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A Good World After All

The theme of our conference – Reconstructing minds: *The ethics of post-war memory and recollection* – has proven to be quite timely, but distressingly so. As the summer comes to a close, we see an exceptionally restless world around us. Numerous long-simmering conflicts in the Middle East and sub-Saharan Africa have flared up and taken on brutal proportions, and Europe is the site of a full-blown civil war that at this writing seems to have sparked a broadening trade and information war. Thousands of people have lost their lives and their homes; hundreds of thousands have had to flee the areas where they were born and grew up.

This summer has also seen the commemoration of the harsh final phases of the lengthy war between Finland and the Soviet Union. The armistice signed in the autumn of 1944 was followed by a new war, one against the German troops stationed in Lapland. Where work had already begun to rebuild southern Finland, Lapland experienced a material and mental catastrophe. Nearly every building in the province was destroyed and most of the region's infrastructure was decimated as well. In October 1944, ninety per cent of the buildings in Rovaniemi – our home during the conference – were destroyed in just a matter of days. When the war ended in the spring of 1945, over 100,000 Laplanders – evacuees – returned from southern Finland and to Sweden, with no choice but to start a new life amid the heavily mined ruins. They would soon be followed by refugees from the areas ceded to the Soviet Union. The material reconstruction of the province was formally completed in 1953, but its mental and social reconstruction continues to this day.

Wars and other collective disasters have a tendency to persist in the minds of those who have lived through them; experiences
have an impact well beyond peace treaties and other historical milestones, with events often affecting future generations. When an environment and a community are destroyed, the experience not only threatens and damages lives, health and physical safety but also undermines the survivors’ bond with the past; this bond is what gives them confidence that the will to live and life itself will prevail and sustains their belief in the future and in the world being “good after all”. This plays a significant role – sometime in a surprising way in fact – regardless of whether we are talking about metropolises or communities that are utterly marginal in the scheme of world history.

Art and culture in the metal and material reconstruction process following the Lapland War (Feeniks), funded by the Academy of Finland, has succeeded in gathering a group of researchers whose work approaches the mental and material reconstruction of Lapland from different yet complementary perspectives. Despite the diversity of starting-points we may have chosen, I believe that we all share the assumption that remembering is important and embrace an interest in the multi-temporal presence of history, a view in which history encompasses both the strata of past experience and expectations regarding the future.

On behalf of the Feeniks project and the University of Lapland, I would like to extend my warmest thanks to all of you who have come here to contribute to the discussion we have set in motion.

Rovaniemi, 8 August 2014

Marja Tuominen

Professor of Cultural History, Director of the Feeniks project

University of Lapland
Keynote speakers

Timothy Ashplant
Photo: Otto Latva

Ville Kivimäki
Photo: Pertti Nisonen / WSOY

Veli-Pekka Lehtola
Photo: University of Oulu
Timothy Ashplant

Timothy Ashplant is a Senior Visiting Research Fellow at the Centre of Life-Writing Research, King’s College, London. He was co-editor, with Graham Dawson and Mike Roper, of *The Politics of War Memory and Commemoration* (London: Routledge, 2000).

His research interests include the historical construction of masculinity, and its relationship to class and political identities. In his *Fractured Loyalties: Masculinity, Class and Politics in Britain, 1900-30* (London: RiversOram, 2007) he used psychoanalytically-informed readings of life narratives to explore the construction of imperial masculinities and their partial breakdown under the impact of the First World War.

He has examined current scholarly conflicts over the meaning of the war in “Goodbye to All That? Critiquing the (Masculine) Nation in Post-First World War Britain”, in Peter Tame, Dominique Jeannerod & Manuel Bragança (eds), *Mnemosyne and Mars: Artistic and Cultural Representations of Twentieth-Century Europe at War* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2013), 76-98. He is an editor of the International Auto/Biography Association (Europe)’s e-journal, *the European Journal of Life-Writing*.

http://independent.academia.edu/TimothyAshplant
Ville Kivimäki

Ville Kivimäki is a Research Fellow at the University of Helsinki.

In his PhD thesis *Battled Nerves: Finnish Soldiers’ War Experience, Trauma, and Military Psychiatry, 1941-44*, Ville Kivimäki studied Finnish soldiers’ war-related psychological and psychosomatic disorders and the army’s responses to them in World War II. A Finnish version of the study, *Murtuneet mielet* won the prestigious Finlandia Literary Prize for Non-Fiction and the Best Finnish History Book Award in 2013.

Kivimäki is currently working in the Academy of Finland research project “Emotions and the Cultural History of War in Finland, 1939-51”, in which he examines the transition of recent war experiences and traumas to the postwar period.

http://tuhat.halvi.helsinki.fi/portal/fi/person/vikivima
Veli-Pekka Lehtola

Veli-Pekka Lehtola is a professor of Sámi culture at the Giellagas Institute for Sámi studies at the University of Oulu, Finland. He holds a PhD in cultural studies from the same university.

Professor Lehtola’s work has focused on the history of the Sámi and northern Scandinavia as well as on the representations of *The Sámi People – Traditions in Transition* (University of Alaska Press 2004), a general survey on Sámi history, society and art. Most recently he has published *Saamelaiset suomalaiset – kohtaamisia 1896-1953* (translated title: *Sámi-Finnish Encounters in 1896-1953*, Finnish Literature Society), which describes recent histories of multilevel minority – majority relations from the perspective of the Sámi. Professor Lehtola has published twelve monographs, mostly in Finnish, and some 70 scientific articles. He is from Aanar / Inari, Sápmi (Finland).

http://www.oulu.fi/giellagasinstitute/personnel/veli-pekerja-lehtola
Sessions

1. Silences, hopes and challenges after wars and catastrophes

Alava, Henni
*Exploring silences and hopes in post-war Northern Uganda*

Erkkilä, Jaana
*Voluntary work as a way to peace building*

Gade, Solveig
*Learning to live with Specters: On Rabih Mroue’s performance How Nancy Wished Everything was an April Fool’s Joke*

Martini, Ermina
*Re-envisioning Haiti after the earthquake: challenges and opportunities*

Vuojala-Magga, Terhi and Vuojala, Unto
*What does not kill you makes you strong*

2. Visions and realizations in Post-war Architecture

Kinnunen, Veera
*Building Lapland anew: Experimental regional planning and housing study in Lapland during 1950’s*

Robertson, Frances
*Power in the landscape: Regenerating the Scottish Highlands after WWII*
Soikkeli, Anu
*Reconstructing the legacy of reconstruction period type houses*

Stal, Patrycja
*Wroclaw/Breslau: a city which mistook its fiction for a fable
Reconstruction as a disaster*

Vahtikari, Tanja
*Historians and bureaucrats in the service of urban community: discursive reconstruction of Helsinki through the past after the Second World War*

Zadrazilova, Dagmar
*Tempelhof Airport in Berlin: A Silent Witness of Postwar Memory Changes*

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### 3. Memories and experiences

Koivurova, Anniina
*Naomi Jackson, a Quaker and an artist in Post War Lapland*

Leese, Peter
*Displaced person: The Memory films of Jonas Mekas*

Ruotsala, Helena
*Post-war memories in the cross-border region of Tornio River Valley*

Räihä, Pekka
*Petsamo: distant and yet present. Grandchild’s experiences*
Suda, Liz
*Reconstructing haunted places: Postmemory and ancestral homelands*

Suopajärvi, Tiina and Harjumaa, Tiina
*Recollecting moving forward: Post-war evacuations from Petsamo and settlements in Varejoki as lived experiences*

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**4. Images and possibilities**

Autti, Mervi
*The Great Nature described by two artists in popular magazines in the post-war period*

Hautala-Hirvioja, Tuija
*The artist’s gaze turns to the landscape and wilderness*

Stocker, Armin and Kresevic, Ziga
*Prison Island: Place of Remembrance or Place of Parley?*

Sääskilahti, Nina
*Memory/future and the post-war literary landscapes in Reino Rinne’s writings in 1940s - 1960s*

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**5. Nation building – commemoration and forgetting**

Jauhola, Marjaana
*The midwife, the wild eye: critical memory work and feminist oppositional gaze on the gendered reconstruction visions of Finnish nation and citizenship*
Kinnunen, Tiina and Junila, Marianne
*Shifting Images of the Winter War – an Introduction of a Research Project*

Kraatari, Eliza
*Cottage Industry Policies in Post-War Finland - Craft Trade and Trauma Work*

Stańczak-Wiślicz, Katarzyna
*Rebuilding normalcy, silencing women’s experiences in the discourses of post II World War reconstruction in Poland (1944-1948)*

Vehkalahti, Kaisa
*Reconstructing gender and emotions. Encounters between child welfare professionals and teen-age girls in Post-War Finland*
The aim of this paper is to explore some of the intimate and non-verbalised aspects of ‘recovery’ in post-conflict Northern Uganda, and the confusions and uncertainties amid which this everyday recovery is performed. The paper draws on a short research trip to Northern Uganda in 2006, when fighting was still on-going in the region between the Ugandan government and the Lord’s Resistance Army, and eight months of “post-war” ethnographic research in 2012–2013. The starting point of my analysis is the unwillingness of many war-affected young adults in Kitgum town to talk about the region’s violent past.

I follow the way in which my fieldwork encounters and various texts have influenced my readings of this silence, and aim thus to highlight the fluidity and impermanence of ‘understanding’ amid the confusion of post-war. Trauma-centered understandings of post-conflict society led me initially to read the silence I observed as a sign of pathological repression, and those who stay silent, as victims. Borrowing from alternative understandings of trauma suggested by Veena Das and Alicia Kidron, silence can rather be seen as a way of embracing the past, and of actively turning to
look forward. Adopting such a view, silence is re-conceptualized, from a signifier of victimhood, to a signifier of what I tentatively, following Hirokazu Miyazaki, think of as a method of hope.

I discuss in particular how my concern for the unspeaking and the unspoken, and my hopeful reorientation, are entangled with the particular sites of my research; a Catholic and an Anglican parish in Kitgum town. I argue that churches can be read as spaces for making and breaking silences, and as sites – for myself as much as for their members – of imagining alternative futures. These imaginaries exist alongside and in constant friction with war wounds, and alongside fears that the future will end up repeating the violence of the past.
The Great Nature described by two artists in popular magazines in the post-war period

Artists from Lapland, writer and painter A. E. Järvinen and photographer Matti Saanio, contributed to the provincial and national cultural life, but they also took a public position in society, and the prevailing circumstances in Finnish magazines. As an artist, especially A. E. Järvinen was highly appreciated already in the reconstructing era from 1940s; Saanio’s career rose to public consciousness later. His reportage, which I will investigate, were published at the late 1950s and 1960s.

Both of the artists based many of their writings and reportage on Nature. As a whole, according to Jarno Valkonen (2004), the definitions of nature have had significant impact on the formation of the conceptions of Lapland in the post-war period. My basic sources in research will be Järvinen’s stories, which are altogether 31, for the Culture Magazine *Kaltio*, published in Oulu in the Northern Finland. His writings set well in the magazines “mental reconstruction and resurrection” at 1940s and 1950s, as *Kaltio*’s post-war period is described. In turn, Matti Saanio’s material consists of 21 stories written by him for Suomen Kuvalehti, a Finnish image magazine, as well as the photographs he took for the articles.
Both of the artists seem to face the Nature’s magnitude in a different way; Järvinen more or less through a hunter’s gaze and acts in wilderness, but on the other hand as a modern technocrat, as Tere Vadén (2008) puts it. However, I see in some of his writings even a viewpoint of Animism: non-human entities, animals, plants e.g. have a spiritual essence. On the other hand, Saanio saw the Nature through a human, who was part of it in a precious and dignified way. His images tell of man’s survival in the northern wilderness, and the social upheaval and rural transformation – from the viewpoint of Lapland’s ordinary country people.

The question I hope to answer in my presentation is: How were these two artists’ stories situated in the tension between nostalgia and modernization – in relation to Nature?
Voluntary work as a way to peace building

My presentation is looking at international work camps that were organized in Lapland during 1945–55. The main focus is on personal memories of my father, who was one of the leaders in an international work camp in Palosalmi 1955. The purpose of the camp was to help in agricultural work in the settlement for retired forest workers.

I also reflect the impact of work camps on constructing worldview of many young people in Viittakivi international center that was founded after the work camps in Lapland. Physical and mental reconstruction work in Lapland after the second world war has had a significant impact on idea of peace building and development of worldview of many individuals, families and groups of people, who have had no personal connections with the war and reconstruction work in Lapland.

I want to explore the power of stories and examples, models that we get from looking at other people living their life in a way they believe is the right way to live. I have participated courses in Life Writing in Woodbrooke College in Birmingham, UK. Woodbrooke was a model for creating Viittakivi. I can see in my own life a rhizomatic pattern that has a focal point in the reconstruction work in Lapland. None of my close relatives or family members
was fighting in the war, but the war has had a major impact in my life through the rebuilding work that has been done by people with whom I have a close connection. Reconstruction work conducted by other people has constructed my life in a great deal the way it looks today.
Learning to live with Specters: On Rabih Mroue’s performance
How Nancy Wished Everything was an April Fool’s Joke

Situated in a room decorated with posters of martyrs from different militias of the striving communities in The Lebanese Civil War (1975-1990), the four performers on stage calmly articulate excerpts of combatants’ memories. Based on found material, such as diaries, confessions and notes, the performance How Nancy Wished…(2007) is in accordance with a certain semi-documentary trend in the post-war Beirut arts scene in its attempt to counter the Lebanese government’s official silencing of the war. Consequently, due to his public articulation of conflicting, individual memories of the war, playwright and director Rabih Mroue, is faced with constant risk of censorship.

Deploying performance scholar Rebecca Schneider’s concept of re-enactment (Schneider, 2011), this paper will address the complex ways the “then and there” of history, i.e. the civil war, is weaved into and influencing present post-war Lebanon, as this is epitomized in the performance and brought about by the live articulation of combatants’ memories. Following on from this, I will scrutinize how the individual memories of the combatants seem to be shaped by and to a large extent to be reiterating the narratives, or, if you will, the collected memories, of the striving communities. Finally, drawing upon Derrida’s concept of the
specter (Derrida, 1993), I will pursue the ethical and political potential of giving voice to and listening to the memories of the dead combatants – of “learning to live with ghosts”, as Derrida has it.

The overall aim of this paper is to suggest that art works wrestling with the problem of (silenced) war memories may function as political spaces, where conflicting memories can be confronted in ethically productive ways. Spaces, where not only the attempt to police official memory (by, for instance, infusing it with collective amnesia), but also the framings that shape different communities’ approach to the Other as friend or foe, can be juxtaposed, disrupted, and challenged.
Hautala-Hirvioja, Tuija
Ph.D., Professor of art history, University of Lapland

The artist’s gaze turns to the landscape and wilderness

Just after the Lapland War, artists felt that it is their duty to take care of cultural reconstruction. Two journalist and writer Atte Kalajoki and Reino Rinne established northern culture magazine Kaltio in Oulu. The first journal was published in April 1945. Kaltio’s purposes were to support peace and humanity, help people to rebuild their minds with art, culture and history. Even today 2014, Kaltio is still published six times a year. The Kemi Art Association which was established in 1947 still works. In the same year, a group of fine artists, writers and culture enthusiasts founded The Lapland Art Association Seitapiiri in Rovaniemi. Immediately, the associations started to plan and organise The Culture Week of Lapland together, which was an exemplary demonstration of active involvement, cooperation and strength. The Lapland Art Association Seitapiiri was keenly involved in such activities until the beginning of the 1970s, when the organisation of cultural work became the work of public officials.

In my presentation, I focus on the visual art in Lapland during the reconstruction period 1945–1955. The art exhibitions were an important part of The Culture Week of Lapland. The all events of the culture week were very popular and, also the local culture had bigger meaning to people who leaved in Lapland – travelling was expensive and difficult just after the war. The art exhibitions
offered visual and colorful views to audience whose visual material was in newspapers, magazines and book illustrations, there was also lack of books in Lapland, because almost all libraries with their collections had been destroyed. I examine what subjects and motives the artists in Lapland depicted in their paintings and what style was popular. I also want to know whether there were the differences and similarities in art in Lapland and the rest of Finland and how art in Lapland articulated the reconstruction ethos of Lapland.
The midwife, the wild eye: critical memory work and feminist oppositional gaze on the gendered reconstruction visions of Finnish nation and citizenship

This paper explores the role of fiction as a tool of critical memory work and feminist oppositional gaze on the gendered reconstruction visions of post-war reconstruction in Finland. The initial motivation for this paper rose in 2012 when having read novel *Midwife* (2011) by a Finnish author Katja Kettu (b. 1978) and participating as a scholar in the drafting of the second Finnish National Action Plan for the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security.

The narrative follows two paths, one that follows materials published during the official reconstruction phase (1945–55) and their gendered images and ideals of home, and citizenship in the ‘new Lapland’. The other, a smelly, sweaty, and dirty version of the gendered and sexualised war experience and its immediate aftermaths, narrated through the eyes of the protagonist, midwife, ‘the wild eye’. Through this juxtaposition, I aim to reflect upon my experiences of disconnection, silence, and forgetting of the Finnish history of gendered and sexualised war experiences in the face of reproducing the myth of achieved equality and branded humanitarianism through the promotion of 1325.
The paper suggests that feminist potential of UNSCR 1325 requires listening to the silenced, yet vocal, gendered embodied experiences of political violence in Finland.
**Kinnunen, Tiina** and **Junila, Marianne**  
Tiina Kinnunen, PhD., University of Eastern Finland.  
Marianne Junila, PhD., Senior Researcher,  
University of Oulu.

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**Shifting Images of the Winter War – an Introduction of a Research Project**

In the Finnish post-Cold War memory culture of the Second World War, the wars Finland fought against the Soviet Union 1939–1944 are given overtly positive meaning and, accordingly, the memory culture is characterized as neo-patriotic. Especially the discussion on the Winter War corresponds to this characterization of a shared meaning: Finland is seen as a victim which fought against the aggressor with pure means. However, in the period from the end of the war until the end of the 1980s, the memory of this war was contested and no single shared meaning was given to it. Instead, a memory conflict between diverse interpretations and narratives was prevailing.

The paper to be presented introduces an ongoing research project entitled Winter Wars 1939–2009 by Ph.D. Marianne Junila and Ph.D. Tiina Kinnunen. The project explores the public commemoration of the Winter War around the date of the beginning of the war (30.11.) and the end of it (13.3.) in every tenth year – from 1949–1950 until 2009–2010 – when the commemoration is at its most intense. The main source material consists of newspapers and magazines of different kinds. On the
one hand, the discourses on the war are analyzed in detail, and, on the other hand, the press is seen as an informant of a larger field of memory culture (books, events, films, exhibitions, etc.). Against this background, the press is examined in relation to other producers of war memory.

In addition to an introduction of the project, included the theoretical approaches of war memory which are applied in this particular case, some preliminary results, based on an analysis of two papers, liberal *Helsingin Sanomat* and left wing *Kansan Uutiset*, are discussed. Related to these results, one of the main questions of the project is reflected upon: what kind of images of the nation are produced in public commemoration of the war?
BUILDING LAPLAND ANEW – Experimental regional planning and housing study in Lapland during 1950’s

The reconstruction of Lapland after World War II did not mean merely restoring the pre-war infrastructure and buildings; Lapland was both reconstructed and built afresh at the same time. Reconstruction was viewed by planners and architects as an inspiring challenge to modernise the devastated areas. Lapland region was considered a real-life laboratory for arranging novel ways for “living, moving and working”.

Rural Finland was modernised and urbanised rapidly after World War II. As a losing party in the war, Finland had large war reparations to pay, and paying them required that industrial manufacturing be developed intensively. Lapland played a major part in the modernising process since the much-needed energy for growing industry came from the rivers and rapids of Northern Finland. Almost all the rapids of Finland’s longest river, the Kemijoki, were harnessed during the 1950s and 1960s. A new hydropower plant was built on the Kemijoki River every other year. The construction of hydropower plants changed both the mental and physical landscape of Northern Finland in ways that were not anticipated in the planning stage of the projects. Harnessing the river is usually described either as a regional trauma or as a technological triumph. It is seldom remembered
that the construction sites were also home to thousands of men, women and children during the first decades after war.

One of the rapids harnessed on the Kemijoki River was Pirttikoski. The power plant there was one of the biggest tunnel power plants in the world at the time and hence it was the pride and joy of the state. The Pirttikoski plant was constructed during the years 1956–1959. During the construction of the plant, nearly 2000 workers and their families moved to live and work at the site. In a couple of years, the population of Pirttikoski grew to almost 4000. The builder, the hydropower company Kemijoki Oy, quickly turned Pirttikoski into a prosperous village.

In this paper I will discuss the kinds of modernising influences that the construction of the power plants introduced into the culture and everyday lives of the people living in the region, asking, how was the reconstruction ethos articulated in the planning of the community that grew up around the construction site? I will further ask what was the anticipated future society that the designers of Lapland regional plan in the 1950s were pursuing.

In this presentation the village of Pirttikoski serves as a model community in two ways. Firstly, Pirttikoski was originally designed as an experimental model community for creating solutions for future power plant construction site communities. Secondly, it is a model village of my study, a micro case from which I will examine the process of designing a regional plan for Lapland in the 1950s.
Naomi Jackson, a Quaker and an Artist in Post War Lapland

This presentation profiles how an American aid worker, a Quaker and an artist Naomi Jackson (Groves) involved children in reconstruction of Lapland during years 1946–1947. Miss Jackson communicated across the language barriers by using visual images and making the school children to draw pictures. After her death, almost 200 Lappish children’s pictures from her archives were given to the Provincial Museum of Lapland. What is this collection about? In my presentation I introduce the main themes of the drawings and ask, whose contents, ways of expression and lifeworlds are embedded in the drawings. How do the pictures represent the values and ideologies of the school education at the time? Do these pictures intertwine with the Quaker ideology? How does Naomi Jackson tell about the encounters with the school children in her book Winter into Summer?

I consider children’s pictures not ideologically and politically neutral but reflecting the context where they were produced. Moreover I study what messages the foreign aid worker conveyed to the children and how this influences the interpretation of the Lappish children’s images.

Keywords: Lapland war, history of art education, foreign aid, reconstruction, context
Cottage Industry Policies in Post-War Finland Craft Trade and Trauma Work

In the immediate post-war years (1944–1949) craft skills were highly required in the everyday struggle creating new homes. For example, craft courses giving practical advice and access to materials were popular, but they also created a part of craft education that in general was elemental for cottage industry policies. Along with the Cottage Industry Department of the Board of Agriculture these craft activities were supported by the Central Organization of Cottage Industry Associations. Truly, in the 1940s cottage industry was an established part of Finnish state administration and was used to answer the post-war distress. Connected closely to entrepreneurship cottage industry has been regarded a matter of economic history, but it has also been hailed as a culturally important matter akin to industrial arts and folk art. However, the cultural heritage of cottage industry appears to be more complex embracing also immaterial heritage of values and memories along with the essentially material histories of craft and design.

In my paper I analyse the role of historical experience in cottage industry policies. I review the entangled histories of these policies and the traumatic experience of 19th century famines,
especially of the 1860s Great Famine that served a turning point for the emergence of cottage industry policies in Finland. As essential sources I use official committee reports and committee members’ articles published in the magazine *Kotiteollisuus* (Cottage Industry). In these sources there appear the overlapping needs to memorize previous crises and yet at the same time to leave behind the acute ordeal of war and its consequences. With the help of F.R. Ankersmit’s theorization on historical experience I scrutinize the historically layered nature of cottage industry policies and look into how significant historical experiences of different kinds were recollected and adapted into the cottage industry policies that were revised in the late 1940s.
Leese, Peter  
Ph.D., Associate Professor, Department of English  
ENGROM, University of Copenhagen

DISPLACED PERSON: THE MEMORY FILMS OF JONAS MEKAS

Fearing capture and punishment for resistance activities, Jonas Mekas (b. Semeniškiai, 1922) fled Lithuania in 1944. Unable to return to his homeland, he spent the next five years in prison and refugee camps around Germany. In 1949 he was, as he later put it, ‘dumped’ by the UNHCR in New York. Yet despite these painful circumstances, within two weeks of his arrival in New York Mekas purchased his first Bolex 16mm camera and began making his diary films. He subsequently became a central figure in the New York underground film scene of the 1960s. But the memory of the early, defining events of his life, and subsequent attempts to come to terms with his forced migrant past, became the central subject of Mekas’s own films from the 1960s onwards. Here I would like to discuss the crucial trilogy of films the director made from the late 1960s to the mid-1970s: *Walden* (1969), *Reminiscences of a Journey to Lithuania* (1972), and particularly *Lost, Lost, Lost* (1976).

Critical to all of these films is the category of ‘displaced person’, which Mekas uses in three ways. First, referring to himself as a post-war refugee resettled under the UNHCR DP programme. Second, describing members of the New York Lithuanian community among whom he lives early on, but eventually felt compelled to abandon. Third, expressing the wartime
generation’s later unease: their dissatisfaction with themselves and with the surrounding world. The other important category in these films is memory. ‘I am trying to remember’ is typed on to one of the intertitle card which flashes up in Lost, Lost, Lost. In this paper I explore some of the varied, suggestive strategies Mekas uses in film as he ‘tries to remember’. I consider too how his various iterations of a remembered migrant past help us to construct a social and cultural history of memory.
Re-envisioning Haiti after the earthquake: challenges and opportunities

The post-disaster period is often a fertile environment to observe political and social developments; indeed, from a collective tragedy a new generation of leaders can arise, carrying the will to change the governing rules. In addition, the shared traumatism experienced by the population can direct energies towards a common cause, a shared good.

In Haiti, in the aftermath of the devastating earthquake that stroke the country on January 10th 2010, an optimistic vision of the tragedy was widespread among intellectuals, policy makers and common people. The reconstruction, if well managed, could lead to a better Haiti, promoting the rethinking of the State, fostering larger equity and inclusion, addressing the structural issues at the origin of its poverty and vulnerability.

However, not always a disaster, and its response, can engender changes; therefore, there are ongoing dynamics within the affected structures that can overpass the collective will and energy. As pointed out by Rainhorn (2012) the history, religion,
culture, physical and geopolitical environment of the society, in addition to the influences of the international context, are some of the elements that can obstacle the societal change. Furthermore, according to Stokke (2010), catastrophes can only reinforce or influence a current political trend.

This paper, based on ethnographic field work conducted in Haiti between 2010 and 2012, aims at discussing the significance to “build back better” Haiti looking at how different actors (policy makers, economical elites, civil society organizations, labour union, religious leaders) conceived the task to re-envision and rebuild the Haitian State. The evolution of the opportunity to re-think the country and the challenges to agree on shared model of society for Haiti will be scrutinized, analyzing the actual constraints in the light of the history of Haiti’s state-building process.
After World War Two, the Scottish Highlands was widely described as a ‘semi-derelict region’, a land in a ‘coma’ from which it might never recover. Although some of this torpor was the result of the War, the illness was much more long term—depopulation, absentee landlords, and lack of economic investment had maintained this region as an artificial wilderness for well over a century, the results of traumatic and repeated assaults on Highland culture first during the Hanoverian pacification after the Jacobite rebellions and second due to the Clearances of ‘uneconomic’ crofting tenants through the nineteenth century. In the twentieth century the region simply dwindled, losing voice and memory through re-education and through continued emigration.

But in the decade after 1946 the impetus of post-war reconstruction did appear to offer the promise of cultural and economic regeneration, notably and most ambitiously in the Hydro-electric schemes proposed right across the region. These schemes had been attempted before, but had been opposed by various strange conglomerations of wealthy landed privilege and Lowland-industrial socialist trade union agitation. The post-War Labour government, however, offered real investment and
regional planning as ‘help for the Highlands’. The enormous hydro-electric construction projects of the North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board (NOSHEB), would, it was hoped, provide not only employment, but also, through electrification, would connect up remote, impoverished glens and crofts with the modern world.

This paper, with focus on the cultural significance of the favoured architectural style for hydro projects such as Cruachan and Glen Affric schemes in the Scots nationalist style of modernist ‘Traditionalism’, will consider the elegiac monumental versions of ‘Celtic’ culture being debated in the Highland region in the period of post-War reconstruction, and the re-articulations of longstanding conflict.
Ruotsala, Helena
Professor, University of Turku, European Ethnology

Post-war memories in the cross-border region of Tornio River Valley

The Lapland War with the evacuation to Sweden left deep traces in the people's minds and memories on the both sides of the Tornio River, which has since 1809 formed a border river between Finland and Sweden. In my research case, both places and identities have been produced by borders; this sense of place and identity are challenged by the transnational movements across borders. The movements have made it possible to observe how identities have been and are constructed and how, gradually, a different narrative started to be told on both sides of the border, a narrative about ‘us’ and ‘them’. People living on both sides of the border have used different border strategies and have pursued different cross-border activities at different times, also during and after the war.

In my paper my aim is to discuss the narratives focused on the post-war period in the Tornio River Area. How people experienced the post-war time (in this case firstly the evacuation to Sweden) and different encounterings during this period. How they are remembering it and what has been forgotten. What is the role of post-war memories in the contemporary bordering and de-bordering processes? How they are used today to create or
separate collective identities and collective memories? Currently, identity negotiations and interpretations are constantly taking place in the cross-border area.

This paper is based on ethnographic fieldwork and oral history.
Petsamo: distant and yet present. Grandchild’s experiences

My memories of Petsamo are from 1970–1980s. I was born 20 years after the Petsamo evacuation. My mother was born in Petsamo. I spent my childhood in Varejoki, Tervola. After moving away I spent my holidays there. I have clear memories from childhood. In my story of Petsamo occurring in everyday life in Varejoki I’ll try not to over-interpret.

Petsamo was not a direct topic, it occurred in indirect references. We visited Lapland every summer. To me the trips were not just Lapland visits, but rather a glimpse to forefathers’ home areas. I remember understanding that ‘over there’ meant Petsamo. In Soviet Union time it was impossible to visit Petsamo, it could only be peered from Norway with binoculars.

The desire to see Petsamo was powerful although all knew it was not the same as before: it was polluted. Maybe this mundane realism alleviated the longing. I remember Petsamo being visible in celebrations. The Christmas fare included lots of cod and halibut, originating Petsamo. The symbolic link between the dining table and fishing in Petsamo was clear. We always bought something from the fishmonger’s car driving in our yard.
Petsamo showed also in the daily grind. I remember the building of a new cowshed, I was small at the time, and I was handing over nails. The builders talked while working doubting whether former Petsamo fishermen could make good farmers. They might have felt the heavy burden of farming and maybe reminisced the times of being fishermen in Petsamo.

The picture of Salmijärvi was framed hanging on the wall and it never changed the place. Beneath it was a photograph of my great-grandparents, who were born and lived in Petsamo.

The talk about Petsamo was savoured in suitable situations and it was never used separating from other people or building a shared sense of cohesion. Petsamo was still lively visible in everyday life. There was no cultural silence on the topic.
Reconstructing the legacy of reconstruction period type houses

Research into the post-war reconstruction period in Finland has mainly focused on the national reconstruction’s massive production and building processes and urban architecture; or issues regarding the housing of returning soldiers and displaced civilians from Karelia. Northern Finland’s part in particular has been neglected in the national history overviews, and thus there is very little examination of the type houses in the area.

The architectural goals of the type houses and their status as the questionable representatives of modernism have been briefly touched upon in post-war research. In the early studies, the designs of the reconstruction period, type houses in particular, received much criticism. However, from the 1990s onwards the attitudes towards them took a more positive turn. None of the studies or interviews have paid much attention to the views of the designers regarding the goals of the type house designing process, or on the lack of building materials at the time and its effects on the designing work.
It is impossible for the decade-long criticism towards the reconstruction period type houses not to have affected the designers of these houses but also the renovation of the houses. In the worst cases this criticism caused a sort of a trauma for the designers, as they were shamed by it. This paper examines these issues from the point of view of an individual designer, architect Erkki Koiso-Kanttila. On the other hand, because these undecorated and simple type houses were not later valued, those have been thoroughly renewed in renovation processes. This way the unified areas they used to form have turned to something else and in worst case they have lost their originality and identity. The change in one of these areas is exposed in this paper.

Keywords: Post-war reconstruction, housing, type houses, criticism, trauma
Stal, Patrycja
Independent researcher and a recent graduate of MA Programme in Architecture, University of Edinburgh (ESALA, 2013)

Wroclaw/Breslau: a city which mistook its fiction for a fable
*Reconstruction as a disaster*

Any process of a collective, post-disaster reconstruction conveys not only the extent of material damage, but also aspirations of a society for which it is envisioned. For citizens of Wroclaw, a Polish city of predominantly Prussian and German heritage, the process of post-war reconstruction was a peculiar projection of the past Breslau never experienced. After the destruction of 60% of Wroclaw’s urban fabric in 1945, a dramatic demographic turn followed as 230000 German citizens were evicted from the city and 70% of newcomers were relocated from central Poland to form the foundation of the new community. As an outcome of this socio-urban revolution, ambitions of the communist government to resuscitate the myth of Slavic city and eliminate its German heritage created an artificial condition of carte blanche, resulting in an urban reconstruction founded on lack - the Imaginary (of) Wroclaw.

In the process of Polonization, a group of architectural artifacts (such as buildings of public administration and monuments) became a foundation for creation of an intercultural topography. These artifacts, through the continuity of their pre- and post-war
location and programme united the Imaginary (of the) city with its concrete physicality - not merely exposing the weakness of its material base through its non-local or Prussian origins, but most importantly revealing the potential – an ontological excess – for future compensation in the sphere of symbolic reconstruction, visible in today’s urban mythology of Wroclaw.

This paper proposes reading Wroclaw’s post-war reconstruction not so much as a result of a disaster but as an inevitable disaster itself - providing condition for creation of a city in the perpetual state of becoming. While the post-war material reconstruction could be perceived as a quantitative triumph, silencing Wroclaw’s symbolic reassembly deprived the city of an opportunity to be built anew – to recognize the impossibility of assimilation of its Imaginary.
Rebuilding normalcy, silencing women’s experiences in the discourses of post II World War reconstruction in Poland (1944–1948)

In my paper I would like to explore the discourses of reconstruction in post-World War II Poland (1945–1948). I focus on a short period in Polish history- a time of reconstruction, of great social mobilization, but also of uncertainty. Poland’s political future as a Soviet satellite was still in making. Main political actors: the ruling communist party and the Catholic Church were focused on the idea of reconstruction and rebuilding the nation. Reconstruction meant a return to normalcy: rebuilding families, as well as material reconstruction of cities and villages raised to ground. Communist modernizers as well as church representatives claimed for a renovation of family life and rebuilding the national population. They were also talking about harms of women and children, about their suffering during the war and its aftermath.

Nevertheless, there were many topics that remained unspoken. Reconstruction in some ways meant silence and especially women’s experiences were silenced. As Polish women were appreciated as heroic mothers and wives, as a symbol of post-war reconstruction, in official discourses they were perceived according to their powerful stereotype: virtuous and pure,
not only never involved in sexual relations with occupiers, but incapable of experiencing sexual violation. Such experiences like war rapes, war prostitution or consensual sexual contacts with occupiers were to shameful to be mentioned. Instead, physicians as well as politicians were talking about factors specific for the times of catastrophe. Post-war changes in the organization of family life brought fear and anxiety. Finding references to these difficult experiences is possible only when reading between the lines, using a technique to hear the inexplicable presence of the thing not named.
PRISON ISLAND: Place of Remembrance or Place of Parley?

The paper forehand presents a comparison study of work commenced by master students of Faculty of Architecture at the University of Technology in Graz, which serves as a basis for further investigation on perception of places of mass crime. The two master studios organized by Institute of Architecture Technology under supervision of Prof. Roger Riewe, Ass. Prof. Armin Stocker and Ass. Prof. Ziga Kresevic investigate the complex context of a former prison island Goli Otok and the potential of an architecture intervention in a context of its mental presence in our society.

Goli Otok was a top secret prison camp, operating from 1949 to 1988 where the government captured an estimated of 40,000 souls, solely for not agreeing with the system. Studio Place of Remembrance focuses on adequate representation of past events on the island, while Studio Place of Parley focuses on the importance of the site for possible future parleys. The purpose is to examine the impact and influence of architecture on the perception of human society, its history and contribution to resolving the inevitable conflicts, emerging on a daily basis. Further study will deal with questions like: What is the correlation
between the place and the remembrance? Does the substance *Goli Otok* disappear with the last victim? How to design a door to hell? These questions are drafted at the symposium and contextualised with analyses, projects and results of the master-studios *Place of Remembrance* and *Place of Parley*. 
Suda, Liz
Works in education at Melbourne Museum, part-time post-graduate scholar, LaTrobe University (has recently submitted a PhD thesis in the area of Life writing and Biography).

Reconstructing haunted places: Postmemory and ancestral homelands

As the child of post war Polish/Russian migrants to Australia, I experienced the ‘personal, collective and cultural traumatic impact’ of World War 11 through post memory (Hirsch 2012:4). Like many Second Generation children, I absorbed my parent’s traumatic past through the stories, images, and behaviours among which I grew up. The family history and our ancestral lands – Poland and Russia – symbolised conflict, loss and trauma, which contrasted with our Australian ‘idyll’ in the Latrobe Valley where we lived. My allegiance to these ancestral lands was tempered by my loyalty to the country in which I was born.

I returned to these formative childhood experiences, to try to add flesh to the bones of the fragmented family history recounted by my parents, to fill in the silent spaces, through a PHD research project that is now completed. I adopted a reflexive theoretical approach to interrogate my own process in building these stories through interviews, research and imaginative reconstructions of postmemory. I wanted to find out what had happened to my maternal grandmother, who was taken by German forces, from
Rostov-na-Donu in Southern Russia, in August 1942, never to be seen again. The story I uncovered revealed the complex nature of ‘truth’ in history (Jenkins 1991), and how silence about the past is enacted in both public and private domains.

In this paper, I want to focus on the significance of geopolitical and cultural space in the development of my project; how the traumatised but regulated ‘practicised place’ (de Certeau 1984) of my mother and grandmother’s past contributed to the multilayered nature of truth in my family’s history. My relationship to these ‘imagined’ places was formed through my mother’s idealised but sketchy accounts, through the accounts of others, and then via the ‘pedestrian speech acts’ (de Certeau 1984) I enacted in that city. I revisited the ‘traumascape’ (Tumarkin 2005) to experience and write the stories it had to tell.
Suopajärvi, Tiina and Harjumaa, Tiina

Tiina Suopajärvi, PhD, Cultural Anthropologist, Post-doctoral Research Fellow, University of Oulu.
Tiina Harjumaa, B.Ed, a student in advanced specialized studies of Cultural History at the University of Turku.

Recollecting moving forward: Post-war evacuations from Petsamo and settlements in Varejoki as lived experiences

In 1944, when Finland had lost the area of Petsamo in the northeast corner of Finnish Lapland to Russia as a consequence of peace treaty, over 5000 dwellers of Petsamo started their evacuee journey. First they ended up temporarily in Ostrobothnia, almost 1000 km south from their home, but their evacuation turned out to be a permanent one, and part of them were resettled in the woods of Varejoki in southern-Lapland. In our presentation, we will discuss how people experienced both their evacuation journeys, temporary placements in Ostrobothnia, and their resettlements in Varejoki.

Tiina Suopajärvi will focus on the stories of two women who experienced the evacuations as teenagers. She scrutinizes the stories as place-making processes where individuals (re)construct their significant places, by “imagining”, revisiting and also revising the places of the past. Tiina Harjumaa will discuss the stories of the settlement and the change of life in Varejoki produced in group and couple interviews. She looks at the everyday life of the dwellers of Varejoki by investigating how people settled in and how they experienced it.
Together we will particularly discuss the methodological questions of oral history: how people through their recollections disclose and create meanings for their past experiences, and consequently, construct their individual and social identities. Micro-historical questions will also be presented, for example: why evacuees from Petsamo have so often been left out of public discussions about migration. We will also discuss the methods of hermeneutics and reflexive ethnography by considering especially, how the interviewees, the researchers and other sources construct the stories together.
Memory/future and the post-war literary landscapes in Reino Rinne’s writings in 1940s–1960s

It is a commonplace to understand memory and future as antagonistic to each other (see e.g. Shaw 2013). Yet, in moments of transformation, such as natural disasters or war, future gazing and backward-looking coincide. The dual perspective of memory/future is exhibited in Reino Rinne’s travelogue Lapin rauha, written originally after the Lapland War in 1946, when the northern community was experiencing a resurrection from the ruins.

Reino Rinne (1913–2002), a northern novelist, journalist and activist, is best known as a nature conservationist. Already before the era of environmentalist activism, however, he focused his efforts on the intersection of artistic and other social practises in the post-war Lapland, where according to him the cultural life had sunk into a lingering apathy.

In this presentation my aim is to attend the literary responses to war in connection to Rinne’s preoccupation with landscape, its potentials, possibilities, conditions – and, as will become apparent, its crisis. The presentation focuses on discussing Rinne’s writings from 1940s to 1960s, including the aforementioned travelogue, four novels and a collection of short stories.
Keywords: memory/future, literary landscapes, nostalgia, belonging/homelessness
Historians and bureaucrats in the service of urban community: discursive reconstruction of Helsinki through the past after the Second World War

‘Community’, at various levels of scale, was a key constituent of the post-Second World War discourses of reconstruction in Europe. Reviving and readjusting the idea of community on the basis of its late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century origins was considered urgent in the midst of war-torn landscapes and societies. These efforts to build better communities were reliant on the growing body of experts and expert knowledge. With regard to Helsinki, this paper discusses the collaboration of bureaucrats and historians in the practice of community building at the urban level.

Despite their pronounced modernist orientation, cities in the post-Second World War period engaged with their past in multiple and nuanced ways. At the heart of history-related activities in the postwar Helsinki were the city’s extensive 400th anniversary celebrations in 1950. In the context of the anniversary a broad variety of history-cultural products were introduced, including the official, academic History of Helsinki, more popular histories
of the city, a historical exhibition and a historical pageant/parade. By looking at their production, the paper examines the ways in which the language of community was brought together with the language of the past in promoting the narrative of successful postwar urban reconstruction. In addition, the paper discusses the role of the past as part of the modernizing discourses of reconstruction.
Vehkalahti, Kaisa  
PhD., University of Oulu

Reconstructing gender and emotions. Encounters between child welfare professionals and teenage girls in Post-War Finland.

In the field of social work the post-war era is usually described as the breakthrough of modern welfare-state ideology, expansion of services, and increasing professionalism. However, it is important to question what the ‘new knowledge’ produced by the ‘new professionals’ actually changed? By focusing on the concrete strategies of control that were used with teen-age girls the paper seeks to find a grass-roots perspective to the power-relations embedded in the post-war practices of policing youth.

The paper seeks to explore the hidden dynamics between the professionals (such as social workers and the police), teen-age girls diagnosed as delinquent and deviant, and their parents. Encounters between Finnish social workers, teen-age girls and their parents will be discussed in relation to the growing post-war anxieties about girls’ education and morals. What kind of knowledge was produced about girls’ social problems, and how was that knowledge shaped by age, gender, social background and region? Whose voices were heard, what kind of knowledge was accepted and what was ignored? What kinds of moral assumptions concerning girls’ emotional and intellectual development laid basis for the decisions and the child welfare practices that followed?
This discussion will be reflected against some long-term changes and continuities in the history of policing teenage girls in Finland. It will be argued that despite of the changes in cultural understanding of youth and in social work practices (such as changes in terminology and professions), some power-relations as well as gendered ways of controlling girls’ morals persisted through the decades. The paper is based on the municipal archives of child welfare authorities in two Finnish cities, Turku and Oulu (1945–1969). The paper focuses on the narrative analysis of forms used in personal investigations concerning girls’ institutionalization and surveillance as well as in cases of juvenile criminality.
What does not kill you makes you strong

In this presentation we focus on the nightmares of violence and death, which originate from the life of my father Unto Vuojala. He has had various experiences of serious situations, firstly as a messenger carrier and a young soldier boy he witnessed the bombings of Iisalmi town during The WWII. And secondly he fought for his life when five robbers tried to kill him in Lusaka in 1978. As he used to say and as we family members experienced, there was nothing odd in his war experiences or in our lives after the serious attack in Africa.

However, now when my father is 85-years old, these old experiences have been transformed to the traumatic nightmares, which enter to his life in the most vivid ways. I face new old traumas with my father, and it is scary issue, because the life wisdom taught at home seems to be meaningless.

In this presentation we argue, that the old proverb of human experience, ”What does not kill you makes you strong”, does not fit to today’s world of people with high age. If the victims of harsh experiences have had no possibilities to go through their experiences in the most active part of their life, the peaceful process of aging could turn to be a nightmare. The quiet traumas might play a multiple role in aging.
Tempelhof Airport in Berlin: A Silent Witness of Postwar Memory Changes

Tempelhof Airport in Berlin is no ordinary site: having served as one of the first world aerial hubs, subsequently rebuilt by the Nazis who also constructed a concentration camp there, and later being used during the Berlin Airlift of 1948/49, today it is closed for traffic and open for public as an enormous park, beloved by Berliners and foreigners alike. Thus, Tempelhof has been a witness of the tumultuous history of Berlin and 20th-century Germany alike and could be seen as a lieu de mémoire, or Erinnerungsort, a concept developed by Pierre Nora and E. François with H. Schulze respectively. It is not only a legendary landmark within Berlin’s historical and cultural topography, but itself it is a place with rich and multi-faceted history and reconstruction.

From a controversial edifice, planned as a part of the infamous Albert Speer’s megalomaniac Germania, it has become - almost overnight - a “gate to freedom”, when the Allies supplied West Berliners with all necessities during the Berlin blockade of 1948/49. This rapid change illustrates the complexities of post-war memory-making, recollection and coming to terms with the past (Vergangenheitsbewältigung) in Germany, especially in the war-torn metropolis. Today, Tempelhof is subject to heated
discussions again, as the Berlin Senat plans to re-develop the edges of the former airfield. This project clashes with vigorously campaigning public initiatives whose narrative is supported by the ongoing archaeological excavations on the site of the former concentration camp Columbia, which stood next to the terminal building. The planned referendum on Tempelhof’s future will show how much has happened in (tainted) heritage work and commemoration in Germany since the silenced decades right after the WWII and how it is reflected in competing notions of cultural politics.
Delegates and organizers

Alava, Henni  
University of Helsinki

Kinnunen, Veera  
University of Lapland

Ashplant, Timothy  
King's College London

Kivimäki, Ville  
University of Helsinki

Autti, Mervi  
University of Lapland

Koivurova, Anniina  
University of Lapland

Erkkilä, Jaana  
University of Lapland

Kraatari, Eliza  
University of Jyväskylä

Gade, Solveig  
University of Copenhagen

Kresevic, Ziga  
Graz University of Technology

Harjumaa, Tiina  
University of Lapland

Leese, Peter  
University of Copenhagen

Hautala-Hirvioja, Tuija  
University of Lapland

Lehtola, Veli-Pekka  
University of Oulu

Jauhola, Marjaana  
University of Helsinki

Martini, Ermina  
University of Helsinki

Junila, Marianne  
University of Oulu

Robertson, Frances  
Glasgow School of Art

Kinnunen, Tiina  
University of Eastern Finland

Ruotsala, Helena  
University of Turku
Räihä, Pekka
University of Eastern Finland

Soikkeli, Anu
University of Oulu

Stal, Patrycja
University of Edinburgh

Stańczak-Wiślicz, Katarzyna
Polish Academy of Sciences

Stocker, Armin
Graz University of Technology

Suda, Liz
Melbourne Museum

Suopajärvi, Tiina
University of Oulu

Sääskilahti, Niina
University of Jyväskylä

Tuominen, Marja
University of Lapland

Vahtikari, Tanja
University of Tampere

Vehkalahti, Kaisa
University of Oulu

Vuojala, Unto
University of Lapland

Vuojala-Magga, Terhi
University of Lapland

Zadrazilova, Dagmar
University of Cambridge
Feeniks – Art and culture in the mental and material reconstruction process following the Lapland War

www.ulapland.fi/feeniks