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## Second world war as a trigger for transcultural changes among Sámi people in Finland

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### ABSTRACT

The article analyses the consequences of the Lapland War (1944–45) and the reconstruction period (1945–52) for the Sámi society in Finnish Lapland, and provides some comparisons to the situation in Norway. Reconstructing the devastated Lapland meant powerful and rapid changes that ranged from novelties of material culture to increasing Finnish ideals, from a transition in the way of life to an assimilation process. The war was a trigger to an accelerated development in which otherwise long-term processes happened in a very short time frame in the post-war period. The post-war development was characterized by economic, political and cultural processes that integrated Sámi land to Finland and the Finnish nation. These processes can be interpreted as a classic modernization process, even “finnicization”, in which the traditional Sámi culture was forced to switch over to the modern large-scale society. In addition to problematic changes, however, the consequences of the war are also considered to have created new possibilities for the Sámi to influence the majority society both as individuals and as ethno-political actors. This was reflected in Sámi ethno-political activism, which started in Finland only after WWII. Also, the role of the majority education system had two-fold consequences: strong assimilation features, but also helping to build the educated Sámi “radical” generation that challenged the prevalent Sámi politics in the 1960s.

### ARTICLE HISTORY

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### Introduction

September 1944 was a busy time in the small Sámi village, Gárigasnjárga, in northern Finnish Lapland, next to the Norwegian border on the Anárjohka River. Autumn chores, such as haymaking and lichen gathering were at hand, and the long Continuation War (1941–1944) between Finland and the Soviet Union had ended. The recently concluded armistice with the Soviet Union gave hope that men would return from the front and life would resume its normal course. Máret-Niillas (Pieski) was cutting the peatland meadow in Luomusjoki. As he swung the scythe, he noticed movement at

the edge of the peatland. Sofe-Risten (Niittyvuopio) was hurriedly bouncing from tussock to tussock. She was almost too short of breath to greet the men when she started to hurry them back home: Finnish authorities had visited the village and told the villagers to get ready for evacuation – at once (interview of Maarit Vuomajoki).

Niillas in the peatland meadow is an image that reflects a rupture caused by the Second World War for Sámi culture. Many Sámi people in northern Finland had to leave straight from the peatland on an evacuation journey to Ostrobothnia for the whole winter. For the Sámi of the Utsjoki region, for example, it meant a very different culture with a foreign language. The reason for the evacuation was the war starting between the Germans and Finns, during which the Germans destroyed the whole of Lapland (as well as Finnmark in Norway) in autumn 1944. Reconstructing the devastated province meant a powerful transition era for the Sámi society. Changes ranged from novelties of material culture to increasing exposure to Finnish ideals, and from a gradual transition in the way of life to a completely new assimilation process.

Both in northern Norway and in Finnish Lapland, there has been criticism of national histories that erase the consequences of the Lapland War and the reconstruction period “from the national memory” (Petterson 2006, 49–52; Tuominen 2011, 64–66; Tuominen 2013, 60–62). There seems to be an asymmetry between the rich local literature concerning the evacuation of northern areas and the lack of interest among the southern historians and public to the Northern War (Tuominen 2011, 64), although the works of war historians, focusing on military operations, can even have national publicity (e.g. Meinander 2009, 267; Kulju 2013).

Earlier studies on the lives of civilians in and after the Second World War have revealed quite strong experiences in all of Finnish Lapland (see e.g. Müller-Wille 1974; Lähteenmäki 1999; Tuominen 2001) and the Sámi region (Lehtola 1994; Aikio 2000; Nyssönen 2007: 74–122), as well as in northern Norway (see e.g. Dancke 1986; Finne 2005; Berg 2006; Hage 2006; Petterson 2008). The war triggered an accelerated development in which long-term processes happened in a very short time frame in the post-war period. Thus far, in addition to the main lines of the Lapland War, the material reconstruction has been surveyed quite comprehensively. It has been claimed, however, that the cognitive reconstruction and the cognitive landscape of the same period is still to be studied (Tuominen 2013, 64–65).

Bård A. Berg also notes that the development should not be overly generalized. In northern Norway there were many differences between geographical areas, and the ethnic changes, for instance, could be acutely strengthened by the reconstruction period, while the economic and political structures had a more consistent continuity from the pre-war era (Berg 2006, 35–47). This also seems to apply to the development in Finnish Sápmi after World War II, especially in the reconstruction period in 1945–1952. The changes varied in different regions and on different levels of life. In this article I will focus on the rapid changes especially in the Ohcejohka community in the Finnish Deatnu area. The Aanaar Sámi community in the Inari area had already earlier adapted to similar influences, and the Reindeer Sámi of Enontekiö confronted them in the 1950s and 1960s (cf. Linkola 1990, 15).

The modernization process has eagerly been interpreted to be very contrary and even disastrous to “traditional Sámi culture”, because it has often been considered to

mark a strong assimilation pressure. In addition to problematic changes, however, the process also created new possibilities for the Sámi to influence the majority society, both as individuals and as ethno-political actors. This was reflected in Sámi ethno-political activism, when the Sámi started to implement the political means of the majority society at local and national levels.

I will look at the “Sámi war history” especially in Finnish Sápmi, with some comparisons to the situation in Norway. After a glimpse at the earlier history, I will review the evacuation of the Sámi and the relocation of the Skolt Sámi people in Inari before proceeding to analyze the consequences of the Lapland War and the reconstruction era. Benefiting from my earlier research, including interviews and archive materials,<sup>1</sup> I attempt to discuss Finnish Sámi experiences in and after the war that may be little-known outside of Finland, but I also try to interpret the Sámi post-war development in a more diverse light than only that of unavoidable assimilation or unprecedented modernization.

### Before the war

World War II was a contradictory event to the Sámi people, who have been known as “a warless people”. There are no historical records of the Sámi having waged war either among themselves or with other people. This does not mean that the Sámi are a naturally peaceful people or that being warless is part of their national mentality or essence. Instead, it seems possible that already in early times, Sámi *siidas* or Lapp villages negotiated significant privileges from the northern states in return for accepting their taxation power. One of these privileges was that the Sámi as Lapp taxpayers were exempt from military service in state armies, although this exemption can also be interpreted as a result of ethnic hierarchies. This privilege seems to have been in effect at least from the beginning of the seventeenth century, and it was ratified in 1751 in the Strömstad border treaty supplement or the so-called *lappe kodicillen*. In the treaty, Norway and Sweden deemed that the Sámi should never be caught in a situation in which power politics would force them to wage war with each other<sup>2</sup> (see Lehtola 2002).

When the great wars of the seventeenth century ended in the Nordic countries, the Sámi were not directly overrun by war for many centuries. The status of the Lapp villages, however, declined during the eighteenth century. The traditional privileges of the Lapp villages began to fade from the memories and practice of the authorities (Lehtola 2002, 190–194). The exemption from military duties was abolished in 1897 when Norway extended conscription to the inhabitants of Finnmark (Buljo, Eira, and Hellekjær 1989, 26–28). Russia began drafting Sámi people into the army in 1915 when World War I had started. Skolt Sámi served on distant fronts, as far as Poland and Manchuria. The home front also became a battlefield in the peculiar and confusing battles on the Kola Peninsula in which the Russian White Guards and Bolsheviks, English soldiers, Finnish Red Guards and White “punitive expeditions” high-handedly killed Skolt reindeer. In World War I the 8000 head reindeer population of the Pechenga Skolts plunged to a quarter of its original size (Hirsti 1974, 38–43; Lehtola 2000, 9–16). The Sámi in Finland were spared from military operations a little longer. They were drafted into the army in 1919 after Finland became independent, but in the

absence of a suitable service place they were still exempted for ten years, until the Pechenga border guard started training at the beginning of the 1930s (Itkonen 1952, 221; Lehtola 2012, 163).

Before World War II, the Sámi area was a quite distant part of Finland, although it had been integrated into the “motherland” after Finland became independent in 1917. This did not mean that the Sámi had been isolated from “civilisation”; they lived in trans-cultural and transnational environments, crossing the Finnish-Norwegian border regularly and living among populations of different origins, such as Finns, Norwegians, Russians, and several Sámi groups with their own languages. Different Sámi groups also had quite different situations in their relations to Finnish culture. Aanaar Sámi, for instance, had adopted and adapted models of Finnish agriculture already in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The Mountain Sámi in the Enontekiö region had retained the reindeer husbandry model largely based on the traditional reindeer village system, and they did not adapt to the Finnish herding cooperative system for a long time. Although the Mountain Sámi in Enontekiö were relatively close neighbours with Finnish farmers, their cultural idiosyncrasy had survived (Linkola 1990, 17–20). However, the Mountain Sámi of Sompio had a different situation. The arrival of a road connection to Sompio meant increasing influences and traffic, but it also brought new Finnish inhabitants, whose settlements along the road gradually developed into Finnish central villages (Aikio 1987, 16–17).

The Skolt Sámi of Pechenga had experienced a similar development as the Mountain Sámi. The territory of Suonikylä was located remote from Finnish settlements and the interests of the authorities; that is why its Sámi had retained their half-nomadic way of life in which they changed dwelling places according to the yearly cycle. Other Skolt villages closer to Finnish settlement, on the other hand, had been overrun by colonialism during the time Pechenga was under Finnish rule (1920–1944). The expansion of Finnish settlement, road construction, and later the expanding mining industry, eroded the ecological independence of the traditional Lapp villages, which was very sensitive to changes in subsistence resources. The regional breakup of the traditional Lapp village threw the whole community off balance. This state of affairs was not corrected by 1944, when the Skolt population had to leave their region and move to new dwelling places (Holsti 1990; Lehtola 1999; Sverloff 2003).

The Deatnu (Tana) and Inari river valleys that I will be focusing on were areas in the Finnish Sámi region where the influence of the Finnish society was least apparent before the wars. Their connection to Finland was mostly through certain authorities: priests, police chiefs and nurses. Finnish geographer Ilmari Hustich aptly called the area the “Utsjoki republic”, which was a patch almost completely distinct from Finland, while connections to the Norwegian side were close. The Deatnu Sámi way of life was also characterized by a diverse economy. Fishing and animal husbandry constituted a substantial part of their livelihood together with reindeer husbandry (Oksala 1988; Tiilikainen 1990, 20, 39–43).

During WWII in 1939–1945, the Sámi faced the situation that the Strömstad treaty had tried to avoid. In the Finnish-Soviet Winter War (1939–1940), Finnish Sámi fought against invading Soviet forces in which Kola Sámi were also fighting. In the spring of

1940, Sámi in Norwegian battalions fought alongside allied forces against the invading German army. A year later, Finnish troops supported Germans attacking the Soviet Union, and there are even testimonies telling about Finnish and Soviet Sámi firing at each other on the Pechenga front (Lehtola [1994] 2004, 67). During the occupation of Norway, Sámi participated in resistance units in their fight against Germans. Finally in 1944–45, Finnish and Soviet troops with Sámi soldiers fought against the Germans, who burned most of Sápmi in Finland and Norway.

During the Continuation War, the German troops entered the Sámi region when attacking on the Pechenga front. The construction of new kinds of traffic connections to the Sámi region, which was related to the German supply operation and attack preparations, foreshadowed later developments. The Germans built the Kaamanen-Karigasniemi and Kaaresuvanto-Kilpisjärvi roads towards their Norwegian bases. The roads passed directly through important Sámi settlements, which had been spared from outside influences in the roadless wilderness, but the overhaul of the roads by Finns after the wars was a major factor for the pressure of Finnish influences. Germans also built the first airfields in the Sámi region (Itkonen 1970, 43).<sup>3</sup>

The monetary economy, which previously had been insignificant, especially in Teno, came to Sámiland with the Germans. The presence of the Germans brought benefits to the local people. Germans bought fur shoes, crafts, milk and reindeer meat from the locals, as well as reindeer for transport tasks in their army. Work was available on their sites: for women in canteens, kitchens and service clubs, for men in constructing barracks and airfields and in forestry. Finnish–German relations in Finnish Lapland were relatively good, which was also the case with the Sámi population (see Junila 2000). The situation was different in Norway, where Germans were invaders and relations with local communities were more suspicious or otherwise complex (e.g. Skogrand 2004; Finne 2005).

Wartime took a heavy toll on Sámi reindeer husbandry in Finland. When young men were in the war there was not enough labour, and practical reindeer work suffered. In the absence of young men's surveillance, thieves thinned down the reindeer herds. Reindeer deliveries enforced by the state every year of the war became painful processes for many herding cooperatives when up to a third of the counted reindeer had to be delivered to the army. "No other livelihood has been as heavily taxed in favour of other livelihoods as reindeer husbandry", stated Lapland War historian T. T. Kaila soon after the war (Kaila 1950, 130–131). The Lapland county administrative board also considered the delivered numbers to be completely disproportionate. Carrying out the deliveries, however, reflected the loyalty of the reindeer herders to the Finnish state. Statistics reveal the fall in reindeer numbers during the war years. Reindeer husbandry also suffered genetically, when almost all the large reindeer of the Skolts, about 3500 head, were lost to the Soviet side.<sup>4</sup>

### **Sámi "abroad"**

The evacuation journey of the Sámi, alongside the Finnish population, was a result of the conditions in the armistice between Finland and Soviet Union; they specified that Finland had to expel the Germans within two weeks. This was impossible in practice

and meant war against the German army, which retreated to the north to its base area in northern Norway. The population had to be evacuated to escape war. The first safe relocation place to the south of the frontline on the Oulu-Kuusamo latitude was central Ostrobothnia, ca. 700 kilometres to the south of the Sámi region. The Sámi of Enontekiö were evacuated to northern Sweden along with the rest of western Lapland.<sup>5</sup>

The official order to start evacuation was given on 7th September 1944. Utsjoki parish along with Inari and Pechenga were the most urgent areas to evacuate – inhabitants were only given the instruction: “Take what you can carry – and move!” Cows and sheep had to be slaughtered or sold to the Germans. Dogs were shot on departure.<sup>6</sup> Máret-Niillas, coming from his peatland meadow, had to face the painful reality: he had to leave his precious homeland – maybe for ever.

Evacuating the whole Finnish Sámi region in just over a week was a great joint achievement by Finnish authorities and the inhabitants of Lapland. People had to be gathered almost one by one from vast wildernesses only accessible by boat and on foot.<sup>7</sup> Evacuees were transported from staging areas to Rovaniemi. As contradictory as it sounds, almost all of the lorries carrying the evacuees were German – the drivers did not yet believe that war would break out.<sup>8</sup>

The situation on the Norwegian side was different. Because the evacuation there was ordered and overseen by the Germans, who had occupied the country, the population reacted negatively. Refusing to obey orders, many people decided to try to remain in their region without official permission. Forced evacuation succeeded better along the main roads or close to the coast. Many refugees perhaps thought they would be able to return quite soon after the Germans had retreated, but eventually the Germans stayed in the Finnmark and Troms areas through the whole winter. Almost a third of the 72,000 inhabitants remained, spending the winter living as *huleboer* or “cave dwellers” in the fells, forests and mountains (Dancke 1986, 45–46; Petterson 2006, 2008). They expected German troops to retreat in few weeks, but after a heavy attack on the Pechenga front against Germans in autumn 1944, the Russian troops stayed in the Varanger Fjord and Tana River areas, while Germans controlled the other parts of Finnmark during the next winter (Mann and Jörgensen 2002, 159–185; Gorter, Gorter, and Suprun 2005, 5–15, 85–88; Jaklin 2006, 298–310).

In Finnish Lapland a little less than a third of the 168,000 inhabitants went to Sweden, most of the rest went to Ostrobothnia. Based on the counting method of the time, there were ca. two thousand Sámi evacuees: a quarter of them were inhabitants of Inari or ca. 800 people, almost all 850 inhabitants of the Utsjoki parish, 250 from the Enontekiö population and a fraction of the inhabitants of Sodankylä. The Sámi were relocated in four parishes in Central Ostrobothnia: Inari inhabitants to Ylivieska, Utsjoki inhabitants to Alavieska, Skolt Sámi to Kalajoki and the small Sompio population to Himanka.<sup>9</sup>

For many Sámi, the evacuation journey to Ostrobothnia was to be their only “trip abroad”, and it became engraved in their minds. The roads or highways alone were worth seeing, because there were not many in their home region. New animal and plant species, such as pigs and hens and apples and carrots, aroused interested curiosity. The evacuees wondered at the leagues of fields, wide turnip and grain fields, and cowsheds that could hold ten times the number of cows in northern cowsheds. Even pigs were slaughtered differently than in the north.<sup>10</sup>

But because they were forced to evacuate, there were also those whose experiences were distressing and difficult, as it is with present-day refugees. Details of the environment and everyday subsistence gave the first culture shock. When the evacuee inspector of the Oulu province visited the Sámi in Alavieska, they complained they were suffocating in the Ostrobothnian plains. They felt safe and free to breathe in the shelter of forests and fells. The desolation and flat expanses of the Ostrobothnian lowlands felt oppressive (interview of Eero Eho).

Water and food were typical causes of culture shock for evacuees. They are mentioned in several sources: documents, newspaper articles and interviews. Even the river water in Ostrobothnia gave a shock to the evacuees on their arrival. The vicar of Inari recounted that some mistook a pail of drinking water for slop, until they heard it had been fetched from a well, "And another evacuee said he would rather have water than beer, which he first thought this liquid was in Ylivieska."<sup>11</sup> The district physician dedicated a whole chapter to the subject in his annual report: "the brown, dirty and foul-smelling water was frightening for those who were accustomed to clear Lapland waters; you dared not wash yourself, dishes or clothes in it, even well water was so rank and muddy that you could hardly quench your thirst anywhere".<sup>12</sup>

The food situation in Central Ostrobothnia was difficult, and it was hard to get decent food with ration cards. Local shopkeepers delivered the better stuff to their own people. The evacuees' own shopkeepers were not allowed to open their shops in the locality either. When ration food and coupons ran out, evacuees had to resort to the black market, without which many families would not have managed, but which also quite efficiently divested the Sámi of their "*ruhta bihta*" or their last pennies.<sup>13</sup> Evacuees reminisced about the fatty fish of northern lakes with watering mouths, and the visits of reindeer herders from the north were always pleasant greetings from the "genuine" civilization – corrals and fells.

The first experiences reflected the basis on which the relationships of a northern indigenous people to a significantly different culture, i.e. the Finnish agricultural population, would be built. The Finnish peasant way of life and ideals were different from those of the Sámi, who had led a hunting-fishing-herding existence. But there were also differences in adaptation between the Sámi groups. The Sompio and Inari Sámi, who had practiced agriculture to some degree and spoke Finnish, felt more familiar than the Skolt Sámi from Pechenga, whose more mobile life had followed the yearly hunting-fishing-herding cycle. Their hygiene and lifestyle was not considered to meet the ideals of permanent settlement, and the general attitude was more negative towards the Orthodox Skolt, who were considered Russian.<sup>14</sup>

Because the departure to evacuation had been so quick, the Sámi were not able to present themselves in the best possible manner to Central Ostrobothnians; they had no belongings, no food, and money ran out quickly on the journey. Prejudices were mutual. In Gárigasnjárga, for example, southerners had actually been feared before the wars, because an errant southerner had killed his family there in a bout of insanity. Ostrobothnians considered the Sámi uncivilized primitives, who spoke a "strange language" and came to disturb their peace.<sup>15</sup>

Health care problems were severe when the microbe environment changed from the fell to lowlands. Even during transportation people had been seized by "severe and

persistent diarrhoea which everyone invariably contracted". Apart from diarrhoea, evacuees suffered from pneumonia, diphtheria, scarlet fever and jaundice right from the start.<sup>16</sup> In January 1945 the flood of epidemic diseases from elsewhere in Ostrobothnia reached also Ylivieska.<sup>17</sup> Apart from tuberculosis, diphtheria and typhoid created havoc among the evacuees. Diseases were especially debilitating among the Sámi, while the locals and Karelian evacuees were better spared from epidemics. The cause of this was presumably a lack of immunity, as tuberculosis, for example, had still been a fairly new phenomenon in the Sámi region during the war. Change of diet and climate, and "even homesickness," were additional factors according to physicians.<sup>18</sup> Death bells began to toll already during the first weeks. Especially children died of stomach diseases and epidemics during the winter: diphtheria, whooping cough and typhoid.

New conditions had to be adapted to on both sides, however. Initial prejudices dissipated in the course of the winter among the locals as well as the evacuees. On the other hand, detachment from their own home environment and feelings of insecurity also infused the Sámi with a new sense of unity, which grew stronger in their gatherings. Different Sámi groups found that they had common characteristics and similar experiences compared to Finns, who had an entirely foreign language and customs. Anxiety about the future was another important factor in kindling a sense of unity. Rumours from the north told that the whole of Lapland had been destroyed. The realization that not only their own local environment, but also the traditional home district of all Sámi had been devastated was an essential reason for the Sámi to become organized. The first Finnish Sámi organization, *Samii Litto* (Sámi Association) was born in spring 1945 in Alavieska. In Karl Nickul's words, it reflected the intra-ethnic solidarity between the Sámi, when different Sámi groups could forget their differences in a new situation and see the future as a common challenge (Nickul 1946, 15; Lehtola 2000, 131–153).

All in all, the Sámi adopted customs and patterns from Finnish culture and the agricultural community in both concrete and cognitive senses. The direct effects of the evacuation winter included a new kind of relationship with the Finnish language, new clothing ideals, influences in agriculture and other skills and customs, such as new dishes, games, early wake-up, cleanliness and using circular saws (Oksala 1988, 84–96). They could have remained isolated influences that were assimilated into the traditional culture, however, the devastation of the Lapland War and the subsequent reconstruction had the result that the experiences from the evacuation period became the foundation for the reconstruction era.

### **"We walk poor on a strange path"**

The greatest concrete change that World War II brought to the Sámi was the resettlement of the Pechenga Skolt Sámi. Pechenga fell permanently to the Soviet Union in the new border demarcation. Initially, the question of resettling the Skolts was about whether they should return to the Soviet side or remain in Finland. Old Skolt Sámi were inclined to return to Pechenga because their reindeer pasture lands and fishing areas were there. On the other hand, young Skolts, especially demobilized veterans, were against the migration. In 24 years they had grown into a relationship with

Finland and fought beside the Finns, therefore they felt it impossible to return to the former enemy country. Also, the Pechenga committee, which was officially responsible for Skolt affairs, took up the view that all Skolts had to be settled on the Finnish side in Luttojoki near Lake Inari.<sup>19</sup>

Almost the whole Skolt population was settled in compliance with the committee proposal in Luttojoki on the shores of Nangujärvi, Sarmijärvi and other greater lakes during 1946. Although the area was located relatively near the former Skolt region, the change of environment felt abrupt. For example, before the wars the Suonikylä area had been 4800 square kilometres with fine peatlands and excellent fishing waters, but in the new Luttojoki region the lakes were small and poor in fish. The reindeer of the Suonikylä Skolts, which had numbered 4000 head before the World War, had been left on the Soviet side. Now they were acquiring reindeer only gradually. Matti Fofanoff reminisced about the time in his home district before the war: "Wealth was there. Now we walk poor on a strange path, landless, houseless, reindeerless" (Holsti 1990, 67–71).<sup>20</sup>

The Lutto area proved too small to sustain the whole Skolt population. The Suonikylä Skolts convened a new meeting in June 1947 to discuss their options. They decided to look for a new settlement area to the north of Lake Inari, so a Skolt expedition was sent to the area. When the expedition supported the idea of moving there, the decision-making settlement committee of the agricultural society proposed the Näätämö area as the second relocation area for the Skolt Sámi.<sup>21</sup> By government decree, the Skolt territory consequently more than doubled from the original proposal.<sup>22</sup>

In spring 1948 about three hundred Suonikylä Skolts moved to the Näätämö region. The construction provided dwellings and outbuildings for 52 families and an elementary school and health service point in Sevettijärvi. A total of 140 Skolt Sámi were settled in the so-called Nellim Skolt area, which extended from the eastern border to the "Little Pechenga" in Ivalo. Dwellings and outbuildings were built for them with state funding. The rest of the Skolts stayed in the Lutto region.

All in all, population change was considerable on the sparsely populated southern and northern shores of Lake Inari. A population of five hundred Skolts moved into the midst of Inari Sámi, Finns and North Sámi. Although mutual adjustment proceeded well with few apparent conflicts, it was clear that Skolts had to compete for their own space in the new environment. The small-scale reindeer husbandry of the Skolts had problems adjusting to the local system. When attaching Skolts into the same herding cooperative with Finns, authorities disregarded the fact that there were conflicting interests between different kin groups and reindeer husbandry systems, where the dominating group always has supremacy (Paasilinna 1988, 111–112).

The relationship of the Skolts to their traditional livelihoods started to change radically. Especially the Skolts settled in the Lutto region had to earn their meagre living in sporadic employment and their dependence on Finnish support and the administrative system increased. The Suonikylä inhabitants in their new region were able to make their livelihood from nature to a greater extent. The traditional Skolt society model, *sijd*, crumbled in the settlement phase, however. The Skolts themselves decided not to build their traditional collective winter village; instead, kin group settlements were dispersed in a zone over fifty kilometres long. The yearly cycle could not continue in the

earlier manner either, because Finnish administrators did not understand why several seasonal dwellings had to be built for the same family.

Päivi Holsti has characterized the situation thus:

When the Skolts tried to adapt to this strange society, they became estranged from their own ways. Learning new ways of life did not happen quickly, however, and Skolts were caught in a kind of limbo with no room for earlier or new ways of life. Although the home district had been important, Skolts felt that relinquishing Suonikylä was not the reason for the helplessness of the tribe — it was the fact that Skolts were not familiar with the Finnish way and pace of life (Holsti 1990, 98).

Insecurity and hopelessness in a strange environment can be seen as a cause for the social maladjustment described by Holsti. Old Skolts expressed themselves through nature-related symbols in their *leúdd* songs and stories: “planted (us) like saplings into the coldest winter to grow again, but the roots remained in the old place.” They unravelled their feelings towards the new home region by telling a story about an ancient Näätämmö village, which had been cursed. The *leúdd* ended in the fearful question: “We stop to look and ponder: is this the Näätämmö village of the *leúdds*?” (The *leúdd* “Memories from Suenjel” by Vassi Semenoja and Helena Semenoff; Muistoja 1983).

## Destroyed Lapland

The war in Inari and Utsjoki had already ended in November 1944, but because the Germans had mined Lapland, the evacuated population could not be returned on a larger scale before spring and summer 1945.<sup>23</sup> A dismal sight greeted the homecomers. The retreating Germans had completely burned Finnish and Norwegian Lapland, especially along the main roads. The Enontekiö and Inari parishes were 80–90% destroyed, while the destruction elsewhere in Lapland was 40–47% on average. Only the remote Utsjoki parish was somewhat spared: only about thirty houses had been destroyed (Ursin 1956, 13; see also Jaklin 2006, 311–327). Because there were hardly any roads, German destruction patrols could not reach outside the surroundings of Karigasniemi. Nature also protected the houses in Utsjoki: the German retreat took place at that time of the year when boats could not be used anymore and the ice was not thick enough to travel on (interview of Hans Niiles Pieski).

The central villages in Inari were completely destroyed, while more buildings were spared in remote areas. The only surviving constructions in the Inari parish were the pharmacist’s fencepost and a hut. The Germans also sent destruction patrols to isolated houses and house groups. The destruction the Germans caused in the forests was great (Lehtola [1994] 2004, 132–133; Nyyssönen 2000, 34–35).<sup>24</sup> The German destruction had proceeded in stages. First, the potato patrols came to the houses and collected all food. Then the patrols and single soldiers took away useful belongings – they even planned to take the furniture to Germany. Finally, the fire patrols set fire to the houses. Boats were collected on the shore and burned, nets and dragnets were cut apart. Even mile-posts were blown-up one by one. The “usual” scorched-earth tactics turned to revenge during the Lapland War (Hustich 1946).

The scorched-earth tactics also included killing all reindeer. The independent initiative of the Sámi ensured that the reindeer were spared as well as they were. In Finland, the Mountain Sámi stayed behind, against the evacuation orders, to keep their reindeer beyond German reach during the retreat phase.<sup>25</sup> In the Muonio region, Germans found a herd of hundreds that had escaped from Sweden and shot them to the last beast. In Sompio, herders of the Lapland cooperative found some hundred reindeer carcasses in Purnumukka, from which only small portions had been taken for food (Holsti 1990, 305; interview of Jouni Sajjets.) The final score was deplorable. According to some calculations, the reindeer population of the whole of Finnish Lapland was 60% smaller than before the wars.<sup>26</sup>

The Sámi lost most of their livestock as a result of the World War. The war and the distemper that ran riot after the war also decimated much of the original indigenous reindeer stock in Finnish Lapland. The destruction also nearly wiped out the unique cattle breed, the Lapland cow. It is an all-white, small and hardy breed, adapted to the rugged northern conditions and accustomed to the mixed and sparse diet of the region. The Lapland cow was replaced by western Finnish cattle, which were brought along when returning from the evacuation journey. At first, the “southern cow” (*madda-gussa*) was followed with irony or pity, because it could not abide the Lapland cow’s diet but needed better fodder, and it could not even evade flies and mosquitos by walking through shrubs or swinging its tail. Later it was more respected because it produced more milk and also tolerated more stress than the Lapland cow. The Lapland cow or northern Finnish cattle are still endangered; there are only a few hundred animals left of the breed (interviews of Juhani Magga and Teuvo Lehtola; Tiilikainen 1990, 20–22).

The mutual adaptation of the Sámi and the Lapland cow reflected the post-war situation in which new elements or parties were brought to meet and cope with each other in transcultural circumstances. Some of the influences had already been adopted during the wartime. Agricultural methods learned during the evacuation time started to emerge as far north as Teno after the wars. Horses had already been used in transporting goods, but now they were used as draught animals in haymaking, for example. During the war, the small “Lapland sheep” were replaced by Finnish native sheep. The most essential changes in Teno included the breakthrough of tillage and field cultivation. Grassland farming gave way to seed hay, and mechanization made grassland ploughing possible (Tiilikainen 1990, 20–38).

The importance of the monetary economy increased at the same time. When the relative amount of earned income increased even the profit derived from cattle was calculated numerically, and the profit no longer seemed to match the required labour resources. The values of self-sufficiency were replaced by those of the monetary economy. Accordingly, the earlier diverse economy model was not “efficient”. These two trends resulted in revolutionary changes. Increasing use of supplementary and concentrate fodder meant that collecting peatland hay and gathering lichen gradually ended. Because the more efficient agriculture required that workers were present in the actual dwelling place, the old summer dwelling system (i.e. the custom of living in two seasonal places during the year) quickly broke down. In the Utsjoki valley this old way of life nearly disappeared during the 1940s (Tiilikainen 1990, 44–48).

The balance between livelihoods started to change gradually, so that some subsistence practices started to dominate the ecological activity of households. Mostly it was agriculture, which the Finnish authorities emphasized as the future livelihood, although it was very vulnerable in the Arctic region. The reconstruction era was characterized by a keen wish of the authorities to steer the economic development in a new direction based on “southern” ideals (Massa 2007, 499–500). Sámi leaders, such as Johan Nuorgam, were openly critical of this trend. In his opinion, it had become clear that agriculture could not be the basis of living on the latitude of Inari. Nonetheless, agricultural advisors and other authorities nursed hopes of an agriculturally dominated Sámi region, “with no mention of the true livelihood of Lapland, reindeer husbandry” (Nuorgam 1948, 31).

Reconstruction and social modernization brought quite drastic changes to the nature of the Sámi region. The hydroelectric regulation of Lake Inari was a major ecological crisis in the region, with effects on an essential Sámi livelihood, fishing. Finns had themselves started regulating Jäniskoski (near Inari) during the Continuation War, and after reacquiring the Pechenga area in the Paris peace treaty of 1947, the Soviet Union continued the regulation. Finland and the Soviet Union made an agreement that granted permission to the Pechenga nickel combine of the Soviet Department of Non-Ferrous Metallurgy to regulate Lake Inari for the needs of its Paatsjoki power plants.<sup>27</sup> The fluctuation of the water level in Lake Inari completely changed the living environment of fish. The catch was reduced, while the overall costs of the fishermen increased. By the 1950s the development resulted in a decrease in the number of professional fishermen (Sergejeff 1990, 305–306; Hellsten, Palomäki, and Järvinen 1997, 9–14).

### Reconstructed identities

The destruction caused by the Germans was the trigger for a multiple transition period when the devastated areas were reconstructed in the years 1945–1952. Reconstruction meant the strong development of traffic connections, rebuilding the houses and a rise in living standards. There were two parallel processes in the Sámi society and culture, partly contradictory with each other. One was the change of “traditional” Sámi culture and an acculturation process that has been called “finnicization” or even assimilation. The other process was that of ethno-political mobilization that gave rise to a new kind of participation of the Sámi people in the majority society.

“Finnicization” meant economic, political and cultural processes that integrated Sámi land to Finland and the Finnish nation more strongly than before. During the reconstruction period, new infrastructures, especially brand-new road systems, were built to connect the northern “peripheries” to Finland and to loosen local connections to Norway. Roads made it easier to travel and transport, which was important, for example, when exploiting the natural resources of the north such as forests. The network of roads brought progress in many ways and it made Lapland more equal with other parts of Finland, improving standards of living. However, the roads also had a reverse side: they decreased local “autonomy” and the Sámi territory was seen

as a resource store. Its possibilities were largely viewed from the outside and often from an economic perspective (Lehtola 2012, 443–445).

The importance of the road system was reflected in the different speed of changes in different areas: the boundary between the devastated and non-devastated areas depended largely on the traffic networks. Areas spared from destruction were distant from the roads that German patrols used when destroying settlements and dwellings. In these areas life quickly settled into its previous course after the evacuation time. Martti Linkola has stated that it was not until the economic and social changes of the 1950s that the Enontekiö wilderness houses and villages reached a similar development as the rest of Sámiland (Linkola 1990, 15).

On the other hand, life often changed quite rapidly in the destroyed areas that had been accessible to the Germans. Roads were bringing new Finnish residents to settle down, gathering dwellers in a similar manner as rivers and other waterways in earlier times. War veterans, mobile workers, even vagabonds came to work as “professional” carpenters and constructors. Many of them stayed in the north, and because all the newcomers were Finns, the percentage of Sámi decreased radically. Newcomers settled along the roads that were constructed during the German presence.

Culturally, the roads improved the operation of many Finnish institutions, such as postal services, health care, police and border control, and in the words of Marjut Aikio, “they all spoke Finnish” (Marjut Aikio’s verbal comment). Finnish centres, such as Ivalo, expanded almost explosively in Sámi regions. The new centre of Karigasniemi in Utsjoki municipality emerged by the roadside around the new border station near the old Sámi Gárigasnjárga. Because of border restrictions, the direction of trade was turning from Norway to southern Finnish Lapland.

Reconstruction itself symbolized – and partly caused – the trend of finnicization. Even in the remote Deatnu region, the destroyed Sámi region was rebuilt on the model of Finnish standardized houses. The Sámi had to march to the reconstruction office to look at standard drawings of a few available house types (interview of Maarit Nousuniemi). The new houses were detached homes furnished along the Finnish-Ostrobothnian house style. Saunas with a dressing room and porch were also a novelty, although there had been a few even before wartime. The Sámi tried to adapt to the new kind of houses in the Finnish way. Utensils and decorations, curtains and tablecloths started to appear in Sámi houses. Only the layout of the yard resembled the pre-war Lapland houses. In Ilmari Hustich’s words, the loose placement of store-houses, shelters and racks reflected “the subconscious tendency of the Sámi to keep something of the openness and space that prevailed around a hut camp” (Hustich 1946).

Finnish ideals started to appear elsewhere in the everyday life and customs of the Sámi. The change in clothing was one of the most apparent signs of new influences: Finnish clothes started to replace Sámi dress. Although this was partly due to the better availability of Finnish clothes during the post-war period, it was also about fashion. Young people abandoned Sámi dress and dressed in “southerner clothes,” especially when they were going to the central villages (interviews of Birit Anni Lehtola and Maarit Nousuniemi).

The same was true with the language; speaking Sámi felt quite unfashionable and betrayed that the speaker was “a Lapp”. Parents started give their children Finnish first names and some changed their surnames into Finnish. Finnicization was apparent even in the administration of the Sámi region; the meeting language of the Utsjoki municipal council changed to Finnish at the beginning of the 1950s, although almost all members were Sámi. Before that, only the records had been written in Finnish, but the meetings had been conducted in Sámi (Interview of Hans Niiles Pieski).

### Traditions vs. modernity?

The post-war change in the Utsjoki community can be and has been interpreted (e.g. Lehtola [1994] 2004, 191–224) as a classic modernization process in which the Sámi culture, characterized by subsistence livelihoods and a “traditional way of life”, was forced to switch over to the modern large-scale society. This marked the onset of a strong assimilation process for the Sámi population. According to this interpretation, the war and the subsequent 10–15 year period constituted a severe crisis, from which the Sámi culture never quite survived.

However, when questioning the contrasting representation between the concepts of “tradition” and “modernity”, it is also possible to see the development in a more diverse light. In the words of Matti Sarmela, Sámi society was moving into a new post-local stage, which was characterized by an intense international technological and economic development that also confronted the whole of Finland (Sarmela 1994, 107). To get along in the changing environment, communities adopted new resources and tactics, which helped them acculturate to the altered environment. At the same time, the new resources brought irreversible structural changes to the whole culture and society.

As in the Finnish society, there were also different kinds of attitudes among the Sámi towards this development. Traditionalist views could still ignore new influences in remote Sámi communities in Utsjoki, Inari and Enontekiö, for example, or try to resist them in the Laestadian religious communities, which had a very conservative attitude towards new influences. On the other hand, many Sámi were ready to adopt new influences as a sign of modernity or fashion, as well as to improve the living standards and future possibilities for themselves and their children. There was a diverse scale of attitudes between these extremes.

The development of ethno-political activity in the post-war period reflects the opening of the “traditional” local space towards the ethnic consciousness, in which the Sámi unity was considered a new network. *Samii Litto* (Union of the Sámi), established in Ostrobothnia in 1945, became a strong tool for Sámi politicians to make room for Sámi participation in the Finnish society. Although the Sámi ethno-political movement challenged the acculturation and assimilation processes, Nyssönen has noted that it had an open or even supportive stance towards modernization, for example in the rationalization of work and industrialization. Paradoxically, the next “radical” generation in the 1960s was a more traditionalistic, ideologically anti-modernist or even modernization-hostile movement compared to the “older generation” (Nyssönen 2007, 127–135).

When connecting people, *Samii Litto* was very active on the local level, arranging Sámi meetings, entertainment, reindeer races and practical help for people. In its ethno-political argumentation, e.g. in its own media, it had a conscious aim to unite “the Sámi people” in Finland to understand the need for common activities and to make the state listen. When trying to emphasize the sovereign voice of the Sámi, the “radical wing” of *Samii Litto*, especially Nilla Outakoski, was sharp and even aggressive in its relations with Finns, including *Lapin Sivistysseura* (Society for the Promotion of Lapp Culture), the organization of Finnish “Sámi friends”. To make a political statement, Samii Litto also launched the word “*saamelainen*” (Sámi) to be used in all its official papers instead of “Lapp”. *Lapin Sivistysseura* soon followed in its documents, as did the regional *Lapin Kansa* newspaper and the national Sámi Affairs Committee (*Saamelaisiain komitea*) working in 1949–1952. (Lehtola 2000, 67–71; Nyssönen 2007, 80, 136–140; Lehtola 2009, 42–44).

To push the Finnish government to create a consistent Sámi policy, a Sámi Delegation travelled to Helsinki in 1947. In addition to practical matters, the Delegation’s main demand was to have the management of Sámi affairs concentrated in one hand. It proposed to establish a special government body for the Sámi issue and to appoint a committee to define the tasks and make-up of the representative body (*Saamelaislähetystön käynti* 1947, 6–13; Magga 1987). The Ministry of the Interior even examined how to bring expertise of the Sámi issue to the government. However, when choosing a suitable public servant was problematic, the Ministry appointed the Sámi Affairs Committee, which published its report in 1952 (Lehtola 2005, 160–161).

The proposals in the report of the committee were progressive, even radical. Special attention and resistance among authorities and the public was provoked by the Sámi law proposal of a special Sámi region, which was aimed at protecting the interests and rights of the Sámi in their actual dwelling regions. The committee proposed preventing state land in the Sámi area from being allotted to anybody other than Sámi. These measures would put an end to unregulated settlement and would secure the future of the aboriginal population. In each county, there would be a completely separate board, the “Sámi Council” (in Finnish *saamelaisvaltuusto*), which would be elected by a general assembly of Sámi for a three-year term (Report on Lapp Affairs 1952; Lehtola 2005, 161).<sup>28</sup>

Even though the establishment of the committee was the most significant achievement of post-war Sámi politics in Finland, the final result was poor. Almost all proposals made by the Commission of Sámi Affairs were completely ignored by the public and by the government (Aikio 1984, 31–32). The result reflected the Finnish means of dealing with Sámi politics. The authorities proclaimed the field free for the Sámi to accomplish their equal rights to their own language and culture. Possible proposals were usually rejected, however, by arguing that there could be no special rights for any group in the name of equality. Equality was understood on the basis of Finnish values and perspective, ignoring Sámi language, cultural elements, and values (Nyssönen 2009, 168–169).

The strengthening ethno-political movement reflects the other side of modernization for the Sámi: it created an arena to to adopt new strategies and resources. An obvious example of a twofold process is the question of education in relation to

Sámi culture. The school system has been considered a major fennicization factor in Finnish Sápmi at the end of the 1940s (Lehtola [1994] 2004, 217–223; Rasmus 2008). The new compulsory education act in 1947 obliged even the inhabitants of remote areas to send their children to year-round schools in central villages. The children were gathered at large school centres with dormitories, which was in itself a shock to self-esteem, and the trauma of many Sámi children resembled the negative evacuation experiences.

Spending whole winters in a Finnish-speaking environment away from the home district estranged the children from their background. Learning and adopting the Finnish language and constantly cramming the ideas of Finnish culture from Finnish national literature in school, the children were guided to the Finnish language, culture and worldview. The Sámi started to think in Finnish and as Finns. The children's natural connection to their home language was severed, and skills that had been conveyed by tradition – such as reindeer husbandry and crafts – were forgotten or never learned (Sara 1984, 41–43; Lehtola 1997, 62).

The other side of the coin was that education was also bringing new notions about the role of the Sámi as equal citizens of Finland and as members of international networks. It was the first educated “boarding house generation” that recognized that the Sámi issue involved larger circles than just the local family and kin-group area. To compensate for the lack of power at local and national levels, the Sámi movement orientated itself more and more to global arenas, especially to indigenous discourses in the 1970s. They raised questions about their rights as a minority, ethnic group and indigenous population. The fight to substantiate the “usage from time immemorial” started. Global trends were absorbed, adopted and adapted in multiple ways, depending on their usefulness and applicability in local contexts, including relations to other ethnic groups (Nyyssönen 2007, 182–210).

## Discussion

A variety of local literature, as well as a growing number of historical studies, has provided quite a comprehensive picture of the devastation of the Lapland War and its influences on material culture in both Finnish Lapland and northern Norway. These areas suffered the most in Fennoscandia from the German scorched-earth tactics. Recently, the cognitive landscapes and experiences of the post-war era have also become objects of scientific interest, e.g. in a research project in Finland.<sup>29</sup> Despite this, Northern perspectives have remained peripheral in national histories. As Tuominen puts it, historical studies are always multiple struggles of remembering, being identified and recognized, and the silence means lack of recognition, which prevents discussing and dismantling traumatic experiences in public. Recognition may lead to certain concrete processes, such as compensation policies in Norway from the 1980s and 1990s onwards (Anttonen 2010, 54–71), but it can also mean symbolic recognition of the special nature of the northern war experiences after the German destruction.

From the perspective of Sámi studies, there can be a double exclusion if the Sámi experiences are marginalized, even in the context of multi-ethnic northern societies. On the other hand, the struggle of belonging to national histories can easily lead to

simplified interpretations. When discussed in the tradition of an oppressed minority, or generally as people of Lapland, the representations of Sámi war experiences can result either in a continuity of discourse about the majority “finnicizing” them or in ignoring special features of Sámi experiences as a linguistically and culturally separate group. The diversity of post-war development could easily be lost, including the Sámi initiatives in adopting novelties of their own volition.

There seem to be irreconcilable problems in other respects to having indigenous histories play an equal role in national histories. Concerning the writing of Native American histories, Colin G. Calloway (2011, 200) states that despite the rise of Native histories challenging the monopolization of history, they have not really been included in the history of the US, except as anomalies. Referring to how indigenous peoples worldwide have positioned themselves in international rather than subnational contexts, Calloway concludes: “Indian history does not ‘fit’ in U.S. history; it ‘belongs’ ... in world history. Indian history needs to go global ...” (Calloway 2011, 201).

Similarly, considering Sámi histories in a transnational and transcultural perspective could help us gain new perspectives on the experiences of wartime and reconstruction. In the post-local stage, the influences which are often discussed exclusively as “Finnish” or “Norwegian” were usually transnational and transcultural trends that could be as novel in Finnish or Norwegian communities as in Sámiland. There were similar processes in Norwegian Sápmi and among other indigenous peoples concerning the adoption of majority habits and language, and processes of education systems.

The same goes for Sámi ethno-political activity, not only nationally, but also on the Nordic and international levels. Because of the lack of political power on local and national levels, the Sámi sought international contexts for their activities and argumentation. Nordic Sámi cooperation from the 1950s onwards referred to European minority policies, for example, where linguistic rights were central. The ethno-political movement of young Sámi activists in the 1960s and 1970s, highlighting land rights and Sámi self-determination, orientated itself more and more to global arenas, especially to indigenous discourses in the 1970s (Lehtola 2005, 161–166).

There has been a growing tendency in indigenous studies to dispute the concept of modernization. As Philip J. Deloria (2004, 6–12), a Dakota historian, has stated, some indigenous people – more than we have been led to believe – leapt quickly into modernity already in early historical phases; not because they adopted political and legal tools from whites or because of acculturation or assimilation, but because of their own will and interest. In the same manner, modernization and cultural change among the Sámi should not be considered only as a homogeneous and simultaneous process that forced the “traditional” Sámi community to acculturate the “modern” majority culture.

The persistent wish to seek recognition from the national histories is based on the idea that modernization and development would only be directed via southern national centres that would conduct international influences to northern “peripheries” and Sámi communities. Instead, it is important to emphasize the role of the Sámi as transnational, as well as transcultural, actors. In addition to acculturation and assimilation, there were strong tendencies among the Sámi leaders to derive benefits from Nordic and other international discourses or models, especially from the 1950s onwards. These influences

were seldom just “copied”, but rather implemented at the own will and desire of indigenous and national leaders and decision makers.<sup>30</sup> Contrary to Norway and Sweden, where these global trends started to influence Sámi societies in the beginning of the twentieth century, in Finland it was only the Second World War and the reconstruction period that really triggered the same processes.

## Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

## Notes

1. For my study *Saamelainen evakko* (1994, revised edition 2004) about the evacuation period of the Finnish Sámi in 1944–45 I interviewed several Sámi and went through a large archive material. For my book *Saamelaiset suomalaiset* (2012) about the encounters between the Sámi and the Finns in the first part of the twentieth century I focused more on the post-war period, also collecting new data. In this article, I use this material especially in the notes. Although I do not directly point at changes in my own stance from 1994 to this day, the article takes a more careful approach to my earlier, maybe a little more postcolonial interpretations, about the reconstruction era as a dramatic turn for Sámi society and a period of strong assimilation.
2. The Strömstad treaty supplement is considered to have recognised the traditional Sámi privileges, and therefore it has attracted great attention among Sámi historians, see e.g. Pederesen (1987, 1989).
3. See also interview of Vicar M. V. Aho 7.–8.8.1947. T. T. Kaila’s drafts and material for the Lapin sota book. JRA Ad:3. OMA.
4. Annual reports of Lapland province governor 1939–1946. OMA; Interviews of Oula Näkkäläjärvi and Inger-Saara Magga. See also pseudonym “Korsa’s” causeries in the *Sabmelas* periodical 1944–1946.
5. Account of Northern Finland evacuation authorities of the evacuation of Northern Finland 30.10.1944. Police inspector Armas Alhava’s collection C:1. OMA.
6. War diary of Northern Finland air surveillance staff 2, 7.9.1944. SArk; Enok Kangasniemi was a salesman in Inari. Horses were driven to the south in good time, Arrela, Lauri, (Untitled account of the evacuation journey), in Etto (1977, 105).
7. T. T. Kaila’s drafts and material for the Lapin sota book. JRA Ad:3. OMA.
8. Eyewitness accounts of starting the evacuation journey, see e.g. Aikio, Briitta (Untitled account of the evacuation journey) in Etto (1977); Kuuva (1975), Kuuva (1981), Kuuva (1987). German lorries were continuously transporting equipment towards the north, and the German commandant in Ivalo had given the express order that they must not return empty – without evacuees – to Rovaniemi.
9. Rovaniemi general staff’s list of parishes in the region to be evacuated 10.9.1944. JRA Bc:12. OMA; Runtti (1989).
10. Interviews of Maarit Vuomajoki, Maarit Nousuniemi, Eino Jokinen; interviews of Jouni Helander and Josef Aslak Aikio (interviews of Niilo Aikio, SRA).
11. Interview of Vicar M. V. Aho. 7.–8.8.1947. T. T. Kaila’s drafts and materials for the Lapin sota book. JRA Ad:3. OMA.
12. Annual report of Inari district physician 1944. Inari and Utsjoki health district Db:1. OMA.
13. Inspector Tauno Lehtinen’s account of evacuee inspections e.g. in Yliveska 27.9.–3.10.1944. Oulu province administrative board evacuee welfare inspector’s account Hc:38. OMA; Inari parish administrative committee to Lapland province regional welfare office 23.2.1945. Letter copies. Inari parish administrative committee archive OMA; e.g. interview of Maarit Vuomajoki.

14. Karl Nickul's correspondence 1944–1945. Karl Nickul's archive. KA.
15. Records of local evacuation committee 23.1.1945. Archives of Inari evacuee welfare director Ca:1. OMA; Interview of Vicar M. V. Aho 7.–8.8.1947. T.T. Kaila's drafts and materials for the *Lapin sota* book. JRA Ad:3. OMA; Lapin Kansa 16.1.1945.
16. Annual report of Inari district physician. 1944. Inari and Utsjoki health district Db:1. OMA; Inari and Utsjoki health district Db:1 Annual reports 1944. OMA.
17. Inari and Utsjoki health district Db:1 Annual reports 1943. OMA; Lapin Kansa 24.10.1944.
18. Inspector Kalle Honka's account of the trip to e.g. Ylivieska 18.12.–22.12.1944. Archives of the evacuee welfare inspector of Oulu provincial administrative board Hc:38. OMA.
19. Karl Nickul to Kaarlo Hillilä 7.3.1945. Karl Nickul's archive KA; Kaarlo Hillilä PM. Hki 11.1.1945 to evacuee department of internal affairs. Hc:3: Arrived documents. Oulu province administrative board archive OMA. Oulu province administrative board to to evacuee department of internal affairs 8.3.1945. Oulu province administrative board, Arrived documents Hc:3. OMA; see also e.g. Matti Sverloff to Karl Nickul 20.9.1945. Correspondence on Skolts. KNA. KA.
20. Outsider relief operations became particularly important to Skolts, especially organized by Karl Nickul on behalf of *Lapin sivistysseura* (The Society for the Promotion of Sámi Culture). See Karl Nickul's speech in annual meeting of LSS 30.3.1947. Manuscripts. KN archive. KA.
21. Records of Skolt meeting in Ivalo 7.7.1946. Lapland Agricultural Society settlement committee II. Ha: 2–7. OMA.
22. P.M. Arranging Skolt dwelling and landowning issues. Lapland Agricultural Society settlement committee II. Ha:17, OMA.
23. Lapland province administrative board inspector E. Koskimaa's report from e.g. Inari in spring 1945. JRA Bc:1. OMA; Paavo Pandy to evacuee department of Lapland province administrative board 12.5.1945. Lapland province administrative board document 1945, Hc:23. OMA.
24. Interview of Vicar M. V. Aho 7.–8.8.1947. T. T. Kaila's drafts and materials for the *Lapin sota* book. JRA Ad:3. OMA; Inari Parish 100th Anniversary History 1956,13; Interview of Onni Nikula; Itkonen (1952, 223).
25. Interviews of Maarit Länsman and Teuvo Lehtola; Interview of Enontekiö evacuation chief Bertil Öhman 24.7. 1947 (T.T. Kaila) JRA. OMA; interview of Vicar M. V. Aho 7.–8.8.1947. T.T. Kaila's drafts and materials for the *Lapin sota* book. JRA Ad:3. OMA.
26. Annual reports of Lapland province governor 1945–1948. OMA. Calculating the damages was problematic, because counted reindeer were hidden for the purpose of increasing compensations and evading taxes.
27. Lapland Agricultural Society settlement committee to Ministry of Agriculture 20.4.1946 and 3.11.1948. Lapland Agricultural Society settlement committee II, Ub:1–2. OMA.
28. Report on Lapp Affairs (1952). The committee also made the radical proposal that “the Sámi of our country should be exempt from regular service in the army”. The aim of the proposal, which was probably formulated by peace activist Karl Nickul, was that the members of a people divided by national borders should not have to confront each other in a military conflict (Lehtola 2005, 161).
29. There is an academic project *FEENIKS – Art and culture in the mental and material reconstruction process following the Lapland War* (2011–2017) in Finland, coordinated by researchers of the University of Lapland and funded by the Academy of Finland, studying “how Lapland was reconstructed both materially and mentally in various spheres of life by and through art and culture”. See <http://www.ulapland.fi/InEnglish/Research/Research-Projects/-Spearhead-projects/Feeniks>.
30. See *Domestication of Indigenous Discourses? Processes of Constructing Political Subjects in Sápmi*, a joint project of two Northern universities, University of Oulu and University of Lapland, funded by the Academy of Finland in 2015–2018 <http://www oulu.fi/giellagasinstitute/domestication>. The project draws on the concept of domestication launched by Alasuutari and Qadir (2014, 2–5), referring to taming and adopting global trends to the national and local contexts. The project challenges the straightforward perceptions about unidirectional processes between international trends and local implementations.

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