

Please reference as: May-Britt Öhman, **LAST MANUSCRIPT** (2015) TechnoVisions of a Sámi cyborg: re-claiming Sámi body-, land- and waterscapes after a century of colonial exploitations in Sápmi, *Ill-disciplined gender: Nature/Culture and Transgressive encounters*, J. Bull and M. Fahlgren (eds.), Springer, 2016. LINK to final and published version (there are a few differences in text after proof reading! It is available via libraries): <http://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007%2F978-3->

5 TechnoVisions of a Sámi cyborg: re-claiming Sámi body-, land- and waterscapes after a century of colonial exploitations in Sábme¹

5.1 Hear the Ulldevis vuolle!

Ulldevis vuolle

I yoik the Ulldevis

To the sound of reindeer bells

And the grunt of the reindeer calves

About our ancestors' reindeer grazing lands

About the willows where the reindeer clean

their antlers at fall

At Ulldevis –where the heritage from the ancestors,

where the Sarvvá (male reindeer)

with their branched antlers still

gives us reindeer happiness (good fortune)

And still we hear the voice of the Vátjav (female

reindeer)

And the grunt of the reindeer calves

On the lands around the birches at Ulldevis

May the big horned at Ulldevis

Ornament the land around the birches

At Ulldevis

Ulldevisá vuolle (Lule Sámi)

Juojgastaydal

Ulldevisá vuolev

Mija máttarádjáj álloednama

Ulldevisá lágo

Juojgadav dal

Aktan biellojienajn

Ja ruovgadin gâjt áldo ja miese

Ulldevisá allegietj' guolldobârij nann'

Máttarádjáj sáhko

Mija njoallos áldo

Tjaládi gâjt tjavtjan

Ulldevisá árdâjn ja rádojn

Guoljodi gâjt sarvvá ájn Ulldevisá nann'

Ja giellamoajve guoddi

ádjáj guottsés vuorbev

Ma dievddi jalggis lágojt Ulldevisá nann'

¹ “Sábme” is the Lule Sámi word for the territory of the Sámi people. This territory stretches over four nation states; Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia. Parts of the territory is also known as “Lapland” in English, or “Lappland” in Swedish. I don’t use “Lapland” because for me, and many other Sámi, it is a colonial naming of our territory and “Lapp” is a derogatory name for Sami persons. “Lappland” was also a geographical denomination of a specific territory – one out of the 25 Swedish “*landskap*” – traditional provinces. These traditional provinces have long ceased to serve any administrative function. Sweden is now divided into a number of administrative regions called “*län*”, “Lappland” covered parts of inland Norrbotten and Västerbotten whereas Sábme covers a much larger area including five of the counties - Västerbotten, Jämtland, Gävleborg, Västerbotten and Norrbotten – collectively known as ‘Norrländ’ (See Hägerstrand and Sporrang 1993: 95; Lundholm 1993: 132, and Lundmark 2008). The North Sámi word “Sápmi” is more well known and more commonly used than “Sábme”, however I prefer to use the Lule Sámi word as this is the language that has been used in my family of Lule Sámi origin. There are nine different Sámi languages. In Sweden, the three major Sámi languages are North Sámi, Lule Sámi and South Sámi (Sarivaara et al. 2013).

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I start by asking the reader to hear the *vuolle*²“Ulldevis” by Mattias Kuoljok, yoiked by his son Apmut Ivar Kuoljok.³ The Sámi tradition of yoiking can be described as the creation of a picture, expressed in phrases and song. The yoik is a personal and collective empowerment and, at the same time, it is an embodied storytelling (Cocq 2008; Stoor 2007). Yoiking is a way of narrating history, present-time and future, while rejecting any attempt to objectify. Therefore, yoiking may be considered to be challenging the currently prevailing Hi-Story- the

²“Yoik” means “to sing” and “vuolle” is the song/narrative. Stoor (2007:20) explains: “The term *vuolle*, *vuolle*, *vuelie* and *luohti* all means the same thing, it is yoik melodies which can have text content, but does not necessarily have that”

³This yoik was made by Mattias Kuoljok (1897-1965). See Kuoljok Lind et al. 2004 as well as the CD by Kuoljok (2005). It can also be listened to on Spotify. The text is translated from Swedish to English by the author. The Lule Sámi language version above is provided by Apmut Ivar Kuoljok, the son of Mattias Kuoljok, and language-edited by Karin Tuolja in 2012.

notion of history within which colonizers document and record stories (Wyld and Öhman 2014; Battiste 2000). Johan Turi, the first Sámi author to have published a book about Sámi life in Sámi language states⁴:

Sámi singing is called yoiking. It is a practice for recalling other people. Some are recalled with hate, and some with love, and some are recalled with sorrow. And sometimes such songs concern lands or animals, the wolf, and the reindeer, or wild reindeer. (Turi 2011 [1910]:161)

In the Ulldevis vuolle, Kuoljok is yoiking a landscape, and he yoiks his vision, of reindeer happiness, a prosperous future - a *TechnoVision*. *TechnoVisions* are our individual human visions - our understandings of the past and present and our dreams of futures, which we communicate in different media to our fellow humans. This specific vuolle and TechnoVision was made known to me by Apmut Ivar Kuoljok, who approached me after I presented my postdoctoral research at the Ájtte museum during the Jokkmokk Winter market in February, 2009. Since then we have stayed in touch. Jokkmokk is a town and a municipality located in Sábmme, by the Lule River. Jokkmokk is home to me. My family has lived in this area for as long as anyone can remember and as for long as there are records. I stay in Jokkmokk several times per year, for both research and for personal journey into my own history as well as visiting my mother's family home (Öhman 2010 (a)). Each time I return to Jokkmokk, I visit Apmut Ivar and his wife Sonja, and we share what is happening in our lives. I opted to start with this vuolle to Ulldevis; the Lule Sámi vuolle by Apmut Ivar's father Mattias where he tells of the reindeer grazing lands at a particular spot- a place where the reindeer calves are born in spring and early summer, before their migration towards the mountains. On the political map they migrate towards the Swedish State border and on into Norway. The vuolle tells of the connection to this specific location, where the ancestors also passed, and of the importance of this place for the wellbeing of the humans following their ancestors and the reindeer.

⁴ Johan Turi was the first Sámi to publish a book written in his mother tongue, North Sámi, about Sámi from an inside Sámi perspective. The book has been translated into several languages and is considered an important document of the situation of the Sámi in Scandinavia at this time (See also Cocq 2008:17).

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Kuoljok's vuolle is simultaneously a place, land, sovereignty, and memory expressed in an ancient and still very much alive Sámi tradition. To me, listening to Apmut Ivar's vuolle fulfills several of the purposes of yoik; the collective empowerment - it makes me feel strengthened; I feel the land and the waters – I rejoice and feel that I stand stronger as I am made to remember important parts of the history about my own river valley.

This article is my yoik. Yoiking is my inspiration and method. I construct my yoik with other people's narratives, yoiks and stories – consisting of verbal communications as well as documents, books from both inside and outside academia, complimented with my own personal experiences and memories from my time as a student, PhD Student, scholar and as a Sámi activist. I draw in particular on my research since 2008 focusing on the Lule River valley and the inhabitants from different aspects. Some of this work is described in Öhman (2010(a))⁵. My sources are interviews, participatory observations, personal communications, both in person and in the cyberspace. I have made interviews and I also keep a log book with entries since June 2008. I have organized three workshops in Jokkmokk, April, May and July 2013, to which local people attend to discuss different aspects on mining. As part of the participatory observations I have been present in social media, to a major part in different Facebook groups as these have become significant means both for mobilizing local resistance against mining in Jokkmokk as well as offering general discussions about mining from late 2011 and onwards. I have been communicating via Facebook, both with persons questioning and opposing mining exploitations, as well as persons promoting mining, since summer 2012. This communication has taken place both on the open groups, on an everyday basis, as well as in personal direct exchange when visiting Jokkmokk and during the workshops. In particular I have been involved in the Facebook group “Inga gruvor i Jokkmokk” (No Mines in Jokkmokk) set up November 30, 2011, by Tor Lundberg Tuorda. In July 2013 the group transferred to “Gruvfritt Jokkmokk” (Mine Free Jokkmokk). I joined the “Inga gruvor” group on July 11, 2012. Another Facebook group that I have been part of in discussions regarding

⁵ When I started my PhD research in January 1999, I also started looking into the Lule River, studying the hydropower exploitation in this river, my home river. First as a way to understand hydropower plants better and later on I started drawing some parallels to the exploitations in Tanzania. See Öhman and Sandström, 2004, and also in my PhD Thesis, Öhman 2007.

mining in Jokkmokk is “Gruva i Jokkmokk Ja eller Nej” -Mine in Jokkmokk Yes or No – where the majority of the participants writing are pro-mining. I joined in September 2012, and left in July 2013. Since then, more people who are against mining have started writing there. Both groups are “open” meaning that their content is open to view even without being a member of the group, although it requires membership of Facebook. When I entered these groups I presented myself and my background, both as a researcher and also my family background – relationship to Jokkmokk. I explained that I am a researcher and that I would make use of discussions and interactions within my ongoing research work. I made my position regarding mining in Jokkmokk clear, stating that as an expert on dam safety issues – I consider it very risky to place an open-pit mine next to an already regulated river, and that I do not think that whatever can be gained in terms of local employment opportunities during 20 to 40 years can make up for extreme risks for water pollution and dam failures (June 8, 2013).

I have aimed to work in a decolonizing manner in my approach, both on Facebook and in personal encounters. For example, I have highlighted historical facts of colonization and the impacts on the local livelihood, on the interpretation of industrial exploitation and how different understanding of industrialization – colonization - have resulted in an escalation of conflicts.

In this chapter I draw on my personal experience, my memories and my connection to the places in the Lule River valley and Jokkmokk in particular, in an ego-histoire inspired methodology. This includes drawing on my insights and understandings as a Sámi person and scholar. Not many years of my life have passed without me spending at least a week in Jokkmokk. In 1999, when I started my doctoral thesis, I started coming here more often. Since 2008 I have been spending about two-three months per year in the area distributed over the whole year. My research has become part of my everyday life, a research both on hydropower regulations and on my own family history and Sámi heritage. This in combination with the everyday Facebook interactions have further increased the blurring the boundaries between my life as a researcher and the rest of my life.

The ego-histoire approach, as suggested by Nora (1989) asks the historian to look back at themselves and to write the Self into their work. Nora’s (1989) work of “lieux de mémoire” –

sites of memory forms part of my approach, as the idea that memories, history, is always connected to places and contexts and fits with the Indigenous connection to land. This methodology pairs well with the Sami tradition of Yoiking.

Yoik is a verbal art, mixing spoken word and songs (Stoor 2007). My yoik is in this case written words - as I adapt to the academic format with references, but there are moments when the academic style limits expression. I then recall other's yoik songs, or spill out my words that are sung. My own personal parts of yoiksong, should be read as me shouting, humming or whispering. These parts appear in italics, without reference.

This yoik was born out of my frustrations over the losses of memory, history, language, territories and waters – losses that I and my fellow Sámi face. My frustration is both over these losses and also the continued way Sámi people are made invisible within the current Swedish, Fenno-Scandinavian, European, and also International academic systems. During my 12 years of schooling in the 1970s and 80s, Sami history was never even mentioned. In the 1990s, as an undergraduate university student I was never introduced to any studies, not even one single article, paper or lecture, about Sámi history within any of my university courses. Today, having received my PhD and working within the academic system, when I talk with colleagues, friends and family I realize that almost nothing has changed.

Despite the recognition of us, the Sámi, as an Indigenous People by the Swedish Parliament in 1977 and the establishment of the Swedish Sámi Parliament in 1993 (and similar developments in the neighbouring States of Norway and Finland), we are still made invisible - invisibilised.⁷ Our history, culture, languages, traditions are to a large extent erased from academia, from the books of the whole school system, within museums, as well as from the

⁷ I use the term “invisibilisation” as a direct translation from the Swedish word “osynliggörande” – which means the act of making someone invisible. In the Scandinavian academic context “osynliggörande” is commonly applied within discussions and analyses of gendered power structures – referring to a phenomenon where social and economic activities performed by women are being neglected or made invisible, declared unimportant or even ridiculed (Ås 1979). Invisibilisation has been used by several other scholars in similar discussions on nation-states vis-a-vi Indigenous Peoples and ethnic minorities. For instance drawing on Skutnabb-Kangas (2000: 354) Haig (2003:123) defines the concept as follows: “ ‘Invisibilisation’ is the deliberate removal, or concealment, of the overt signs of the existence a particular culture, with the aim of rendering that culture invisible. It is part of the logic of invisibilisation that the policy and its implementation remain covert, because overt formulation would mean increased visibility”. See also Öhman 2007: 52ff.

society in general. In the few exceptional cases when Sámi history is displayed, we are commonly framed as either victims or the *Other*: as exotic human beings whose traditions are about to disappear. We are described as a vanishing culture, in ways similar to many other Indigenous Peoples in colonized territories around the world⁸.

The current situation of invisibilisation and othering of the Sámi and our history, tradition and culture in Sweden (and in the other Fenno-Scandinavian Nation States) contributes to the creation of highly problematic epistemological contexts. The absence of Sámi history, culture and tradition from education at all levels and being reduced to museum objects, victims or exoticized, leads to the lack of understanding of Sámi cultures and livelihoods, a void in understanding and an actual possibility for state representatives of ignoring the importance of the connections to the animals, lands and waters (See for example Kuokkanen, 2007 and 2008 and Svalastog, 2014). This invisibilisation supports a continued and even increased colonial exploitation of Sámi traditional territories as well as of us Sámi as a people. The exploitation includes an increased number of concessions for mining explorations, the expansion of already established mines, ongoing and planned wind power farms developments and the expansion of military testing and training areas. All of these activities affect the livelihoods of the local inhabitants in terms of relationship to the land- and waterscapes. These activities have direct impacts on for example, water quality and the risk of contamination with toxic (METALS/COMPOUNDS/ what is it?), They also impact on the identities of the inhabitants and their relationships, to each other as well as to the land- and waterscapes. To Indigenous Peoples – and speaking for Sámi in particular – the links between land and identity are strong. The concept “Indigenous Peoples” in its current understanding refers to the attachment to a territory, colonized/dominated by outsiders.⁹ This is indeed true for the Sámi, our cultures and

⁸ Regarding the invisibilisation of Sámi and Indigenous Peoples, the myth of how we are vanishing or extinct as well as the exoticism there is a quite extensive body of literature available. I have selected a handful of these for further reading, for example Fur 2008; Ojala 2009; O’Brien 2010; Ledman 2012; TallBear 2013.

⁹ During the more forty-year history of indigenous issues at the United Nations (UN), considerable thinking and debate have been devoted to the question of definition of “indigenous peoples”. However no definition has ever been adopted by any UN-system body. One of the most cited descriptions of the concept of the indigenous was provided by Jose R. Martinez Cobo, the Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, in the Study on the Problem of Discrimination against Indigenous Populations: “Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing on those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant

identities are destroyed and erased along with the landscapes and waterscapes that constitute a major part of Sámi livelihood (See for example Beach 1997; Battiste 2000; Martin 2003; Åhrén 2008; Kuokkanen, 2008; Byrd 2011).

As a Sámi scholar, I am witness to how the majority of research projects on Sámi-related issues are being pursued by non-Sámi scholars (See for instance Svalastog 2014). I am concerned how the majority of knowledge is produced about Sámi and Sábme by outsiders, and that at the same time it is difficult for people to claim Sami identities and operate within academia. I have met scholars who identify as Sámi, but do not publicly claim Sámi heritage (Pers. comm. 1999-2013). My understanding from the conversations I have had with people in a similar position to myself is that people consider claiming Sámi identity to be unbeneficial (at best) or even detrimental to their academic careers. Indeed to claim Sámi identity is both a personally painful and difficult task as ones intentions in publically claiming a Sámi identity may be questioned by both the Swedish academic community and the Sámi community (Åhrén 2008). Like our fellow Indigenous Peoples we, the Sámi People, need to struggle to make our voices heard, and to empower ourselves to do this reclaiming.

Whenever I am in academic contexts I mention my Sámi background. Whenever I talk of Sámi history and the losses of lands and waters, I feel as though I am passing on a secret, or a reality that is not supposed to exist. In these instances, I feel that I am disturbing a set order and that my presence is making others, the Normal Swedes/Europeans, uncomfortable. Or, as a fellow Indigenous woman who is Native American put it at the National Women's Studies Association in 2010, "we have no business breathing"(Öhman 2010(b)).¹⁰ As Indigenous Peoples we're not even supposed to be alive, to be there – to be here – claiming space and air with our bodies. As Sámi, we're supposed to vanish, to disappear; to die. Or, we are supposed

sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal system"(Martinez Cobo 1987:379f.)

¹⁰ This is a quote from a presentation at NWSA, National Women's Studies Association, annual meeting, Atlanta, November, 2010 (in Öhman 2010 (b)).When I heard this statement, it was overwhelming to the point that I did not take note of the name of the woman stating it. This statement and the way it was said, in gesture and almost whispering, has haunted me ever since.

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to become Swedish, and accept a supposedly Swedish culture¹¹ and ways of thinking, writing, living.

Sharing this experience with most Indigenous Peoples around the world I, as others before me, find that feminist research may serve as a remedy for healing. The Australian Aboriginal scholar Bronwyn Fredericks states:

I argue that Aboriginal women need to define what empowerment might mean to themselves and I suggest re-empowerment as an act of Aboriginal women's healing and resistance to the on-going processes and impacts of colonization. (Fredricks 2010:546)

Being an Aboriginal – Indigenous – Sámi, I work towards finding my own definitions of what empowerment might mean to me. I work with re-empowering myself for my healing and my own resistance work. I find that the feminist research field is a good platform to start the work for us Sámi (women and men) to make our voices heard, while empowering ourselves to dare do this reclaiming. But, and there is a huge but, feminist research needs to be informed by Indigenous studies and implement decolonizing methodologies, to be useful to Sámi and other Indigenous Peoples. Today, we, the Sámi – as many other Indigenous peoples - find ourselves in a state of crisis. For a long time our Sámi cultures, our bodies and our history have been and currently are under heavy attack by the Nation-States that we have been colonized by. We need to reclaim our space, including academic spaces. We need to combine feminist research with decolonizing methodologies.

I listen to another Indigenous sister, New Zealand Maori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999:97-98) who states in her book 'Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples' what de-colonizing is about. For her, decolonisation is a process of recovering from

¹¹ In *Försvenskningen av Sverige* (The Swedification of Sweden) three professors of ethnology, Billy Ehn, Jonas Frykman and Orvar Löfgren (1993) analyse the elements that constitutes a perceived Swedishness and how this identity has developed within different spheres of the Swedish nation state during the 20th century. A similar analysis on how school children have been educated to become part of the Swedish national identity is made by Anne-Li Lindgren (2002).

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fragmentation – putting ourselves back as whole persons, as well as about re-centering indigenous identities as a whole:

While the West might be experiencing fragmentation, the process of fragmentation known under its older guise as colonization is well known to indigenous peoples. Fragmentation is not an indigenous project, it is some-thing we are recovering from. While shifts are occurring in the ways in which indigenous peoples put ourselves back together again, the greater project is about re-centering indigenous identities on a larger scale ... Decolonization, once viewed as the formal process of handing over the instruments of government, is now recognized as a long-term process involving the bureaucratic, cultural, linguistic and psychological divesting of colonial power (Tuhivai Smith 1999:97-98).

The greater project, thus, is to not just recover, but to re-center my own Indigenous identity. It is my task to involve bureaucratic, cultural, linguistic and psychological institutions and divesting them of the colonial power. What this means for me in practice, I do not really know yet. I am in the process of establishing my definitions, my methods. However, I consider writing this chapter in the form of a yoik as an attempt to break out from a very narrow academic framework of writing that does not lend itself to the situations I want to express. It is to write in a way appropriate to speaking about the Sámi, our history, to explain to those who have not encountered these issues before, and also to write in a way that empowers me and hopefully also other Sámi persons. I want to reimagine the struggles faced by Sami people in academic discourse. I want to challenge that discourse, mold it in ways that allow me to articulate the histories so often neglected and bring different modes of expression to the fore. Writing my yoik in these pages, to blend writing styles and move between traditions, is to express how Sami ways of understanding landscape and waterscapes respond to the bureaucratic, cultural and linguistic pressures of colonial power. To yoik through academic texts is to demonstrate how Sámi understandings of landscape are only ever partially captured and fragmented through systems of governance and how those same systems of governance draw out the very excesses they do not articulate as ‘profits’. My essay therefore is a cyborg. A blending of traditions, an impure product of messy relations tied in ways that make the issues faced by Sami people visible in ways that pure forms can never express. As such it

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expresses what I feel, experience and live and significantly, it yokes the complexities facing those who currently live in Sábme.

My academic context is the field of “History of science and technology”, and, more particularly, feminist technoscience. I realize that postcolonial feminists, as well as Indigenous feminists, are bringing forward important points and challenging the white Western feminist’s mainstream and exclusive ideology. Yet, Indigenous Peoples all around the world seem to be connected by one factor - we all belong to territories under attack by modern Nation States (See for example Laula 1904; Battiste 2000; Kuokkanen, 2008, Fredericks 2010). We all share a recent history of - and ongoing - massive industrial colonization and feminist technoscience approaches seems to carry appropriate tools to deal with this traumatic situation. Feminist technoscience methodologies are close to Indigenous methodologies in that they reject the idea of scientific “objectivity”.

Feminist technoscience and postcolonial work along with humanimal studies, queer feminism, feminism and disability studies, all challenge the arguments of *disembodied objectivity* and argue for bringing back of the very physical bodies of the researchers themselves into academic research. In this respect, The “Cyborg” in the title of this chapter, therefore, refers to Donna Haraway’s Cyborg metaphor in her Cyborg Manifesto (1991(a)). I draw on this cyborg in the various aspects as discussed in the text; seeing us humans as cybernetic organisms, the blurred boundaries between fiction and fact which we continuously negotiate, and that we are always partial – scientific objectivity is but a myth. The Cyborg Haraway articulates highlights the need for reassembling ourselves and our identities:

A cyborg is a cybernetic organism, a hybrid of machine and organism, a creature of social reality as well as a creature of fiction. Social reality is lived social relations, our most important political construction, a world-changing fiction. The international women's movements have constructed 'women's experience', as well as uncovered or discovered this crucial collective object. This experience is a fiction and fact of the most crucial, political kind. Liberation rests on the construction of the consciousness, the imaginative apprehension, of oppression, and so of possibility. (Haraway 1991(a): 149)

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The cyborg is resolutely committed to partiality, irony, intimacy, and perversity. It is oppositional, utopian, and completely without innocence. [...] Nature and culture are reworked; the one can no longer be the resource for appropriation or incorporation by the other. The relationships for forming wholes from parts, including those of polarity and hierarchical domination, are at issue in the cyborg world. (Haraway 1991(a): 151)

The Cyborg that Donna Haraway envisions supports and gives me comfort in my attempts at integrating my thoughts, to reassemble my identities - the embodied attachments to the past, the present, the future, the land- and waterscapes, our stories and memories, animals, and technological artifacts. In Haraway's Cyborg Manifesto, I find the support to – as a scholar - to be partial, ironic, and intimate. I feel the support to escape the annoying and rigid dualisms found in academic writing, and to dare resort to what Haraway refers to as heteroglossia:

Cyborg imagery can suggest a way out of the maze of dualisms in which we have explained our bodies and our tools to ourselves. This is a dream not of a common language, but of a powerful infidel heteroglossia. (Haraway 1991(a): 181)

I find an escape from the dualisms and a way to argue how important it is that I – May-Britt – tell my history through my yoik method. It does matter whose bodies provide the stories and in what languages they are told. Colonialism matters, indigeneity matters, bodies matter, landscapes and waterscapes matter. My Sámi body, with all its aspects, matters. Donna Haraway wrote the Cyborg Manifesto as a means to engage feminists in technoscience, to challenge technology and science from within. My chapter has a similar objective, one of making feminists of all kinds see us, the Indigenous, and for us Indigenous feminists to engage, so as to challenge technoscience from within. The idea of seeing us humans as Cyborgs, interconnected with humans, nature and machines speaks to me. Being part of machines and machinery, science and technology, is a quality not often understood as “Indigenous”. Indigenous peoples are more often associated with nature and animals, as being part of the landscape. Yet just as, all Indigenous Peoples, all humans, we the Sámi are closely connected to machines and machinery, science and technology.

Technoscience can be used both for destruction and liberation. Consequences of technology can be both positive and negative. “Technology” is often considered to be related to large

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scale machines, such as hydropower plants. However, reindeer herding, fishery, duodji (Sámi handicraft), living off what is available in the water- and landscapes are indeed advanced technologies. To be able to contribute to a change, to restore identities, to save our landscapes and waterscapes, this needs to be recognized and I argue for a change from within. I opt to do this my way, the Sámi yoik way, *my own Sámi yoik way*. Yoiking TechnoVisions.

With these words I go on; I yoik you the story about Sámi people. I, remembering and recalling places, people and events with both love and pain at the same time, yoik my call for an academic – an activist – struggle for survival and change. I yoik Sábme, and for the reclaiming of our bodies, landscapes, waterscapes, history and right to a future.

Hear my vuolle!



[Figure 5.1.1 Sábme (Sápmi) as seen from the North pole. Map available at the website of the Sámi Parliament in Kiruna/Giron, Sweden. Illustration: Pär-Joel Utsi/Nils-Gustav Labba. Source: www.samer.se]

5.2 The colonization of Sábmme

The territory of the Sámi, called Sábmme, stretches across the borders of Sweden, Norway, Finland and Russia, as illustrated above in figure 5.1.1. As the Sámi author Johan Turi (2011 [1910], 161 states; “maybe we were actually always here”, Sábmme has been inhabited by the Sámi for as long as any human can remember. Although there is currently a specific region in the North – the current reindeer herding grazing lands – that is considered to be Sábmme, the Sámi have lived all over and have traded for centuries with what is now called the Fenno-Scandinavian region (Zachrisson, 1997). Defining the first human inhabitants in this region has become a controversial political issue, where archaeologists are called to provide testimonies in courts over disputes of current traditional land rights between Sámi reindeer herders and other local inhabitants (Ojala 2009). I, along with others (some of them currently beyond their physical bodies)¹², argue that we’ve been here since time immemorial, probably even surviving the last ice age on what is currently called the Scandinavian Peninsula (Turi 2011 [1910]; Cleve von Euler 1936). Current archeological findings give evidence that we, the Sámi People, have been here at least since the last ice age (Zachrisson 2005; Ojala 2009: 134-137).

When the modern Nation States formed from the 16th century and onwards, Sweden and the neighboring States colonized Sábmme, the State borders were demarcated, and the Sámi people were divided, becoming citizens of different Nation States (See Kvist 1994; Sörlin 2002; Lantto 2010; Lundmark 2008). Patrik Lantto, professor in history at the Centre for Sámi Studies at Umeå University, describes this process:

The partitioning of the territory between the states, the structuring of reality captured in maps and political rhetoric, changed the social and economic reality of the Sami as well as the Sami themselves; from simply being Sami to being Norwegian, Swedish, Finnish or Russian Sami. Citizenship had become a tool for a stronger control and eventual assimilation of the Sami (Lantto 2010: 553).

¹² With “beyond their physical bodies” I mean that they have passed on, they are no longer walking in their human bodies on this earth but that their thoughts, ideas and writings are still part of what inform my understandings.

From this time onwards we, the Sámi People, have been subjected to colonization. This colonization has included destruction of both lands and waters, destruction of reindeer grazing lands, and a destruction of our cultural identity through, amongst other State led policies, the removal of children from their families into boarding schools, and intentional destruction of our Sámi cultural expression such as yoiking and our language.

Tove Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) describes the impositions on cultural expression as linguistic genocide or linguicide. Given that language is part of a human bodily expression the connection she makes to genocide is understandable. In the early 20th Century, a “Lap should be Lap” policy was introduced in Sweden. This policy categorized Sámi People using racist stereotypes, with descriptions of the Sámi as savage and close to nature, reinforced by legislation and State practices. For example, in 1913 the Swedish Parliament, implemented legislation informed by racist ideals to keep the “genuine” Sámi in a perceived natural state and seeking to avoid turning them into ‘bad Swedes’, created compulsory nomadic schools (Lundmark, 2008). The goal of the nomadic schools was to keep Sámi children from tasting the modern life. The Clergyman in Karesuando, Vitalis Karnell, one of the experts in the State Commission preparing for the reform stated in 1906:

When the Laps start establishing associations and having their own journal, when they start educating themselves, then they are finished as Laps and they become the most miserable persons one can imagine. [...] Do promote the Laps in all ways, make them moral, sober and somewhat educated humans, but don't let them sip at the cup of civilisation in other things, it will in any case only be a sipping, but it will not and never will bring a blessing. The Lap should remain Lap. (Karnell 1906, quoted in Lundmark 2008: 139)¹³

In addition to the school reforms other segregation policies were also introduced. Sámi people who were not nomadic reindeer herders were to become Swedes and preferably end their

¹³ Translation from Swedish by M-B Öhman.

tending of reindeer. Their children were to go to the Swedish schools, in “real” houses with heating, while the nomadic Sámi children were only permitted to attend schools in tents or in school buildings constructed to resemble the *goathie*, or *lavvo*, the traditional Sámi tent used in migrations¹⁴ (Mörkenstam 1999; Lundmark 2002(a)). Through the Swedish State policy of “Swedification” people like my family - forest Sámi owning reindeer but also practicing agriculture, were to be transformed into *Modern Swedes*. Becoming a Swede meant giving up the reindeer herding (and the owning of reindeer), renounce the Sámi language, and not wear Sámi traditional clothing (See Sörlin 2002; Lundmark 2002(a)). The legislation shaped living with reindeer into a gendered politics of belonging, tying together people, place and reindeer through marriage. For instance, with the reindeer herding law of 1928, reindeer owning Sámi women who married a non-Sámi categorized man lost their rights to reindeer ownership, while a Swedish-categorised¹⁵ woman marrying a Sámi reindeer owning man got these rights in addition to rights of hunting and fishing (Amft 2002; Åhrén 2008).

These specific policies were part of wider events, actions and racist oppressions. What follows is a summary of some of the state sanctioned aggression towards Sámi people. The list includes both specific events and the more general consequences of different policies.

- 1) The theft of territories by administrative measures, turning lands owned by Sámi into State property during the late 19th century. (Kvist 1994; Lundmark 2008).
- 2) Sámi being recruited as forced labor for mining projects in the 17th century. In Alkavare, Kedkevare, Nasafjäll Sámi in large numbers. When disobeying a corporal punishment could be used, such as flogging, beating and also being dragged in water, possibly under the ice of frozen lakes in wintertime as punishment for disobedience (Kvist 1994; Sörlin 2002: 78; Lundmark 2008).

¹⁴“Goathie” is in North Sámi, “gäetie” in Lule Sámi, “kåta” in Swedish. Also the word “lavvo” or “lávvu” is used in Sámi. As with the tipis of the First Nation people of the Great Plains, the construction style of the goathie/lavvo differed between groups and according to purpose.

¹⁵Within the Swedish state censuses have been made since 1749, initially being made every year. From 1860 they were made every tenth year. Ethnic categorizations were introduced in the mid-19th century, starting with describing the Sámi as a “foreign tribe”. Five years later, the Tornedalen Finns were similarly categorized and within two decades groups such as Roma and Jewish people were distinguished separately. Thus, in the census entry for each person there would be a box were any other ethnicity than Swedish. If the person was considered to be Swedish, the box was left empty. This system was in practice up to the Second World War (see for example, Elenius 2001: 267).

3) Forced dislocations - for example of North Sámi from Karesuando southwards, after the dissolution of the union with Norway in 1905 – disrupting of the ways of life of both the receiving Sámi communities and the displaced Sámi communities, and thereby creating never-ending conflicts between these two groups of Sámi. (Kvist 1994; Udtja Lasse 2010; Marainen 1996; Lantto 2010; Ekerlid 2013) Moreover, illegal (by International law standards) State-border-based reindeer grazing conventions between Sweden and Norway disrupted traditional reindeer, and thus Sámi, migration routes (Udtja Lasse 2010).

4) Numerous different laws creating sharp categorizations between Swedes and Sámi according to reindeer owning rights, ultimately resulting in conflicts and court processes over land rights and compensations between relatives. A feature of these *Reindeer Grazing Acts*, as pointed out by ethnology professor Hugh Beach (1997) and Sámi scholar of Ethnology Dr. Christina Åhrén (2008) was the beginning of a series of fractional divisions of the Sámi, leading to a situation of conflicts between different groups – the main dividing line being between those that own reindeer and those that do not own reindeer. The first *Reindeer Grazing Act of 1886* focused the right to reindeer grazing, hunting and fishing only for reindeer-herding Sámi. However, all Sámi were still free to do herding as they wished. These rights were restricted under the *Reindeer Grazing Acts of 1928 and 1971*, and the Sámi rights of herding, fishing and hunting, were thereafter considered privileges granted by a benevolent State (Beach 1997; Borchert 2001; Åhrén 2008; Silversparf 2014).

5) Hydropower exploitations, which have turned most of the major river courses in Sábmme into staircases, with reservoirs and dry beds, also making the now regulated water courses and lakes more dangerous both for humans and animals (Öhman 2007 and 2014). Åsa Össbo in her doctoral dissertation - which is the first major academic work analyzing the history of hydropower exploitations in Sábmme from a postcolonial perspective – summarizes the consequences: “*The transformed landscape aggravated reindeer herding as grazing grounds, migration routes, settlements and, areas for collecting berries and shoe-hay were inundated. Fishing became a harsh and unsafe activity, the catch often deteriorated both in quality and quantity. Cultural landscapes disappeared or changed, and new methods for land-use affected reindeer herding and the complementing livelihoods*” (Össbo 2014: 261)

- 6) Destruction of reindeer grazing lands, water quality and landscapes that serve as mental resting places. State-sponsored clear-fell forestry, leave a barren, logged area rather than applying forestry practice which leaves the forest with all its ecological, cultural, emotional and personal significance for the inhabitants, human and non-human to enjoy (see for example Sörlin 2002; Sandström and Widmark 2007; Lindkvist et al. 2009; S. Mikaelsson 2012).
- 7) Recently wind farms have been developed across Sábmme. They constitute yet another major intrusion in reindeer grazing lands, where the quest for renewable resources falsely is considered unproblematic. For further discussion on this topic see for example Sasvari and Beach 2011; Helldin et al. 2012 and Berglund 2013.
- 8) Testing of capacities for nuclear bombs in the 1950s and 60s, and since then military training fields taking up ground and air space, and the inviting of all interested foreign military to train in Sábmme (See for example Sommarström 1991; Sörlin and Wormbs 2010; Wallerius 2011; L. Mikaelsson 2014; Thunqvist 2014). In 2001 the Vidsel Test Range, controlled by the government *Administration for Defense Material* (Försvarets Materielverk, FMV) and the Esrange Space Centre (owned by the State owned Swedish Space Corporation, SSC) were combined into the North European Aerospace Test range, NEAT. It is the largest land base test area in Europe, located on the Swedish side of Sábmme. On their websites the state owned companies invite foreign customers to test their military equipment in “restricted air and ground space” with “no population” (FMV). SSC welcomes both domestic and foreign customers with the following words: “With 24,000 km² restricted airspace and 3,300 km² restricted ground space we provide this unique vast restricted overland airspace to our customers. The terrain is varying and consists of forests, fields, bogs, lakes, hills and low mountains” (SSC). Tests are performed throughout the year, often with short notice for the people living in the area to evacuate (L. Mikaelsson 2014).
- 9) A State-supported policy for the protection of predators, which thrive in reindeer herding areas, where the hunting of these predators by Sámi reindeer herders leads to prosecution, and whereas compensations for the loss of reindeer due to these predators do not cover the actual losses (Beach 1997; Jonsson et al. 2012).
- 10) From 1913 to 1962 Sámi children were separated from the families and taken to specific residential/boarding schools, where the use of Sámi language was

prohibited by law (See for example Henrysson and Lind 1992; Kuokkanen 2003; Lundmark 2008).

11)

Current mining ventures are disrupting reindeer grazing lands and poisoning water resources and endangering nearby high risk dams and thereby risking the health and live of thousands of local inhabitants (Lawrence 2009; Lundberg Tuorda 2014; Persson and Öhman 2014; Öhman et al. 2013)

12) From the end of the 1600s until the 1900s representatives of the Swedish State Church – the Church of Sweden – destroyed Sámi traditional cultural and religious practices, by banning the yoik and religious practices and *noaidis* (shamans) and also devastated Sámi sacred sites and drums (See Rydving 1993; Kuokkanen 2003; Granqvist 2004; Viridi Kroik 2007). In 2006, the Church of Sweden published an inquiry regarding the historical and current relationship between the Church of Sweden and the Sámi, in which the authors recognized the participation in the colonization of the Sámi and suggested amongst other recommendations, that an apology was made (Ekström and Schött 2006). No apology has so far been issued by the highest representatives of the Church of Sweden. Sámi traditional religious practices are not officially condemned by the church but neither are they accepted by all representatives (Svenska Kyrkan 2012).

13) Since the 1600s Sámi human remains (and also important Sámi cultural and religious artifacts) have been collected by representatives of Swedish institutions and museums. The Swedish Sámi Parliament demanded in 2007 that the Sámi human remains be returned and reburied in their respective areas of origin (Västerbottens Museum). By 2014, despite years of discussions and the identification of more human remains, this request has not been granted (Enoksson 2007; Ojala 2009; Heikki 2011). Furthermore in the late 19th and early 20th century research on Sámi (and also ethnic minority groups such as Jewish people and Roma people) in Sweden was pursued with an in particularly open racist ideology. The Sámi were Othered through skull and body measurements and photographic documentation. For this ‘research’ Sámi human remains, skulls and skeletons, were plundered from graveyards - in the end of the 19th and the early 20th century. In 1922 the Swedish Parliament, Riksdagen, passed a law setting up the National Institute of Racial Biology, the first national institute of its kind in the world, in

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Uppsala. The aim of this institute was to procure “genuine” skulls of the Sámi race as material for the racial biological research. (Ojala 2009:242). The Institute was not closed until 1958 (Hagerman 2006). This is a painful – and suppressed - part of Sámi history, which only now starts to be discussed from a Sámi perspective by the artist Katarina Pirak Sikku, in her exhibition named “Nammaláphán” (Pirak Sikku 2014). The photographs for the Institute of Racial Biology are still available to the public on request at the Uppsala University library. The photos – although not the nude photos – are currently being digitalized and also posted online on the Uppsala University library website, and can be delivered upon request to anyone in digital version or as photo within 5-10 working days. (Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek)

Piling up these atrocities, crimes and abuses is a painful task. I would rather not have it in this chapter at all. It hurts to write about it. Many Sámi already know about these events. Being reminded, and at the same time witnessing how the colonization is currently even reinforced, brings about feelings of hopelessness and devastation. I feel the consequences of these events and aggressions on Sámi livelihood and culture in my own body, it is a cacophony of feelings of anger, shame, sadness, vindictiveness.

The cacophony of feelings is not only mine; members from my Sámi network who know I am working on this chapter ask me to mention the suicides among Sámi people and the reindeer herders in particular. It is an issue which has been given more attention recently through studies and through very recent tragic events as young Sámi reindeer herders give up, not being able to stand the pressures. The findings in a recent report presents it crudely:

“Severe circumstances and experience of ethnicity-related bad treatment seems to contribute to increased levels of suicidal plans and attempts in subgroups of Sami” (Omnia 2013).

To me this is not just colonization. I feel that what has happened and continues to happen is genocide. But I need to strengthen myself, to not fall into despair. I listen to Lovisa, a young Sámi artist. So I ask you to listen with me to the song and yoik by Lovisa Negga, in Lule Sámi, Mihá ja Gievrra - Proud and Strong: Gut duosstel álggusittjat, Ja bälös gieladimev, Ane dal

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gielav, divna tjoavdá dân - You feel insignificant but will last forever, The one who dares say something , Will defend the mute , So use your voice, and free us all...(Negga, 2013)

I draw on Sámi traditions, on my akku - my foremothers (Hirvonen 2008; Wuolab 2004) - to talk back, talking back to the Empire - I am talking back and claiming space, memory, place, sovereignty, waters, land, my body and belonging. I breathe. I collect strength to go on. Proud and Strong!

5.3 Cyborg identities

This article draws on my personal experiences and insights and relates to my life as being in the body of what, on the surface, may seem to be a stereotypic Swedish woman - blonde, blue eyed, white skin, and with a typical Swedish name. Since childhood I was trained in a positivist tradition, as the Swedish State had wanted when they took the reindeer herding rights away from my family; I was trained to be a *Modern Swede*. I believed I was *Swedish!* However, there were so many strange silences, voids that I couldn't understand. When I, at the age of 42, embarked up on a new research project, I was thrown into old, but at the same time completely new, body-, dream-, land- and waterscapes. I was Suddenly Sámi (Lundby 2010).The silences became understandable. I also discovered that I share this experience with many other Sámi women and men, of all different ages.

When I received funds from the Swedish Research Council for a postdoctoral scholar position with the title "Situated perspectives on the hydropower exploitation in Sápmi", and had the opportunity to be affiliated with the Centre for Gender Research and the GenNa, programme, not only did I embark upon a journey into a totally new-to-me research field, I also found myself on a both unexpected and rather confusing journey into *me*- my physical appearance, memories, and my own history (Öhman 2010(a)). Learning new knowledge about my family history and about my physical appearance being recognized as stereotypical Sámi, I realized that the "Other", the "Indigenous" is me (LaRocque 2010). This insight has come to change my whole perception of science studies and of history production and I feel obliged, as a scholar, to work to find other ways of producing, writing and teaching. I feel obliged to find a way that brings out voices that are silenced; to find my own voice. This is also a process of

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healing for me. I wish to share it with other Sámi and Indigenous persons with similar experiences, to help us all to heal; to, following Tuhivai Smith (1999), re-center our Indigenous identities.

I do not stand alone in this work. I am trained within the discipline of History of Science and Technology, a discipline within which there are much earlier works challenging what I refer to as “Hi-Story”. That is, the High-Story, the history of the winners, the colonizers, the settlers, the ones getting the benefits, which proves that technology and science is never innocent (Winner 1980; Hecht 1998). Amongst others, Michael Adas (1989) has shown that the illusion of Western technological superiority is one of the fundamental parts of the justification for paternalistic “civilizing” missions, as well as the rapid spread of European hegemony. Yet, most history of science and technology work is strangely disembodied and detached. I am trained to write as if history doesn’t matter, as if it isn’t personal. But, how can it not be personal? Here, feminist scholarly work comes to the rescue, and in particular the work of feminist technoscience pioneers such as Evelyn Fox Keller (1982), Vandana Shiva (1988; 1993) Donna Haraway (1991(a); (b)), Sandra Harding (1991), and Lena Trojer (1990), Christina Mörtberg (1997), Birgitta Rydhagen (1999) and Kimberly TallBear (2003; 2012; 2013).

To me, the inclusion of Indigenous voices - Sámi in general, and Sámi women in particular, is indispensable. Having been subject to severe oppression and linguistic violence, we Sámi people even forget our own history and deny our memory. This process of forgetting and denial is a result of the internalization of the colonial practices of ridicule and shame. How could I have grown up without knowing I was Sámi? Why did no one tell me about this until I was 42 years old? (Öhman, 2010(b)) And why do I share this experience with so many other Sámi persons? How should I deal with all of this, without breaking myself? What academic frameworks are available to me to formulate my own questions and responses?

My approach is to take a step further, to develop a further understanding that includes my own Indigenous perspectives, my Indigenous feminist technoscience perspectives, while elaborating on decolonizing methodologies. My approach also includes attempting to provide

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a space for regeneration and healing for myself and others. In this work, I am much strengthened by all the support I have received, from colleagues, friends, research funders and supporters within the Sámi society and my academic environments¹⁶. I am also strengthened by my encounters with fellow Indigenous scholars from around the world; for example from the United States, Kimberly TallBear (2003; 2012; 2013) - who is also combining feminist technoscience and Indigenous work, from Australia, Frances Wyld - who is working with storytelling as methodology (Wyld, 2011(a);(b); and (c)), from Japan, Kaori Arai (2012) - who is working with her own history in the context of her grandfathers' resistance against hydropower exploitations, as well as Minae Inahara (2006) whose excellent work on phenomenological perspectives on living with Cerebral Palsy is truly inspiring.

I am also much encouraged by the two Sámi female activists that paved the way for early Sámi resistance at the beginning of the 20th century: Elsa Laula Renberg 1877-1931 and Karin Stenberg, 1884-1969 (See Laula 1904; Stenberg and Lindholm 1920; Hirvonen 2008; Stoor 2011) whose lives and texts I think should be, but to this day still aren't, part of the Gender Studies undergraduate curriculum at Swedish universities. Another great inspiration is Professor Louise Bäckman, a South Sámi woman born in 1926 in Dearn/Tärna, is professor *emerita* of Science of Religion. Bäckman was one of the founders of the Stockholm Sámi association in 1947, and is still, today, at the age 85, politically active.

Inspired and encouraged, I set out for a quest for my own voice. Through the blending of feminist technoscience, storytelling (Wyld and Öhman 2014; Martin 2003), ego-histoire (Nora 1989; Wyld and Öhman 2014), embodied and lived experiences - a corporeality (Inahara 2006), and the Sámi tradition of yoiking, I create a space for my version of the production of history:

I write my Sámi Cyborg TechnoVisions, reclaiming my body-, water- and landscapes, while at the same time challenging and encouraging you, the reader. You and others, whether Sámi or

¹⁶ There are too many people to mention here, unfortunately only a few of you will be mentioned in this article. But I thank you all for your warm support and encouragements along my way.

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non-Sámi, Indigenous or non-Indigenous, academic scholars or not, I challenge and encourage you to show your own subjectivity within your own writings and representations.

I challenge the Normative Sweden; expressed in the name of the Nation - State where I reside, and of which I am a citizen; Sverige - the word itself means in Swedish “the kingdom of the Svear. Even within the name of the country of which I am a citizen, I am made invisible. At each moment I mention the name of the nation where I live, I am complicit in the derision and neglect of Sábmme and the Sámi People. My people, my territory is not even part of the name of the Swedish State. I challenge the current normative Hi-Story, the story that has been told by the winners at the cost of erasing the voices of Sámi.

Hear my story!

5.4 Challenging Hi-Story: Dreams of Bright Futures

When I visited Jokkmokk in February 2012 and met Apmut Ivar and his wife Sonja Kuoljok, the existence of an ongoing struggle over life and death, over colliding TechnoVisions became very apparent to me. Something is threatening the future prospect of reindeer happiness. There is a threat to Ulldevis, the whole Jokkmokk region, and the Lule River. The cultural, mental, and physical wellbeing of the reindeer and the reindeer herders, as well as others, is at stake. Apmut Ivar asked me if I was going to participate in the demonstration against mining explorations in Jokkmokk, which was to take place the following Saturday. I, too, am a part of this river - the Lule River, in Lule Sámi language named Julevädno. These new events of mining explorations touched me deeply. I was scared. Finding out about this threat, I realized I love this place - more than I knew. Yet, I ended up not going to the demonstration; something made me stay away. Maybe it was that I preferred to pretend this new threat did not exist; that there would never be any mining. If I don't see it, it is not happening...not just yet.

But, no matter how hard I try to avoid it, I find myself confronted with the reality. In my research, within my activism in Sámi associations, it kept coming back and now I find myself in the midst of the struggle. As Sámi, as scholar, as activist, as a human. Today there are numerous mining explorations going on within the borders of the Jokkmokk municipality, as well as in many other places within Sábmme. Mining prospecting is occurring in the midst of the reindeer migration routes and grazing lands, and next to two high-risk hydropower dams situated on the Julevädno River, which is the source of drinking water for the entire Julevädno Valley (Lawrence 2009; Lundberg Tuorda 2014; Persson and Öhman 2014; Öhman et al. 2013). In Jokkmokk, some representatives of the municipality, the political party in power, and a number of inhabitants seem to be in favor of these plans, dreaming about upcoming job opportunities for the unemployed .

On the internet I find a “detailed mineral report from Ulltevis (Ulldevis)” (Mindat.org 2012), available for any company interested in investing in mining explorations in Sábmme. The Geological Survey of Sweden, a State authority established in 1858 to support the mining exploitations of the “Northern Colony”¹⁷...*Norrländ- the Northern Land, the colony, as viewed from Stockholm, from the midst of the Svea-rike kingdom of Svear, Sverige...* readily provides maps for any interested company desiring to prospect (SGU 2012). At the same time, Swedish legislation states that prospecting, including activities such as drilling in search of uranium, nickel, copper, iron ore and any other mineral of interest, is permitted to any interested foreign company. Even if the local municipality is against any future mining exploitation and uses its Swedish-law-based right to veto to prevent future mining, prospecting is allowed. But prospecting ventures can go on for up to three years or more, and are destructive to nature, water, and even to tourism, which is a very important source of income to the municipalities in Sábmme as well as elsewhere in Sweden (see SFS 1991; Andersson et al. 2012; Persson and Öhman 2014).

¹⁷ Axel Oxenstierna, 1583 - 1654, count, royal advisor in 1609. Chancellor of Sweden 1612-54, is accredited to have stated “Norrländ is our India”, meaning that the north of Sweden was to be considered a colony to use for resource extractions (Bäärnhielm 1976; Larsson 2013).

I recognize these dreams of job opportunities: these visions of a shining bright future through large-scale technological projects. They are a part of my own history, and of the history and present-day of my county, Norrbotten. The iron ore, the railway, the steel factory, the hydropower: a *megasystem*, as the historian of technology Staffan Hansson (2006), has named it. The visions are so strong that you can feel them in your chest as you breath – a promise of happiness. I talk to a people in Jokkmokk. I find that the state of excitement over the possibilities of mining among the proponents is almost possible to touch with my hand. It's in their eyes, in their gestures. In Jokkmokk, September 2012, as I spend time doing participatory observations I engaged several conversations on the issue, for example:

”Anna asked me a question that made me explain that I am a researcher. So she sat down and we started discussing the mining plans. She said is in favour of it. I asked why. She answered ”Well then there will be an upsurge”, and showed with her arms in an upwards movement” (Öhman logbook, September 2012).

I name the sensations I see in people TechnoHappiness. Feeling happy due to the prospects of technology, machines coming in. In Jokkmokk, I witness Technovisions of a prosperous future based on the sole factor of the establishment of a mine, the use of *big* machines.

In the archives of the Jokkmokk municipality I have seen the traces of the other dreams - the earlier TechnoHappiness. From 1910 and onwards the river Julevädno was ‘shackled’ by the Swedish State hydro-electric developments (Öhman 2007; 2014). I recognize the grandiose futuristic TechnoVisions, of more than half a century ago. Like the French dreams of grandeur through nuclear power and colonization (Hecht 1998), the dreams of that time were as big in Sweden - using the north - the North Land, Norrland, - as its very own colony (Bäärnhielm 1976; Broberg 1982; Eriksson 1982; Sörlin 1988; 2002; Mörkenstam 1999; Lindgren 2002; Granqvist, 2004; Lundmark 2008). In 1956 Åke Rusck who was the General Manager of the State Power Board, expressed his TechnoHappiness dreams about hydropower exploitation in Sábme. He chanted a story of how the State Power Board first entered the “pure wilderness” to build the first hydropower station in Porjus, how much electricity the Julevädno - when fully “harnessed” - would produce. And not with one word did he mention Sámi culture and traditions. In the reprint of the speech, published under the

title “A 20 year program for 2 billion” in the book with a caption suggestive of ‘progress’ *The Earth, the Forest, the Iron Ore, the Hydro Power in the Norrbotten of Tomorrow*, the construction of the Messaure Dam on the Julevädno, is pictured together with a sevenfold image of the Cheops pyramid in Egypt (Rusck 1956: 214; Öhman 2007).

The fantastic futuristic visions – comparing Messaure with the splendor of the ancient Pharaohs - the almost impossible construction actually coming true: the engineers would recreate Cheop’s pyramid - not once, but seven times!¹⁸ But the techno dreams of progress were undermined from the start. Messaure was built at the cost of putting the whole Julevädno river valley at risk; a disastrous sinkhole threatened the dam’s very existence, appearing just after the dam had been constructed and filled with water (Bartsch 1999).

Now what about the dreams of a shining bright future, of happiness and prosperity for Jokkmokk? Four years after the speech by Rusck, the number of inhabitants (by 1960) was 11 533 (Demografiska Databasen; SCB). I’d like you to read the number, slowly, preferably you should read it out loud, as this number has become very important. Exceeding the seemingly magical number of 10 000 inhabitants is of importance for an inland municipality in Sweden. Given that Sweden is relatively sparsely populated, much significance is placed on municipalities achieving city status. There was a strong feeling that in the 1960s Jokkmokk was on the way to achieving this status. Indeed the memories of a time with many inhabitants have become an important component in the current TechnoHappiness discourse about progress in Jokkmokk. This was at the height of construction works for hydropower. However, only ten years later, as the construction work reduced, the population diminished by one third. Over the years, the decline has continued as the dreams and acts of the hydropower construction era faded away. Since the parliament decision in 1993 to protect our last free flowing major rivers, there are no more new constructions of large-scale hydropower in Sweden (Öhman 2007:63) and the control over the power plants and dams was left to a handful of staff and subcontractors. By the start of 2012, the registered human population in

¹⁸In a discussion of the design ideals of Messaure, Sörlin and Nordlund describe how “ the work of Erik Lundberg, who declared the cuts and sears of nature to be true and rational” (Sörlin and Nordlund 2003:308).

Jokkmokk municipality was just 5000, the same level as it was in 1910, before the grandiose era of hydropower constructions (Demografiska Databasen; SCB).

Today, the discourse in Jokkmokk circles around this perceived loss of inhabitants, as a sign of underdevelopment and of stagnation. An example which sums much of the discussion was made by the political leader of Jokkmokk municipality, Stefan Andersson of the Social democrats, who wrote in a debate article in the national newspaper Aftonbladet , on the 25th of September 2013 about this quest for population increase as a good reason for being positive to mines in Jokkmokk:

We in the political majority of Jokkmokk have decided to be in favour of an establishment [of mines](...) . The reason for this is the economic injection it would give both to local and regional business. It would bring a large amount of new job opportunities, the possibility for population growth and a possibility for our children and youth to stay in our fantastic municipality if they wish to. [...] The highest priority for the municipality is population growth (Andersson 2013).¹⁹

The Jokkmokk municipality is not rich in monetary terms. The population is currently declining, as young people move away in search of job opportunities. This happens despite the fact that its artery, the river Julevädno, is the most productive river in the whole of Sweden in terms of electricity and, therefore the most profitable. Throughout the 20th century, starting from 1910, the Julevädno river was converted from a free-flowing river into an energy-producing factory. Today the river contains a staircase of sixteen regulation reservoirs with attached power plants, a total installed capacity of 4350 MW, and an annual output - in normal years - of up to 14 or 15 TWh. The system produces up to a fifth of Swedish hydropower, totalling around 65 TWh/year, and up to ten per cent of the total of Sweden-produced electricity which is around 150 TWh/year (Vattenfall/Nordlund 2008:3; Hansson

¹⁹ [Swedish: “Vi i den politiska majoriteten i Jokkmokk har ställt oss positiva till en etablering, något vi var mycket tydliga med till väljarna långt före valet 2010. Anledningen till vårt ställningstagande är den ekonomiska injektion det skulle ge både lokalt och regionalt näringsliv. Det skulle ge en stor mängd arbetstillfällen, möjlighet till befolkningsökning och möjlighet för våra barn och ungdomar att kunna bo kvar i vår fantastiska kommun om de vill. [...] Det högst prioriterade målet i kommunen är befolkningstillväxt.”]

1994; Öhman 2007; Lindholm 2011).²⁰ The State power company Vattenfall boasts on their website: the Lule River/Julevädno is “producing enough electricity to bring light to the whole of Sweden, 24 hours a day, 365 days per year” (Vattenfall/Nordlund 2008:2) The bright and prosperous future described by Rusck apparently did arrive. However, the prosperity didn’t stay in Jokkmokk. The profit, as well as the electricity, is transferred far away through the transmission wires.²¹

The way that the ‘profits’ from the river disappears from the region is problematic for those who live there. Norway has a different system of return to each municipality which returns several billion back (FSV 2013) to local municipalities. With a similar system as in Norway, Jokkmokk could receive around SEK 550 million – per year (Eriksson 2013). The Association for Hydropower Municipalities, made up of representatives from the 34 municipalities located in Sábmme with hydropower stations, have attempted to challenge the losses made (FSV 2013). However the municipality of Jokkmokk is no longer a member of this association. The Leadership of the municipality now dream of a new investment, the mine. I interpret this as a response of already colonized people. I feel the experiences of the arrival of hydroelectric power to the region offer a warning for these new dreams of techno-happiness.

Remembering and storytelling are important methods of decolonization (Tuhiwai Smith 1999, 146). But how to remember? When our parents have chosen to forget, because of the pain of the loss. What stories to tell?

²⁰ Electricity production in Sweden is based on equal parts of hydropower and nuclear power up to 90%, with the nuclear power functioning as a stable base, and the hydropower being easier to regulate corresponding to the different needs over the seasons.

²¹ Vattenfall annually pays around 24-26 million SEK to the municipality of Jokkmokk, in something called “bygdemedel”, which translates to “countryside funds”. Jokkmokk and other municipalities which are affected by hydropower regulations receive these funds as compensation and the funds are supposed to be used for development within the municipality. However, the actual profit that is made from the annual production of 15 Twh, 23 million SEK is extremely little money. A recent comparison by Eriksson (2013) with Norway and how the impacted municipalities receive payment from industrial exploitation states that such a system in Sweden would give Jokkmokk around SEK 550 million annually. In comparison with the annual budget of the Jokkmokk municipality which is at about SEK 360 million, of which 200 million is taxes, (Jokkmokks Kommun 2013) this is a huge amount.

Today, even the memory of how productive the Lule River/Julevädno once was in terms of salmon has been erased. When I grew up, all Julevädno was to me, was a producer of electricity. But the while electricity and profit now flows away from the region, a different wealth once followed the river. So let me yoik the memory to you, a story of spearfishing salmon from my very own stretch²² of the Julevädno, a story that came to me after having started to delve into my Sámi history:

Lars Johan Andersson tells the story: “I was spearfishing in the calm waters in the year 1906, it was the beginning of the spearfishing season, around the 12th of August. First, I caught a 20 kilo salmon; then I found another big fish. The first stab I made to the second fish hit over its back, but the salmon was so big that the spear could not enter beneath its spine. Johan Stenman was rowing, and as he turned the boat I tried to push the salmon along the bottom of the river towards the land; I did this as much as the forces of both myself and the salmon allowed for. As we arrived to shallow water I climbed out of the boat, put my right hand into the salmon’s gill, and managed with great effort to lift it onto the boat. The salmon immediately fought loose from the spear, and, as it was about to escape out of the boat, Johan hit the fish directly on the head with a log. It was the biggest salmon I’ve ever seen. It weighed 33 kilos, and that considering that it must have lost weight since it had come all the way from the sea (Ullenius 1932: 8).²³

This salmon fishing adventure is but one story out of many from my stretch of the river, Unna Julevädno, one of many collected by J G Ullenius, a retired teacher, born in Jokkmokk in 1868, in the early 1930s on behalf of the Norrbotten county local heritage association (Ullenius 1932:1). Although living from what nature provides is not an easy life, my family has lived here since time immemorial. We survived, lived, prospered, here on ancestral lands, our indigenous lands. Today when I visit this place there is no possibility of spearfishing

²² I refer to this stretch of the river – a limited spot of a couple of kilometers - as my own because of several reasons. First, this area, a so called “homestead” has been owned by my family since the 1850s, and by inheritance it was also my own – co-owned with other family members - for a couple of years. Secondly, it is the stretch of the river where I have spent a lot of time, since childhood, and to which I keep coming back. Finally, I rarely meet any one else when I come here. I can spend hours without meeting one other person here. To me it feels like “my own” stretch, full of memories of my own and of my ancestors.

²³ Translated from Swedish by May-Britt Öhman.

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salmon, there are no longer any salmon available at all. The Julevädno is regulated; the salmon are blocked from their migration from the sea. When I wish to eat salmon, I have to buy it from the food shop; it comes in small packages- frozen, cultivated and imported, carried on trucks from Norway. I opt to reclaim the memory that once Julevädno was a salmon rich river, and I acknowledge the hope among local people, and my relatives, that the river can live again (Personal communications Nilsson 2008; Lundberg Tuorda, 2013).

5.6 Challenging Hi-Story: the presence and absence of Sámi in Society and Academia

I didn't learn about my Sámi history in school and today Sámi history is not a part of curricula in schools. Some efforts are being made to change this, however, there is still much to do to prevent the erasure of the Sámi history within all educational levels, including academic research and teaching (Svalastog 2014). History of Science and Technology is not better than any other academic discipline in this regard. What has surprised me is how little space the now expanding field of Gender Research and the teaching of gender studies have made for Indigenous and Sámi cultures, and even less for those voices speaking for themselves. Within gender studies in Sweden, undergraduate students encounter Black feminists and postcolonial feminists from both the global south and the global north. Yet there is little or no literature made available within undergraduate courses in regards to Indigenous perspectives or Sámi studies at the institutions and centers for gender research in Sweden.²⁴ While there have been only two doctoral dissertations published regarding Sámi and gender issues in Sweden within the last decade (Ledman 2012 and Amft 2002) and one ongoing doctoral dissertation project focusing on 'Sami contributions to feminism as a social movement and theoretical tradition' at Lund University Centre for Gender Studies (Knoblock 2012), there is more related research going on in the Norwegian and Finnish settings (Ledman 2012: 20-26; Hirvonen

²⁴ This was a pilot study. I went through all literature lists of gender studies for the undergraduate courses at the universities of Umeå, Luleå, Stockholm and Lund for 2012 available online by August 8, 2012. I looked at the titles and authors of books and chapters. As I am familiar with Sámi literature, as well as gender studies literature, it was quite easy for me to confirm the void of Sámi authors and texts that in particular deal with issues of Sami history, culture and traditions.

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2007; 2008; Kuokkanen 2006; 2012; Stordahl 1990; 2003). Yet, there must be very many students at our universities who are Sámi, or who would be able to claim Sámi identity if they were informed about their family history. I only got to know about my Sámi heritage at the age of 42, from a relative, as I started research on my own river and the Sámi living there (Öhman 2010(a)), and I have understood that similar things happens to other scholars, once they've started researching Sámi culture and history, older family members tell them about their Sámi heritage. Amongst other examples Anna-Lill Ledman who wrote her doctoral thesis on Sámi women in media (Ledman 2012), told me how, while working on her thesis at the age of 35, she was told of her Sámi heritage by close family and relatives (Ledman, pers. comm. 2013).

5.7 Reclaiming our body-, land-and waterscapes through academic research

Finding a voice of one's own, as a Sámi, is indeed a matter of life and death- of cultural, physical and mental wellbeing; of survival. Being both Sámi and an academic scholar of today is, despite many efforts by earlier and contemporary Sámi scholars, a huge challenge. There is a risk of becoming academically and personally split (See for example Fanon 1952; Battiste 2000; LaRocque 2010; Wyld 2011(a)). I am angered and feel terribly uneasy when I hear the ridiculing of Sámi traditions, appearances, or the falsely low number of Sámi persons in Sweden, which are all popular themes in dominant media (Sarri 2012; Silversparf 2014). Is my reaction abnormal? Or is it a normal reaction to an abnormal situation of colonization and repression?

Academic research performed by outsiders on the Sámi peoples began in the 17th century, with the ethnological work of the political scientist, Johannes Schefferus. Schefferus was followed by the famous non-Sámi Carolus Linnæus (Tunón 2012; Stoor 2008). The stories and narratives might not always be degrading nor diminishing, but they are still from the 'outside'. They are stories told about the "Others". Even Sámi, such as my ancestor Nicolaus Lundius, a Sámi intellectual who was a student in Uppsala in the 1670, may be found writing about themselves as the Other,, highlighting our exotic differences, and recreating existing stories told to persons from the outside (Lundius 1905 [1674]; Rydström 2007).

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This issue of inside-outside perspectives on Sámi culture, economy and life has been discussed within the Sámi community at least since early 20th century (Stoor 2007). Among others, the author and activist Karin Stenberg claimed that there was extensive research in regards to Sámi, but that the views of the research ‘object’ – the Sámi – were always distorted (Stenberg and Lindholm 1920; Stoor 2007). The Sámi scholar Israel Ruong (PhD in 1943) stated in 1981 that the majority of research about the Sámi People and their culture and economy has been performed by non-Sámi persons. Ruong explained that there is a need for Sámi individuals to take control over the research and formulate research questions (Ruong 1991; Stoor 2007). In 1974 Keskitalo presented the paper “Research as an Inter-Ethnic Relation”, which the Sámi scholar of Sámi Studies Krister Stoor (2007) describes in his PhD dissertation as the start of the internal Sámi discussion on the inside-outside perspective on academic research (Stoor 2007; Keskitalo 1994). Sámi scholar and professor of religion Louise Bäckman’s work, starting with her dissertation in 1975, also engages in this debate (Bäckman 1975; Bäckman and Hultkranz 1985) as does Nils Jernsletten in his 1978 article on Sámi yoik. Thus, several attempts have been made by Sámi scholars to go forward, challenging the objectification, the Othering. Today, there are more Sámi scholars - at least scholars who openly declare themselves as Sámi – active within the Swedish academic setting. Yet, there remains a lot of hard work to do..

To resist this we need to deal with our individual and collective memories of colonization and racial biology by recognizing the traces of this history in contemporary society. We need to deal with the fact that there are many Sámi persons that still either opt to hide their Sámi background or live in a situation where their Sámi ancestry and family history have been- or still are - hidden to them. The wounds are still open. Sámi persons, just like me, who are researchers, are dealing with these stories both personally and within our own research contexts. It is a matter of decolonizing, although it is a slow and painful process.

Our challenge is to work for the development of new research methodologies, ways of writing within an academic setting as well as the teaching of history that can provide us and others in similar positions - other Sámi scholars - with tools to formulate and respond to relevant

research questions for Sámi people and individuals. We must continue to challenge the power of what is commonly considered ‘objective scientific research’ (Haraway 1991(a);(b); Harding 1991). We need to work with decolonizing methodologies, as suggested by Martin (2003), Tuhivai Smith (1999) and Battiste (2000).

A major theme of the decolonizing methodologies discussed by all three scholars is self-presentation, introducing oneself to the readers, to the ones we interview, to those we wish to interact with. Martin explains: “The protocol for introducing one's self to other Indigenous people is to provide information about one's cultural location, so that connection can be made on political, cultural and social grounds and relations established” (Martin 2003) Karen Martin explains that in providing such details, she claims and declares her genealogy, her ancestry as well as her position as a researcher and author. She continues: “The purpose is to locate myself firstly as an Aboriginal person and then as a researcher. As a researcher, this clearly presents the assumptions upon which my research is formulated and conducted. This also allows others to locate me and determine the types of relations that might exist. So, in providing these details, I am also identifying, defining and describing the elements of Indigenist research” (Martin 2003, 204). My aim is that this chapter works as such a self-presentation, of myself as Sámi, my relational contexts and my intentions as a scholar.

Tuhivai Smith speaks of twenty-five Indigenous projects which may be formulated as decolonizing methodologies. Apart from the method of storytelling which is also described by Martin, the one most relevant to this chapter is “remembering”. Tuhivai Smith writes:

The remembering of a people relates not so much to an idealized remembering of a golden past but more specifically to the remembering of a painful past and, importantly, people's responses to that pain. [...] This form of remembering is painful because it involves remembering not just what colonization was about but what being dehumanized meant for our own cultural practices. Both healing and transformation become crucial strategies in any approach which asks a community to remember what they may have decided unconsciously or consciously to forget. (Tuhivai Smith 1999, 146)

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All three scholars each speak about the role of *healing*. Working as a scholar, applying a decolonizing methodology, is to work with healing of our Indigenous communities through different methods, always having the healing in mind. I work with the creation of our own TechnoVisions, my Sámi Cyborg TechnoVisions, to claim dreams and visions that benefit us as a people, as well as myself and others as individuals.

5.8 Yoiking the TechnoVisions of a Sámi Cyborg



[Figure 2 May-Britt Öhman speaking on issues of water and dams and risks at the November 17, 2012, manifestation against the current Swedish mineral law and the mining exploitation destroying of lands and waters in Sápmi and elsewhere, at Medborgarplatsen, Stockholm Photo: Tor Lundberg Tuorda]

While working on this article, the struggle at Gállok – Kallak – a planned mining site on an island in the Little Lule River, in Jokkmokk, became a major issue of conflict and debate. During the summer of 2013, a protest camp at Gállok was established and upheld from beginning of July until early October. Confrontations took place with the police as protesters

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constructed blockades to stop the prospecting company from accessing the test mining site. The existing conflict between people, both Sámi and non-Sámi, wishing to preserve Jokkmokk from further industrial colonization, and those, also both Sámi and non-Sámi, who envision TechnoHappiness in the form of new industrial establishments, escalated further. I followed and participated in the debates, in cyberspace in social media, as well as visiting and contributing to the protest camp, participating in and speaking at demonstrations, organizing workshops and seminars, and also presenting papers about different aspects of the mining prospecting (For example Öhman et al. 2013). I am involved and I am indeed partial. I have chosen a perspective, where I consider the current industrial exploitation of Sápmi as colonization and destruction of our cultures and traditions, which threaten to erase us and our way of life. However, I see aspects that require further analysis. The TechnoVisions of pasts, presents, futures – whether yoiked by Mattias Kuoljok, his son Apmut Ivar, or sung by representatives of the State Power Company or mining industries – are all about happiness and prosperity. Yet, these TechnoVisions collide in a brutal way; these visions cannot be fulfilled at the same time, at least not on the same piece of land. One of them either has had to make way, or will have to make way, for the other. In the case of hydropower exploitation, the reindeer herding, the fishery, as well as many other aspects of Sámi culture, was severely

affected. We did survive, we do survive, but we are indeed traumatized and scarred. For many Sámi the current struggle against mining companies is yet another a struggle for survival, for the continuation of Sámi cultures and traditions, of reindeer herding.

For others, both Sámi and non-Sámi local inhabitants in Jokkmokk, the dreams of prosperous futures are filled with big machines. I challenge the history writers to analyse and write *these* histories to aim at understanding what is at the core of these conflicts. I challenge the history and social science teachers to highlight the conflicting TechnoVisions instead of making Sámi perspectives invisible (See also Fur 2008). To the analysis I add the need of a context of decolonization, to understand what earlier colonization has done and how it affects us in the present. To understand the desire for TechnoHappiness, the dreams of *big* machines, and why Reindeer Happiness is not considered equally important in the land of Sámi – but rather often, even by Sámi, referred to something of the past, maybe it is viewed as a remnant of our “primitive” past.

I am a Sámi cyborg, I am a multitude of identities, places, spaces, of the past, present and the future, of human and non-human – of nature – culture – technology. I am the Julevädno. I am wired to the hydropower plants and the dams of the Julevädno, via the electric transmission lines, to the rest of Sweden, and to the neighboring countries, stabilizing your and my own safe electricity provision. I am the electricity providing your and my own modern life. I reclaim my traditions, my voice. I was trained in a positivist academic tradition, to write about the Sámi- about myself - as the Other. As objects to be dissected, analyzed. Understood. Explained. But, I revolt and rebel. This is a scientific academic article of history. This is history of science and technology. This is feminist technoscience. This is Sámi history tradition. This is me, yoiking, calling, challenging, encouraging! We're still here, and we will remain here. We are and will remain and be strong. We resist the destruction of our lands and waters. We reclaim our rivers, our waters, our lands, our stones, our mountains, trees, flowers, our bodies. Our futures!

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I end by inviting you to share the yoik-song by the group Vajas, with lead singer Ande Somby. I opt for the version with the Isogaisa dance, choreographed by the Norwegian Sámi artist Elin Kåven, available on You Tube (Kåven and Vajas 2011; Vajas 2007).²⁵

Sparrow of the Wind

Wind Gossip Gossip Winds Wind Gossip Me the Storm Sparrow I am the Sparrow The Sparrow among sparrows Silence knocking Knocking Silence Silence knocking Me the Eagle of Silence I am the Eagle The Eagle among eagles Calm Needed Needed Calm Calm Needed Me the Whirlpool of Calmness I am the Whirlpool The Whirlpool among whirlpools...

Biekkaid Bielločizáš

Biekkii Bigget Bigget dat bekkii beaggims Ja beaggimis bekkii Biekkaid bielločizáš Han ledjen Nu ledjen nu cizáš Cizášiid cizáš Goalki goalkkui Golkumes goalkkui Nu goalkkui nu golkkui Goalkki goaskin Goaskin mun ledjen Nu ledjen nu goaskin Goaskimiid goaskin Fertii firtet Firtet dat fertii Ja fertemis fertii Fierttuid fieran Fieran mun ledjen Nu ledjen nu fieran Fieraniid fieran

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²⁵ Text in English and in North Sámi is taken from the CD Vajas (2007).

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