his impression of Vorren's view was that knowledge was in many ways based on objective facts. It is doubtful, however, that Vorren would have agreed with this description. The main points of focus of Lappology were the Sami language, history, religion and community relations; it had an interdisciplinary starting point, with linguistics and cultural history as a common denominator, and variants of history, geography, archaeology and ethnology in the curriculum [24, Niemi E., p. 197]. Researchers with elements of this tradition from the post-war period included Helmer Tegenren from Finland, Ernst Manker in Sweden and Knut Bergsland in Norway, but they had a stronger "monodisciplinary anchor" than their earlier colleagues. Vorren had an ethnographical affiliation, which was characterized by interpretation and hermeneutics, but probably more positivistic than the social science paradigm broadly supported by the institute researchers. There was also a difference in the forum, in which the Sami were to be salvaged and in which their weakness was framed: a shift from culture to the society was in process of taking place.

The relationship and weighting between the descriptive and the normative approach in cultural research was further politicized by the appointment of Samuli Aikio as leader of the NSI. He claimed that research on minorities could not be objective, but would always establish a perspective that would serve some political interests. Aikio directed his artillery towards earlier anthropological studies, which he claimed had flourished as commissions from the ruling powers

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<sup>42</sup> Interview with Per Mathiesen 2014.

(usually colonial powers), thus influencing the research issue(s). These, he maintained, were actually representative of their own culture and their own intellectual circles [25, Aikio S., p. 72]. Aikio claimed that research instigated by the Sami and about the Sami ought to be able to serve the same purpose for the Sami as research on Norwegian everyday life and folklore had for Norwegian society. The assertion that research was free and in the general interest, as often advanced in academic circles, did not tally. It had been shown time and again that research assignments were decided by the powers that be, as for example the goal of creating a national identity. If the Sami were to carry out research on Sami relations, this must therefore imply that they openly and humbly acknowledged that their intention was to advance Sami interests over society as a whole, and not yield to a claim of objectivity which in reality concealed power interests [25, pp. 73–74]. Aikio reasoned, like Bjørngo, that research should have a beneficial effect, but was also specific with regard to who the research should serve: the Sami required their own research and their own researchers. Research did not necessarily need to be useful to society as a whole — it should be sufficient that the Sami's own requirements were covered. Also Historian Helge Salvesen from the University of Tromsø agreed with Aikio on that point that the need for the minorities to write their own history and create their own identity was no different to what the Norwegians had done throughout the nineteenth century [26, Salvesen H., p. 115].

There was broad agreement that Sami community relationships should also be studied from within. To what extent this should be done for the benefit of the minority alone was not as explicitly stated by everyone. Einar Niemi, historian and (at that time) county council curator in Finnmark, asserted that neither the approach that took its starting point with in--groups or with out-groups was unproblematic as far as community studies were concerned: what was essential was the *relationship* between the groups. The study of one culture would throw light on the other [27, Niemi E., p. 118]. Niemi observed that the cultures did not develop on their own terms, but in relation to one another. He was of the opinion that the Sami community should be studied from within or “on Sami terms” and in relation to other ethnic groups, the surrounding community, society as a whole or the nation state [27, p. 122]. In the same way, the Norwegian community should be studied in relation to the Sami.

The relational perspective linked to the theory on ethnic groups, introduced by Barth, was a leading means of approach in research on minorities at the University of Tromsø. The theory was initially developed for contemporary community analysis and the consequent paradigm change made the cooperation in Sami research difficult. At the University of Tromsø, anthropologists, historians and archaeologists adopted this perspective in the analysis of past communities,

something which in a Norwegian context was perceived as a new phenomenon. The seminar shows that research embraced politics as well from a new perspective. The lack of focus on the Kven minority was observed by ethnologist Venke Olsen [28, Olsen V.], but aside from her no one paid any attention as far as research on minorities was concerned.

### *Conclusion*

This article has shown that the Alta case was the most significant scientific external factor to create a link between politics and research during the period 1979–1985. Researchers permitted themselves to engage in the political action at Stilla, as well as in the academic problematizing of the case itself.

The contemporaneous political debate revived the need for knowledge of the minorities in the north, and from this was created the “Sami and Kven language, history and culture” programme. It may be assumed that the Sami rights struggle contributed to the Sami obtaining a prioritized position compared to the Kven. Scientific trends such as theorizing on ethnicity also promoted the perspective of treating the groups separately from one another and this can be traced to the influence of Fredrik Barth’s focus on ethnic boundaries, rather than cultural encounters.

There was a need for basic research into cultural knowledge within all the disciplines. The research programme produced scientific theory reflections, which laid the foundations for knowledge perspectives. Disciplinary tensions came to light between traditional humanistic-oriented research on minorities and social science perspectives. Also evident are obvious tendencies towards a mixture of these different perspectives.

It was felt that it should be feasible to make use of research and gain political relevance in the process. This then raised the question of who the research was meant to serve. The researchers operated according to a two-part model where, by virtue of being part of the minority or the majority, one was part of an asymmetrical power balance. One implicit norm, and sometimes an actively-created portrayal, was that the minorities were victims of the majority society and the hope was that research would right this imbalance. With the general understanding that the minority was subjugated to the majority, there was no one who could justify any perspective other than that Sami considerations should take priority over Norwegian ones. Using this model, the Kven were overlooked. Most people defended the attitude that culture had to be understood from within, in the same way that Norwegian researchers had produced knowledge for the Norwegian community. The relational perspective, to study communities (the majority and the minority) in relation to one another, shows how social science

method allowed itself to be made use of in humanistic-related research. The Kven minority was also discovered, using ethnicity theory, but tentative weakness of the Kven community did not attract attention to such extent as that of the Sami community. This might be partly because among those who researched Kvens there were less ethnopolitical bindings than in Sami research. Actually, there was no ethnopolitical focus concerning the Kvens at this time, and less need for identity politics.

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## REVIEWS

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### International dialogue about people in the Arctic: the topic of development of the human capital at the International Arctic Forum “Arctic: Territory of Dialogue”



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**Abstract.** The International Arctic Forum “Arctic: Territory of Dialogue”, held at the end of March 2017 in Arkhangelsk, has become one of the most representative events devoted to the Arctic issues in Russia in recent years. The business program of the event included a plenary session with the participation of the Presidents of Russia, Finland, Iceland, as well as 13 thematic sessions. The theme of the forum “People in the Arctic” was most actively discussed at four

thematic sessions, as well as at the special event — the Forum of the Arctic Municipalities. The article presents the main results of the discussion of the participants of the event at the sessions “The Arctic is the territory of professionals”, “The Arctic is the Territory of History, Culture and Tourism”, “The Arctic is the Territory of Health”, “The Arctic is the Territory of the Favorable Life Environment”, and also at the Forum of the Arctic Municipalities.

**Keywords:** *The International Arctic forum, People in the Arctic, human capital, international cooperation, the Russian Arctic zone, the Arctic municipalities, Arkhangelsk, the Northern Arctic Federal University named after M.V. Lomonosov, NARFU*

The International Arctic Forum “Arctic: Territory of Dialogue” was held in Arkhangelsk on March 29–30, 2017. This event was held since 2010. This forum is the fourth, and this year it has been arranged under the auspices of the State Commission for the Arctic Development.

The representatives of different countries and spheres of activity were much interested in this forum. Almost 2500 participants from 31 countries took part in the events of the forum. Among them were: 3 presidents of the Arctic states, vice-premiers of the Government of the Russian Federation and the State Council of the PRC, 5 foreign ministers, 11 heads of ministries and departments of the Russian Federation, governors of all regions of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation, deputies of the State Duma of the Russian Federation and members of the Federation Council, more than 50 representatives of the Arctic Municipalities, more than 450 representatives of the mass media.<sup>1</sup>

It should be noted that in terms of the number and status of participants, the forum has become one of the most representative events devoted to the Arctic issues held in Russia over the past years.

<sup>1</sup> Арктический форум в Архангельске собрал на своей площадке более 2400 участников из разных стран [The Arctic Forum in Arkhangelsk gathered more than 2400 participants from different countries]. URL: <http://forumarctica.ru/news/arkticheskij-forum-v-arhangelske-sobral-na-svoej-ploshhadke-bolee-2400-uchastnikov-iz-raznyh-stran/> (accessed: 06 April 2017). [In Russian]

The purpose of the forum is to unite international organizations, state authorities, scientific and business communities from Russia and foreign countries to coordinate approaches to the development of the international cooperation, to consolidate efforts to ensure the stable development of the Arctic and to improve the living standards of the population in the Arctic territories.

The main place of the forum was the Northern (Arctic) Federal University named after M.V. Lomonosov. The business program<sup>2</sup> included a plenary session, as well as 13 thematic sessions, which were grouped in four directions:

- human capital;
- sustainable development of the Arctic;
- science and technology;
- economic development.

In addition, various special events were held during the the forum, including the meeting of the State Commission for the Arctic Development, the meeting of the governors of the Northern Forum, the forum of the Arctic municipalities, the Arctic business forum, the international youth educational forum "The Arctic. Made in Russia".

All the thematic sessions of the forum took place in motivated and interested atmosphere with the participation of representatives of government, business, mass media, the scientific and educational community, non-profit sector of Russia and foreign countries. More than 150 speakers and moderators, including 45 foreign speakers, took part in the discussions of the Forum.

The key event of the Forum was the plenary session with the participation of the President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin, the President of the Republic of Finland Sauli Niinisto and the President of the Republic of Iceland Gudni Torlatsius Johannesson.

As part of the discussion of the presidents of the Arctic countries, the issues of socio-economic development of the Arctic territories, climate and environmental changes in the Arctic, and many others were raised. The leitmotiv of the plenary session was the idea that the Arctic region today is a model of constructive peaceful interaction of countries, companies, international structures. The dialogue in the Arctic, according to the heads of the states, needs to be further developed.

The main theme of the forum "Man in the Arctic" was most actively discussed at four sessions: "The Arctic is the Territory of Professionals", "The Arctic is the Territory of History,

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<sup>2</sup> Programma Mezhdunarodnogo foruma «Arktika — territorii dialoga» [The Program of the international forum "Arctic: Territory of Dialogue"]. URL: <http://forumarctica.ru/programme/> (accessed: 06 April 2017). [in Russian]

Culture and Tourism", "The Arctic is the Territory of Health," and "The Arctic is the Territory of a Favorable Habitat".

The main theme of the session "The Arctic is the Territory of Professionals" was the training of highly qualified personnel for the development of the Arctic territories. The moderator of the discussion was E.V. Kudryashova, the rector of the NArFU named after M.V. Lomonosov.

The Minister of Education and Science of the Russian Federation O. Vasilieva noted the priority of the task of training specialists for working in the Arctic for the federal government. She emphasized that the outflow of young people remains the serious problem in the Arctic territories. The minister said that universities, in particular the Northern (Arctic) Federal University as the forward stronghold, the strong scientific, educational and cultural center, play the important role in keeping talented young people in the northern regions. Modern workplaces and a bright socio-cultural environment is needed to consolidate young professionals. O. Vasilieva thinks that it is necessary to develop the tool of the targeted recruitment for educational programs of the Arctic orientation.

The topic of the international cooperation in the sphere of training and research was the cornerstone of speech of a number of foreign forum guests. For instance, the president of the University of the Arctic L. Kullerud, talked about the joint work of his university with the National Arctic Scientific and Educational Consortium of Russia, as the example of the effective interaction, The Director of the Center for the Arctic Studies at Umeå University P. Scheld paid special attention to the cooperation in training of personnel able to preserve the culture of the indigenous peoples of the Far North, as well as to combat the diseases typical for the Arctic region. The Director of the Polar Initiative program of the Woodrow Wilson International Science Center M. Sfraga noted that it is necessary to clearly distribute research topics among the countries, to borrow the best practices and to establish the effective dialogue between scientists.

The number of participants of the panel discussion shared their experience in scientific and educational activities in the interests of the Arctic territories. The rector of the University of Tromsø A. Hussebakk spoke about the experience of the work of the university on retention of staff, and the rector of the University of Lapland M. Jylä-Kotola informed about the contribution of the university to solving applied problems relevant to the northern territories of Finland.

Interesting models and ideas for training personnel for the Arctic enterprises and industries were expressed in speeches by the representatives of the Arctic and non-Arctic regions. R. Abdulina shared the experience of the organization of the Arctic Youth Competence Center in St. Petersburg. T. Buchkova, the Deputy Governor of the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous District,

presented the experience of training specialists, including taking into account the interests of indigenous peoples living in the district. She proposed to calculate the needs of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation in the workforce until 2025–2030. And to form the "Atlas of the working professions the Arctic-2030".

M. Kovtun, the Governor of the Murmansk region informed about the change in the system of training of personnel, oriented to the needs of the enterprises of the polar region. These changes are manifested at all levels of the system, beginning with preschool education, ending with higher education. Examples of innovations in education: the organization of "Rosneft-classes" in schools, the development of the educational project "Young engineers of the Arctic", the creation of the children's industrial park "Quantorium." M. Sonkin, the Deputy Governor of the Tomsk Region emphasized the successful intersectorial and interregional experience of interaction between the scientific and educational structures of the region.

L. Zelkova (PJSC MMC Norilsk Nickel) and N. Nesterova (Gazpromneft-Sakhalin LLC) presented successful cases for training and raising the qualifications of the staff, attracting and stimulating young professionals in business structures.

O. Epifanova, the Deputy Chairman of the State Duma of the Russian Federation noted the importance of working opportunities for young specialists in the Arctic regions. The solution of this task requires the unification of the efforts of all structures involved. In order to strengthen the interaction between the legislature and the public, the Expert Council on Legislative Development of the far North, equivalent territories, regions of the Far East, and territories of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation is creating in the State Duma.

It should be noted that the idea of the importance of the recently created the National Arctic Scientific and Educational Consortium was repeatedly expressed in the speeches of the participants, this Consortium can become the initiator, the coordinator in the sphere of the "Arctic" education and scientific activity.

The participants in the session "The Arctic is the Territory of a Favorable Habitat" discussed the ways to ensure healthy and safe working conditions, prevention of occupation diseases, methods of preventing epidemics in the Arctic conditions, the issues of nutrition and quality of drinking water.

A. Popova, the head of the Federal Service for Supervision of Consumer Rights Protection and Welfare, noted that the strengthening and preservation of the health of the population of the macroregion is impossible without the development of international cooperation in the field of monitoring and scientific research of habitat factors typical for the Arctic. She proposed to develop

special diets for children and adults in the north, to strengthen scientific cooperation in forecasting epidemiological risks, including those caused by the climate change and by the shift of vectors of infectious diseases to the north.

The speeches of foreign guests of the forum were full of information. For instance, I. Thomassen, the Director of Science of the Norwegian Institute of Occupational Health, presented the results of studies of the situation in the Arctic related to contamination by the organic, inorganic, chemical compounds of soil, water, ice, organisms and plants in the Arctic region. B. Evengard, Professor of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences spoke about the impact of climate change on human health and the increase in epidemiological risks associated with them.

A. Totolyan, the Director of the St. Petersburg Institute of Epidemiology and Microbiology, paid the attention to the spread of tick-borne virus encephalitis to the northern regions, as well as to the problem of "northern" immunodeficiency, arising from the natural and climatic conditions of life in the northern latitudes. S. Emmanuilov, the Chairman of the Committee on Health and Social Policy of the Arkhangelsk Regional Assembly of Deputies drew attention to the role of affordable medicine in creating attractive conditions for human life in the Arctic region. He noted that the optimization processes in the country's health care do not fully take into account the specifics of the organization of medical care in remote northern territories.

During the discussion, which also involved representatives of the Northern (Arctic) Federal University named after M.V. Lomonosov, the Northern State Medical University, representatives of private business, various aspects of preserving the health of the local population were discussed, taking into account the climatic features of the Arctic.

It was noted that a man in the North, in the Arctic regions, is initially in unfavorable conditions. Moreover, recently, due to the climate change, new risks and threats to human health appear in the the Arctic. The solution of the problem on the formation of a favorable habitat in the Arctic zone is possible only under terms of systematic study and management of hygienic and epidemiological risks, active international cooperation.

The thematic session "The Arctic is the Territory of Health" was devoted to the impact of environmental factors of the Arctic zone on public health, health development priorities in the Arctic regions of Russia for the coming years, the attraction of medical personnel for work in the circumpolar territories.

V. Skvortsova, the Minister of Health of the Russian Federation, noted that the prevalence in the Arctic regions is much higher today, and life expectancy is 6–7 years less than in the whole country. The main problems are concentrated in the primary health care. Speaking about the

ministry's plans, the speaker said that medical equipment will be updated in 28 neediest settlements of the macroregion in the coming years, the special program on sanitary aviation has been created and is already working, and special programs have been developed for emergency response by satellite in the event of emergencies in remote and sparsely populated areas.

D. Kobylkin, the Governor of the Yamal-Nenets autonomous district, described how Yamal manages to maintain the average life expectancy of 72 years. According to him, one of the best models of disease prevention has been created in the district. Prevention departments work in each municipality. Particular attention is paid to the promotion of a healthy lifestyle, taking into account regional characteristics. For example, the mobile consulting and diagnostic complex of health is functioning there.

L. Gorbatova, the rector of the Northern State Medical University told about the training of medical specialists for work in the Arctic region. Today the university trains 4.5 thousand students and 5.0 thousand doctors improve their skills there. The University conducts the scientific and methodological support of medical institutions in the regions and carries out the international cooperation, which allows implementing the best practices and exchanging experience. According to the rector, to reduce the deficit of specialists in the Arctic, it is necessary to create a single database on the staffing of medical institutions, to intensify pre–university preparation of entrants, and to increase the number of budget places in the university. In addition, extra measures of social security for young doctors are needed to keep personnel in the Arctic.

G. Ulumbekova, the Chairman of the Board of the Association of Medical Societies for Quality, the head of the Higher School of Health Management reported on the health indicators of the population in the Arctic countries. According to the speaker, expected lifetime in Russia is 8–10 years less than in Scandinavia, and for men it is less by 10–13 years. The general lifetime is affected by the income of the population, lifestyle, the environment and the health care system, including the amount of financing. In the view of the speaker, in order to improve the situation, it is necessary to increase public funding for the health care system, to supply medications for outpatient clinics, and to increase the availability of medical care, including the system of rural health posts.

The head of the Federal Medical and Biological Agency V. Uiba highlighted the work of the agency for the medical support of employees of the Northern Sea Route. The main task of this specialized healthcare is the prolongation of the longevity of professional workers, which are associated with particularly dangerous and harmful working conditions, the number of which is about 10 million people. One of the Agency's tasks is related to the medical support of the nuclear

submarine and surface fleet during its operation and utilization. According to the speaker, since 2010 in Arkhangelsk the work to establish a nuclear medicine center is underway.

Participants in the discussion noted the importance of national, regional and demographic factors in the organization of the system of the medical care for the population. The proposal to develop the agreed concept of protecting the health of the inhabitants of the Arctic was made. Speakers consider that it is necessary to introduce prevention, monitoring and special programs for the preservation of health, including the establishment of centers for marine medicine.

The issues of the preservation of the cultural and historical heritage of the North, contemporary cultural and spiritual life in the Arctic territories, directions and mechanisms for the development of the tourism industry in the Arctic were discussed at the session "The Arctic is the Territory of History, Culture and Tourism". The head of the Federal Agency for Nationalities I. Barinov spoke about what is being done at the federal and regional levels to support the indigenous peoples of the North. He emphasized that it is necessary to strengthen the spiritual and moral unity of indigenous peoples, to promote the preservation of the traditional way of life. The president of the Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East of Russia G. Ledkov emphasized that one of the most important tasks is to organically integrate modern technologies into the traditional way of indigenous peoples. It is necessary that young people consciously make a choice in favor of the traditional way of life.

According to N. Kharitonov, the Chairman of the State Duma Committee for Regional Policy and Problems of the North and Far East, the special attention of legislators is paid to regulation of the development of the remote Arctic territories, inhabited by the indigenous small peoples.

Canada's senior official in the Arctic Council, E. Leclair, talked about the attention paid to the comfortable life of indigenous peoples in her country, for example, about their mental health. She noted that the interest of indigenous youth to their national culture is growing.

The President of the International Arctic Science Committee S. Barr noted the contradictory role of tourism for the Arctic territories. On the one hand, it is a stimulus for development for indigenous peoples, helps to preserve the spiritual heritage, and on the other hand, tourism increases the anthropogenic pressure on the territory and even leads to the disappearance of cultural and historical values.

Iakov, the bishop of Naryan-Mar and Mezen, in his speech focused on the history of the spiritual development of the Russian North. He noted that Russia has a unique experience of meaningful, spiritual, creative life in the most complicated natural and climatic conditions. The spiritual heritage of the Russian Arctic, in his opinion, must be protected and developed.

The subject of the spiritual development was continued by I. Nikolaev, the director of the charity fund of cultural and socially significant initiatives named after the holy righteous warrior Phedor Ushakov. He spoke about the project "the Northern Spiritual way", which is aimed at the comprehensive study of the spiritual heritage of the Arctic and the formation of pilgrimage routes in the Arctic zone of Russia.

The head of the Federal Agency for Tourism O. Safonov said that tourism for the Arctic zone of Russia is of particular importance. It allows foreign residents and compatriots to open the Arctic, it is a means of interethnic communication. Ecological and industrial tourism have great potential. According to Safonov, only in the territory of Arkhangelsk region there is a cosmodrome, shipbuilding plants, diamond deposits, which are interesting to various categories of tourists. In addition, the head of the agency expects that there are prospects in the development of tourism along the Northern Sea Route.

In general, the participants of the session were unanimous that the cultural and historical heritage of the region should be protected and developed, including competent use of the tourist opportunities of the territory.

The most urgent problems for residents of the Arctic zone of Russia were discussed at the Forum of the Arctic Municipalities. This event was held in the fields of the International Forum on the initiative of the Association the "Arctic Municipalities". Municipalities from all the Arctic regions of Russia, representatives of regional and federal authorities gathered to discuss social and economic problems of the northern territories.

In the welcoming words of the guests of the forum, including the representative of the Russian President for the international cooperation in the Arctic and Antarctic A. Chilingarov, the idea was expressed that the formation of Russia's Arctic policy is impossible without the participation of representatives of settlements and districts. The Arctic municipalities form the backbone of the Arctic zone of the country and need the comprehensive support.

During the forum the representatives of the Arctic municipalities discussed the issues of the transport accessibility of settlements, the provision of resources to municipalities, the development of entrepreneurship and tourism in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation, the training of personnel and the attraction of youth to the Arctic regions and others.

As a result of the forum, the resolution<sup>3</sup> was adopted that contains more than 20 items on various issues related to the development of the Arctic municipalities. It proposed accelerating the introduction of the draft of the Federal Law "On the Development of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation" to the State Duma, including representatives of the Arctic municipalities in the State Commission on the Arctic Development, working out and implementing measures to retain and attract young professionals, and stimulate entrepreneurial activities in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation. The Forum participants supported to include in the legislation of the Arctic zone of the RF the provisions establishing the order of guarantees and compensations for persons residing in the Arctic territory of the Russian Federation. It was also recognized that it is necessary to provide for tax rates comparable to tax rates for residents of the priority development areas, as well as the mechanisms for guaranteeing the budget provision of the municipal entities. The participants supported the projects on the development of the transport infrastructure of the macroregion, including the construction of the Belkomur railway and the Vorkuta-Ust-Kara railway, as well as measures to develop educational institutions of higher and secondary professional education in the macro region.

In general, the forum has become the important stage of the discussion of issues related to life in the Arctic with the participation of representatives of federal and regional authorities, business, the scientific and educational community, both in Russia and abroad. The next forum, according to the decision of the Government of the Russian Federation, will be held in 2019 also in Arkhangelsk.

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<sup>3</sup>Glavy arkticheskikh munitsipalitetov prosiat uskorit' razrabotku zakona ob AZRF [Heads of Arctic municipalities asking to speed up the development of law on the Arctic zone of the RF]. URL: <https://region29.ru/2017/03/29/58db70862817ca063b00834d.html> (accessed: 06 April 2017). [In Russian]

## SUMMARY

## Authors, abstracts, keywords

## ECONOMICS, POLITICAL SCIENCE, SOCIETY AND CULTURE

**Синица А.Л.** Рождаемость на Европейском Севере России в 1990–2015 гг.

**Arseniy L. Sinita** Fertility in the European Part of the Russian North in 1990–2015

**Аннотация.** На основе данных Росстата в статье рассматривается динамика изменения системы показателей, характеризующих уровень рождаемости в регионах Европейского Севера России (в том числе, выделяя городскую и сельскую местности). Для проведения анализа использовались общенаучные и специальные демографические методы. В ходе работы было выявлено, что к 1999 г. число рождений в регионах Европейского Севера России сильно снизилось, но к 2015 г. показатели рождаемости улучшились, хотя рождаемость постарела. При этом рождаемость в регионах Европейского Севера России в целом выше среднего по России уровня, но воспроизводство населения является суженным уже достаточно долго. Наконец, различия между городской и сельской местностями большие. В отношении последней можно предполагать существование определённых проблем, связанных со сбором информации.

**Ключевые слова:** *рождаемость, показатели рождаемости, Европейский Север России, дифференциация регионов*

**Abstract.** Based on the Federal State Statistics Service data, the article examines the dynamics of changes in the system of indicators characterizing the birth rate in the regions of the European North of Russia (including urban and rural areas). General and special demographic methods were used for the analysis. In the course of the work it was revealed that by 1999 the number of births in the regions of the European North of Russia had greatly decreased, but by 2015 fertility rates had improved, although the birth rate had worsened. At the same time, the birth rate in the regions of the European North of Russia in general is higher than the average for Russia, but the reproduction of the population has been narrowed for quite a long time already. Finally, the differences between the urban and rural areas are large. In relation to the latter, it is possible to assume the existence of certain problems related to the collection of information.

**Keywords:** *fertility, fertility indicators, European North of Russia, regional differentiation*

**Сулейманова О.А.** Переезд на новое место жительства: к проблеме семантизации вещей в современной культуре (на материалах Кольского Заполярья)

**Olesya A. Suleymanova** Moving to a new residence: the item semantisation in modern culture (on materials of the Kola Polar region)

**Аннотация.** Статья посвящена изучению смыслов и функций семейных вещей в процессе переезда на новое место жительства современными горожанами Кольского Севера. Смена места жительства всегда сопряжена с прерыванием устоявшегося быта и привычного размещения вещей. Выявлено, что в процессе переезда предметная среда семьи переорганизуется и трансформируется полностью или частично, что приводит к ускоренному переозначиванию отдельных её элементов и изменению статуса вещей.

**Ключевые слова:** *адаптация, быт, вещь, жилище, Кольский Север, память, переезд, семантика*

**Abstract.** The article represents the study of the meanings and functions of family items when moving to a new place among the residents of the Kola North. The change of residence is always connected with the interruption of established lifestyle and placement of items. It revealed that while moving, the items environment of the family was reorganized and transformed completely or partially. It means the accelerated change of meaning and status of the moved family items.

**Keywords:** *adaptation, lifestyle, item, dwelling, Kola North, memory, moving, semantics*

**Цветков А.Ю.** Цели и стратегия развития территории (на примере Соловецкого архипелага)

**Alexander Yu. Tsvetkov** Goals and strategy in the territory development (the case of the Solovetsky archipelago)

**Аннотация.** В данной статье изучены процессы целеполагания и разработки стратегии развития территории. Показано соотношение целей и стратегии, определена их роль в управлении территорией. На примере Соловецкого архипелага рассмотрен механизм проведения SWOT-анализа, выполнен анализ системы стратегических целей, представлена модель комплексной стратегии развития территории. Используются методы морфологического и сравнительного анализа, синтеза, моделирования. Выявлена необходимость более полного соответствия миссии, целей и стратегии, а также их соответствие факторам внутренней и внешней среды развития территории. Обоснована важность разработки комплексной стратегии территории, направленной на её устойчивое развитие.

**Ключевые слова:** цели, целеполагание, стратегия развития территории, стратегическое управление, разработка стратегии, Соловецкий архипелаг

**Abstract.** This article is devoted to the objectives and working-out of the strategy of the spatial development. The correlation of goals and strategies is shown, their role in the management of the territory is determined. Using the example of the Solovetsky Archipelago, the mechanism of conducting the SWOT analysis was reviewed, the system of strategic goals was analyzed, and the model of the integrated spatial development strategy was presented. The methods of morphological and comparative analysis, synthesis, and modeling were used. The necessity of more complete correspondence of the mission, goals and strategy, as well as their correspondence to the factors of the internal and external environment of the development of the territory was identified. The importance of working out of comprehensive strategy of the territory aimed at its sustainable development is substantiated.

**Keywords:** objectives, goals setting, strategy of the spatial development, strategic management, working out of the strategy, the Solovetsky archipelago

## THE SÁMI: SOME ASPECTS OF NORDIC RESEARCH

**Нюссонен Ю., Лехтола В.-П.** Введение. От расовых различий к возрождению народа: аспекты исследований саамов в Финляндии и Норвегии

**Jukka Nyysönen, Veli-Pekka Lehtola** Introduction. From depictions of race to revitalizing a people: aspects of research on the Sámi in Finland and Norway

**Аннотация.** В этом специальном разделе в журнале «Арктика и Север» известные и молодые учёные из Финляндии и Норвегии рассматривают тему народа саами, начиная с эпохи «лаппологии» и до эпохи «исследований саамов». Статьи охватывают историю исследований, историографию и историю науки. Тематически статьи охватывают подробные обзоры исторической эволюции и трансформации «лаппологии» в их национальных условиях и более узконаправленные статьи отдельных учёных, а также статью о саамской историографии с методологической поддержкой. В двух статьях основное внимание уделяется генезису более чувствительных в культурном отношении исследований саамов.

**Ключевые слова:** саамы, исследование саамов, лопари, лаппология

**Abstract.** In this special section of journal “Arctic and North” renowned and younger scholars from Finland and Norway take on the topic research on Sámi, from the era of “Lappology” to the era of “Sámi research”. The focus in the articles varies between research history, historiography and history of science. Thematically, the articles range from longer overviews of the historical evolution and transformation of “Lappology” in their national settings and more focused articles on single scholars, as well as an article on Sámi historiography with methodological grip. Two articles focus on the genesis of more culturally sensitive Sámi research.

**Keywords:** Sami, Sami research, Lapps, lappology

**Килли Р.** «Лопари используются как верблюды в пустыне»: исследования саамов в самом северном пасторате финской Лапландии

**Ritva Kylli** "The Lapps are used like camels in distant lands": Sámi research in the northernmost parsonage of Finnish Lapland

**Аннотация.** Андерс Анделин был финским священником, который занимался саамскими исследованиями в самом северном пасторате Финляндии в 1850-х гг. Его работы не были исключительными, так как жители европейских сельских пасторатов XIX в. также проводили множество исследований по этой теме. Сам Анделин был этнографом-любителем, историком, археологом, метеорологом, географом, естествоиспытателем, лингвистом и топонимистом. Как исследователь саамов он занимал промежуточное положение между старыми и новыми научными традициями: середина XIX в. считается поворотным моментом в истории академических исследований в Финляндии. До этого времени исследователи собирали фольклор, исторические источники, растения и данные метеорологических наблюдений. В 1850-х гг. акцент сместился от сбора и систематизации материала к более аналитическим и экспериментальным исследованиям. Анделин публиковал свои труды в научных журналах, собирал много подробной информации о саамском народе, поскольку саамы считались примитивным народом, близком к вымиранию. Представители духовенства, приезжающие в Лапландию, рассматривали саамские земли через призму необходимости их культивирования. Их интересовали статистические данные для обоснования необходимости развития сельского хозяйства в Лапландии.

**Ключевые слова:** 1800-е гг., Андерс Анделин, финская Лапландия, исследования саамов, саамы

**Лехтола В.-П.** Исчезающие саамы, прогресс в действии: финская лаппология и представления о саамах в обществе в начале XX в.

**Veli-Pekka Lehtola** Vanishing Lapps, progress in action. Finnish lappology and representations of the Sámi in publicity in the early 20th century

**Аннотация.** В статье рассматриваются представления о саамах в финских исследованиях в 1920 и 1930-х гг. Роль расовых исследований в финской лаппологии была кратковременной, в то время как доминирующая научная сфера интересов, финно-угорское исследование, имела свои собственные иерархии относительно саамов в междисциплинарной области от лингвистики до фольклористики и этнологии. Этому направлению

**Abstract.** Anders Andelin was a Finnish clergyman who engaged in Sámi research in the northernmost parsonage of Finland in the 1850s. His efforts were not exceptional, as the residents of 19th century European rural parsonages practiced a lot of research. Andelin himself was an amateur ethnographer, historian, archaeologist, meteorologist, geographer, natural scientist, linguist, and toponymist. He was, as a Sámi researcher, between old and new scientific traditions: The middle of the nineteenth century has been regarded as a turning point in the history of academic research in Finland. Until then, researchers collected folklore, historical sources, plants, and meteorological observations. Around the 1850s the focus shifted from collecting and listing towards more analytical and experimental research. Andelin published his writings in scientific journals but also compiled a lot of detailed information related to the Sámi people, as the Sámi were thought to be a primitive people heading towards extinction. The clergymen who came to Lapland also viewed the Sámi lands through the lens of cultivation. They gathered statistics, which could be used to justify the need for the efforts of agriculture in Lapland.

**Keywords:** 1800s, Anders Andelin, Finnish Lapland, Sámi research, Sami

**Abstract.** The article examines how the representations of the Sámi were constructed in Finnish studies on Sámi in 1920 and 1930s. The role of racial studies in the Finnish lappology remained a short-period influence, while the dominant scientific field of interest, the Finno-Ugric research, had its own hierarchies concerning the Sámi, implied in the multidisciplinary field from linguistics to folkloristics and ethnology. This branch was challenged by the

противостояло антропологическое или культурно-географическое положение, подчёркивающее культурную адаптацию к окружающей среде как руководящую силу, формирующую саамские общества. Помимо чисто научных знаний, в статье рассматривается обширная область других саамских описаний: от путеводителей до газетных статей. Предполагается, что эта смесь научных и политических данных вместе со стереотипными представлениями о саамах формирует контекст плохой репутации лаппологии среди более поздних исследователей.

**Ключевые слова:** финская лаппология, финно-угорское исследование, человеческая антропология, представления о саамах

**Хансен Л.И.** О саамской историографии

**Lars Ivar Hansen** Perspectives on Sámi historiography

**Аннотация.** Статья посвящена истории саамов и историческим методам. В реляционном контексте рассматриваются основные результаты и центральные аспекты истории саамов. Какие последствия — как в отношении методологии, так и стилей повествования — эти аспекты имели и должны были иметь для процессов проведения исследований и составления истории саамов? Основное внимание уделяется политике в истории саамов и её исследованию. Рассматриваются вопросы, кому «разрешено» составлять историю саамов и выбирать способ проведения исследований с целью удовлетворения различных социально-культурных потребностей саамов. Рассматривается история саамов в целом и возможности реализации более ограниченных усилий по представлению сведений о саамских культурных практиках, их традициях и опыте отношений с другими народами. В заключение представлены методологические подходы и рекомендации по истории саамов с упоминанием ряда источников.

**Ключевые слова:** историография, история саамов, реляционный подход, методология

**Нюссонен Ю.** Вэйне Таннер и дискурс о расовых различиях

**Jukka Nyysönen** Väinö Tanner and the discourse on racial difference

**Аннотация.** Статья посвящена менее известному аспекту исследований скольт-саамов, проведённому Вэйне Таннером, — его идеям о скольт-саамах с точки зрения расовых исследований. Рассматривается место Таннера в научной области расовой теории и дискурсивные ресурсы, на которые он полагался. Одним из вдохновляющих современных дискурсов был

human anthropological or cultural geographical position, emphasizing the cultural adaptation to the environment as the guiding force formulating Sámi societies. Besides purely scientific knowledge, the article studies the extensive field of other Sámi descriptions, which spanned from travel guides to newspaper articles. It suggests that this mixture of scientific and political interests together with stereotypical representations of the Sámi forms the context for the poor reputation of lappology among the later researchers.

**Keywords:** Finnish lappology, Finno-Ugric research, human anthropology, representations of the Sami

**Abstract.** The article focuses on Sámi history and historical methods. The main results and central aspects of Sámi history, in its relational context, are gone through. What effects and consequences — regarding both methodology and narrative styles — these aspects have had, and ought to have, for the processes of doing research on and writing Sámi history? The focus is on the politics of Sámi history and research. The issues, who is “allowed” to write Sámi history and the way Sami research is demanded to stand in the service of different societal-cultural needs of the Sami is dealt with. This expectation of applicability concerns Sámi history in general, and the more delimited efforts of presenting situated accounts of Sámi cultural practices, traditions and experience with relations to other folk groups. Finally, methodological considerations and recommendations of Sámi history are presented, in which a number of methodological competences and in-depth usage of numerous source categories are called for.

**Keywords:** historiography, Sami history, relational approach, methodology

**Abstract.** The article charts a previously lesser-known aspect of research on the Skolt Sami by Väinö Tanner — his ideas on the Skolt Sami as a race. Tanner’s place in the scholarly field of racial theorizing and the discursive resources on which he relied are examined. One inspiring contemporaneous discourse was the Finnish hygienic discourse and the improvement of the

финский гигиенический дискурс и улучшение здоровья нации, к которому склонялся Таннер. Он рассматривал аспекты более агрессивного евгенического дискурса, сформулированного его этническими сверстниками, финскими шведами, но дискурс об их расовом превосходстве был непригодным, учитывая круг вопросов в его книге, призванных поднять позицию скольт-саамов в расовых иерархиях. Экономическая организация общества была решающей для Таннера, в отличие от расового вопроса, что сделало его социальным эволюционистом.

**Ключевые слова:** Вяйне Таннер, расовые исследования, исследования саамов, скольт-саамы

**Ландсем Л.И.** Исследование меньшинств: между наукой и политикой

**Lena Ingilæ Landsem** Research into minorities: between science and politics

**Аннотация.** В статье рассматривается взаимосвязь между наукой и политикой в исследованиях меньшинств в период с 1979 до середины 1980-х гг. в Университете Тромсё. На исследование оказали влияние различные условия того времени, такие как политические события и приоритеты и идеологические потоки в академических кругах. Три фактора повлияли на выбор темы, приоритетов и подходов к исследованиям меньшинств в Северной Норвегии. Первым фактором было возведение дамбы на реке Алта-Каутокейно, затем борьба за права саамов и политические изменения в отношении саамского населения в Норвегии. Каковы были последствия этой политики для исследований в академической среде в Северной Норвегии? Вторым фактором стала исследовательская программа, проводимая Норвежским общим научно-исследовательским советом (NAVF). Анализ соответствующих тем и тематических областей в исследованиях меньшинств осуществляется на основе этой исследовательской программы. Наконец, будут использоваться методологические и исследовательские политические дискуссии по эмическим и этическим позициям, которые были значимы в 1980-х гг. Только ли саамы или также исследователи, принадлежащие к этническому большинству, имели право проводить исследования саамов? Источниками явились внутренние документы, отчёты, научные статьи и устные сведения из UiT.

**Ключевые слова:** слова: исследование меньшинств, исследовательская политика, Университет Тромсё, исследования саамов и квенов

nation's health, towards which Tanner leaned. He reproduced aspects of the more aggressive eugenic discourse articulated by his ethnic peers, the Finland-Swedes, but the discourse on their racial superiority was unusable, given the agenda of his book, to elevate the Skolt Sami in the racial hierarchies. The economic organization of society was decisive for Tanner, rather than race, making him a Social evolutionist.

**Keywords:** Väinö Tanner, research on race, studies on Sami, the Skolt Sami

**Abstract.** The article examines the interplay between science and politics in minority research in the period 1979 to mid-1980s at the University of Tromsø. Research was influenced by different conditions at the time, such as political events and policy priorities and ideological of streams in academia. Three factors influenced the choice of theme, priorities and approaches to minority research in North Norway. The first factor was the damming of the Alta-Kautokeino river, followed by Sami rights struggle and political changes towards the Sami population in Norway. What consequences did the political case for the research for the academic environment in the Northern Norway? The second factor was the research program run by the Norwegian general scientific Research (NAVF). An analysis on the relevant themes and focus areas within minority research is undertaken on basis of the research program. Finally I will use the methodological and research political discussions on emic and etic research positions that took place in the 1980s. Was it the Sami themselves, or also the researchers belonging to the majority that had the right to pursue research on the Sami? Sources consist of internal documents, reports, research papers and oral sources from the UiT.

**Keywords:** research on minorities, research politics, University of Tromsø, Sami and Kven research

## REVIEWS

**Каторин И.В.** Международный диалог о человеке в Арктике: тема развития человеческого капитала на Международном арктическом форуме «Арктика — территория диалога»

**Igor V. Katorin** International dialogue about people in the Arctic: the topic of development of the human capital at the International Arctic Forum "Arctic: Territory of Dialogue"

**Аннотация.** Прошедший в конце марта 2017 г. в Архангельске Международный арктический форум «Арктика — территория диалога» стал одним из самых представительных мероприятий, посвящённых арктической проблематике, проведённых на территории России за последние годы. Деловая программа мероприятия включала в себя пленарное заседание с участием Президентов России, Финляндии, Исландии, а также 13 тематических сессий. Тема форума «Человек в Арктике» наиболее активно обсуждалась на четырёх тематических сессиях, а также на специальном мероприятии — Форуме арктических муниципалитетов. В статье представлены основные результаты дискуссии участников мероприятия на сессиях «Арктика — территория профессионалов», «Арктика — территория истории, культуры и туризма», «Арктика — территория здоровья», «Арктика — территория благоприятной среды обитания», а также на форуме арктических муниципалитетов.

**Ключевые слова:** международный арктический форум, человек в Арктике, человеческий капитал, международное сотрудничество, Арктическая зона России, арктические муниципалитеты, Архангельск, Северный (Арктический) федеральный университет имени М. В. Ломоносова, САФУ

**Abstract.** The International Arctic Forum "Arctic: Territory of Dialogue", held at the end of March 2017 in Arkhangelsk, has become one of the most representative events devoted to the Arctic issues in Russia in recent years. The business program of the event included a plenary session with the participation of the Presidents of Russia, Finland, Iceland, as well as 13 thematic sessions. The theme of the forum "People in the Arctic" was most actively discussed at four thematic sessions, as well as at the special event — the Forum of the Arctic Municipalities. The article presents the main results of the discussion of the participants of the event at the sessions "The Arctic is the territory of professionals", "The Arctic is the Territory of History, Culture and Tourism", "The Arctic is the Territory of Health", "The Arctic is the Territory of the Favorable Life Environment", and also at the Forum of the Arctic Municipalities.

**Keywords:** International Arctic forum, People and the Arctic, human capital, international cooperation, the Russian Arctic zone, the Arctic municipalities, Arkhangelsk, the Northern Arctic Federal University named after M.V. Lomonosov, NArFU

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