

## Metadata of the chapter that will be visualized online

---

Chapter Title	Nation-Building and Colonialism: The Early Skolt Sami Research of Väinö Tanner	
Copyright Year	2022	
Copyright Holder	The Author(s), under exclusive license to Springer Nature Switzerland AG	
Corresponding Author	Family Name	<b>Nyysönen</b>
	Particle	
	Given Name	<b>Jukka</b>
	Suffix	
	Division	High North Department
	Organization/University	Norwegian Institute for Cultural Heritage Research
	Address	Tromsø, Norway
	Division	University of Tromsø – The Arctic University of Norway
	Organization/University	The Arctic University Museum of Norway
	Address	Tromsø, Norway
Email	Jukka.Nyyssoenen@niku.no	
Abstract	<p>In 1929, the geologist Väinö Tanner (1881–1948) published an extensive study in human geography on the economic and social adaptation of the Skolt Sami. Tanner aimed at an understanding and respectful approach, and today he enjoys the reputation of a culturally sensitive scholar: one who tried to see the Skolt Sami culture from within, and who wrote against the most aggressive discourses of his time. There are indications, however, that the relationship between Tanner and the Sami was more complex than previously assumed. His book is examined in the light of recent theorizing on colonial knowledge production, revealing aspects of his relation to the object of study that can be seen as colonialist. The focus in the article is on Tanner’s approach to the hierarchization of the study object, and whether it was primarily the national or the colonial context, and the related discourses, that induced him to write about the Skolt Sami as he did. His unfavorable comparisons of the Skolt Sami to modern societies, and his use of an expert voice in relation to “correct” forms of subsistence, reveal a scholar deeply embedded in colonial discourses, as does his occasional direct praise of colonial politics. The national, however, turns out to be a more constitutive context for Tanner. Colonialism can be seen as too inclusive a super-structure, containing evolutionary and nationalist discourses articulated at the national level as well, but perhaps lacking the explanatory potential offered by the more apparent national context.</p>	

---

---

# Nation-Building and Colonialism: The Early Skolt Sami Research of Väinö Tanner

*Jukka Nyysönen*

## INTRODUCTION

After Finland gained independence in 1917, Finnish aspirations of eastern expansion were fulfilled when the Pechenga region, in Finnish Petsamo, was annexed to Finland in the Tartu Peace Treaty of 1920. As a result, Finland hosted a “new” minority, the Skolt Sami, an Eastern Sami group. The Skolt way of life was based on a mixed economy, combining small-scale reindeer herding and fishing. Due to subsequent encroachments on Skolt Sami fishing rights and the introduction of industry and modern infrastructure, their traditional sources of subsistence were in crisis, and as one option the Skolt Sami began increasingly to enter modern forms of economic activity. This aroused the interest of numerous scholars in the

---

J. Nyysönen (✉)

High North Department, Norwegian Institute for Cultural Heritage Research,  
Tromsø, Norway

University of Tromsø – The Arctic University of Norway, The Arctic University  
Museum of Norway, Tromsø, Norway

e-mail: [Jukka.Nyysonen@niku.no](mailto:Jukka.Nyysonen@niku.no)

© The Author(s), under exclusive license to Springer Nature  
Switzerland AG 2022

R. Merivirta et al. (eds.), *Finnish Colonial Encounters*, Cambridge  
Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies,

[https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-80610-1\\_5](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-80610-1_5)

16 human sciences, inspired by evolutionist ideas; a Sami culture in its “most  
 17 original stage” was about to vanish.<sup>1</sup> The Geologist Väinö Tanner  
 18 (1881–1948) was among the many scholars who had already made exten-  
 19 sive field trips to Eastern Sami areas while Finland was still a Grand Duchy  
 20 of Russia (1809–1917). In 1929 Tanner published the work which forms  
 21 the main focus of this chapter: an extensive study in human geography,  
 22 entitled *Antropogeografiska studier inom Petsamo-området: 1, Skoltlapparna*  
 23 (Studies in the human geography of the Petsamo district: 1, The Skolt  
 24 Lapps). The study covered numerous aspects of the economic and social  
 25 adaptations of the Skolt Sami. Tanner was aiming at an “understanding”  
 26 and respectful approach, and he enjoys the reputation of a culturally sensi-  
 27 tive scholar: one who tried to see the Skolt Sami culture from within and  
 28 who wrote against the most intrusive discourses of his time.<sup>2</sup> There are,  
 29 however, indications that the relationship between Tanner and the Sami  
 30 was more complicated than has previously been assumed. Here I examine  
 31 his scholarly work on the Skolt Sami in the light of recent theorizing on  
 32 colonial knowledge production. This approach reveals certain aspects of  
 33 his relation to the object of study that, I claim, can be labeled as colonial-  
 34 ist. The analysis reveals his hierarchization of the study object; it also dis-  
 35 plays the interplay of contexts and sources of discourses, national or  
 36 colonial, which caused him to write about the Skolt Sami the way he did.

37 The term “colonial science”, which has many disciplinary branches and  
 38 functions, here refers to scholarly production directly or indirectly con-  
 39 tributing to, justifying, and/or participating in colonial efforts and empire-  
 40 building. Colonial science has been stereotypically portrayed as derivative,  
 41 instrumentalist, and extractive and has been criticized as an instrument of  
 42 imperial control, rather than as a key to the development of the target  
 43 societies. Colonial science has often had the utilitarian, mercantilist goal of  
 44 charting the availability of profitable raw materials.<sup>3</sup> To achieve these goals  
 45 a number of discursive means were employed, “othering” or even dehu-  
 46 manizing the colonized subjects. The colonial discourses thus articulated  
 47 in knowledge production included the inability of the indigenous  
 48 population to govern themselves, or the resources found in the lands to be  
 49 colonized. These scholarly works aired a need to improve or displace the

<sup>1</sup> Harlin and Lehtola 2019, 45–49.

<sup>2</sup> Susiluoto 2000, 14–15.

<sup>3</sup> Cañizares-Esguerra 2005, electronic material, accessed 13.11.2012; Said 1995, passim; Wu 2019, passim.

indigenous population, based on the naturalized superiority of the colonizing power and on the goal of utilizing resources.<sup>4</sup> In addition, geographers were quick to take on board the discourses of social evolution, and subsequent racial ideas and discourses, on the basis of which they constructed hierarchies supporting nations and empires.<sup>5</sup>

Seen as a whole, all the science of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was (framed by the) colonial: for historical subjects, scholars included, the imperial was the subjective, or, for many, the native category. In the age of empire, it was the dominant mode of fathoming contacts between peoples near and far. In colonial science, however, the national and the global were closely intermingled. The aims of nation-building could end up building colonial hierarchies, by echoing those constructed on a global scale in the empires. And it was scientists who—not alone, but to a significant extent—introduced global/imperial discourses within the national (e.g. Finnish) frame, and created cross-border systems of understanding colonial rule by means of knowledge circulation.<sup>6</sup> As a decidedly noncolonial nation,<sup>7</sup> Finland is a good example of the intermingling of the two categories, the involvement of colonial discourses in knowledge production, framed by national goal settings.

My purpose here is to not merely to label Tanner as a colonialist scholar, but to study him critically, to determine whether some aspects of his knowledge production qualify as colonial. I claim no full explanatory power for the term “colonial” in explaining an activity of such complexity as scholarly knowledge production, with all its social and ideological connections. What I do claim, however, that this same complexity, with its multiple contexts, social dependencies, and impulses (including colonial ones), had an impact on Finnish knowledge production.

The historical and geographical context of the article is the period during which Petsamo, located in the border regions of Finland, Norway, and Russia on the coast of the Arctic Sea, was a Finnish province (1920–1921) and municipality (1921–1944). During this era, the extractive aspects of Finnish scientific knowledge production (especially mineralogy) became blatant. Here I address three interrelated questions: (1) in what manner did Tanner encounter and treat the Skolt Sami in the course of his research?

<sup>4</sup>Dale 2009, 79 et passim; Danielsson 2009, 64–66.

<sup>5</sup>Wu 2019, 68; Nyysönen 2017, passim.

<sup>6</sup>Adelman 2019, 3, 9.

<sup>7</sup>For example, Airaksinen 2008, passim.

84 (2) What were his views as to colonial policies and the colonization of  
 85 Petsamo? And (3) were the discourses that gave rise to or inspired his  
 86 research colonial and metropolitan, or just national?<sup>8</sup>

87 The sources, consisting of relevant published texts, manuscripts of the  
 88 1929 publication and some correspondence,<sup>9</sup> are read qualitatively and  
 89 discursively, in search of discursive similarities to colonial science/knowl-  
 90 edge production<sup>10</sup> and of influential contexts and discourses. The concep-  
 91 tual frame involves studying Tanner's scholarly production in the light of  
 92 colonialism as a discursive undertaking: reading scholarly texts as attempts  
 93 to construct a moral superiority and a socio-cultural difference. The focus  
 94 of study is on the naturalizing and objectifying grids through which  
 95 Tanner observed and hierarchized the Skolt Sami.<sup>11</sup> The chapter is orga-  
 96 nized chronologically, I first briefly introduce Tanner and his early career,  
 97 after which I discuss his activities in Petsamo and his scholarly production  
 98 concerning the region and the Skolt Sami. I conclude with a discussion of  
 99 Tanner's response to Finnish perception of the colonization of Petsamo.

#### 100 TANNER'S EARLY CAREER AND HIS FIRST FIELD TRIPS

101 Väinö Tanner (1881–1948) was born in Hämeenlinna to a family belong-  
 102 ing to the Swedish-speaking middle class.<sup>12</sup> In 1905 he graduated from  
 103 the Polytechnic, with a diploma in chemical engineering. In 1914 he  
 104 defended a doctoral thesis on quaternary geology at the *Imperial Alexander*  
 105 *University in Finland* (from 1919 the University of Helsinki). During his  
 106 early career, through his involvement in the Geological Commission of  
 107 Finland, he took part almost annually, from 1903 to 1913, in geological  
 108 expeditions to Lapland. In 1909 he visited the Skolt Sami regions  
 109 Njuõ'ttjäy'rr<sup>13</sup> (Finnish Nuortijärvi) and Suõ'nn'jel (Finnish Suonikylä).

<sup>8</sup> Compare Adelman 2019, 10.

<sup>9</sup> Tanners personal archives are located at the Arctic University Museum of Norway, in Tromsø.

<sup>10</sup> Compare Lehtola 2015, 22–36.

<sup>11</sup> Cooper and Stoler 1997, 3–4; Thomas 1994, 38–40.

<sup>12</sup> Lundqvist 1968, 143–144.

<sup>13</sup> I write the Skolt Sami *sijdd* toponyms in the most recent orthography of the Skolt Sami language, and provide a Finnish translation. Toponyms are otherwise written in the language of each respective country. Where possible, I use ethnonyms indicating the *sijdd*-belongingness of the individual. On most occasions, this is not possible, since they are not explicated in the sources.

He taught and did research at the Geological Commission, the Polytechnic, and the Imperial Alexander University.<sup>14</sup> During the years of 1918–1921, Tanner served at the Finnish Ministry of Foreign affairs, whence he was recruited to the Geological Commission. From 1921 to 1930, he served as State Geologist.<sup>15</sup> Tanner was appointed professor of Geography at the University of Helsinki in 1931. During the rest of his career he did not return extensively to Sami topics. Tanner is best known for his geological studies but also for his extensive work on Labrador.<sup>16</sup> He took voluntary exile to Sweden in 1944; as a Swedish-speaking Finnish scholar, he experienced conflicts with the Finnish-speaking staff and with pro-Finnish policies at the University during the language disputes in Finland. Tanner was known for his anti-“True Finn” political stance.<sup>17</sup>

Tanner became closely acquainted with the Sami regions in Sweden and Norway due to his involvement in the international Commissions working on the reindeer herding crisis in Torne Lappmark, in the northernmost part of the province of Norrbotten (chairmanship in 1910–1912 and 1914–1917). The Commissions were meant to resolve the protracted impasse in the negotiations over the pasturing rights of the nomadic Sami from Sweden in the summer pastures in the Troms county in Norway. The Commissions produced reports focused chiefly on biological information as to the condition of the pastures in Norrbotten and Troms, and ended up suggesting the removal of groups of nomads to southern pastures; today this outcome is seen as a great failure, resulting in chaos in pasturing.<sup>18</sup>

The fieldwork was conducted according to the scientific standards of the time. The scientists and officials were guided by local Sami, who nevertheless appear only seldom in the sources, providing information as to choice of fodder and some social aspects of herding.<sup>19</sup> The botanical and

<sup>14</sup> CV, Box 18, Folder 10a, Private documents, Archive of Väinö Tanner (AVT), Archive of Arctic University Museum of Norway (AUMoN), Tromsø, Norway; Rantala 2008, 45–46.

<sup>15</sup> CV, Box 18, Folder 10b, AVT, AUMoN, Tromsø, Norway; Susiluoto 2000, 12.

<sup>16</sup> Tanner 1944.

<sup>17</sup> “Aitosuomalaiset” was an extreme right-wing patriotic political movement, which in its early phase, in the 1920s, focused on the ongoing language dispute, with the aim of suppressing the linguistic rights of the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland. The group was most visible at the University of Helsinki, Tanner’s place of work, where he did have to unwillingly conform to the demands of the Finnish nationalists. Jutikkala and Pirinen (1996) 2003, 414–415; Lundqvist 1968, 215–217.

<sup>18</sup> Broderstad, Niemi and Sommerseth (eds.) 2007, passim.

<sup>19</sup> Nyysönen 2015a, 172–173 et passim.

138 phenological fieldwork was carried out according to scientific principles;  
 139 the use of the Latin names of plants, and the classification of vegetation  
 140 into different categories in a scientific manner, served as a way of identify-  
 141 ing oneself as a scientist. The reports estimated the carrying capacity of the  
 142 pastures, based on the growth of lichen and other types of vegetation suit-  
 143 able for pasturing,<sup>20</sup> and the area requirement per reindeer.<sup>21</sup> The situation  
 144 was in crisis and natural resources were in danger of being destroyed.  
 145 Tanner became familiar with both aspects in relation to pastures: as a natu-  
 146 ral resource, as in colonial science, and as the context of Sami social  
 147 organization.

148 In his fieldwork, Tanner showed an inclination, on the one hand,  
 149 toward sensitivity toward the Sami, especially as informants, on the other,  
 150 toward colonial arrogance. The sources contain indications that Tanner,  
 151 along with the Swedish and Finnish Commission members, reacted to and  
 152 resisted Norwegian doubts as to the moral condition of the Sami; the  
 153 Norwegians claimed that the Sami were unsuited to serve as informants  
 154 due to their alleged bias.<sup>22</sup> Tanner's application for a "personal (Sami)  
 155 assistant" in the final Commission expedition in 1914 was turned down.<sup>23</sup>  
 156 The hierarchies between the Sami and the scholars were also sustained by  
 157 the use of titles, signifying the social standing of each participant  
 158 and guide.<sup>24</sup>

159 Whether some aspects of this engagement qualify as colonial is debat-  
 160 able. The Swedish motivation for preserving the pastures in Sami usage  
 161 was based on an economic rationale, but suggestions of a colonial power  
 162 of definition can be perceived in the Commission's work as well: the  
 163 Swedish Sami, according to many scholars, became victims of a physical  
 164 form of science-based "social engineering" in the forced removals that fol-  
 165 lowed, even if it cannot be directly credited to the Commissions. Tanner  
 166 supported the idea of cutting the number of reindeer and removing some  
 167 Sami groups to "new" pastures. In spite of this enforced social engineer-  
 168 ing, in the course of his fieldwork, he recognized and stressed the

<sup>20</sup> Minute, Vuoskoarvi, 13 August 1910, Box 1, Folder 1, AVT, AUMoN, Tromsø, Norway.

<sup>21</sup> Climatic factors causing a deterioration of pasture conditions were also discussed. Undated protocol, Box 1, Folder 1, AVT, AUMoN, Tromsø, Norway.

<sup>22</sup> Transcript, Instructions for the commission, 1913, Box 1, Folder 6, AVT, AUMoN, Tromsø, Norway; Renbeteskommissionens af 1913 handlingar, I:1,13.

<sup>23</sup> Correspondence from Kristian Nissen to Tanner, 20.2.1914, Box 17, Folder 9, AVT, AUMoN, Tromsø, Norway.

<sup>24</sup> Nyssönen 2015a, 170–171.

indigenous rationality of the Sami organization of herding, expressed in their social and even their political organization.<sup>25</sup> The Commission showed a preference, typical of the time, for an intensive form of herding, based on strict control of the herds, and considered more “original”. The shift observed toward extensive, less stringent herding, however, was explained differently: Tanner and the Commission listened to their Sami informants and blamed external factors, including the border closure of 1889 between Finland and Sweden, increased settlement in the summer pasture areas, restrictions on pasture access, and the unruly, large Kautokeino stocks causing chaos in pastures in Troms and Norrbotten.<sup>26</sup> Explanations by Swedish officials, in contrast, were based on near-racializing characterizations of the mental attributes of the Sami: the “good” way of herding was in a process of “degeneration” due to Sami laziness and carelessness.<sup>27</sup>

In the end, the Commission members had the final say on the matter, which was resolved on the basis of scientific knowledge concerning pasture resilience and productivity; this resonated well with the Sami informants who were hoping for a reduction in the number of reindeer as well.<sup>28</sup> This was the Sami voice allowed to surface in the reports. Tanner effortlessly embraced the role of an expert on Sami issues, a stance which he continued to lay claim to in his future research, and which affected the way the Skolt Sami were positioned and hierarchized in his studies.<sup>29</sup>

## SUMMERS IN PETSAMO AND THE MAIN WORK ON THE SKOLT SAMI

The *sijdd*,<sup>30</sup> the Skolt Sami word for “village”, was a demarcated administrative region, divided into kin and family areas; it maintained annual cycles of utilization and had ritual, judicial, and economic functions.<sup>31</sup> In 1920 in Petsamo, three *sijdds* were annexed to Finland (see Fig. 5.1.). At

<sup>25</sup> Nyysönen 2015a, 174 et passim.

<sup>26</sup> Renbeteskommissionens af 1913 handlingar, I:1, 184–185, 189–190 (see also footnote 3), 191–199, 205–209, 232, 241.

<sup>27</sup> Lantto 2012, 101.

<sup>28</sup> Nyysönen 2015a, 179.

<sup>29</sup> Nyysönen 2015a, passim.

<sup>30</sup> The more widely known north Sami variant of the term is *siida*. In his book, Tanner used the term *sijt*. Porsanger 2007, 109.

<sup>31</sup> Enbuske 2008, 71ff; Tanhua 2020, 30.

197 the time the Skolt Sami were undergoing catastrophic difficulties, which  
 198 had begun half a century earlier. Recent scholarship has attributed the  
 199 subsistence and social crisis in the *sijdds* to external factors. For example,  
 200 sedentary settlement of the Petsamo fjord had made fishing of the  
 201 Peaccham (Petsamo) increasingly difficult. The demarcation of the  
 202 national border cut off several *sijdds* from their resource zones: Peaccham  
 203 from a summer pasture area, Suõ'nn'jel from their winter village, and  
 204 Paččjokk (Paatsjoki) from their coastal fisheries. Industrial forms of eco-  
 205 nomic activity entered Peaccham and Paččjokk.<sup>32</sup> The crisis was accel-  
 206 erated during the Finnish era, with continuing encroachment on the  
 207 remaining Skolt Sami subsistence rights. From early on, the state of  
 208 Finland had high hopes concerning the establishment of fisheries and a  
 209 fishing industry in the region. Summer fishing places and the exclusive  
 210 fishing rights possessed by the Peaccham-Sami in Liinahamari were lost to  
 211 the Finnish fishing industry and fisheries when the road reached the new  
 212 harbor in 1930. The Peaccham-Sami received no compensation for the  
 213 intrusion. Finnish fishing in the fjord, which extended over a longer  
 214 period, reduced the salmon catch in the Petsamo River and the fjord, and  
 215 the settlers began to herd their own reindeer stocks in the pastures belong-  
 216 ing the *sijdd*. The Peaccham-Sami had to resort to occasional paid labor,  
 217 for example, in the fish processing factories (Fig. 5.1).<sup>33</sup>

218 In the 1920s, as this process, close to a land-grab, went on, Tanner  
 219 visited Petsamo numerous times. Officially, he was in Petsamo because of  
 220 the search for nickel ore, in his capacity as State Geologist for the Geological  
 221 Commission. The quest came to a halt, to Tanner's disappointment, when  
 222 due to lack of state funds he had to recommend to the Geological  
 223 Commission that prospecting be given over to an international actor.<sup>34</sup>  
 224 Here we see him in perhaps his clearest extractive-colonial moment. The  
 225 nickel mine and refinery was established on the lands of the Paččjokk *sijdd*,  
 226 some years after Tanner's work.

227 As a byproduct of these expeditions, he issued several publications on  
 228 Petsamo, including the classic 1929 study on the Skolt Sami.  
 229 *Antropogeografiska* is a multidisciplinary study, with a theoretical frame in

<sup>32</sup> Lehtola 2012, 166; Tanner 1929, 152–157.

<sup>33</sup> Lehtola 2012, 170, 258–259.

<sup>34</sup> PM. on Petsamo 1928, Box 3, Folder 1g, AVT, AUMoN, Tromsø, Norway; in 1934, the English affiliate of International Nickel Company Ltd., The Mond Nickel Company received the concession to utilise the nickel in Petsamo. Vahtola 1999, 287.



this figure will be printed in b/w

**Fig. 5.1** Skolt Sami Sijdds before 1920. (Source: Nordregio, Cartographer Linus Rispling, <https://nordregio.org/maps/saa'mijannam-the-community-location-of-the-skolt-sami-sijdds/>)

human geography. Tanner's aim was to survey the people, their semi-nomadic adaptation, history, politics, viability and administration, along with the socio-economic crisis of the three Skolt Sami *sijdds* now belonging to Finland. The political agency of the Skolt Sami was constructed in a groundbreaking way with Tanner's analysis of the Norráz/Sobbar, the organ responsible for the Skolt Sami *sijdd* administration, which allocated usage rights to fishing waters and lands to the families. This was one of the culturally most sensitive contributions for which Tanner is credited: a functionalist perception of the *sijdd*, as an entity of a *people* defined by kinship ties and by the *terrain* they utilized, and within which they allocated

230  
231  
232  
233  
234  
235  
236  
237  
238  
239

240 resource zones in an *orderly* manner.<sup>35</sup> Tanner wrote decidedly against the  
 241 Finnish public discourse on the Skolt Sami, which accused them of merely  
 242 wandering aimlessly in the mountains and in general perceived their culture  
 243 as less valuable. In addition, Tanner wrote against “Lappologist”  
 244 research, which to a great extent was aimed at Finnish nation-building; it  
 245 applied diffusionist hierarchies of culture, which showed the lower position  
 246 of the Sami in socio-cultural hierarchies.<sup>36</sup> One clear agenda of  
 247 Tanner’s work was to reveal many Finnish policies in Petsamo to be inad-  
 248 equate and ill-advised.

249 Due to this take on the Sami, the book enjoys a good reputation among  
 250 scholars, to a great extent deserved. The book has a programmatic aim of  
 251 presenting the Skolt Sami as they appeared to him: as “the most gifted,  
 252 and in terms of their moral frame of mind ... the most developed popula-  
 253 tion element we met up there”; ravaged, however, by external conditions  
 254 and thrown into poverty. The book’s aim was further elaborated, as being  
 255 “to promote the happiness of a people of nature” by producing objective,  
 256 factual knowledge of forces at the extreme north, and how to operate with  
 257 these forces to the benefit of a “people of nature”.<sup>37</sup> Among the forces  
 258 impacting the North was modernity, which resulted in the immediate hier-  
 259 archical positioning of the Skolt Sami, even in the very motivation of the  
 260 book. The book contains an unresolved tension between, on the one  
 261 hand, the idea of the inevitability of modernization, leading to the crisis  
 262 and the loss of a traditional form of subsistence, on the other, Tanner’s  
 263 “purist” view of the rightfulness of semi-nomadic reindeer herding as the  
 264 original, most appropriate and “correct” form of herding.

265 Tanner tried in earnest to understand the internal rationale of a folk  
 266 living in interaction with their surroundings, as is evident from his meticu-  
 267 lous depictions of the annual cycle of the *sijjads*. He did not refer to stereo-  
 268 typical descriptions of the Skolt Sami according to the majority of scholars  
 269 and authors in the Finnish public sphere, as lazy, listless drunkards (see the  
 270 article by Lahti in this volume). He also avoided taking a position in terms  
 271 of contemporary racial categories: he does not use the terms “Aryan” or  
 272 “Germanic”, but once refers to the “Nordic” race. He thus avoided the  
 273 crudest forms of typification in the human sciences.<sup>38</sup> In spite of this, in

<sup>35</sup> Susiluoto 2003, 82, 97; Tanner 1929, passim.

<sup>36</sup> Nyssönen 2015b, 151–153.

<sup>37</sup> Susiluoto 2003, 98; Tanner 1929, 7–9.

<sup>38</sup> Thomas 1994, 97.

numerous passages in the book Tanner relied on hierarchizing discourses. 274  
 He relied uncritically on local Norwegian officials, such as teachers, end- 275  
 ing up echoing their aggressive Social Evolutionist views of the Njauddam 276  
 Sami (Näätämö, a Skolt Sami sijdd in easternmost Norway). Typically of 277  
 the time, he blamed the Skolts for their “wrong” subsistence choices, 278  
 aired doubts as to their capacity for paid employment,<sup>39</sup> and predicted the 279  
 “natural death” of the Paččjokk sijdd after witnessing their “apathy” in a 280  
 time of crisis.<sup>40</sup> In these passages, the scholarly discourses of evolutionary 281  
 identity, caught up in the framework of progressive developmental stages, 282  
 are aggressively audible in the text.<sup>41</sup> The Skolt Sami are in a liminal state: 283  
 authentic children of nature, paralyzed in passivity and incompetence and 284  
 bypassed by modern times, which they have to be helped to enter. At the 285  
 time this was a very typical, indeed colonial view of a “primitive” people.<sup>42</sup> 286

It is in these aggressive and racializing ruptures that colonial discourses 287  
 show their force. The book is burdened with inconclusive vacillation 288  
 between, on the one hand, the idea of the innate capacities of the Skolt, 289  
 on the other, that of the external forces affecting them. Tanner is inconsis- 290  
 tent in pointing the blame, for example, in encountering people showing 291  
 symptoms of cultural trauma or colonization. 292

Tanner’s perception of history was framed by social evolutionism, locat- 293  
 ing different nationalities along an evolutionary scale. He also applied this 294  
 hierarchizing evolutionist perspective to historical encounters along the 295  
 Arctic coast, which he depicted as taking place between the Skolt Sami, 296  
 who had arrived earlier, and the more powerful Norse and Finnish popula- 297  
 tion groups.<sup>43</sup> Somewhat inconsistently, he entertained ideas of the simul- 298  
 taneous coexistence of overlapping cultural spheres, not necessarily 299  
 engaged in mutual conflict or competition.<sup>44</sup> In contrast, for Professor 300  
 Väinö Voionmaa, one of the few historians to show an interest in the 301  
 Petsamo question, the struggle was taking place between two unequal 302  
 races.<sup>45</sup> Tanner had ideas that place him in the colonial flank, as well as less 303  
 aggressive ideas of ethnicities in history. The book was unfinished and 304

<sup>39</sup>Tanner 1929, 155.

<sup>40</sup>Tanner 1929, 157–159.

<sup>41</sup>Helander-Renvall 2011, 8–9.

<sup>42</sup>Compare Mathiesen 2004, 24.

<sup>43</sup>Tanner 1929, 11–22.

<sup>44</sup>Manuscript «Lapparna inom Petsamoområdet», Box 6, Folder 1a, AVT, AUMoN, Tromsø, Norway.

<sup>45</sup>Voionmaa 1919, *passim*.

305 hastily edited, and therefore contains numerous and sometimes contradic-  
 306 tory opinions on a range of issues.

307 Tanner does not use terms originating in a colonial discourse/termi-  
 308 nology as such; they tend, rather, to be derived from the Nordic political  
 309 context and terminology. When he uses such terms as “kolonist” or “kolo-  
 310 nisation”, he attaches to them the sense of a cultural loss of the most  
 311 authentic forms of subsistence, adding to them a hierarchical tone. In a  
 312 brief remark on Russian “kolonisation” (from the 1870s onward), the  
 313 tone is different: he refers to the active Russian policy of settling the  
 314 peripheries, “dissociating” the original nationalities, and annexing the ter-  
 315 ritories to the Russian “folk region”.<sup>46</sup> Finnish settler activity in the eigh-  
 316 teenth century in the Kemi Lappmark, and the “vanishing” of the old  
 317 *siidas* after the shift to agriculture, was of lesser aggressive force. This per-  
 318 spective echoed the historical understanding typical of his time, but can  
 319 also be seen as a sign of Tanner’s hidden agenda, pointing to the general  
 320 weakness of the Finns as historical actors, as well as a reluctance to see the  
 321 process in terms of the parameters of colonialism, which would have been  
 322 ahistorical and anachronistic.<sup>47</sup> Tanner credits the *sijdds*/*siidas* to a vary-  
 323 ing extent with socio-cultural and economic agency and a robustness in  
 324 encountering actors from the south, but ultimately the forces of settle-  
 325 ment, colonization, and modernization stand stronger.

326 After the Skolt Sami had given up independent and systematic reindeer  
 327 herding, Tanner observed a material and intellectual transformation. He  
 328 also noted that the lure of trade and goods had revealed an “Epicurean  
 329 weakness”, a proclivity typical of “children of nature”, among the Skolt  
 330 Sami. The earlier paternalistic family structure had given way to a more  
 331 individualistic approach—members had begun to tear themselves away  
 332 from their families in search of subsistence elsewhere; this brought about  
 333 a loosening of group sentiment within the *sijdd*, which then broke up  
 334 under the strain of the “Europeanizing” form of culture invading the  
 335 region from sea and land.<sup>48</sup> As inevitably as in these socio-cultural hierar-  
 336 chies, the racial categories employed in the book place the Skolt Sami on  
 337 the lowest rung in the stereotypical stages of development; notably,

<sup>46</sup>Tanner 1929, 62, footnote 1.

<sup>47</sup>Tanner 1929, 403–404.

<sup>48</sup>Tanner 1929, 230–232.

however, and unlike numerous other scholars, Tanner saw the Skolt Sami 338  
as a viable people, capable of development and adapting to the modern.<sup>49</sup> 339

The text contains numerous descriptions of the Sami “character”, and 340  
advice as to how the Sami could best maintain their “happiness”. Although 341  
Tanner did collect information from his Skolt Sami guides, and included 342  
Sami voices in his book (though in a controlled manner), he found satisfac- 343  
tion in a prescriptive position as well. He avoided the typical Finnish 344  
form of power of definition, which imposed the idea of a “higher” form of 345  
subsistence, primarily agriculture, on the Sami; what he was aiming at was 346  
a relativistic gaze, acknowledging the intrinsic value of the Sami culture as 347  
such. The tension arises from the power of definition inherent in the cultur- 348  
ally relativistic and positive scholarly gaze as well, if and when one sets 349  
down a specific ideal, a particular “correct” subsistence form; in Tanner’s 350  
case, this meant semi-nomadism, which the Skolt Sami *sijdds* were then in 351  
the process of gradually abandoning.<sup>50</sup> 352

This gaze was purist and normative, and contained numerous colonial 353  
tropes, though in mild form. On a positive note, Tanner used reindeer and 354  
reindeer herding as a tool to endow the Sami with cultural potency and 355  
agency,<sup>51</sup> and praised them for their successful adaptation to their environ- 356  
ment.<sup>52</sup> At the same time, Tanner’s conception of the Skolt Sami culture 357  
as a reindeer-herding culture, an idea contested by subsequent research,<sup>53</sup> 358  
became a cultural straitjacket in the book and a source of vulnerability,<sup>54</sup> 359  
binding the Sami unavoidably to the lowest position, both socio- 360  
economically and culturally. It can also be argued, from the book’s general 361  
anti-Finnish agenda (along with certain brief passages where Finnish set- 362  
tlers are compared unfavorably to the Sami), that Tanner used his book to 363  
convey a politics of identity; the passages where the Sami are elevated in 364  
status within the book’s hierarchies may in part have served the purpose of 365  
showing the Finns their lowly place along the Arctic coast.<sup>55</sup> The context 366  
of the identity politics expressed in the book is thus national, not colonial. 367

<sup>49</sup> Tanner 1929, 329.

<sup>50</sup> Undated notes on Albin Neander, Box 6, Folder 1a, AVT, AUMoN, Tromsø, Norway.

<sup>51</sup> Tanner 1929, 25–27.

<sup>52</sup> Handwritten notes on Petsamo-Sami, Box 5, Folder 3, AVT, AUMoN, Tromsø, Norway.

<sup>53</sup> Nickul 1948, 60.

<sup>54</sup> Tanner 1929, 27.

<sup>55</sup> Tanner 1929, 25–27.

## TANNER EXPLICATES HIS VIEW ON COLONIALISM

368

369 Tanner seldom expressed any views concerning colonialism. In 1927, in  
 370 an article on the economic potential of Petsamo which has received per-  
 371 haps the greatest scholarly attention, he presented the idea of the cultural  
 372 integration of Petsamo as desirable and advocated for the introduction of  
 373 agriculture as a means to prevent the feared pauperization. When it came  
 374 to the actual colonization of the region, Tanner preferred not a “plunder  
 375 economy”, but a mild, Finnish variant of colonization, whereby the Skolt  
 376 Sami were to be treated as equals. Tanner uses the term “our ‘colonial  
 377 policy’” only once, in the context of the need for the state to take an  
 378 expert and guiding role in Petsamo. Otherwise the region is referred to in  
 379 the text by its new name, Petsamo, or is described as a new part of the  
 380 country, at the far fringe of the land (*maanääri*) or as a “Finland of the  
 381 Arctic Ocean” (*Jäämeren Suomi*), pointing to the recent annexation and  
 382 relative foreignness of the region, but not necessarily to a colonial rela-  
 383 tionship as such. The region to be annexed was part of the state.<sup>56</sup> The  
 384 lecture on which the 1927 article was based was addressed to a Finnish  
 385 audience consisting of agricultural scientists; hence the agriculture-friendly  
 386 stance. Rather than going into this widely studied article in depth, I take  
 387 up a less familiar example from the 1929 book: a brief reference to the  
 388 colonial dynamic of the Finnish annexation and of Petsamo as a colony.

389 In the 1920s and 1930s, there was some reluctance in Finland over  
 390 representing the country as a colonial power.<sup>57</sup> One exception is a little-  
 391 known article by Ilmari Laukkanen (1926), which Tanner had read; I use  
 392 it here to identify the elements of the idea of Finland as a colonial power  
 393 to which Tanner was reacting in the 1929 book. According to Laukkanen,  
 394 Petsamo could be characterized as a colony (*alusmaa*), but did not fully  
 395 qualify as one. This was because Petsamo had been annexed to the state as  
 396 an equal territory: first as a province, then as a jurisdictional district  
 397 (*kiblakunta*). What lent legitimacy to speaking of Petsamo as a colony,  
 398 according to Laukkanen, was the educational level and nationality of the  
 399 population, along with the prior societal, economic, religious, and admin-  
 400 istrative conditions of the region. There were many alien features, due to  
 401 which a “sibling relationship” between Petsamo and rest of the country  
 402 was “unnatural”, and which made for a colonial relationship between

<sup>56</sup>Susiluoto 2000, 13; Tanner 1927, 6, 109 et passim.

<sup>57</sup>Airaksinen 2008, passim; also Tanner himself is an example of this, Tanner 1927, 6.

colony and “mother country” (*emämaa*). Laukkanen coded the region as non-western, evident, for example, in the vague and unclear legislation regulating land ownership. The fact that the land of the region was declared to be state (owned) land was represented as “conquest-like” attitude on the part of the Finnish state. The act was legal, in the sense that it had been carried out according to existing Finnish legislation; the forms of private land ownership were formalized and given to those who had the right to them, and land was leased to the settlers. A special Petsamo settlement law, regulating the land and its leasing, was enacted in 1925 (“naturalising” the situation in Finnish legal reasoning). One (unintended) aspect of cultural colonization is found in Laukkanen’s text as well: the “persevering” and “skilled” Finnish settlers were to serve as an example to the Orthodox population. For Laukkanen, the Skolt Sami did not fulfill the parameters of “Finnishness” due to their wandering way of life; hence, they did not qualify for inclusion in the state system. Laukkanen expressed suspicions as to whether the Skolt Sami wished or were capable of becoming sedentary farmers or fishermen, with rights identical to those enjoyed by Finns, and whether they would give up their preferred “forest-dweller freedom” (*metsäläis-vapautensa*), with its connotations of primitivism.<sup>58</sup>

Provoked by Laukkanen’s demeaning ideas of the Skolt Sami and of Finnish natural superiority, Tanner included a critical reference to the article. The passage, which once again draws in numerous directions, deals with the misery of the Paččjokk Sami, opening with a long list of positive depictions of their ability to contribute in numerous areas of economic activity beneficial to society as a whole. Surprisingly, Tanner goes on to say that the Skolt Sami were so deep in misery that it would be highly risky to leave them to rely on their own resources, as suggested by Laukkanen. In addition to being provoked by Laukkanen’s doubts as to the personal capacity of the Paččjokk Sami, Tanner appears to be most critical of the idea of uncontrolled sedentarization, which they were in the process of being sucked into, *on their own, Skolt Sami initiative*, which Laukkanen at least implicitly had described as a desirable policy.<sup>59</sup> In Tanner’s view, this was not a desirable solution for the Skolt Sami.

Knowledge production in a colonial/imperial setting has been seen as meaning the creation of intelligible spaces, over which mastery was

<sup>58</sup> Laukkanen 1926, 129–136.

<sup>59</sup> Tanner 1929, 159–161.

438 possible,<sup>60</sup> and the introduction of European conceptions of territoriality  
 439 at the periphery.<sup>61</sup> Both Laukkanen and Tanner integrated Petsamo into  
 440 Finnish administrative territoriality, Laukkanen in a highly formalist man-  
 441 ner; both were constructing an extension of the mother country, the colo-  
 442 nial features of which were somewhat defective. It was not the idea of  
 443 Petsamo as a colony as such that bothered Tanner this time; it was his  
 444 resistance to pronouncements expressing Finnish superiority that pre-  
 445 vented him from adopting the most aggressive or arrogant colonial rheto-  
 446 ric. This would have demonstrated the imperial potency of the state he  
 447 wrote against, and its capacity to bring the Skolt Sami into the modern  
 448 era. While this stance on the poorly hidden contemporary agenda was  
 449 what partly motivated his culturally sensitive take on the Skolt Sami, it had  
 450 other roots as well; these included the friendly relationships he enjoyed in  
 451 the field,<sup>62</sup> and the turn in the scientific paradigm toward placing a value  
 452 on indigenous sources of knowledge.<sup>63</sup> For both men, however, the place  
 453 of the Skolt Sami in the quasi-colonial setting was the same: the lowest.

454 In 1931 Tanner attended an international geography congress in Paris;  
 455 on the occasion, he took part in an expedition to Algeria. Tanner praised  
 456 French colonial policies as economically and politically elevating, as well as  
 457 promoting socio-cultural and national assimilation.<sup>64</sup> His harsh criticism  
 458 of the native tribes of Labrador adopted a similar, matter-of-fact manner.<sup>65</sup>  
 459 When not provoked by Finnish paternalist voices, such as that of  
 460 Laukkanen, boasting of Finnish superiority, he aired effortlessly pro-  
 461 colonial sentiments; it was the national context that was the provoking  
 462 factor, while colonial discourses provided him with additional tools  
 463 enabling him to locate the natives on the hierarchical ladder. In any case,  
 464 the fixed position for the Skolt Sami was the lowest, which the destabiliz-  
 465 ing weakness of the (“colonizing”) potency of the Finns could not shake.

466 I have found only one indication, in a draft letter found in his corre-  
 467 spondence, of Tanner airing and showing an awareness of the *anti-*  
 468 imperialist attitudes of the times. In the draft, Tanner writes with reference  
 469 to an unspecified text by Professor Friedrich Ratzel, a pioneer in the field  
 470 of human geography, in which Ratzel speaks of the “killing race”, that

<sup>60</sup> For example, Skurnik 2017, 9–10.

<sup>61</sup> Wu 2019, 64.

<sup>62</sup> Susiluoto 2000, *passim*.

<sup>63</sup> For example, Lagerspetz and Suolinna 2014, 15–17, 52–53.

<sup>64</sup> Tanner 1932, 35–36.

<sup>65</sup> Tanner 1944.

destroys “nature folk” by barbarically colonizing them. Tanner lists the victims of this onslaught, specifically mentioning “[American] Indians, Tasmanians and the Eskimo”. Diseases are imported and new temptations are introduced to “children of nature”, at the same time that they are robbed of their resources and their socio-political structures. Some of these processes were visible in Petsamo too, but Tanner suggests there is no cause for despair (this is where the draft ends).<sup>66</sup> Tanner was aware of contemporary anti-imperialist critique and logic; in the 1929 book, however, no such stance was adopted.

## CONCLUSIONS

Tanner acted in Petsamo in numerous capacities: as a state official in search of nickel ore, and as a self-proclaimed expert on the Sami. He asserted the typical colonialist presumption of (scholarly) authority, resulting in asymmetric and conflicting representations of the Skolt Sami. On the one hand, his 1929 book is among those sympathetic and relativistic colonial representations which were critical of the writer’s own society: Tanner was definitely critical of the state of Finland. On the other hand, he failed in his quest to produce a consistently sympathetic report on the Skolt Sami.<sup>67</sup> He found this people in the midst of an accelerating process of change in their form of subsistence, something that intrigued Tanner and led him to write about them in various ways, implicitly dependent on international colonial discourses. The general tendency in the book is to be incapable of presenting the Skolt Sami as anything other than on the lowest developmental rung and weakest of the peoples struggling to survive and adapt. Tanner escapes full-blown colonialism only by crediting the Skolt Sami with aptitude to adapt, though only under his guidance. The subsistence crisis of the Skolt Sami and their apparent poverty led Tanner to describe a society at risk of disappearance, which had chosen the wrong path. The “happy” life of the Sijdd-society was beginning to be a lost option; herding had adopted the “wrong” practices and the modernization occurring in the region appeared to him as threatening to the Skolt Sami. To be fair, Tanner cannot be accused of seeing only a cultural desert, a territory awaiting industrial utilization; he also recognized a landscape of meaning

<sup>66</sup>Undated draft and an outline titled “Bidrag till Petsamo-området antropogeografi”, Box 18, Folder 6, AVT, AUMoN, Tromsø, Norway.

<sup>67</sup>Thomas 1994, 19, 26.

504 and function.<sup>68</sup> This was the picture conveyed by his informants, and was  
 505 another central point in the book he produced. The book was not *merely*  
 506 an ill-advised or ignorant example of the colonial encounter.<sup>69</sup> The 1929-  
 507 piece took part in what the global knowledge regime was concerned  
 508 about: discussions and debates on modernity,<sup>70</sup> but the last-mentioned  
 509 taints the book in a partially uncontrolled manner and results in numerous  
 510 contradictions.

511 Both contexts—the national and the imperial/colonial—carry a risk of  
 512 reductionism. The relationship between scholarship and nationalism,  
 513 industrialism and imperialism is sometimes presented as organic, whereby  
 514 scientists saw themselves as serving the nation and its expanding empires.  
 515 This image is true to some extent and is an apt description of some parts  
 516 of the sciences in Finland as well. In the true imperial centers, the motives  
 517 of scientists entering academia varied tremendously: sometimes they were  
 518 openly hostile to the imperialist industrialism many thought they were  
 519 meant to serve or to the conquest of different parts of the Empires.<sup>71</sup> The  
 520 motives of a scientist or scholar might originate from their personal values  
 521 and include moral motivations and agendas connected both to nation-  
 522 building and to a broader, personal world-view.<sup>72</sup> As a Swedish-speaking  
 523 Finn, Tanner is a good example of a scholar who was troubled by the  
 524 Finnish nationalistic perspective in scholarship, which he found inappro-  
 525 priate to be advocated in his writings.<sup>73</sup> The same goes for the idea of  
 526 Finnish colonial superiority, which he could not align himself with. The  
 527 national and colonial do intermingle in his book, but in a way that forced  
 528 Tanner to downplay the colonial rhetoric.

529 The 1929 book contains aspects of discursive colonialism—the con-  
 530 struction of moral superiority and cultural difference are present, but the  
 531 level of symbolic violence is relatively low;<sup>74</sup> residual signs of symbolic and  
 532 discursive violence are observable in the rejection of indigenous rationales  
 533 of adaptation, for example, in (according to Tanner) the key cultural  
 534 marker, reindeer herding. The book does not contain explicit colonial  
 535 framing or the crudest colonial characterizations of the natives, and Skolt

<sup>68</sup> Pyenson 1982, 27.

<sup>69</sup> See, for example, Dathan 2012, passim.

<sup>70</sup> Compare Adelman 2019, 2–7.

<sup>71</sup> Bowler 1997, 189, 202; Skurnik 2017, 3–4.

<sup>72</sup> Jalava, Kinnunen and Sulkunen 2013, 13.

<sup>73</sup> Nyssönen 2017, passim.

<sup>74</sup> Compare Cooper and Stoler 1997, 3–4.

Sami citizenship meant that the relationship could not be articulated purely as colonial, since the colonial subject was not formally subject to tutelage of any sort. The tools for hierarchizing, based on race and source of subsistence, were derived from the Social Evolutionist arsenal—which, to be sure, were also to be found in the discursive toolbox of actual settler colonies. The 1929 book lacks the most aggressive colonial discourses: the inevitable destruction of a people in a racial struggle, the displacement of a people due to the need for colonies and resources, the idea of natives as a threat to the rightful colonizer, or a regressive and degenerate people populating valuable resource areas.<sup>75</sup> This relative mildness applies to most Finnish science concerning the Sami, where the disappearance of the Sami was inevitable and regrettable, but not something actually advocated.

It is tenable to propose a totally new interpretation of Tanner as a colonial scholar, but mostly because of the large and inclusive capacity of the definition of the scientific colonialism, embracing both nationalist and evolutionist aspects. We find a man suggesting the forced re-location of reindeer-herding Sami southward from their villages of origin;<sup>76</sup> operating on the naturalized scales and parameters of Eurocentric cultural hierarchies, and categorizing Sami handicrafts as “primitive”;<sup>77</sup> leading the search for nickel ore, for mines that would soon destroy the traditional way of life of one Skolt Sami sijdd; contemplating French colonial policies in a positive light; and reporting condescendingly on the “degeneration” of native groups in Labrador. This would be as reductionist as to rely solely on the previously reigning interpretation of Tanner as a benign and sensitive scholar, who “understood” the Sami. He has both sides to him. At his finest, he managed to lift himself above the dominant colonial tendency of Nordic research, the discourse of the Sami as a dying and disappearing, inferior culture, by acknowledging the viability of Skolt Sami society.

*Epilogue* The fate of the Skolt Sami and that of Tanner’s 1929 book reveal some unexpected twists to be encountered in trying to apply colonial terminology to the Finnish case. It was the great powers of the time, Germany and the Soviet Union, declaring themselves as anti-imperialist at the

<sup>75</sup> Danielsson 2009, 59–65; Thomas 1994, 44.

<sup>76</sup> Manuscript «Talma byalag», Box 1, Folder 2b, AVT, AUMoN, Tromsø, Norway.

<sup>77</sup> Third version of the manuscript «Könkämä byalag», Box 1, Folder 2b, AVT, AUMoN, Tromsø, Norway.



- Bourgeois World*, ed. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, 1–56. Berkeley, London and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 601–602
- Dale, Richard. 2009. Reconfiguring White Ethnic Power in Colonial Africa: The German Community in Namibia, 1923–1950. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 7 (2): 75–94. 603–604–605
- Danielsson, Sarah K. 2009. Creating Genocidal Space: Geographers and the Discourse of Annihilation, 1880–1933. *Space and Polity* 13 (1): 55–68. 606–607
- Dathan, Wendy. 2012. *The Reindeer Botanist: Alf Erling Porsild, 1901–1977*. Calgary: University of Calgary Press. 608–609
- Enbuske, Matti. 2008. *Vanhan Lapin valtamailla, Asutus ja maankäyttö Kemin Lapin ja Enontekiön alueella 1500-luvulta 1900-luvun alkuun*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. 610–611–612
- Harlin, Eeva-Kristiina, and Veli-Pekka Lehtola. 2019. Skolt Sámi Heritage, Toivo Immanuel Itkonen (1891–1968), and the Sámi Collections at the National Museum of Finland. *Nordic Museology* 27 (3): 45–60. 613–614–615
- Helander-Renvall, Elina. 2011. Paradigm Shift on Indigenous Research in the Arctic. In *Histories from the North: Environments, Movements, and Narratives*, ed. John P. Ziker and Florian Stammer, 281–292. Boise and Rovaniemi: Dept. of Anthropology, Boise State University and Arctic Centre, University of Lapland. 616–617–618–619–620
- Jalava, Marja, Tiina Kinnunen, and Irma Sulkunen. 2013. Johdanto, Kansallinen historiakulttuuri – näkökulmia yksinäisyyden purkamiseen. In *Kirjoitettu kansakunta, Sukupuoli, uskonto ja kansallinen historia 1900-luvun alkupuolen suomalaisessa tietokirjallisuudessa*, ed. Marja Jalava, Tiina Kinnunen, and Irma Sulkunen, 7–30. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. 621–622–623–624–625
- Jutikkala, Eino, and Kauko Pirinen. 2003. *A History of Finland*. 6th ed. Helsinki: WSOY. 626–627
- Lagerspetz, Olli, and Kirsti Suolinna. 2014. *Edward Westermarck: Intellectual Networks, Philosophy and Social Anthropology*. Helsinki: Commentationes Scientiarum Socialium 77, The Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters. 628–629–630
- Lantto, Patrik. 2012. *Lappväsendet, Tillämpningen av svensk samepolitik 1885–1971*. Umeå: Miscellaneous publications no. 14, Publications from Vaartoe – Centre for Sami Research, Umeå University. 631–632–633
- Laukkanen, Ilmari. 1926. Petsamon asuttaminen. *Maanmittaus* 1 (3): 129–139. 634
- Lehtola, Veli-Pekka. 2012. *Saamelaiset suomalaiset, kohtaamisia 1896–1953*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. 635–636
- . 2015. Sámi Histories, Colonialism, and Finland. *Arctic Anthropology* 52 (2): 22–36. 637–638
- Lundqvist, Gösta. 1968. *Väinö Tanner: f. d. professor i geografi vid universitetet i Helsingfors: geolog hos Skånska Cement AB i Malmö*. Stockholm: Levnadsteckningar över Kungl. Svenska Vetenskapsakademiens ledamöter 9, Nr. 150. 639–640–641–642

- 643 Mathiesen, Stein R. 2004. Hegemonic Representations of Sámi Culture, From  
 644 Narratives of Noble Savages to Discourses on Ecological Sámi. In *Creating*  
 645 *Diversities, Folklore, Religion and Politics of Heritage*, ed. Anna-Leena Siikala,  
 646 Barbro Klein, and Stein R. Mathiesen, 17–30. Helsinki: Finnish  
 647 Literature Society.
- 648 Nickul, Karl. 1948. *The Skolt Lapp Community Suenjelsijd During the Year 1938*.  
 649 Stockholm: Acta Lapponica V, Nordiska Museet, Hugo Gebers förlag.
- 650 Nyssönen, Jukka. 2015a. Väinö Tanner in the Field – The Early Encounters  
 651 Between a State Official and Sami Herders in the Field During the Reindeer  
 652 Pasture Crisis in Torne Lappmark. In *Transcultural Encounters*, ed. Kari  
 653 Alenius and Veli-Pekka Lehtola, 163–184. Rovaniemi: Studia Historica  
 654 Septentrionalia 75. Pohjois-Suomen Historiallinen Yhdistys.
- 655 ———. 2015b. Väinö Tanners uförutsedda karriär – från statsexpert till emigrerad  
 656 professor. In *Historiska och litteraturhistoriska studier 90, Årsbok för Svenska*  
 657 *Litteratursällskapet i Finland*, 135–170.
- 658 ———. 2017. Väinö Tanner and the Discourse on Racial Difference. *Arctic and*  
 659 *North* 7 (27): 127–146.
- 660 Porsanger, Jelena. 2007. *Bassejoga čáhci, Gáldut nuortasámiid eamioskkoldaga*  
 661 *birra álgoálbmotmetodologiijaid olis*. Karasjok: Davvi Girji.
- 662 Pyenson, Lewis. 1982, March. Cultural Imperialism and Exact Sciences: German  
 663 Expansion Overseas 1900–1930. *History of Science* 20 (1): 1–43.
- 664 Rantala, Leif. 2008. *Kuolaan, Venäjän vallan aikana Kuolan niemimaalla käyneet*  
 665 *suomalaiset tiedemiehet ja heidän kirjoituksensa*. Rovaniemi: Lapin yliopiston  
 666 kasvatustieteellisiä raportteja 5, Leif Rantala ja Lapin yliopisto.
- 667 Rentola, Kimmo. 1994. *Kenen joukossa seisot? Suomalainen kommunismi ja sota*  
 668 *1937–1945*. Helsinki: WSOY.
- 669 Said, Edward W. 1995. *Orientalism, Western Conceptions of the Orient*. 4th impres-  
 670 sion, London: Penguin Books.
- 671 Skurnik, Johanna. 2017. *Making Geographies: The Circulation of British*  
 672 *Geographical Knowledge of Australia, 1829–1863*. Turku: Annales Universitatis  
 673 Turkuensis, B 444.
- 674 Susiluoto, Paulo. 2000. Suomen ajan ihmismaantiedettä Petsamossa. In *Tanner,*  
 675 *Väinö: Ihmismaantieteellisiä tutkimuksia Petsamon seudulta, 1 Kolttalappalaiset,*  
 676 ed. Paulo Susiluoto, 9–32. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- 677 ———. 2003. Two Skolt Geographies of Petsamo During the 1920s and 1930s.  
 678 In *Encountering the North, Cultural Geography, International Relations and*  
 679 *Northern Landscapes*, ed. Frank Möller and Samu Pehkonen, 75–101.  
 680 Aldershot: Ashgate.
- 681 Tanhua, Sonja. 2020. Kolttaamelainen kyläkokousjärjestelmä muutosten kes-  
 682 kellä. *Ennen ja nyt* 19 (1): 29–49.
- 683 Tanner, Väinö. 1927. Voidsaanko Petsamon aluetta käyttää maan hyödyksi? Keinoja  
 684 ja tarkoituseriä. *Fennia* 49 (3): 1–122.

- . 1929. Antropogeografiska studier inom Petsamo-området 1, Skoltlapparna. *Fennia* 49 (4): 1–520. 685  
686
- . 1932. Den internationella geografkongressen i Paris 1931. *Terra* 44 (4): 30–38. 687  
688
- . 1944. *Outlines of the Geography, Life and Customs of Newfoundland-Labrador (the Eastern Part of the Labrador Peninsula)*. Helsinki: Societas geographica Fenniae. 689  
690  
691
- Thomas, Nicholas. 1994. *Colonialism's Culture, Anthropology, Travel and Government*. Cambridge: Polity Press. 692  
693
- Vahtola, Jouko. Kaivostoiminta Petsamossa. In *Turjanmeren Maa, Petsamon historia 1920–1944*, edited by Jouko Vahtola and Samuli Onnela, 285–310. Rovaniemi: Petsamo-Seura, 1999. 694  
695  
696
- Voionmaa, Väinö. 1919. *Suomi Jäämerellä*. Helsinki: Edistysseurojen kustannusosakeyhtiö. 697  
698
- Wu, Shellen. 2019. Geography and the Reshaping of the Modern Chinese Empire. In *Empire and the Social Sciences, Global Histories of Knowledge*, ed. Jeremy Adelman, 63–78. London: Bloomsbury Academic. 699  
700  
701