



<http://www.diva-portal.org>

Preprint

This is the submitted version of a chapter published in *Journal of Arctic studies: V*.

Citation for the original published chapter:

Liu-Helmersson, J. (2022)

Sámi forced relocation in Sweden during 1920s-30s: history and narratives

In: *Journal of Arctic studies: V* (pp. 199-216). Liaocheng: The Arctic Studies Center
Journal of Arctic studies

N.B. When citing this work, cite the original published chapter.

Permanent link to this version:

<http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:umu:diva-214644>

Sámi forced relocation in Sweden during 1920s-30s: history and narratives

Jing Liu-Helmersson

Centre for Sami Research (Várdduo), Umeå University, Umeå, Sweden.

Address for correspondence:

Jing Liu-Helmersson (Jing.Helmersson@umu.se)

Centre for Sámi Research (Várdduo)

Norra Beteendevetarhuset, 4 tr

Umeå University

SE-901 87, Umeå, Sweden

Phone: +46 90 786 5353

ORCID iD: 0000-0001-9647-1015

Author information (max. 100 words)

Jing Helmersson: a postdoctoral researcher at Umeå University. She has research experiences in both Physics (quantum optics) over 20 years (former physics professor from California State University Long Beach, with a PhD from University of Michigan, USA, 1989) and Public Health (Mathematical modelling of climate change and infectious diseases) for seven years (PhD from Umeå University 2018). Her current research interests include Sámi traditional medicine and its comparison with traditional Chinese medicine, gender and health, and system dynamics modelling of wellbeing.

Key words: *Sámi*; Arctic Indigenous People; reindeer husbandry; forced relocations; Sámi history; Swedish Sámi policy.

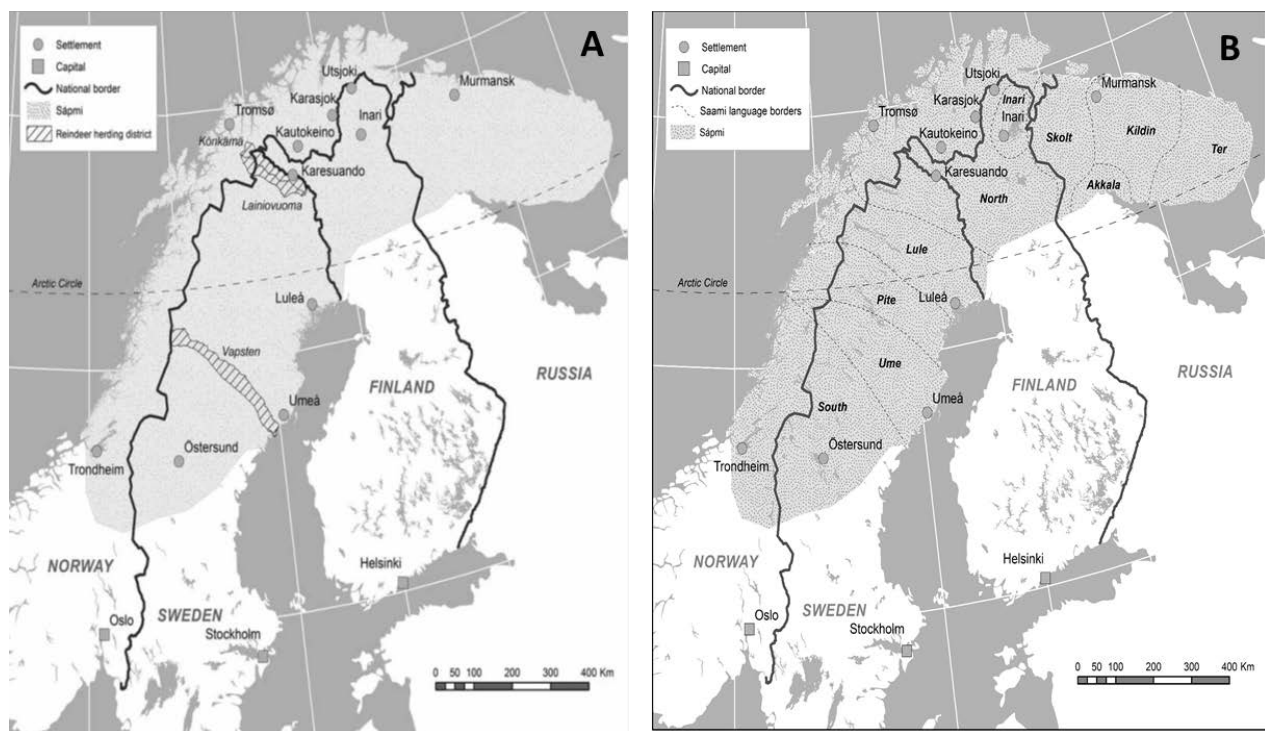
Abstract

The Sámi Indigenous population live in the arctic Sápmi area across four countries: Norway, Sweden, Finland and the Kola Peninsula of Russia. Reindeer husbandry is part of their profession and livelihood for millennia, where reindeers graze in Sápmi land without borders from mountains to the seashore at different seasons. Over the last one century, due to political development between Sápmi countries, the country borders were closed for reindeer grazing. Between 1920s and 1930s about 300-400 Sámi people were forced to relocate from northern to southern counties of Sápmi in Sweden. The this study aims to introduce the history and consequences of the forced relocation to some of the affected Sámi people based on available information that the author can find, mainly the work of Prof. Patrik Lantto and Author Elin Anna Labba. The study shows that the forced relocations have had and still have an effect on reindeer husbandry in Sweden today. Through narratives of some relocated North Sámi, the stories are told on impact of the forced relocation to those relocated reindeer herders' lives. Through analysis of state policies and an example of one reindeer herding district, Vapsten, one negative consequence of the forced relocation is described as strong intro-Sámi conflicts that are still unresolved even today.

Introduction

Sámi – an Arctic Indigenous People in Europe

The Sámi Indigenous population live across four countries in the Arctic region called Sápmi: Norway, Sweden, Finland and the Kola Peninsula of Russia (Figure 1A). Today the Sámi population is estimated to be around 80,000, with approximately 50,000 in Norway, 20,000 in Sweden, 8,000 in Finland and 2,000 in Russia (Swedish_Institute 2020). The Sámi language can be divided into three main branches: South Sámi, Central Sámi and East Sámi, which have been spoken in Northern Europe for thousands of years and is quite close to Finnish. Within these there are ten varieties and dialects (Figure 1B). Those spoken in Sweden are five: North Sámi, Lule Sámi, South Sámi, Ume Sámi and Pite Sámi – see those labelled in Figure 1B. In 2000 Sámi was declared one of Sweden's minority languages (Sami_Information_Centre 2004).



*Figure 1. Maps of Sápmi where Sámi Indigenous Peoples live. (A) The stripped areas show two of the Reindeer Herd Districts that were described later as cases for the forced relocations, B) the ten Sámi language areas from south to the northeast: **South, Ume, Pite, Lule, North, Inari, Skolt, Akkala, Kildin, and Ter Sámi**. Maps are curtesy of Dieter Müller from Umeå University.*

The earliest date when Sámi was inhabited in the inland part of northernmost Sweden was estimated some 10,000 years ago by people who may have been the ancestors of the Sámi (Sami_Information_Centre 2004). Sámi people live traditionally a nomadic life and raise reindeers in Sápmi. Reindeer husbandry is one of their main livelihood. Other activities include **hunting, fishing, collecting, handcrafting, blacksmiths, tanners, trading, spiritual practice and traditional healing using herbs, animal products and drums, etc.** (DuBois and Lang 2013; Turi and Turi 1918-1919). This study focuses on reindeer herding Sámi since they are the relocated Sámi.

Reindeers are used for transportation (pulling sleighs – rajder), for food (meat and blood), drinks (milk), clothe and home (skin and fur), jewellery (horns and bones), etc. It is a circular economy that has almost no waste. The nomadic Sámi move traditionally east-west direction when the reindeer migrate between different grazing areas across different national borders in Sápmi. For example, the North Sámi live across northern Norway, Sweden and Finland. Every autumn, the North Sámi reindeer herds migrate to the winter pasture inland toward west coasts of Norway. In the spring, they return to the Baltic sea the summer pasture in east Sweden. People follow the reindeers (Labba 2020).

Reindeer husbandry and herding in Sweden

In Sweden, the majority of the Sámi live in the three northernmost counties, Norrbotten, Västerbotten and Jämtland, where reindeer husbandry was conducted. Reindeer husbandry refers to “the accumulations of profit” whereas herding to the “control of the animals in the terrain ... In a Swedish context husbandry questions concerning slaughter and castration of reindeer were discussed within the household, and herding matters were resolved jointly within the traditional working community - Siida.” (Brännlund and Axelsson 2011).

As explained by Brännlund in her PhD thesis (Brännlund 2015) (p21-23), the Sámi Siida usually consists of several households, e.g., parents, children, siblings and cousins, an extended family system who work together on traditional pasturelands. “The Sámi Siida is considered as a key node

in the social nexus of reindeer husbandry.” (p21) Although kinship played a vital role in the formation of Siida groups, “the system was dynamic” (p22). A Siida could consist of the same households over many years, but “it often regrouped depending on the season and over time. Households commonly had alternatives available to them and were seldom obliged to stay within the same Siida. As an institution for reindeer herding activities the Siida groups managed ‘the control of nurture of animals in the terrain’, including pasture utilization, migration and guarding of the herd. Disputes between individual reindeer owners over land and water resources could be resolved within the Siida, and the group’s strong connection to the land fostered a stability and continuity within the Siida system that complemented its fairly flexible and informal structure.” (p22)

Several Siida are then grouped together into a Sámi village or an administrative reindeer herding district (RHD) with a defined territory. Historically the RHD land-use structure sustained local Sámi communities’ livelihoods, including reindeer husbandry. The collective livelihood practices were carried out within the boundaries of the communities’ lands, a practice that consolidated the need for, and the respect of, boundaries between different RHD territories. “The relations between the individual herder, the household, the family, the Siida and the RHD were considered to be the ‘backbone’ of reindeer husbandry.” (p21)

Today there are 51 RHDs in Swedish Sápmi, which are divided into three husbandry systems: 33 mountain, 10 forest and 8 concession (Brännlund 2015) (p18). “In mountain reindeer husbandry, pasture areas are widespread with summer grazing all the way down to the Norwegian coast. In contrast, forest reindeer husbandry is practiced year-round in the forest region east of the mountain chain [in Sweden]. In the concession area (located in the northern region towards the Finnish border), reindeer husbandry is practiced by means of specific permits. Although Sámi herders tend for the reindeer in these districts, the permits are commonly owned by landowners of non-Sámi heritage.” (p18-19) From the 16th century the labels ‘mountain’ and ‘forest’ reindeer husbandry signalled not just “different locations of practice (although not always stringently applied),” but also “differences in livelihood: fishing and hunting being more prominent in the forest region, and reindeer husbandry more important in the mountain region. From the middle of the 18th century,

reindeer husbandry also grew more important in the forest region, ... making it a more diverse livelihood compared to reindeer husbandry in the mountain districts.” (p19)

Two types of reindeer herding were practiced: extensive and intensive. In intensive herding, “herders kept the reindeer under more or less constant watch, and the whole family migrated together with the reindeer herd, from pasture to pasture, depending on seasons. The reindeer cows were frequently milked and reindeer milk products formed an important part of the diet and economy. Due to the close interaction between people and reindeer the reindeer became tame and used to human interactions....During the latter parts of the 19th to the middle of the 20th century, the intensive form of herding was gradually abandoned (broadly from the north to the south) in favour of a more extensive form, with larger, freely moving herds that were watched less closely. This form implied increased dependence on subsistence from reindeer alone, in which other forms of subsistence such as fishing, hunting and farming were less likely to be utilized. From the middle part of the 20th century the extensive form of husbandry became dominant all over Swedish Sápmi and it is this form that we see practised today” (ibid, p19-20).

Research aim

This study aims to describe the history and consequences of the forced relocation during 1920s-30s in Sweden to those involved Sámi people - both those relocated and those living in some of the receiving areas using narratives and case analysis.

Method

This study uses qualitative research methodology consisting of narratives and archive content analysis of administrative materials. The narratives were stories told by some of those relocated North Sámi reindeer families and descendants through interviews. The main source used for narratives is the recently published book by Elin Anna Labba (Labba 2020)¹. Elin Anna Labba is a journalist and lives in Jokkmokk, north Sweden. She comes from a family that has gone through

¹ Permission to use the book content for this study was granted by the book author. This book received Swedish Augustpriset literature award for non-fiction - <https://www.expressen.se/tv/kultur/elin-anna-labba-vinner-augustpriset-for-arets-basta-fackbok>, 2020-11-23 (in Swedish).

the forced relocation in the 1920s. For her, this book is a way of weaving her own family's history - through stories, poems, documents, and yoiks from those who were involved, who remember, and who has the strength to remember. The text is based on almost 100 interviews with forcibly relocated Sámi in Sweden, those involved, their children and grandchildren, by her and others. All the quotations, names of people and their stories were from Elin Labba's prize awarding book.

Historical analysis is based on the published studies in English from Umeå University. The author found only one study on this subject from internet databases, which is by her colleague, Prof. Patrik Lantto (Lantto 2014). Therefore, the historical part is based on either mainly (colonization, borders and forced relocations) or solely (the Vapsten case) on Prof. Lantto's work, except some background information which are from works of Dr. Isabelle Brännlund and Prof. Per Axelsson, Prof. Roger Kvist, and Dr. Åsa Össbo. Readers should keep in mind the possible bias since literatures in English are very limited. So does the available information that the Author can find during the project time. It is by no means a complete picture of the whole history about this forced relocation. To reach that, many more studies are needed to interview all people involved, both Sámi and non-Sámi, which is beyond the scope of this study.

Results and Discussion

Colonization and dominant images of Sámi in Swedish Sámi Policy during 19th century

Beginning in the 17th century Sápmi was colonized by non- Sámi moving into the area and by the turn of the 20th century the Sámi people had become a minority (Brännlund and Axelsson 2011; Lantto 2010). In addition, the indigenous Sámi suffered losses of land and authority through the imposed regulation of reindeer management. Furthermore, from the end of the 17th century to 20th century, the state decided to Christianise the Sámi by force and the sacred drums were burned (Sami_Information_Centre 2004). Sámi were not allowed to practice their religion. The Church of Sweden was part of a colonising power. One aspect of the oppression was to prevent the expression of Sámi traditions and culture. Sámi identity could not be reflected in church services and other areas of church life (Lindmark and Sundström 2017). Over time the rights of the Sámi in Sweden were curtailed, and discrimination increased after 1800. Sámi culture and language were suppressed until recently (Labba 2020).

According to the historian, Prof. Roger Kvist (Kvister 1992) (p63), the Swedish Sámi policy can be divided into seven major periods from the introduction of the royal administration in Lapland in 1550 to the disbandment of the Lapp administration in 1971. 1) The territorial and fiscal policy (1550-1635) can be seen as a local application of the general national policy that created the Swedish nation state. 2) During the mining policy (1635-1673), Sámi labour was forcibly extracted in a discriminatory way. 3) The first colonization policy without Sámi participation (1673-1749), put the traditional Sámi economy on an equal footing with the agricultural economy. 4) The second colonization policy with Sámi participation (1749-1846) discriminated against the traditional Sámi economy. 5) The assimilation policy (1846-1913) added discrimination of the Sámi people on ethnic grounds. 6) The more appreciative stand arrived at through the paternalistic segregation policy (1913-1971), in practise created a system of institutional racism. 7) The disbandment of the Lapp police administration in 1971 signifies the beginning of a period of political integration of the Sámi in the Swedish society at large.

As described by Össbo and Lantto (Össbo and Lantto 2011), “the common use of the term *colonization* in Swedish historiography generally refers to the Swedish state aim to exploit natural resources in remote areas and to populate the peripheral area of the conceived kingdom. ... The term *internal colonisation/colonialism* has been used, pretending Sápmi to be as a domestic Swedish territory” which over time “legitimizes the softer Swedish colonialism and the predominant history of the nation-state of Sweden.” Through colonial policy, the Sámi “indigenous rights have never quite been dismissed, but fundamentally redefined and devaluated.” “Contradictions and ambiguity are the most characteristic features of the Swedish Sámi policy. In the 19th century, ideas of cultural hierarchies began to influence public attitudes and decision-making; Swedish policy towards the Sámi population during that time was paternalistic, a hierarchy was taken for granted, combined with a will to protect and preserve the Sámi.” (p327)

According to Prof. Lantto, “During the last decades of the 19th century, Swedish Sámi policy became more structured. It was based on a view of cultural hierarchies in which a nomadic people like the Sámi were considered inferior to Swedish agricultural and industrial society” (Lantto 2014) (p54). The policy centred on a view of the Sámi as reindeer herders, the so-called “Lapp shall

remain Lapp”². “Sámi should be preserved as reindeer herders, as their physical and psychological adaptation to this way of life was so great that they were unable to support themselves through other professions. ... The goal of the policy was to protect the Sámi from the detrimental influences of Swedish society through segregation, thus preserving reindeer husbandry and Sámi culture. This goal harmonised with the economic interests of the state. At this time, the late 19th century, reindeer husbandry was still regarded as the only industry that could utilise large parts of the interior of northern Sweden and was thus of national importance.” (*ibid.*, p54) This view created “a dualistic Swedish Sámi policy, a policy of inclusion and exclusion, of segregation and assimilation. The reindeer herders were included in the official definition of the Sámi, and through segregation they were to be protected from the threats posed by the influence of Swedish culture. Sámi who were not reindeer herders were instead excluded from the Sámi context, and were to be assimilated. The importance of the “Lapp shall remain Lapp” view in Swedish Sámi policy has only slowly diminished after World War II” (Lantto 2000; Lantto 2014) (p55).

Borders and the forced relocations during 20th century

The forced relocation was outermost a result of political nature between Norway and Russia. Based on the study of historian professor Lantto, “the forced relocations were first discussed in Swedish Sámi policy in the late 19th century, as a response to international developments” (Lantto 2014) (p56). “The 1751 border treaty was assigned that created borders between then the two Nordic states, Sweden-Finland and Denmark-Norway, which regulated the border between Sweden and Finland on the one hand, and Norway on the other, included a special addendum addressing the situation of the Sámi; the so-called Lapp Codicil. The Codicil stated that the traditional land use of the Sámi across the new state border was to be respected and continue unhindered.” (p56-57)

As stated in the study of Reindeer management during the colonization of Sami lands (Brännlund and Axelsson 2011), “In the mid-19th century growing agricultural activity and settlements in northern Norway had resulted in increasing land use conflicts over summer grazing lands used by

² Riksdagstryck 1913:52 (Parliamentary press, in Swedish). The terms **Lapps** or **Lapländers** were known historically in English to refer to Sámi, but they are regarded as offensive by some Sámi people. (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/S%C3%A1mi_people).

herders from northernmost Sweden. These conflicts prompted the establishment of a Border Treaty Committee in 1843, following a Norwegian initiative.” (p1097)

In 1809, Sweden lost Finland to Russia while Norway was forced into a union with Sweden. Russia wanted the right to keep on fishing in Norwegian fjords but this was denied by Norway (Wikipedia 2020). In 1852 Russia answered by cutting off all relationships with Norway, causing regions in Torne Valley (on the Finnish-Russian side) to be excluded from Norwegian Sámi's traditional pasture lands and vice versa. About 400 individuals from Norwegian Kautokeino area then started to change nationality to Swedish and settled in the parish of Karesuando, simply to gain access to previous pasture regions in Finland, since Russia said that Swedish Sámi could enter Finland. This lasted until 1889, when Russia closed the border between Sweden and Finland also for Swedish Sámi. This means that only one border remained open in Sápmi for the Sámi reindeer herders: the Swedish-Norwegian (Lantto 2014) (p57).

According to study by Brännlund and Axelsson (Brännlund and Axelsson 2011), the increasing pressure on pasture in the north of Sweden and Norway together with the ongoing settlements in Sweden and Norway, “initiated the appointment of a new Swedish–Norwegian Commission in 1866. The general purpose of this commission was to regulate the relations between herders and settlers, especially in the northernmost part of the Swedish–Norwegian union. The work of the commission resulted in the first decree regarding movement of reindeer between Sweden–Norway in 1883 and provided foundations for the first Swedish reindeer grazing law - the Reindeer Grazing Acts in 1886³.” (p1097) As stated by Prof. Lantto “The right to use the land for reindeer grazing was collectivised and was to be conducted in a number Reindeer Herding Districts (RHD)⁴, which were created as administrative units. The act aimed at regulating the relationship between reindeer husbandry and agriculture, but also became an instrument for control over the Sámi.” (Lantto 2014) (p55) As a result, two permanent features of a Swedish Sámi policy were created in 1885: the Sámi Administration and the Sámi Bailiff administration (Brännlund and Axelsson 2011). According to Prof. Lantto, the regional state authorities are called the County Administrative Boards (CAB). The Sámi Administration was an independent unit within CAB until 1971 when it was closed down

³ *Svensk författningssamling* 1886, nr 38 (Swedish Constitution 1886, no. 38, in Swedish).

⁴ The Swedish term for these districts was *lappby* (Sámi Village).

(p56). The Sámi Bailiffs led the work to carry through Sámi policy within the Sámi Administration. The Sámi Bailiff of the northernmost district of Norrbotten, constituted by the RHD was instituted in 1890. The archive contains reports, protocols and correspondence between the bailiff and the county administration in Norrbotten. Starting in 1890, the bailiff wrote annual reports concerning reindeer herding in the area, making this later material a rich source of continuous information (Lantto 2000). The two most important tools in the work to preserve the Sámi were the Reindeer Grazing Acts and the Sámi Administration (Lantto 2014) (p55).

In 1905, the union between the Norway and Sweden was dissolved. The disunion resulted in land losses for the Swedish herders, prompting Swedish officials to call for a revision and two commissions were appointed in 1906 and 1907. “These commissions include vast amount of information on reindeer management in northernmost Sweden and the needs for summer pasture, including pasture on the Norwegian side of the border.” (Brännlund and Axelsson 2011) (p1098)

As stated by Prof. Lantto (Lantto 2014), “In 1919, a Swedish-Norwegian Reindeer Grazing Convention was signed which regulated the trans-border reindeer husbandry ... a reduction in the grazing lands” that were allowed for Sámi from Sweden to graze in Norway (p57). This led to the four northernmost RHDs in Karesuando, the northernmost municipality of Norrbotten, losing their right to pasture in Norway. As the herds grew and the situation became worse, the Swedish parliament decided that the number of reindeer in Karesuando should be decreased or else moved. Most herders refused to cut down their herd and the authorities decided to move some families from Karesuando by force. A programme of forced relocations of herders from Karesuando to more southern RHDs within the county started as soon as the Convention was signed. “The timing of the relocations was favourable for the regional authorities; reindeer husbandry had endured several difficult winters during the 1910s, which had seriously depleted the herds. This meant that there was room in many RHDs for an influx of reindeer. At the same time, however, such an influx of reindeer from other RHDs meant a limitation for the herders in the receiving Districts to increase their herds to the same levels as before the difficult winters. In 1926, after several years of steadily increasing numbers of reindeer in Karesuando, the CAB in Norrbotten considered additional relocations of herders to be necessary, this time to Västerbotten and Jämtland as there was no more available space in the RHDs in Norrbotten. However, several of the families who had been

pressured by the regional authorities to apply for relocation this time around were very reluctant to move outside Norrbotten, and they tried different stalling tactics to avoid having to leave. This time the Karesuando Sámi were not as successful in their resistance as they had been in the late 19th century, but because of their obstruction the relocations were not completed until the beginning of the 1930s.” (ibid p57-58)

In the early 1920s several families and 10,000s of reindeer were moved (Wikipedia 2020). Most of them to Arjeplog and Jokkmokk in south Norrbotten but also to Västerbotten particularly Tärnaby. This relocation is what most people mean when they talk about *dislocation by force* since those who resisted were threatened by law.

As described by Elin Anna Labba “There have always been boundaries, but in the past, they used to follow marshes, valleys, forests and mountains. The new Nordic national borders cross all-natural systems. They cut across pastures, family ties and migration routes that have been used for thousands of years. When the ground is cut up, people are divided.” (Labba 2020) (P15). The law came in 1926 due to the large number of reindeers. 20,000 reindeer needed to be removed from the northernmost Sami villages in Sweden. New families will be moved. This time they must be placed further away, as the most northern county – Norrbotten is full. Jåhkåmåhkke, Jiellevárre and Árjepluovve municipalities have for four years already received over 200 people and their reindeer herds. There is no room for more. The focus is now on Västerbotten and Jämtland which are more south and closer to middle of Sweden (ibid p90). The only times the forced relocations are not carried out are when someone becomes too ill to move or has time to leave (ibid, p161).

The convention states that the relocations must take place in accordance with the wishes "of the Lapp population". In reality, Sámi have nothing to say about this. In Sámi, a separate word was created for this, Bággojohtin - forced relocation, or sirdolaččat, as the elderly used. The first to be forced to leave their homes in the belief that they will be allowed to return (Labba 2020) (p16).

Narratives of relocated North Sámi (Labba 2020)

Before the relocation and hurry preparation

A dream occurred told the future about relocation from Norway (Tromsö) to Sweden (p17). Using dreams to tell the future is common in Sámi culture. Those Sámi reindeer herds' families have their summer residence at Soltunjávvri on the island of Ráneš northwest of Tromsö, Norway. In the winter, they move toward East to the Swedish costal pasture by the Baltic sea.

As Abba described in her book:

“In February 1919, Swedish authorities moved the first families. It is only a week after the convention has been signed, the ink has barely dried. It goes so fast that the authorities arrange the formalities afterwards. They may sign application documents once they have been received. How much do they understand by the convention? It is a legal text written in Norwegian and Swedish, only later is it translated into Finnish. It is never translated into Sámi, the language spoken here for thousands of years. Many, like Ánne Márjá, have never been to school and, in addition to Finnish and a little Norwegian, they can only speak their own language. If they had known what was going on, they would never have left children with relatives and just abandoned their belongings “Young couples hurry to get married to be able to move together. Urgent wedding without laughter (p32).”

Prayer meetings, goodbye to homeland (ibid, p49)

"1923 we came here. I was ten years old ... In 1922, the governor of Karesuando announced when we should move. They had applications, they had taken names. We were not allowed to come to Kvalö ... The Norwegians forbade it. The reindeer destroyed their plants ... the vegetation. It was closed. And then the only way was to send us into Sweden ...

And it was crying and wailing ... and religion. For us it was the same, we were young, but I followed Grandma when she was there in the fjords at the prayer meetings and they cried and preached sin and blessing. It was awful really! All the way when they moved here beyond Kiruna and everywhere, they just cried and said goodbye to bushes and trees and rocks ... And that path they have walked ... ”

Hurre Liisa Sára⁵

Sara Harnesk, forcibly relocated to Sirge's Sámi village in 1923

⁵ The two names of the informant: the upper one is the Sámi name and the bottom one is the Swedish name. The Sámi name starts with older generation first and end with the person's name. In this example, it starts with the last name Hurre, Harre Liisa could be either her mother's or grandmother's name, and the last is the informant's name Sara in Sámi (Sára). This order shows respect to older generation, similar to the Chinese culture, except here uses mother side's name instead of the father side's name as in Chinese culture.

Moving toward south

Some follow the rule and feeling being cheated (p50-52).

“Jouná is one of the few who chooses to move. When he arrives, he feels cheated by empty promises. The grazing lands that they get to the south belong to others already. There is no place for thousands of reindeer as the Lapp bailiff has promised. There are other reindeer on their new lands and reindeer herders they meet have opposed moving in. Newspaper clippings, letters and official documents show how the conflicts grow in parallel with the forced relocation. Conflicts flare up between those who have been forced to move, and those who have not chosen, or sometimes even knew, that other reindeer herders should come to their grazing land. As early as 1922, the Lapp system writes that ‘the dislocation has led to confusion and disorder because the Karesuando patches and the old reindeer husbandry methods are significantly different’.”

The Lapp service distributed between 300 and 500 kronor, retroactively for those who have already been forced to leave. However, some have never received the money, among them, some having names signed on the paper by others since most of the Sámi then could not read and write in Swedish.

“The names go on to the church which prints names of people from the Sámi villages in the north and sends them to pastors to the south. In 1923, they are entered in places in Norrbotten. ... That spring, about 120 people are forced south with their reindeer. Some of them walk up to 600 km, that is a long road to travel with tents and belongings.”

Those have tried to resist but gave up after being fined heavily from both the Norwegian and the Swedish authorities like the Story of Gusttu Bierar and Márjá (p114-120).

Reindeers ~~---~~want to going “home to their own country” (p129-137). Inggá Biette and Čuoigi Elle Gáren’s story showed the difficult spring move with reindeer who constantly wanted to go home, to the north. This forced the reindeer herd, Inggá Biette, to constantly work hard to keep the anxious animals in control. When rain comes during the day which becomes ice at night, it became much harder for the sleigh pulling reindeer and the herder to keep all the reindeer together. Sometimes, they needed to walk 100 km without a break or rest. Still “In Gargnäs, 60 disappears. Partapuoli

returns with 20. He could not trace the rest. Inggá Biette curses the rain that eats away their animals.” Those pregnant big belly reindeer knew by instinct where to go to give birth to their babies – the north where she grew up. Some lost halves of their herds. This made them regret for the moving and angry at the County Administrative Board.

Some have been forcibly relocated when they were pregnant or had babies in the cradle. “They have been forced to walk with their big stomachs and give birth in a tent (p88)”, and others got transportation to help.

Life at the new land

Mixed welcomes were felt at new place. Some of the relocated people were received nicely while others not. For example, Elle Gáren’s story showed positive experience (p134-137).

“Elle Gáren and her family were allowed to live in Wilhelm Forsvall's elongated brewhouse and the trader Yngve Forsvall puts them on credit. Georg Jonsson sells them a shed with a loft...”. To show her appreciation, she arranges her own God’s service at her tent at 11 o'clock every Sunday. “They have churches here too, but it's not like in the north. It is a milder kind of belief. The children know that they are not allowed to work on Sundays, the only exception is the work in the forest, with the reindeer. Elle Gáren clings to the faith, whatever happens is not their choice. She says that to the children. ‘God he gives, and God he takes.’”

On the other hand, at school, some kids considered the Sámi relocated kids as thieves from the north. “That the northern Lapp have long fingers. That they should go home, where they belong.” This is very hard for the new commers, “You probably know what it's like with a foreign dog. All dogs flock around it.” This moving has not been easy for many.

Women and experienced broken connection to their kinship. Elin Anna Labba follows the forcibly relocated route toward south through digital church books. The church has given them names that sound more Swedish. “In time, Márgu's children and grandchildren spread across the Sápmi. Branches are broken. Family trees are pulled up. When families split up, many lose their only protection - the network of cousins, godparents. The godparents and elderly are the

backbone of a tough everyday life.” In addition to reindeer, kinship is the most precious thing you have, as Elin described (p50).

Elin Anna Labba sees a pattern in all the stories that it was the women who were the most vulnerable. “They remain in the tent when the men meet in the reindeer forest. They are left alone with the children when others gather on the neighboring village. The women pull home the wood and chop up the ice hole of the tent that has frozen overnight. The sisters and relatives who were helped in everyday life remain in the north. They miss their female friends. Only many years later do they get a phone to call and can start calling home (p159).”

“The forced relocations take place during a turning point, when a new kind of reindeer husbandry emerges. Until the move, the women go with the raid (sleigh). It is not an easy life, but they share it with others, and they work with the reindeer, just like their husbands. In the 1930s, families began to remain in the settlements. It is an irony of fate that the new loneliness coincides with the forced relocation (p160).”

Joik changed at new place (p68). “Joik is the Sámi singing. Sámi people yoik when they meet the mountains. They yoik to greet and say goodbye. They thank for the pasture, for the summer, for the wind. They ask the field for permission. They have a story and a name for the smallest stream.” One consequence of the forced relocations was that “the yoik fell silent”, as described by Elin Labba.

Among those relocated Sámi, some were longing home till retired age (p28), and still trying hard to go back to Norway whatever ways possible including walking with a cane. Some have been longing parents and family (p29) for years. Others refuses to adapt to the new place (p155).

As Elin Labba described about the forcibly relocated Sámi people, “They never wanted to tell. Nowadays I know that my family is not the only one; the Sápmi I grew up in is full of people who have tied up their wounds in silence.” (ibid, p11)

Consequence to reindeer herders in the receiving area – the Vapsten case

The following historical analysis is solely from the study of Prof. Patrik Lantto (Lantto 2014) with some background information from other studies. Some of the passage was quoted in extenso where page numbers were given.

When Swedish authorities, following the signing of the 1919 Reindeer Herding Convention with Norway, enacted forced relocations of Sámi reindeer herders from Karesuando, they did not expect that “this action had some very deeply felt and long-term effects. One obvious effect for the relocated herders was that they had to leave their traditional lands and adjust to a completely new and unfamiliar environment.” (p68) What was not obvious is that the Sámi in the receiving RHDs were also affected, “through changed herding methods [from intensive to extensive] and increased internal competition within the Districts.” In addition, “the influx of new reindeers limited the opportunities for the original members to increase their herds, which had been depleted during the 1910s. Grazing land was limited and could support only a certain number of reindeers; subsequent industrial exploitation of the land has since further limited the possibilities to expand herds.” (ibid p68).

During the second wave of relocation starting 1926 from Norrbotten county to Västerbotten and Jämtland county, Vapsten was not one of the RHDs originally designated to receive herders from Karesuando. Vapsten is an RHD located in the Västerbotten county. But when some of the Sámi on route to Jämtland had problem due to unforeseen circumstances, a few herders stayed at this District as a temporary solution, which became permanent. “As in other RHDs in Västerbotten, the Sámi in Vapsten protested against accepting relocated herders, with the argument that the grazing lands already were used at full capacity, but the CAB overruled their decision. The Lapp Bailiff in Västerbotten, Gustaf Lindström, had expected resistance towards the addition of herders from Karesuando, but argued that if the situation was handled appropriately, the fear of the Sámi in his county would prove to be unfounded (Lantto 2014)(p58) .”

In 1931, during the time of relocation, the number of reindeers in Vapsten was a little over 3,100. “Four years later, this had more than doubled to almost 6,800 animals. This marked a temporary peak in the reindeer herds, as harsh winters during the middle of the 1930s led to large reductions. The number of reindeers fell more or less steadily until the 1950s.” (ibid, p58) During the 1930s –

1940s, many of the Sámi were forced to leave reindeer husbandry to seek other jobs as many Sámi did in other part of the Sápmi (Stoor 1991). They viewed this as a temporary solution as they often continued to participate in reindeer herding activities from time to time and maintained the long-term goal of returning to their traditional livelihood as soon as their herd had grown sufficiently in size. To their surprise, these Sámi herders in Vapsten soon lost their Sámi traditional rights for not just reindeer herding but also the right to use their land for fishing and hunting, the Sámi livelihood.

According to the State definition (Lantto 2000) (p159–161, 221–222), Sámi traditional rights to herd reindeer consist of using land for grazing reindeer and the right to hunt and fish on that land. Membership in an RHD was a necessary condition to exercise this right, and a member was a Sámi who worked actively in the reindeer herding industry, or who had “pursued or assisted in a permanent manner in reindeer herding, but who has ceased with it and not permanently pursued any other profession”.⁶ This policy allows only fully active herders to be members of the RHDs, and there was no room for part-time participation in the reindeer industry. Following this, more and more of the original members of the Vapsten RHD left the reindeer husbandry or moved to other RHDs. As a result, all active herders in Vapsten RHD have been descendants of relocated North Sámi herders for four decades. “These circumstances have created a volatile situation, with strong conflicts between the descendants of the two groups, the original reindeer herding families and the relocated North Sámi.” (Lantto 2014) (p68) This ended up a few courtroom battles and conflicts (Lantto 2014) (p61). “Several Västerbotten Sámi, whose families had been members in Vapsten, tried to gain the status of active herder. Conflicts ensued, both between the Västerbotten Sámi and the relocated herders, and between the Västerbotten Sámi and the regional authorities.” (Lantto 2014) (p62)

According to Prof. Lantto (Lantto 2014), “When the new RFA [Reindeer Farming Act] was introduced in 1971, at the same time as the Lapp Administration was disbanded, one of the arguments often used was that the previous legislation and state administration had been too controlling and repressive. The reform indicated a changed governing image within Sámi policy, where reindeer husbandry was viewed as a business like any other. The RHDs were granted a

⁶ *Svensk författningssamling* 1928, nr 309, § 8 (Swedish Constitution 1928, no. 309, § 8).

greater degree of independence and self-determination, and the state should no longer play an active role in internal issues in the District. One of the areas where the herders could now make independent decisions was membership in the District. While this was a positive development, it created conflicts in the case of Vapsten when Västerbotten Sámi was denied membership” (ibid, p68) by the existing members – the relocated North Sámi. This membership allows Sámi to raise reindeer, and to have the right to hunt and fish, the basic Sámi livelihood. “The state authorities were unwilling to get involved directly in the conflict, as membership was now an internal issue within the RHD. ... Both sides consider themselves right, which creates additional bitterness and moves the parties even further from each other.”(ibid, p69) It becomes a “deadlocked” position as both sides are “unwillingness to seek any solution other than complete victory. ... The current conflict is the result of historical state intervention in reindeer husbandry, and a solution can only come if the state actively engages in the situation and try to find a way forward through mediation.” (ibid, p69)

Conclusion

This study introduces part of the history on Sámi forced relocation occurred in Sweden to the Chinese readers based on the studies from Sweden. It finds that the forced relocation about one century ago has negative consequences to both the relocated North Sámi and the receiving area’s Sámi. It has left scars to those being forced to relocate, and a long and unresolved conflict in some of the receiving area. As Prof. Lantto suggested for resolving the many decades’ conflict in Vapsten reindeer herding district, “the state must become more active in handling the situation. Not through making decisions for the Sámi parties, but rather through the appointment of an external actor with a mandate to address the issue.”

Acknowledgements

This work is supported by Várdduo – Centre for Sami Research at Umeå University for the time of the author. In addition, the author is grateful to Professor Feng Qu from Liao Cheng University, China for the suggestion of this study, to Dr. Krister Stoor, the director of Várdduo, for support on Sámi knowledge and knowledge quest, to Prof. Patrik Lantto, a historian and the former director of Várdduo for help with the historical information through his valuable previous works, and to

Elin Anna Labba for permission to use her excellent book to give life to these historical events. All of the mentioned supports make this manuscript possible.

Conflict of interest and funding

The authors have not received any funding or benefits from industry or elsewhere to conduct this study.

References

- Brännlund I (2015) Histories of reindeer husbandry resilience Land Use and Social Networks of Reindeer Husbandry in Swedish Sápmi:1740-1920
- Brännlund I, Axelsson P (2011) Reindeer management during the colonization of Sami lands: A long-term perspective of vulnerability and adaptation strategies Global Environmental Change 21:1095-1105
- DuBois TA, Lang JF (2013) Johan Turi's animal, mineral, vegetable cures and healing practices: an in-depth analysis of Sami (Saami) folk healing one hundred years ago J Ethnobiol Ethnomed 9:9-57 doi:10.1186/1746-4269-9-57
- Kvister R (1992) Swedish saami policy, 1550-1990 vol III. Readings in Saami History, Culture and Language II. Center for Arctic Cultural Research, Umeå University, Umeå
- Labba EA (2020) Herrarna satte oss hit—Om tvångsförflyttningarna i Sverige (People with power put us here—about the forced displacements in Sweden) Stockholm: Norstedts
- Lantto P (2000) Tiden börjar på nytt: en analys av samernas etnopolitiska mobilisering i Sverige 1900-1950. Umeå University
- Lantto P (2010) Borders, citizenship and change: the case of the Sami people, 1751–2008 Citizenship Studies 14:543-556 doi:10.1080/13621025.2010.506709
- Lantto P (2014) The Consequences of State Intervention: Forced Relocations and Sámi Rights in Sweden, 1919–2012 Journal of Ethnology and Folkloristics 8:53-73
- Lindmark D, Sundström O (2017) The Church of Sweden and the Sami - A White Paper Project: Background, Assignment, Organisation and Results
- Össbo Å, Lantto P (2011) Colonial tutelage and industrial colonialism: reindeer husbandry and early 20th-century hydroelectric development in Sweden Scandinavian Journal of History 36:324-348
- Sami_Information_Centre (2004) The sami – an Indigenous People in Sweden Swedish Sami Information Centre, Sweden
- Stoor K (1991) Reindeer herding and stock-farming in the swedish part of Sápmi vol II. Readings in Saami History, Culture and Language II. Center for Arctic Cultural Research, Umeå University, Umeå
- Swedish_Institute (2020) SAMI IN SWEDEN. <https://sweden.se/society/sami-in-sweden/>. Accessed July 08 2020

Turi J, Turi P (1918-1919) Lappish Texts. D Kgl Danske Vidensk Selsk Skrifter, 7 R
Historisk og filosofisk Afd IV, 2. Kbh, Copenhagen

Wikipedia (2020) Dislocation of Sámi people from Jukkasjärvi and Karesuando.
Wikipedia.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dislocation_of_S%C3%A1mi_people_from_Jukkasj%C3%A4rvi_and_Karesuando. 2020-11-07



曲 枫 | 主编

[德] 迈克·克努佩尔 | 副主编

王丽英 | 执行主编

北冰洋研究

第五辑



Journal of Arctic Studies

上海三联书店



曲 枫 | 主编

[德] 迈克·克努佩尔 | 副主编

王丽英 | 执行主编

北冰洋研究

第⑤辑



Journal of Arctic Studies

上海三联书店

目 录

卷首语

水上、冰上与陆上：人类历史进程的“终身流动性”·····	曲 枫 / 1
Preface·····	Michael Knüppel / 7

环境史与考古学

东北亚和北美西北地区的考古学模式：对德内-叶尼塞假说的考证 ····· [美] 本·波特（张春波 赵文正 译） / 3	
独立 I 期与萨卡克——最早的格陵兰人 ····· [丹麦] 比耶恩·格诺（赵文正 译） / 50	
鹿角与象牙：再议史前爱斯基摩文化研究的二元结构主义理论 ····· 曲 枫（赵文正 译 曲 枫 译校） / 75	

语言学研究

尤卡吉尔语中的非词汇化拟声词 ····· [德] 迈克尔·克努佩尔（刘凤山 译） / 103	
日常生活中的图瓦语变迁 ——以图瓦人语言态度与语言选择为例 ····· 娜荷芽 / 112	
满语使动词缀的形态学定位 ····· 王海波 / 122	

近北极民族研究

索伦部驻防呼伦贝尔的经过——以达斡尔族为例 ····· 阿 力 / 139	
俄罗斯族民歌的传承与保护——以内蒙古额尔古纳市为例 ····· 李 萍 / 175	
中国使鹿鄂温克人生存现状调查 ····· 龚 宇 / 185	

原住民再安置

20 世纪二三十年代瑞典萨米人的强制搬迁：历史与叙事

……………[瑞典] 刘静-赫尔默森 (刘凤山 译校 李耀辉 译) / 199

论加拿大政府因纽特民族“再安置计划”及其影响 ……潘 敏 包永康 / 217

前沿观察

人鸟互动神圣性与鸟类成功保护的关联性研究：以俄罗斯北极与中国
之间鸟类迁徙路线为例

……………[美] 福尔克·惠特曼 (丁海彬 译) / 240

格陵兰两个狩猎社区中的猎犬联盟

……………[意大利] 丹妮拉·托马希尼 (周圣涵 译) / 272

书评

栖居在北极家园——《北方民族志景观》书评……………张 雯 / 301
在学术研究和大众通俗读物之间架一座桥梁

——读《蓝狐岛》有感……………潘 敏 胡 荣 / 306

叶尼塞语中的阿尔泰语元素 ……[德] 迈克尔·克努佩尔 (刘凤山 译) / 312

学术动态

内蒙古自治区鄂温克族研究会……………柳 华 / 321

瑞典于默奥大学 (Umeå University) 北极中心：通过战略网络促进

和支持北极研究……………[瑞典] 莉娜·玛丽亚·尼尔森

尼古拉斯·埃克隆德 (姬荣连 译) / 333

瓦尔多的土著研究——瑞典于默奥大学萨米族人研究中心……………

[瑞典] 刘静-赫尔默森 克里斯特·斯图尔

莉娜·玛丽亚·尼尔森 (张丽红 译) / 341

第三届北冰洋研究高端论坛——“中国近北极地区呼伦贝尔研究”

学术研讨会在额尔古纳举行……………赵文正 / 352

征稿启事

《北冰洋研究》征稿启事…………… / 359

Call for Submissions: *Journal of Arctic Studies*…………… / 360

CONTENTS

Preface

On Water, Ice, or Land: Lifetime Mobility of Human History	Qu Feng/ 1
Preface	Michael Knüppel/ 7

Environmental History and Archaeology

Archaeological Patterning in Northeast Asia and Northwest North America: An Examination of the Dene-Yeniseian Hypothesis Ben A. Potter (Translated by Zhang Chunbo and Zhao Wenzheng) / 3	
Independence I and Saqqaq. The First Greenlanders Bjarne Grønnow (Translated by Zhao Wenzheng) / 50	
Ivory versus Antler: A Reassessment of Binary Structuralism in the Study of Prehistoric Eskimo Cultures Qu Feng (Translated by Zhao Wenzheng) / 75	

Linguistic Research

Non-lexicalized Onomatopoeia in Yukaghir Languages Michael Knüppel (Translated by Liu Fengshan) / 103	
Tuvan Language Change in Daily Life	Na Heya/ 112
The Morphological Status of the Causative Suffix in Manchu Wang Haibo/ 122	

Studies of Chinese Arctic Peoples

Origin and Development of Solon Aiman (Tribe) Stationing in Hulun Buir—A Daur Perspective	A Li/ 139
Inheriting, Reviving and Protecting Russian Folk Songs in Urgun City, Inner Mongolia	Li Ping/ 175
Investigation on the Survival Status of Reindeer Ewenki in China Gong Yu/ 185	

Indigenous Resettlement

- Sámi Forced Relocation in Sweden during 1920s—30s: History and Narratives
..... Jing Liu-Helmersson (Translated by Liu Fengshan and Li Yaohui) / 199
- The Inuit Resettlement Project in Canada and Its Impact
..... Pan Min Bao Yongkang/ 217

Frontier Observation

- On the Relevance of Spirituality for Human-Bird Interactions and
Conservation Success: An example from the Arctic Russia-China
flyway Falk Huettmann (Translated by Ding Haibin) / 241
- The Dog-Hunter Alliance in two Hunting Communities of Greenland
..... Daniela Tommasini (Translated by Zhou Shenghan) / 273

Book Review

- Dwelling on the Arctic Homeland Zhang Wen/ 301
- Bridging Academic Research and Popular Publications—Review on
Island of the Blue Foxes Pan Min Hu Rong/ 306
- Language Contact in Siberia. Turkic, Mongolic, and Tungusic loanwords in
Yeniseian Michael Knüppel (Translated by Liu Fengshan) / 312

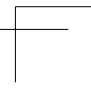
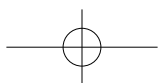
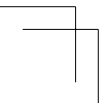
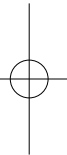
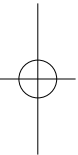
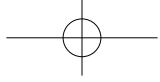
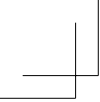
Academic Events

- The Inner Mongolian Society for Academic Research on the Evenki People
..... Liu Hua /321
- The Arctic Centre of Umea University, Sweden: Promoting and Supporting
Arctic Research through a Strategic Network Lena Maria Nilsson
Niklas Eklund (Translated by Ji Ronglian)/333
- Indigenous Research at Várdduo——Centre for Sami Research, Umea
University, Sweden Jing Liu-Helmersson Krister Stoor
Lena Maria Nilsson (Translated by Zhang Lihong) /341
- The Third Arctic Studies Forum held in Erguna
..... Zhao Wenzheng /352

Call for Submissions

- Call for Submissions: *Journal of Arctic Studies* (Chinese) /359
- Call for Submissions: *Journal of Arctic Studies* /360

原住民再安置



20 世纪二三十年代瑞典萨米人的强制搬迁： 历史与叙事*

[瑞典] 刘静-赫尔默森
(刘凤山 译校 李耀辉 译)

摘要：萨米人生活在北极地区的萨米原住民居住地，主要分布在四个国家境内，分别是挪威、瑞典、芬兰以及俄罗斯的科拉半岛。驯鹿饲养是萨米人千百年来主要职业及主要生活来源，他们在没有国界的萨米土地上放牧，从山地到海边，随着季节更换放牧的地方。在过去的 100 年间，由于萨米地区各个国家的政治发展，曾经用来放牧驯鹿的各个国家的边界地区先后关闭。在 20 世纪 20 到 30 年代之间，大约有 300 到 400 名萨米人被迫从瑞典北部的萨米居住地搬迁到南部的萨米居住地。本研究主要以帕特里克·兰托教授和艾琳·安娜·拉巴博士的著作为基础，研究的目的在于介绍萨米人遭遇强制搬迁的历史及其给部分萨米人带来的影响。研究表明，强制搬迁对瑞典的驯鹿饲养产生了影响，并且该影响一直延续到今天。有关搬迁后部分北方萨米人的叙事，讲述了强制搬迁对搬迁后驯鹿牧民生活的影响。通过分析国家政策，并以瓦普斯顿（Vapsten）驯

* 这项工作得到了瓦尔多跨学科研究中心，即瑞典于默奥大学萨米人研究中心的支持。此外，作者非常感谢中国聊城大学曲枫教授建议的该研究课题，感谢瓦尔多跨学科研究中心主任克里斯特·斯托博士就萨米人相关知识及相关知识的搜集所提供的支持，感谢历史学家、瓦尔多跨学科研究中心前主任帕特里克·兰托教授，感谢他先前的作品所提供的宝贵历史信息，感谢艾琳·安娜·拉巴博士允许我使用她的优秀著作，让所涉及的历史事件得到新生。上述所有人的帮助支持，才使此文成为可能。

利益冲突和资助声明：作者进行这项研究，未从任何企业或其他任何地方获得任何资金或其他利益。

鹿放牧区为例，发现强制搬迁的一个负面影响就是，到目前为止由搬迁而导致萨米人内部的冲突依然没有解决。

关键词：萨米人 北极原住民 驯鹿饲养 强制搬迁 萨米历史 瑞典萨米政策

作者简介：刘静-赫尔默森（Jing Liu-Helmersson），女，瑞典，于默奥大学博士后研究员，在物理学（量子光学）方面有 20 多年的研究经验（1989 年获得美国密歇根大学博士学位，曾担任美国加州州立大学长滩分校物理学教授），在公共卫生（气候变化与传染病数学建模）方面有 7 年的研究经验（2018 年获得于默奥大学博士学位），现主要研究萨米人传统医学及其与传统中医比较、系统动力学模型，email: Jing.Helmersson@umu.se。ORCID ID: 0000-0001-9647-1015。

译者简介：刘风山，男，山东禹城人，聊城大学外国语学院教授，主要从事当代美国文学研究及文学文化翻译；李耀辉，女，聊城大学外国语学院翻译硕士研究生。

引 言

萨米人——欧洲的北极原住民

萨米原住民生活在北极地区称为萨米居住地的地域，包括挪威、瑞典、芬兰以及俄罗斯的科拉半岛。目前，萨米人口大约有 8 万人左右，其中约 5 万人生活在挪威，约 2 万人生活在瑞典，约 8 千人生活在芬兰，约 2 千人生活在俄罗斯（Swedish Institute 2020）。萨米语有三个主要分支，分别是南萨米语、中萨米语和东萨米语，在北欧使用了数千年，与芬兰语比较接近。萨米语的三个分支又分 10 个变体或方言。瑞典境内的萨米语有 5 个变体，分别是北萨米语、吕勒萨米语、南萨米语、于默萨米语和皮特萨米语。2000 年，萨米语被划定为瑞典的少数民族语言（Sami_Information_Centre 2004）。

在瑞典最北部的内陆地区，萨米人在此居住的时间最早可追溯到大约 1 万年前，那些人可能是今天萨米人的祖先（Sami_Information_Centre 2004）。萨米人传统上过的是游牧生活，在萨米地区饲养驯鹿，驯鹿饲养是他们主要生活来源之一，其他的活动包括狩猎、捕鱼、食物采集、手工制作、

锻造、制革、物资交换，以及利用草药、动物制品、鼓等举办宗教活动或治疗疾病（DuBois and Lang 2013；Turi 1918—1919）。本文主要研究遭遇强制搬迁的以驯鹿饲养为主业的萨米人。

驯鹿可用于运输（比如拉雪橇），还可以提供食物（鹿肉和鹿血）、饮品（鹿奶）、衣物和住所（鹿皮、鹿毛）、珠宝装饰（鹿角和鹿骨头）等物品，可算得上是几乎没有浪费的可循环经济。萨米游牧民的传统是在东西两个方向来回迁徙，在萨米地区跨越不同国家之间的边界放牧驯鹿。例如，北萨米人居住在挪威北部、瑞典和芬兰。每年秋天，北萨米人的驯鹿群迁徙到靠近挪威西海岸内陆地区的冬季牧场；春天，又返回到瑞典东部波罗的海沿岸的夏季牧场。人们总是跟随驯鹿迁徙（Labba 2020）。

瑞典的驯鹿饲养与驯鹿放牧

瑞典大部分萨米人生活在该国最北端的三个地区，包括北博顿省、西博顿省、耶姆特兰省，主要从事驯鹿饲养。驯鹿饲养意味着“利润积累”，而驯鹿放牧则意味着“把动物的活动范围限制在某个地域……就瑞典而言，驯鹿的屠宰、阉割等畜牧养殖问题需要在家庭内部讨论，而驯鹿放牧的相关问题则需要在传统意义上的工作群体（称为‘锡达’，萨米语为 Siida）内集体解决”（Brännlund and Axelsson 2011）。

正如布兰伦德（Brännlund）在她的博士论文（Brännlund 2015：21—23）中所阐述的那样，萨米人的“锡达”通常是由父母、子女、兄弟姐妹、表兄弟姐妹、堂兄弟姐妹等人的小家庭构成的大家庭，一起在传统牧场上工作。“在以驯鹿饲养为要素所构成的社会群体中，‘锡达’扮演着关键节点的角色”（Brännlund 2015：21）。亲属关系在锡达的形成过程中起着重要作用，但“该系统是动态的”（Brännlund 2015：22）。锡达的成员家庭有可能多年不变，但“也经常会根据季节和时间的变化重新组合。成员家庭还有其他选择，通常也不要求他们一直待在同一个锡达内。锡达作为驯鹿放牧的组织机构，‘控制着该地区的动物饲养活动’，包括牧场的使用、迁徙、牧群看守等。不同的驯鹿所有者之间如果因土地和水资源问题发生争执，可以在锡达内部寻求解决。锡达群体与土地之间的紧密联系，促进了锡达内部的稳定性和延续性，是对其流动性的、非正式社会结构的补充”（Brännlund 2015：22）。

几个锡达还可以联合，形成萨米村庄或者具有特定领域的驯鹿放牧行政

区（reindeer herding district，简称 RHD）。从历史上看，驯鹿放牧区的土地使用结构维系了当地萨米社区的生活，其中就包括驯鹿饲养。集体的生活实践都在该社区边界内进行，这巩固了不同驯鹿放牧区之间的边界需求及其对边界的尊重。“个体牧民、小家庭、大家庭、锡达、驯鹿放牧区之间的关系被当做是驯鹿饲养的‘支柱’”（Brännlund 2015: 21）。

如今，瑞典萨米地区共有 51 个驯鹿放牧区，分成三个畜牧系统，具体包括 33 个山区、10 片森林、8 个特许经营区（Brännlund 2015: 18）。“山区的驯鹿饲养，牧场面积较大，一直延伸到挪威海岸，但只在夏季可以放牧。相反，（瑞典）境内山脉东部森林地区的驯鹿饲养区域则可以常年放牧。在靠近芬兰边境的北部特许经营区内，驯鹿饲养需要得到特定的许可证方可进行。萨米牧民可以在这些地区放牧驯鹿，但需要得到非萨米人土地所有者的许可”（Brännlund 2015: 18—19）。自 16 世纪以来，“山区”和“森林”驯鹿饲养这样的标签，不仅暗示“不同的放牧地点（尽管这些标签用得没那么严格）”，还代表着“不同的生活方式：在森林地区，捕鱼、狩猎比较常见，而在山区，驯鹿饲养则更常见。自 18 世纪中叶以来，森林地区的驯鹿饲养也变得越来越重要，……相比山区的驯鹿饲养，这一变化使得该地区人们的生活方式更加多样化”（Brännlund 2015: 19）。

主要有两种驯鹿放牧方式，即粗放型放牧和集约型放牧。在集约化放牧中，“牧民或多或少地对驯鹿进行严密看管，全家人随着驯鹿群一起搬迁，根据季节变化在不同的牧场之间迁徙。母驯鹿产奶，鹿奶产品成为当地饮食及当地经济的重要组成部分。由于人和驯鹿之间的紧密关系，驯鹿变得非常温顺，习惯了与人类互动……从 19 世纪后半叶开始，一直到 20 世纪中叶，从北方到南方，人们逐渐放弃集约型放牧，取而代之的是一种更加粗放的放牧方式，畜群数量更大，自由移动，人们对驯鹿看管得也不那么严密了。这意味着人们的生存越来越依赖于驯鹿，而诸如捕鱼、狩猎、农耕等其他生活方式被人们利用的可能性越来越小。从 20 世纪中期开始，粗放型畜牧业在瑞典萨米地区占据了主导地位，我们今天所看到的就是这种生产形式”（Brännlund 2015: 19—20）。

研究目的

本研究旨在借助相关叙事及案例分析，描述 20 世纪二三十代瑞典强制搬

迁的历史及其对相关萨米人的影响，既包括遭遇强制搬迁的萨米人，也包括接纳移民的某些地区的萨米人。

研究方法

本研究采用定性研究方法，包括叙事分析以及行政管理档案材料内容分析。所谓叙事，是遭遇强制搬迁的北萨米驯鹿饲养家庭成员及其后代接受采访时讲述的故事。这些叙事的主要来源是艾琳·安娜·拉巴（Elin Anna Labba）最近刚刚出版的著作（Labba 2020）^①。艾琳·安娜·拉巴是一名记者，住在瑞典北部的约克莫克（Jokkmokk）。她的家人曾在 20 世纪 20 年代经历过强制搬迁。对她而言，她的这本书旨在借助故事、诗歌、文献以及经历过搬迁、还记得搬迁经历且有精力回顾过去的那些人的回忆，以此来编织她的家族历史。本文的数据来源是拉巴和其他人针对经历过瑞典强制搬迁的萨米人所进行的 100 次采访。接受采访的人包括亲历过搬迁的人、他们的子女或孙辈们。本文中所有的引文、人名和他们的故事都来自艾琳·安娜·拉巴的这本获奖图书。

本研究的历史分析部分主要基于于默奥大学学者用英文发表的成果。本研究作者在网络数据库中仅找到该话题的一项研究成果（Lantto 2014），其作者是本研究作者的同事帕特里克·兰托（Patrik Lantto）教授。历史分析部分的殖民进程、边界、强制搬迁等问题主要参考兰托教授的研究，也可以说瓦普斯顿（Vapsten）案例只参考了兰托教授的研究，其他相关的信息来自伊莎贝尔·布兰伦德博士、佩尔·阿克塞尔松（Per Axelsson）教授、罗杰·奎斯特（Roger Kvist）教授和阿萨·奥斯勃（Åsa Össbo）博士的研究成果。读者应该知道，由于英语文献有它的限制，难免存在偏见，本研究作者在研究过程中所收集到的信息也是如此，关于萨米人强制搬迁所做的结论也难以做到全面。为了全面描述萨米人强制搬迁的历史，还需要广泛调查更多的人，既包括萨米人，也包括非萨米人，本研究暂不涉及这些问题。

① 本书作者授权本文作者使用书中相关内容。该书被授予瑞典奥古斯特文学奖（<https://www.expressen.se/tv/kultur/elin-anna-labba-vinner-augustpriset-for-arets-basta-fackbok>, 2020-11-23）（瑞典语）。

结果与讨论

19 世纪瑞典萨米政策中的殖民化与萨米人的主流形象

从 17 世纪开始，萨米地区就遭到进入该地区的非萨米人的殖民统治，到了 20 世纪初，萨米人则被划归为少数族裔（Brännlund and Axelsson 2011；Lantto 2010）。除此之外，由于强制性的驯鹿管理政策，萨米原住民还失去了他们的土地和曾经享有的权力。从 17 世纪末开始，一直到 20 世纪，国家强制萨米人接受基督教，焚烧他们视为圣物的鼓（Sami_Information_Centre 2004），不允许萨米人信奉他们的宗教。瑞典教会成了殖民统治的一部分。殖民压迫的一个表现就是阻止萨米传统和萨米文化的传播，萨米人的身份也无法在教会服务和其他的教会生活中得以体现（Lindmark and Sundström 2017）。随着时间的推移，瑞典萨米人的许多权利被剥夺，1800 年以后，种族歧视加剧。萨米文化和萨米语言也受到压制，并一直延续到近些年（Labba 2020）。

根据历史学家罗杰·奎斯特教授（Kvister 1992: 63）的研究，从 1550 年拉普兰（Lapland）引入皇室管理，直到 1971 年拉普兰管理被取消，瑞典的萨米政策可以分为 7 个主要阶段：一是 1550 至 1635 年间的领土与财政政策，可以理解为创立了瑞典民族国家的国家政策的地方应用。二是 1635 至 1673 年间执行采矿政策期间，萨米人劳动力被迫从事采矿工作并遭到歧视。三是 1673 至 1749 年间第一个没有萨米人参与的殖民政策，将传统的萨米经济与农业经济置于平等地位。四是 1749 至 1846 年间有萨米人参与的第二个殖民政策，歧视传统的萨米经济。五是 1846 至 1913 年间的同化政策，导致了针对萨米人的种族歧视。六是 1913 至 1971 年间的家长制种族隔离政策备受推崇，事实上导致了制度化的种族主义制度。七是 1971 年拉普警察行政当局的解散，标志着萨米人与瑞典主流社会的政治融合。

如奥斯勃和兰托（Össbo and Lantto 2011）所述，“瑞典史学中常用的术语‘殖民化’通常指瑞典政府开发边远地区的自然资源并在其构想的王国周边地区安置居民的行为。……使用‘内部殖民’或‘内部殖民主义’等词，假称萨米地区是瑞典的领土”，但随着时间的推移，这种说法“使得比较温和的瑞典殖民主义以及瑞典民族国家的主流历史合法化。”在殖民政策框架内，萨米人“作为原住民的权利并没有被完全否定，却从根本上被赋予了新的定

义并贬值。”“相互矛盾、模棱两可，是瑞典萨米政策的典型特征。19 世纪，文化等级观念开始影响公众态度和公共决策。当时瑞典政府针对萨米人采取的是家长制政策，其等级体系被当成是理所当然的事情，表达了保护萨米人并让萨米民族延续下去的意愿”（Össbo and Lantto 2011: 327）。

按照兰托教授的研究，“在 19 世纪的最后几十年间，瑞典萨米族政策变得更加结构化，其来源是文化等级观念。按照文化等级观念，像萨米这样的游牧民族常常被看做是相对于瑞典的农业和工业社会而言低等的社会群体”（Lantto 2014: 54）。这项政策的核心是将萨米人定义为驯鹿牧人，即所谓的“拉普人还是拉普人”^①。“萨米人应该保持其驯鹿牧人的身份，由于他们在生理上和心理上已适应了这种生活方式，因而无法通过其他职业来养活自己。……这项政策的目的是通过种族隔离政策，保护萨米人不受瑞典社会的影响，从而保护他们的驯鹿饲养及萨米文化。这一目标与国家的经济利益相一致。与此同时，也就是在 19 世纪后期，驯鹿饲养仍然被看作是可以利用瑞典北部大部分地区的唯一产业，因此具有国家意义”（Lantto 2014: 54）。这一观点导致了“瑞典萨米政策的双重性特征，既包容又排斥，既种族隔离又种族同化。官方对萨米人的定义中包含驯鹿牧人这样的概念，通过隔离，可以保护萨米人不受瑞典文化的威胁。不是驯鹿牧人的萨米人则被排除在萨米人之外，被同化了。瑞典萨米人政策中‘拉普人还是拉普人’这样的观点，其重要性在第二次世界大战后才逐渐弱化”（Lantto 2014: 55）。

20 世纪的边界与强制搬迁

强制搬迁充其量是挪威和俄罗斯之间达成的具有政治性质的结果。根据历史学家兰托教授的研究，19 世纪末期的瑞典萨米人政策作为对国际发展的回应，首次讨论了强制搬迁问题（Lantto 2014: 56）。“1751 年签订的边界条约划定了当时两个北欧国家瑞典-芬兰和丹麦-挪威之间的边界，同时也调整了瑞典与芬兰、瑞典与挪威之间的边界，其中还有一项特殊的补充条款，涉及萨米人问题，即所谓的《拉普条款》（Lapp Codicil）。该条款指出，萨米人跨越国家边界使用土地的传统应该得到尊重并保证他们继续使用，不受妨碍”（Lantto 2014: 56—57）。

① Riksdagstryck 1913: 52 (Parliamentary press, in Swedish). The terms **Lapps** or **Laplanders** were known historically in English to refer to Sámi, but they are regarded as offensive by some Sámi people. (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/S%C3%A1mi_people).

有关萨米殖民时期驯鹿管理的研究中提到（Brännlund and Axelsson 2011），“19 世纪中期，挪威北部日益增加的农业活动和定居点导致瑞典北部牧民使用夏季牧场时的冲突不断增加（Brännlund and Axelsson 2011）。这些冲突促使挪威发起倡议并于 1843 年成立了边境条约委员会”（Brännlund and Axelsson 2011：1097）。

1809 年，瑞典把芬兰割让给俄国，挪威被迫与瑞典合并。俄罗斯希望保留在挪威峡湾捕鱼的权利，但遭到挪威拒绝（Wikipedia 2020）。1852 年，作为回应，俄罗斯切断了与挪威的所有联系，导致芬兰-俄罗斯一侧的托尔内谷地（Torne Valley）的部分地区从挪威萨米人的传统牧场中分割出去，反之亦然。大约 400 名来自挪威卡托基诺（Kautokeino）地区的人陆续改成瑞典国籍，并定居在卡雷苏安多（Karesuando）教区，只是为了能够进入芬兰以前的牧区，理由是俄罗斯表示瑞典萨米人可以进入芬兰。该状况一直持续到 1889 年俄罗斯关闭瑞典和芬兰之间的边境。这意味着在萨米地区只有一处边界对萨米驯鹿牧民开放，那就是瑞典-挪威边界（Lantto 2014：57）。

根据布兰伦德博士、阿克塞尔松的研究（Brännlund and Axelsson 2011），瑞典和挪威北部的牧场面临越来越大的压力，同时瑞典和挪威的定居点也在不断扩建，于是“在 1866 年成立了新的瑞典-挪威委员会（Swedish-Norwegian Commission）。这个委员会的主要目的是处理牧民和定居人口之间的关系，特别是在瑞典-挪威联盟最北部地区的牧民与定居者之间的关系。委员会的工作促成了 1883 年瑞典和挪威针对驯鹿活动问题的第一个法令，并为 1886 年^①瑞典第一部关于驯鹿放牧的法律，即《驯鹿放牧法》的制定提供了基础”（Brännlund and Axelsson 2011：1097）。兰托教授认为，“驯鹿牧场土地的使用权是集体财产，有些驯鹿牧区^②执行这一规定，设立了行政管理机构。该法案旨在管理驯鹿饲养和农业之间的关系，但这也成了控制萨米人的工具”（Lantto 2014：55）。其结果是，1885 年瑞典萨米政策产生了两个永久性的标志，即萨米行政管理局（Sámi Administration）和萨米执行管理局（Sámi Bailiff administration）（Brännlund and Axelsson 2011）。根据兰托教授的研究，地方政府部门称为省行政委员会（County Administrative Boards，简称 CAB）。萨米行政管理局在 1971 年关闭之前一直是省行政委员会内部的一

① 参见 Svensk författningssamling 1886, nr 38（瑞典宪法 1886 年，第 38 条。瑞典语）。

② 这些区域在瑞典语中称为“lappby”（萨米村庄）。

个独立单位 (Lantto 2014: 56)。萨米执行管理局的职责是执行萨米行政管理局内部的萨米政策。1890 年, 在北博顿省的最北部地区成立了由驯鹿放牧区组成的萨米执行管理局。档案中包含执行管理局和北博顿省政府之间的报告、协议和通信。从 1890 年开始, 执行管理局每年都要提供关于该地区驯鹿放牧的报告, 这些报告构成了数量庞大的连贯的信息来源 (Lantto 2000)。《驯鹿放牧法》和萨米行政管理局则是保护萨米人的两个最重要的工具 (Lantto 2014: 55)。

1905 年, 挪威-瑞典联盟解体, 导致瑞典牧民的土地减少, 促使瑞典官方呼吁进行调整, 并在 1906 年和 1907 年成立了两个委员会。“这两个委员会收集了大量有关瑞典最北部地区驯鹿管理和夏季牧场需求的信息, 包括挪威一侧边境牧场的信息” (Brännlund and Axelsson 2011: 1098)。

兰托教授 (Lantto 2014) 指出, “1919 年, 《瑞典-挪威驯鹿放牧公约》得以签署, 规范了跨越边境的驯鹿饲养活动……”但在挪威一侧允许瑞典萨米人放牧的“牧场面积减少了” (Lantto 2014: 57)。其结果是北博顿省最北部城市卡雷苏安多的四个驯鹿放牧区失去了他们位于挪威一侧的牧场。随着鹿群增加, 情况变得越来越糟, 瑞典议会决定减少卡雷苏安多的驯鹿数量, 或者将其转移到其他地方。大多数牧民拒绝减少驯鹿数量, 当局则决定强制一些家庭从卡雷苏安多搬出去。《公约》一签署, 政府当局就启动了一项计划, 强迫牧民从卡雷苏安多搬迁到该省的南部地区。“搬迁的时间对地方当局十分有利, 但在 20 世纪开始的 10 年当中, 驯鹿饲养遭遇了几个艰难的冬季, 导致驯鹿数量急剧减少。这反而意味着许多驯鹿牧区有足够的空间容纳大量涌入的驯鹿。然而, 与此同时, 来自其他驯鹿牧区的驯鹿也大量涌入, 从而导致接收地区的牧民难以将驯鹿数量增加到与之前相同的水平。卡雷苏安多的驯鹿数量持续增长数年后, 1926 年, 北博顿省的省行政委员会认为有必要再搬迁一部分牧民, 这一次是搬到西博顿省和耶姆特兰省, 因为在北博顿省的驯鹿牧区已经没有更多可用的空间了 (Lantto 2014)。然而, 当地政府强制要求再次搬迁的几个家庭非常不愿意搬到北博顿县以外的地方, 他们采用各种拖延战术, 拒绝离开此地。这一次卡雷苏安多的萨米人所进行的抵抗不如 19 世纪末期的抵抗有效, 但是由于他们的抵制, 搬迁工作直到 20 世纪 30 年代初才得以完成” (Lantto 2014: 57—58)。

在 20 世纪 20 年代早期, 只有几个家庭和 1 万多只驯鹿被强制搬走 (Wikipedia 2020)。大部分人去了北博顿省南部的阿耶普罗格 (Arjeplog)

和约克莫克（Jokkmokk），但也有人搬到了西博顿省，特别是塔纳比（Tärnaby）地区。大多数人谈到强制性的颠沛流离经历时，指的就是这次搬迁，那些抵制搬迁的人受到了法律的威胁。

正如艾琳·安娜·拉巴所描述的那样，“边界是一直存在的，但过去的边界总是沿着沼泽、山谷、森林、山脉而自然划分的。新的北欧国家边界跨越了所有的自然系统，穿越牧场，隔断了家庭纽带以及人们已经沿用了数千年的迁徙路线。当土地被分开时，人们也被分开了”（Labba 2020: 15）。由于驯鹿数量众多，1926年颁布了一条法令，2万头驯鹿需要迁离瑞典最北部的萨米人村庄，因此又有新的家庭必须搬迁。这一次他们必须搬到更远的地方，因为位于最北部的北博顿省已经安置满了。雅克马克（Jåhkåmåhkke）、耶勒瓦勒（Jiellevárre）、奥耶普卢夫市（Árjepluovve）过去四年来已经接收了200多人以及他们的驯鹿群，没有更多的空间了。这次搬迁的目的地更靠南，即靠近瑞典中部地区的西博顿省和耶姆特兰省（Labba 2020: 90）。只有当人病得太厉害无法搬迁或者还有时间，才不会强制他们搬迁（Labba 2020: 161）。

《公约》规定，搬迁必须尊重“拉普人”的意愿进行，但事实上萨米人对此并没有发言权。萨米人单独为此造了一个词，称为“Bággiojohtin”，即强制搬迁的意思，老人们则常用“sirdolaččat”这个词描述这件事。第一批遭遇强制搬迁的人相信，有一天政府会允许他们返回家园（Labba 2020: 16）。

北萨米人的搬迁故事（Labba 2020）

搬迁之前的匆忙准备

一场梦梦到未来要从挪威（特罗姆瑟）搬到瑞典（Labba 2020: 17）

用梦预知未来在萨米文化中很常见。饲养驯鹿的萨米人家庭，夏天住在挪威特罗姆瑟西北部雷内岛（Ráneš）上的索尔通约夫（Soltunjávri），冬天向东迁到瑞典波罗的海沿岸的海滨牧场。

拉巴在书中讲到：

“1919年2月，瑞典当局完成第一批家庭搬迁，这距离公约签署才一周的时间，签约的墨迹尚未干透。搬迁工作进行得太快，瑞典当局便把各项手续都留在搬迁后办理。搬迁家庭一旦被接纳就可以签写申请文件。他们对公约了解多少？公约是用挪威语和瑞典语写成的法律文本，后来翻译成芬兰语，但从来没有翻译成萨米语，哪怕是这里的人们讲萨米语讲了几千年。许

多像安妮·马尔耶（Ánne Márjá）那样的人，从来没有上过学，除了芬兰语和一点挪威语以外，他们只会说自己的语言。如果他们知道发生了什么事，他们绝不会把孩子留给亲戚，也不会抛弃他们的财产。‘有许多年轻人迅速结婚，为的是能够一块搬迁。仓促的婚礼上听不到欢声笑语。’”（Labba 2020: 32）

祈祷会，告别故土（Labba 2020: 49）

1923 年我们来到这里。那时我 10 岁……1922 年，卡雷苏安多的镇长宣布了我们搬迁的时间。他们有申请记录，记下了名字。他们不允许我们再回到克瓦勒（Kvalö）……挪威人禁止我们到克瓦勒。驯鹿毁坏了他们的植物……那里的植被。克瓦勒被关闭。然后唯一的办法就是把我们送到瑞典……

到处都是哭声、哀嚎声……向神祷告的声音。对我们来说是一样的，我们都很年轻。祖母去峡湾的祈祷会，我跟着她去了，她们哭着，为她们的罪过忏悔，祈求祝福。真的太难过了！他们经过基卢纳（Kiruna），经过其他地方，搬到这里时，一路都在哭，哭着向灌木丛、树木、岩石告别……还有向他们走过的路告别……

胡雷·利萨·塞雷（Hurte Liisa Sára）^①

萨拉·哈内斯克（Sara Harnesk），1923 年被强制搬迁到西尔（Sirge）的萨米村。

向南迁移

有些人遵守规则，却感到被欺骗（Labba 2020: 50—52）。

“约那是少数几个自愿选择搬迁的人之一。但当他到了新地方后，感觉被空头的承诺欺骗了。安置他们的南方牧场已经属于其他人了。那里没有拉普的行政执行官所承诺的能容纳成千上万头驯鹿的牧场。新土地上还有其他的

① 提供信息的人的名字：上面的名字是萨米语名字；下面的瑞典语名字。萨米语名字开头的是上一代人的名字，最后面是本人的名字。本例中，Sunna 是祖母的名字，后面的 Vulle 是祖父的名字，再往后 Nihko 是父亲的名字，最后的 Olof（萨米语）（Ovllá）是本人的名字。这种取名方式表达了对老一辈人的尊重，和中国文化相似。不同的是，萨米人用的是名，而不像中国人那样用姓。

驯鹿，他们遇到的驯鹿牧民也都反对他们进来。剪报、信件和官方文件都记录有强制搬迁过程中发生的冲突。冲突发生在那些被迫搬迁的驯鹿牧民和那些没有选择搬迁，甚至不知道其他驯鹿牧民会到他们牧场的人们之间。早在1922年，拉普行政机构就写道：“由于卡雷苏安多地区的土地和古老的驯鹿饲养方法明显不同，搬迁引发了混乱和无序”。

拉普服务机构向已被强制要搬离的人发放了300至500克朗的补偿。但是有些人从来就没有收到这笔钱，其中有些人的名字是别人签的，因为大多数萨米人不认识瑞典语。

“来自北部萨米村的这些名字被送到教会，教会将这些名字打印下来，送到南方的牧师那里。1923年，他们搬到北博顿省的一些地方。……那年春天，大约有120人被迫带着他们的驯鹿南下，其中有些人要走600公里的路。带着帐篷和行李，那将是十分漫长的旅行。”

驯鹿想“回到自己的国家”（Labba 2020: 129—137）。伊加·比耶特（Inggá Biette）和乔伊吉·艾丽·盖伦（Čuoigi Elle Gáren）的故事讲述了搬迁时那个艰难的春天。他们的驯鹿不断来回走，它们要回家，因此驯鹿饲养人伊加·比耶特就必须花力气，保证这些焦躁不安的牲口在他的控制范围之内。白天下雨，到了晚上变成了冰，拉雪橇的驯鹿拉起雪橇来就很吃力，驯鹿饲养人必须想办法不让驯鹿走散。有时候，他们需要连续走上100公里路程才能停下来休息一下。“在加格纳斯（Gargnäs）的时候，60头驯鹿走丢了。帕塔波利找回来20头，其他的他找不到了。伊加·比耶特诅咒吞噬他们动物的雨水。”怀孕的驯鹿本能地知道到哪里产仔，要到它们成长的北方去。有些人丢失了近一半的牲口，很后悔搬迁，也对省行政委员会十分生气。

也有些家庭妻子怀孕或者孩子还在襁褓中的时候就不得不搬迁。“她们不得不挺着大肚子走路，在帐篷里生孩子”（Labba 2020: 88），有些人必须找搬迁机构帮忙。

新土地上的生活

新地方的人们对搬迁者的态度各不相同，有些搬迁的人受到当地人的欢迎，有些人则遭到抵制。艾丽·盖伦（Elle Gáren）的故事证明了这一点（Labba 2020: 134—137）。

“艾丽·盖伦和她的家人得到许可，住在威廉·福斯瓦尔（Wilhelm Forsvall）家加长的酿酒房里，商人英夫·弗尔斯瓦尔（Yngve Forsvall）还

贷款给他们。乔格·琼森（Georg Jonsson）卖给他们一间带阁楼的小屋……”为了表达感谢，艾丽·盖伦每个周日上午的 11 点在她自己的帐篷里做祷告。“这里也有教堂，但不像北方的。这里的是一种更加温和的信仰。孩子们知道星期天是不允许工作的，唯一的例外就是可以在森林里和驯鹿一起工作。艾丽·盖伦坚信，无论发生什么，都不是他们的选择。她对孩子们这么说。‘上帝给予他所给予的，上帝也带走他要带走的。’”

另一方面，在学校里，有孩子会说搬迁来的萨米孩子是北方来的小偷。“北方拉普人的手指很长。他们应该回家，回到属于他们的地方。”这让新搬来的萨米人感到很难过。“你或许知道养一只外来的狗是什么感觉。所有的狗都围着它。”搬迁对许多人而言都不是一件易事。

妇女经历了亲属关系断裂的痛苦。艾琳·安娜·拉巴通过教会的电子书梳理了强制南迁的路线。教会给他们起的名字，听起更像瑞典人的名字。“随着时间的推移，玛古的子孙遍布整个萨米地区。家族的血脉断了，家族传统被连根拔起，家庭破裂了，许多人失去了他们唯一的保护，没有了兄弟姐妹，没有了父母亲人，没了教父母。教父母和老人平时是艰难生活的支柱。”如艾琳所描述的那样，除了驯鹿，亲属关系是一个萨米人拥有的最宝贵的东西（Labba 2020: 50）。

艾琳·安娜·拉巴在所有的故事中注意到了一个特别的现象，那就是女性是最容易受到伤害的。“男人们在驯鹿林中聚头时，女人们会留在帐篷里。其他人聚集在邻近的村庄时，她们就被留下来和孩子们单独呆在一起。女人们把木头拉回家，把冻了一夜的帐篷上的冰洞砸开。那些能在日常生活中相互帮扶的姐妹、亲人们仍留在北方。她们想念她们的姐妹朋友。只是到许多年以后，他们才有条件打电话回家”（Labba 2020: 159）。

“强制搬迁发生在一个历史转折时期，发生在新的驯鹿饲养方式出现的时候。在搬迁之前，妇女们驾驶雪橇。这种生活不轻松，但她们能与其他人分享，她们与驯鹿一起工作，就像她们的丈夫一样。20 世纪 30 年代，萨米家庭开始留在定居点。这是命运的讽刺，新的孤独与强制搬迁相伴而至”（Labba 2020: 160）。

新地方的祖伊克（Joik）变了味道（Labba 2020: 68）。“祖伊克是萨米人特有的吟唱形式。萨米人遇到山的时候就会唱歌。他们用歌唱来互相问候和道别。他们感谢牧场，感谢夏天，感谢风。他们向土地请求许可。最小的溪流他们都有故事，给他们起名字。”正如艾琳·拉巴所描述的那样，强制搬迁

的后果，就是“沉默替代了歌唱”。

在遭遇强制搬迁的萨米人当中，有些人渴望回家，直到他们退休（Labba 2020: 28），一直想方设法要回到挪威去，甚至要拄着拐杖走回去；有些人多少年过去了，一直想念他们的父母和家人（Labba 2020: 29）；也有人难以适应新地方的生活（Labba 2020: 155）。

艾琳·拉巴是这样描述强制搬迁的萨米人的：“他们从来不想告诉别人。现在我知道我的家庭不是唯一的一个；我成长的萨米地区到处都是用沉默来包扎伤口的人”（Labba 2020: 11）。

接收地区的驯鹿牧民承担的后果——以瓦普斯顿为例

除了相关的背景信息之外，下面的历史梳理所用的资料全部来自帕特里克·兰托教授的研究（Lantto 2014），其中引用的一些段落标出了页码出处。

当初，瑞典当局于1919年与挪威签署《驯鹿放牧公约》之后，就开始强制卡雷苏安多的萨米驯鹿牧民搬迁，他们没有预料到“这一行动会产生一系列深远的后果。搬迁对牧民的明显影响是他们不得不开传统的土地，去适应一个完全陌生的环境”（Lantto 2014: 68）。不明显的是，“由于改变了放牧方式（从集约型到粗放型），地区内部竞争增强”，接收驯鹿牧民的萨米人也受到了影响。此外，“新驯鹿的涌入限制了原有住民扩大他们牧群的机会。到了20世纪头10年，牧区资源已经枯竭。牧场是有限的，只能养活一定数量的驯鹿。在此之后，土地的工业开发又进一步限制了扩大牧群的可能性”（Lantto 2014: 68）。

1926年开始的从北博顿省搬迁到西博顿省和耶姆特兰省的第二波搬迁中，瓦普斯顿牧区并不是最初指定用来接收卡雷苏安多地区牧民的驯鹿放牧区。瓦普斯顿牧区是位于西博顿省的一个驯鹿放牧区。但是随着前往耶姆特兰的萨米人出现意外情况，有少数牧民就留在这地区作为临时解决办法，这里后来成为他们永久的居留地。“就像在西博顿的其他地区一样，瓦普斯顿牧区的萨米人进行抗议，不想接收搬迁到这里的牧民，理由是牧场已经超过负荷，但省行政委员会否决了他们的抗议请求。西博顿省的拉普执行官古斯塔夫·林德斯特朗（Gustaf Lindström）早就预料到来自卡雷苏安多的牧民会受到抵制，但他认为，如果问题处理得当，在他的省里对萨米人的恐惧最终会被证明是没有根据的”（Lantto 2014: 58）。

1931年，在搬迁期间，瓦普斯顿牧区的驯鹿数量是3100多头。“四年

后，这一数字增加了一倍多，接近 6800 头。这标志着驯鹿数量暂时达到高峰，而 20 世纪 30 年代中期的严冬导致驯鹿数量大幅减少，直到 20 世纪 50 年代一直在逐渐减少”（Lantto 2014: 58）。20 世纪三四十年代，许多萨米人被迫抛弃驯鹿饲养转而去萨米地区其他地方寻找别的工作（Stoor 1991）。他们认为这是一种临时性的解决办法，因为他们还时不时地参加驯鹿放牧，并一直相信一旦驯鹿群达到足够的规模，他们就能恢复他们传统的生计。令他们惊讶的是，瓦普斯顿牧区的萨米牧民很快就失去了萨米人的传统权利，不仅仅是放牧驯鹿的权利，还有利用土地捕鱼、狩猎的权利，也就意味着失去了萨米人维持生计的权利。

按照国家规定（Lantto 2000: 159—161, 221—222），萨米人放牧驯鹿的传统权利包括利用土地放牧驯鹿以及在这片土地上捕鱼狩猎的权利。成为某个驯鹿放牧区的成员是行使这项权利的必要条件，而要想成为牧区成员，必须是萨米人且在驯鹿放牧行业积极工作，或者“以永久的方式从事或协助驯鹿放牧，虽短暂终止但并没有永久从事其他职业”的萨米人。^① 这项政策只允许一直活跃的牧民才可以成为驯鹿放牧区的成员，兼职参与驯鹿产业的人无法获得成员身份。在这之后，越来越多的瓦普斯顿牧区原来的成员离开驯鹿饲养行业或迁到其他驯鹿放牧区。因此，40 年来，瓦普斯顿驯鹿放牧区所有活跃的牧民都是北萨米牧民的后代。“这导致了动荡不安的局势。两个群体的后代，即原来的驯鹿放牧家庭和重新安置的北萨米人之间不断发生强烈冲突”（Lantto 2014: 68）。这也导致法律争斗和冲突（Lantto 2014: 61）。“家庭曾是瓦普斯顿牧区成员的几名西博顿萨米人，试图获得活跃牧民的身份。随之而来的是西博顿萨米人与搬迁来的北萨米牧人之间以及西博顿萨米人与当地政府部门之间的冲突”（Lantto 2014: 62）。

根据兰托教授的研究（Lantto 2014），“新的《驯鹿养殖法》于 1971 年出台，与此同时，萨米行政管理局也解散了，通常提到的一个理由是，以前的立法和国家行政机构控制过多，压制性太强。这次改革表明，萨米人政策中的政府治理形象发生了变化，驯鹿饲养被看作是和其他任何产业一样的产业。驯鹿放牧区应该获得更大程度的独立和自治，国家不应再在该地区内部问题上发挥主导作用。现在牧民可以自主决定的就是在本区的成员身份。这是积极的发展趋势，但在瓦普斯顿牧区”，现有成员，也就搬迁来的北方萨米人，

① 参见 Svensk författningssamling 1928, nr 309, §8（瑞典宪法 1928，第 309 条，第 8 款）。

“拒绝承认西博顿省萨米人的成员身份，这就导致了冲突”（Lantto 2014: 68）。该成员身份能保证萨米人有权饲养驯鹿，有权捕鱼狩猎，而这些都是萨米人基本的生计来源。“政府当局不愿意直接介入冲突，因为成员身份是当前驯鹿放牧区的内部问题。……双方都认为自己是正确的，这造成了更多的痛苦，致使双方进一步疏远对方”（Lantto 2014: 69）。由于双方都“不愿寻求任何妥协方案，都想取得彻底胜利”，因此导致了一种“僵局”。“目前的冲突是历史上国家干预驯鹿饲养的结果，只有国家积极参与进来，尝试进行调解，问题才能解决”（Lantto 2014: 69）。

结 论

本研究基于瑞典学者的研究向中国读者介绍了萨米人强制搬迁的部分历史事实，发现，大约一个世纪以前的强制搬迁行动对搬迁的北方萨米人和接收搬迁牧民的萨米人都有负面的影响。它给被迫搬迁的人造成了创伤，在某些接收地区还导致了长期未能解决的冲突。正如兰托教授为解决瓦普斯顿驯鹿放牧区几十年的冲突所提出的建议那样，“国家必须更加积极地处理这一问题。不是要为萨米人各方做决定，而是委托外部力量来处理这一问题。”

参考文献

Brännlund, I.

2015 Histories of reindeer husbandry resilience: Land Use and Social Networks of Reindeer Husbandry in Swedish Sápmi: 1740—1920.

Brännlund, I., Axelsson, P.

2011 Reindeer management during the colonization of Sami lands: A long-term perspective of vulnerability and adaptation strategies. *Global Environmental Change* 21: 1095—1105.

Du Bois T. A., Lang, J. F.

2013 Johan Turi's animal, mineral, vegetable cures and healing practices: an in-depth analysis of Sami (Saami) folk healing one hundred years ago. *Journal Ethnobiology and Ethnomedicine* 9: 9—57. doi: 10.1186/1746-4269-9-57.

Kvister, R.

1992 Swedish saami policy, 1550—1990, vol III. Readings in Saami History, Culture and Language II. Center for Arctic Cultural Research, Umeå University, Umeå.

Labba, E. A.

2020 Herrarna satte oss hit—Om tvångsförflyttningarna i Sverige (People with power put us here—about the forced displacements in Sweden). Stockholm: Norstedts.

Lantto, P.

2000 Tiden börjar på nytt: en analys av samernas etnopolitiska mobilisering i Sverige 1900—1950. Umeå University.

2010 Borders, citizenship and change: The case of the Sami people, 1751—2008. *Citizenship studies* 14: 543—556.

2014 The Consequences of State Intervention: Forced Relocations and Sámi Rights in Sweden, 1919—2012. *Journal of Ethnology and Folkloristics* 8: 53—73.

Lindmark, D., Sundström, O.

2017 The Church of Sweden and the Sami—a White Paper Project: Background, Assignment, Organisation and Results.

Össbo Å., Lantto, P.

2011 Colonial tutelage and industrial colonialism: reindeer husbandry and early 20th-century hydroelectric development in Sweden Scandinavian. *Journal of History* 36: 324—348.

Sami_Information_Centre

2004 The Sami—an Indigenous People in Sweden Swedish Sami Information Centre, Sweden.

Stoor, K.

1991 Reindeer herding and stock-farming in the Swedish part of Sápmi vol II. Readings in Saami History, Culture and Language II. Center for Arctic Cultural Research, Umeå University, Umeå.

Swedish_Institute

2020 SAMI IN SWEDEN. <https://sweden.se/society/sami-in-sweden/>. Accessed July 08 2020.

Turi J., Turi, P.

1918—1919 Lappish Texts. Demant-Hatt E, editor. Copenhagen: Kbh.

Wikipedia

2020 Dislocation of Sámi people from Jukkasjärvi and Karesuando. Wikipedia.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dislocation_of_S%C3%A1mi_people_from_Jukkasj%C3%A4rvi_and_Karesuando. 2020-11-07.

Sámi Forced Relocation in Sweden during 1920s—30s: History and Narratives

Jing Liu-Helmersson

Abstract: The Sámi Indigenous population live in the arctic Sápmi area across four countries: Norway, Sweden, Finland and the Kola Peninsula of Russia. Reindeer husbandry is part of their profession and livelihood for millennia, where reindeers graze in Sápmi land without borders from mountains to the seashore at different seasons. Over the last one century, due to political development between Sápmi countries, the country borders were closed for reindeer grazing. Between 1920s and 1930s about 300—400 Sámi people were forced to relocate from northern to southern counties of Sápmi in Sweden. The study aims to introduce the history and consequences of the forced relocation to some of the affected Sámi people based on available information that the author can find, mainly the work of Prof. Patrik Lantto and Author Elin Anna Labba. The study shows that the forced relocations have had and still have an effect on reindeer husbandry in Sweden today. Through narratives of some relocated North Sámi, the stories are told on impact of the forced relocation to those relocated reindeer herders' lives. Through analysis of state policies and an example of one reindeer herding district, Vapsten, one negative consequence of the forced relocation is described as strong intro-Sámi conflicts that are still unresolved even today.

Keywords: Sámi; Arctic Indigenous People; reindeer husbandry; forced relocations; Sámi history; Swedish Sámi policy

图书在版编目(CIP)数据

北冰洋研究. 第五辑/曲枫主编. —上海:上海
三联书店, 2022.9
ISBN 978-7-5426-7796-9

I. ①北… II. ①曲… III. ①北冰洋-区域-丛刊
IV. ①D5-55

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字(2022)第 142304 号

北冰洋研究(第五辑)

主 编 / 曲 枫

责任编辑 / 郑秀艳

装帧设计 / 一本好书

监 制 / 姚 军

责任校对 / 王凌霄

出版发行 / 上海三联书店

(200030) 中国上海市漕溪北路 331 号 A 座 6 楼

邮 箱 / sdxsanlian@sina.com

邮购电话 / 021-22895540

印 刷 / 上海惠敦印务科技有限公司

版 次 / 2022 年 9 月第 1 版

印 次 / 2022 年 9 月第 1 次印刷

开 本 / 710mm×1000mm 1/16

字 数 / 400 千字

印 张 / 23.75

书 号 / ISBN 978-7-5426-7796-9/D·543

定 价 / 88.00 元

敬启读者, 如发现本书有印装质量问题, 请与印刷厂联系 021-63779028