

RE: Mindings

Co-Constituting Indigenous / Academic / Artistic Knowledges

EDITORS:
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UPPSALA MULTIETHNIC PAPERS 55

UPPSALA 2014

Uppsala Multiethnic Papers, 55

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Printed by Vulkan, Stockholm, 2014.

ISSN 0281-448X
ISBN 978-91-86531-10-2

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PREFACE

May-Britt Öhman opens:

“For indigenous peoples, place, land, sovereignty, and memory matter.”

– Byrd, 2011.

Mihá ja Gievrra

Dån tsamáda tjavgga

Divna gulli

Tjuorvo dav, dån le mihá

ja gievrra

Tsamáda tjavgga

Diededa gájkajda

Gulldal sielov, mihá ja gievrra

Värált le hárvas ájn

Fábmo le vájmodibme

Dån áro unnen valla bátsá

guhkas

Gut duosstel álggusittjat

Ja bálos gieladimev

Ane dal gielav, divna tjoavdá dån

– Negga, 2013

Proud and Strong

You whisper loudly

Everybody hears it

Shout it out, you are proud and strong

Whisper loudly

Let everybody know

Speak from your heart, proud and strong

The world is still generous

The power is heartless

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

Buoris, hello! Let me start with a quote stating that *place, land, sovereignty, and memory* matter to indigenous peoples by Jodi Byrd from her recently published book *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism* (2011). And then I continue with the song and yoik by Sámi artist Lovisa Negga, at present 23 years old, and her first song in (Lule) Sámi. I suggest you also listen to it on Lovisa Negga’s own website found at <http://lovisanegga.bandcamp.com/>.

Now you’ve listened to the song and read the lyrics – maybe a couple of times. Let me explain my relationship to this song and yoik, and its place in this publication. In *Mihá ja gievrra*, Lovisa Negga is reclaiming her language, her history and memory and does so proudly. I am inspired by Lovisa. My background too is Lule Sámi – but in my family, this heritage was shamed away, kept a secret. I only learnt

about the extent of my Sámi background when I was 20 years older than Lovisa is now. *Mihá ja Gievrra* is performed in the Sámi language that my family once spoke. Unfortunately, I never learnt this language. It was considered unnecessary, and my family was supposed to become SWEDISH, and to forget all about our Sámi heritage. Today I am PROUD to say that I am taking back my history. My tradition. My yoiks and my memory. And I stand STRONG in doing this. Lovisa Negga's song strengthens me, supports me. Memory matters. Sovereignty matters. Place and land matter. To this I add waters, human and non-human relationships.

This publication is a collection of presentations made, intended to be made and inspired by the Symposium *RE: Mindings; Co-Constituting Indigenous/Academic/Artistic Knowledges and Understandings of Land-, Water-, Body-, and Labscapes*, Uppsala Second Supradisciplinary Feminist TechnoScience Symposium, October 10-12, 2012. When I started planning for this symposium it was indeed me asking for support from friends and colleagues, within Sápmi-Sábme – the land of Sámi people – and elsewhere in the world. My aim was to strengthen the position of Indigenous Studies in Sweden, both from an inside perspective within the Swedish academic setting, and also with perspectives from Indigenous allies, i.e. friends and colleagues who are not member of Indigenous communities, but do their utmost to understand and support Indigenous peoples in our struggles.

So what I did was actually to ask for support for *myself* – as a Sámi scholar – in my very own need to navigate through a positivist normative dominant society academia. As “crying out for help” is not really how we currently are supposed to formulate ourselves within Academia, I formulated my outcry in the Call for Participation and Presentations as follows: “the ultimate aim and focus of the symposium is to provide a platform for a comparative and critical analysis of the Swedish situation in regard to Norway, the US, Canada, Japan and Australia, and thereby to further the theoretical development”. Quite a lot drier, but the content, the outcry remained the same.

The symposium itself was organized by me, Dr. May-Britt Öhman (Ph.D. in History of Science and Technology) from the platform and support of the Centre for Gender Research, Uppsala University. The research project DAMMED: Security, Risk and Resilience around the Dams of Sub-Arctica (VR, 2010-2012), which I manage as project leader, made it possible along with indispensable collaboration from the symposium participants who assisted through chairing sessions or as discussants, as well as taking care of practical things. Some contributed to programme planning, suggesting guests to invite. Among these were friends and colleagues within *UPPSAM*, the Association for Sámi Related Studies in Uppsala

[Föreningen för samiskrelaterad forskning i Uppsala], The Hugo Valentin Centre, and History of Religion, Faculty of Theology, Uppsala University.

The Sámi association *Silbonah Samesijdda*, led by Agneta Silversparf, was a very important collaborator and contributor. The symposium was linked to, and supported by, the ongoing interdisciplinary research program *Mind and Nature*, with funding from the Faculty of Arts, Uppsala University. The event was also sponsored by SALT (Forum for Advanced Studies of Arts, Language and Theology) and received additional funding from *Vetenskapsrådet* [Swedish Research Council] which was crucial. My sincere thanks go out to all of you.

When I decided to go ahead and ask for collaboration in organizing this Symposium, asking colleagues, Indigenous scholars, activists and artists as well as Indigenous allies, it was as a cry for help and support. I felt an urgent need to receive help to deal with a situation for people like me, scholars who are Indigenous – Sámi – in Sweden, having to deal with a colonial situation both within academia and outside. I felt – and I still feel – lost in regards to how to formulate myself and how to challenge the current situation with an even more aggressive colonization of Sámi territory. My beloved places, lands, waters, human and non-human relationships, sovereignty and memory are currently under a huge threat of destruction. This certainly needs to be addressed within the academic setting, from an inside perspective. To my great joy, many persons responded. They – you – came to my support in organizing the symposium and participating in it. It is through our collaboration that this publication could be assembled. A lot of great work has been put into these pages.

My heartfelt gratitude goes to you all for your efforts and contributions. I avoid mentioning names, primarily because the list will be extremely long, and secondly I might forget someone. This publication carries the names of contributors, participants, presenters, editors, financers and article authors. However, you may not see those who have performed work that is sort of “invisible” – such as dealing with administration, language editing, inspirations and support in the daily life, the private and/or the public. However, you are all part of this effort and I am so grateful to you all!

I will mention one such person, a non-human person, who is always by my side and always supportive no matter what I do or don't do. That is Lexie, my German shepherd now approaching her seventh year. When I write this, she is recovering from a disease that four weeks ago almost killed her. Thank you, Lexie, for always being there and thank you all other for your extremely important contributors! Together, we stand PROUD AND STRONG!

I now welcome the two co-editors who have done so much work in making this publication happen: Johan Gärdebo and Hiroshi Maruyama. Without your efforts, this publication would not have been possible!

Hiroshi Maruyama: It was in June 2012 that I saw May-Britt Öhman for the first time in Hokkaido, Japan. I drove her to the Nibutani Community in Biratori Town, where the Ainu have lived since more than ten thousand years ago. It is the most densely Ainu-populated area in the world at present. May-Britt was shocked to see the Nibutani Dam, which had devastated Ainu cultural heritages and natural resources, including salmon and edible wild plants for Ainu life and culture, with her own eyes. She was also surprised to see that half of the reservoir had already been filled with sediments from upstream, even though the dam was completed in 1996. Furthermore, what made her gloomy was that the Japanese government had an intention to construct one more dam up the Saru River, on which the Nibutani Dam was located. Our trip to Nibutani gave us an opportunity to deepen our awareness concerning the relationships among modern technology, society and humanity as well as to strengthen mutual understanding.

An instinctive thread of fate may have connected me to Uppsala. In October 2012, I first set foot in Uppsala to attend the Uppsala Second Feminist TechnoScience Symposium, organized by May-Britt. But in fact, I had passed Uppsala earlier by train, already in October 2005, while traveling to Orsa for an inspection of the Orsa Bear Park after the 14th International Conference on Bear Research and Management in Italy. During my brief stop in Uppsala, I was so impressed by the beauty of the city that I suddenly had an idea to be back there in the near future. Unexpectedly, my visit to Uppsala became a reality around five years later after I had first passed it by train. What attracted me to Uppsala is not only instinct, but also the title of the symposium *RE: Mindings: Co-Constituting Indigenous/Academic/Artistic Knowledges and Understandings of Land-, Water-, and Body-, and Lab-scapes Uppsala Second Supradisciplinary Feminist TechnoScience Symposium* [Re-Mindings Symposium]. In fact, the symposium made a difference to me.

Many presenters revealed that the authorities have neglected the Sami and other Indigenous Peoples in the decision-making processes. They persuaded me to recognize again that Indigenous Peoples are still under the colonization of their territories by Nation-States. Even now I wonder why the *Convention on Environmental Impact Assessment in a Transboundary Context* or the principle of *Free, Prior and Informed Consent* are not applied to those problems. Further, Indige-

nous Rights are guaranteed under International Human Rights Law, such as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), ILO Convention No. 169, the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD) and so on. Of the activists' articles I had read prior to the publication, none seemed to discuss International Human Rights Law. In this context, the *RE-Mindings Symposium* organized by May-Britt was essential for stimulating researchers and activists to work together for mutual solutions.

Almost all of the presenters, including May-Britt, expanded their presentations to their personal involvements in problems faced by them – or example possible detrimental damages to the Sápmi by further mine development and never-ending military drills. They spoke out about their genealogy, personal history and family life. It encouraged me to connect my research activities to myself and, consequently, to rethink what I have done through research. As a result, I decided to change my specialty from Environmental Sociology to Environmental and Minority Studies. I have been working in favor of local residents and Indigenous Peoples who struggle for local autonomy and social justice over environmental problems, despite the fact that the majority of them are silenced, in fear of social ostracism in their communities. In my opinion, Minority Studies represent the reality of my research much more than Environmental Sociology.

I am most grateful to all the participants in the *RE-Mindings Symposium* and the authors of this publication for making a difference to me, as mentioned above. At present, their presentations and papers are engraved in my mind and have become a part of myself. I have never had this sort of experience in other conferences, symposiums and seminars throughout my career. Lastly, I would like to express my heartfelt thanks to May-Britt Öhman, for her generously involving me in the *RE-Mindings Symposium* not only as a presenter but also as co-editor of this publication. I was quite happy to be able to work with Johan Gärdebo, an intelligent Master student at Uppsala University, now Ph.D. student at KTH Royal Institute of Technology, although my contribution to the publication is infinitely less than his.

Johan Gärdebo: To me, this publication is about belonging. It is about how one may be connected to a place, while at the same time remain detached from its society, of being both deprived and entitled to resources. And how it is that 'indigenous' all too often is synonymous with 'otherness' in many societies around

the world. On these questions of belonging, Indigenous Peoples, academics and activists may identify commonalities in their challenges, and build foundations for cooperation.

The brief time I have worked on topics where society, indigenusness and natural resources intersect have acquainted me with their complexity. I am reassured that this publication is both an introduction and invitation to you as a reader on a longer journey; one that comments on how indigenous groups are distinct, but also what many peoples around the world share and cherish in common.

Regardless of your own heritage, it is fully possible, and necessary I think, to reflect on the effects that modern society have had for different forms of human and natural beings. I myself am descended from inhabitants in the Swedish provinces of Värmland, Hälsingland and Uppland. They were farmers, teachers, priests and entrepreneurs. I was told they were well adapted to their societies; their practices and beliefs were recognized by peers in their communities. They viewed themselves from within a societal framework where they belonged. But their Nation- and Welfare State also labeled groups like the Sami as *being* 'other', outsiders and outliers of the community. And this too is part of the society that my grandparents' generation contributed towards building.

RE:Mindings raises several questions as to how differences among humans are acknowledged in modern society – what the Nation-State has meant for the rights of its minorities and Indigenous Peoples. And it is this relationship – between *society*, *Indigenous Peoples* and *natural resources* – that run as a red thread throughout the articles compiled herein: These areas will resurface throughout the publication as the experiences of Indigenous Peoples and minorities are discussed. It is not only an issue of nationalities and ethnic groups in conflict with society: but of approaches to knowledge; of legitimacy when writing history; of the defects prevalent in maintaining Nation-States as models for modern society.

Then again, what are our alternatives? It is this question that we as academics and activists have sought to address. One way forward is to re-interpret citizenship; that by democracy *we refrain from the might of the many, to uphold the rights of the few*. Practically, this may imply the parliamentary representation of Indigenous Peoples and minorities, or to discuss what regional and cultural plurality means to the State in terms of future challenges of environmental threats and conflicts over resources. But regardless, it starts by seeing yourself in another being and in being an 'other'.

I find the implication of this publication to be that acknowledging difference is a means for developing new forms of similarity, with humans globally and environments locally; to respect humans and nature that are seemingly apart from oneself. Affinity need no longer be a prerequisite for coexistence.

As I begin I conclude. This publication is a contemporary comment on modern society, one that may be said to emerge globally. Though not a member of any Indigenous community, I have come to understand, and believe, that solidarity is chosen and as such the issues of the Sami, Ainu, or Mapuche may become my own and that of majority society. I wish to extend my gratitude to May-Britt Öhman for encouraging me to take on the Symposium publication, despite my novel degree of knowledge on the subject matter prior to the project. I am grateful to the editorial team – to India Reed Bowers for her proofreading as well as comments on factual content; to Viktor Wrange for layout; to Hugo Valentin Centre for brief and brave revising efforts in the 11th hour. Lastly, I am indebted to co-editor Hiroshi Maruyama, who opened my eyes to the global character of this work. Writing across our time zones enhanced the feeling of international collaboration between different groups of peoples in varying contexts; as one went to bed in Sweden, another rose in Japan to continue the work.

May-Britt Öhman, again: I'd like to end with a few questions – a challenge to the reader. These questions regard one of the central issues in Indigenous Studies as well as within in all mainstream academic disciplines, in the *RE-Mindings Symposium*, and in this publication. I also find these questions are of the utmost importance to address, so as to ensure a successful and mutually supportive collaboration between Indigenous Peoples and Indigenous allies. I refer to a quote by Jodi A. Byrd, concerning how *Indigenous Peoples, place, land, sovereignty, and memory matter*; but then I am reversing it, to ask the questions of those of you who are not members of a specific Indigenous People.

The questions go like this:

- I am quite sure that “place, land, sovereignty, and memory” matter to all human beings. Most human beings have one or several specific places, relationships, and memories that really matter. But when one is part of the dominant society, you never – or rarely – have to talk about or explain it. Not in every academic article you write. Not in every discussion or presentation you make on your specific topic. *Why* is this so do you think?

- What is your own relationship to the place, land, waters, memory, sovereignty that you are part of?
- How can you reverse your own gaze, when you are part of the dominant society? How can you write, present, illustrate differently from the norm?

Well, those are my questions and my challenge. I am quite confident that this publication may provide quite a lot of assistance for you in your further reflections.

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Subjectivity of the Ainu People Described in the Book ‘Nibutani’, Edited by Kaizawa Tadashi

A New Discovery and Approach to Ainu Research

Kaori Arai

Ph.D. student, Rikkyo University, Tokyo, Japan. Born 1966 in Saitama Prefecture. Graduated from the Chinese Language and Literature Department at Beijing University, worked at a travel agency and secretary to Kayano Shigeru of the House of Councillors. In the aim of reevaluating the image of the Ainu outside the bounds of current Ainu research, entered Rikkyo University Graduate School Sociology Department’s Ph.D. program as a graduate student and is research documents pertaining to Kaizawa Tadashi, her grandfather. Interests include Ainu research, lifehistory, historical sociology, and issues pertaining to modern Ainu.

Abstract

Ainu studies still lack an inside perspective from the Ainu themselves though the importance of such perspective has been recognized for a deeper understanding of the Ainu by a few Ainu and Wajin [ethnic Japanese] postmodern scholar. To begin with, Ainu “self telling history” have been considered by researchers of Ainu studies to be “non-existent.” In other words, it can be said that the very act of dealing with modern history in relation to the Ainu by those materials was under a taboo for both the Ainu and the Wajin.

This article demonstrates that a history book of the Nibutani Community entitled “Nibutani” edited by Kaizawa Tadashi in cooperation with local residents is a rare example of modern Ainu history compiled by the Ainu themselves. The book covers all the details of each family with family trees though the Ainu hardly confessed themselves as Ainu under severe discrimination at the time. Further most of its lifestories were collected through the interviewing of those families by Kaizawa himself. As far as the contents are concerned, some stories are related to the Ainu, whereas others are seemingly related to their personal life. Thus the book presented a variety of stories that represent the then lives of the local residents in the Nibutani Community.

At the moment when ‘Nibutani’ was published the Ainu did not voluntarily talk about their own history, and neither were expected to do so. ‘Nibutani’,

which was completed by Kaizawa, connected the individually divided histories to each other, and made clear the relationships between the individuals and the community. As a result, the local residents in the Nibutani Community have appreciated this book for highlighting their own perspectives on their local history.

Purpose and Method of the Research

The purpose of this article is to demonstrate that a book ‘Nibutani’, written and edited by Kaizawa Tadashi in 1981, is an epoch-making book, even at the time of the writing of this article, to the extent that it is written about and by the Ainu themselves and in the format of general communal history books. The materials that have been used in this article are those that remained after Kaizawa’s death in his study chambers at his former residence in Nibutani, Biratori-cho in Hokkaido; I attempted a basic organization of those materials while living there in 2010. In addition to those materials, interviews I conducted with several people who were involved in the creation of the ‘Nibutani’ book are also used for the writing of this article. I am a granddaughter of Kaizawa and am able to access his left materials, such as manuscripts. Furthermore, I am connected to the ancestors and the community Kaizawa has written about, both tangibly and intangibly, as an Ainu myself. This makes it possible for me to have a perspective on the Ainu, who have different history from that of Wajin (non-Ainu Japanese), from an internal viewpoint (Arai, 2010). Hopefully this perspective will strengthen my research activities.

Background of the Research

A broad overview on the background of Ainu research in relation to ‘Nibutani’ is as follows: Ainu research¹ has been framed by discourses wherein the sources used for Ainu research were only the ones described from the perspective of Wajin, and the sources described by the will and values of the Ainu were considered “non-existent”(Sasaki, T. 2010: 33). In regard to literary materials, most of them are written in the 18th century onwards and from the perspective of Wajin and, as a result, the traditional and eternal image of the Ainu appearing in the Ainu historical research is fixed in many minds (Emori 1982: 11-3). In terms of folk materials, most of them had been collected in certain areas since the 1930s in Japan; this has resulted in a single and uniform perception of the Ainu culture, despite the fact that Ainu culture was originally highly diverse both chronologically and spatially (Ko-

tani, 1996). Ainu as described in such Wajin constructed Ainu research were strictly objects and merely existed as “others” with no individual faces from the perspective of Wajin. The biggest problem in such research is that the Ainu culture is seen as a single and uniform traditional culture. Such a view makes it difficult for Ainu themselves to perceive their own history and culture as theirs and something that is connected to the present. Stereotypes formed in such a way serve to reinforce, rather than weaken, prejudices against Ainu, who bear the burden of the predicament² that has been created by the relationship with Japan.

Due to the above-mentioned reasons, Wajin-constructed and -conducted Ainu research has been severely criticized by “the Ainu with voice”, who were aware of their own ethnic identity since the end of the 1960s (Yūki, 1997). However, most of these Ainu criticisms have resulted in the extreme glorification of their own kind via a putting of themselves on the side of the victims, a lapsing into a simple “victimizer and victim”-based model (Sasaki, M. 2008: 133-8) through the lack of a reflection on the past. Such overly-positive images of the Ainu are merely reversals of the inherently negative image of Ainu created by Wajin – the other side of the same proverbial coin. Hence, it cannot be argued that those Ainu reversals alone are effective in criticizing the existing Wajin-based Ainu research for the stereotyping of the Ainu.³ Kaizawa, unlike those “Ainu with voice”, attempted to begin talking about his true self. In other words, he did not romanticize the Ainu, but rather pursued diverse images of the Ainu that reflected the real nature of the Ainu.

About Kaizawa Tadashi

Kaizawa Tadashi was born the eldest son of nine brothers in 1912 to a poor family of Nibutani village; a village in which most of the population has consisted of Ainu even up to the present-day. Today it is considered common logic that the poverty of the Ainu originates from the national policies of Japan. However, at the time of Kaizawa poverty was used as a justification for prejudice against the Ainu to prove the Ainu’s “racial inferiority.” In order to avoid prejudice, the Ainu who were conscious of their ethnic identities made efforts to be perceived as “Wajin” through “cultivation of the mind” for themselves and their own people (Baba, 1972: 230). Among them was Kaizawa, who grew up with the single objective of “becoming Sisam (Wajin)” (Kaizawa, 1993: 5-6).

After World War II, Kaizawa worked hard to acquire new agricultural skills and became one of the “leading exemplary farmers” in Hokkaido (Kayano, 1993: 279). Aside from those agricultural activities he acted in communal community

roles, for example as farmland commissioner, and organized the local young Ainu generation to develop the local industry in Nibutani. Eventually these activities made Kaizawa realize that the community issues would not be resolved only by economic reconstruction; therefore, he started to direct his efforts in the direction of the Ainu rights movement – at that time he was over forty years old. Kaizawa later served for the Ainu as the Vice Chairman of the Ainu Association of Hokkaido, and he became an icon that represents and symbolizes the Ainu People through struggling against the Japanese government for Ainu Indigenous rights.

The then-campaign for the restoration of Ainu rights primarily focused on the promotion of Ainu culture. Although helping those campaigners, Kaizawa also wrote and edited several history books of the Ainu People throughout his life, with a firm belief that rebuilding Ainu history was what was needed for the campaign.⁴ His attitude towards valuing Ainu history was prominently different from that of other activists in the same period. Kaizawa gradually started to turn his urge to become Wajin in his youth into a desire for his own ethnic awareness. He did this by being involved in the campaign for the restoration of Ainu rights and deepening his understanding of the history.

Uniqueness of ‘Nibutani’

The written communal history of Nibutani originates in Nibutani’s Community Association of 1978, where the proposal of Kayano,⁵ “Why don’t we consider the editorial of Nibutani history while the elders are alive,” was decided with a “unanimous vote (Nibutani buraku-shi hensyū iinkai, 1983: 1).” The Chairman of the time, Nitani,⁶ says that he did some behind-the-scenes work to have it voted down; however, the fact that the proposal was “unanimously” adopted exhibits how much the people in Nibutani wanted to write their own history. Kaizawa accepted the offer to be the head of the Editorial Committee, as he had already served as a member of the editorial committee of a history book on Biratori-cho and had published an article entitled “Visiting the History” through a branch of the Ainu Association of Hokkaido.

During a decade before and after the 100th anniversary of the annexation of Hokkaido by Japan, with 1968 as a peak, the time was ripe for the publication of communal history books across Hokkaido, and a large number of communal history books were published (Kuwabara, 1993: 362-3). The bookbinding style of those books resembles that of ‘Nibutani’ in the sense that they also are upholstered and stored in boxes. However, the most prominent difference between ‘Nibutani’ and other communal history books is that the former consists of the family trees

and life stories of 124 families of the 138 families total of Nibutani, only excluding those 14 who refused to be listed, with each page as allocated to each family. To my knowledge, there is no other Ainu communal history book that includes the family trees and life stories of common people. Even in 1983 and in Nibutani, where the Ainu population was large, “the word ‘Ainu’ was nearly a taboo” (Honda, 1997: 64-5). Under those circumstances it was a rather daring challenge to list family trees, exposing Ainu identities through the names of their ancestors. The refusal of potential participants to be listed in the communal history book was mainly due to the listing of such family trees. A note by Kaizawa shows that this reality made the editorial process difficult in many occasions. It is merely my assumption that Kaizawa might have requested the people of the community to talk about themselves from the inescapable standpoint of bloodline.

Through the original text left at the Kaizawa’s residence it became apparent to me that most of the life stories were documented by Kaizawa. The image of Ainu appeared no longer as an object to be described, but as a creation of the Ainu who express themselves by their own will. In these texts, Ainu speak freely about their own families in modern history. ‘Nibutani’ includes stories that are not only typically Ainu-associated, such as stories of Ainu culture, but that are also something inherently and individually unique. These stories, which are written in an animated form of first-person perspective as if the people themselves are speaking, depict various characteristics of each individual in Nibutani that may or may not be typically “Ainu.” In addition, ‘Nibutani’ pays attention to even those families that refused to be listed, so that they themselves or their ancestors could be found somewhere in the book, at the least. In general, Ainu research has ignored the “ordinary” Ainu who do not express the will to change their own situations and are not involved in Ainu culture, as if they were considered “not ethnically aware of themselves” – ‘Nibutani’ contrasts that research well. In other words, ‘Nibutani’ itself makes a counterargument against Wajin-based, stereotypical Ainu research. ‘Nibutani’, which was created by Kaizawa together with the people of Nibutani, is



Ainu family tree. Photo by Kaori Arai.

currently acclaimed by the community. The community Chairman of the time of the book's creation, Nitani, said "everyone was pleased" when the book was published, that even those who refused to be listed in the book sought after it. Nitani also said that the book impressed Wajin in Biratori-cho, who said things like "Nibutani is impressive", as there had been no attempts to create such communal history books prior to 'Nibutani' inanna Birtori. The current community Chairman and Director of the Biratori Ainu Association, Kimura,⁷ also gives it high praise:

I think that the people in Nibutani value it [this book] a lot. You can understand the history and the situation of that time in Nibutani. [...] Yes, of course, that is possible. This is my own opinion, but there are no other communities where such a book has been created. The pride of Nibutani comes from the fact that it is extraordinary that Ainu created something like this in a proper fashion within Biratori-cho.

Even now Ainu in Nibutani favor 'Nibutani', as it depicts their own history and gives them pride.

Concluding Remarks

The Law for the Promotion of Ainu Culture of 1997 could potentially solidify the traditional, yet stereotypical, image of the Ainu as a result of being built upon deficits of research about the Ainu. The enforcement of such law is likely to lead to the oppression of the diverse individual realities that each Ainu person has.

'Nibutani', edited by Kaizawa Tadashi, has not been labeled as an "academic" work since it was published for the Nibutani community. However, as mentioned earlier, it depicts a modern history of the Ainu from a viewpoint of the Ainu themselves, not from that of research merely *about* the Ainu. 'Nibutani', therefore, may in fact release the Ainu from the existing stereotypical image of the Ainu; 'Nibutani' is worth reading today.

Going forward, I wish to continue with the organization of Kaizawa's materials so as to contribute towards the rebuilding the image of the Ainu. I also intend to interpret the history of the Ainu from Kaizawa's perspective using a history-based, sociological approach, as well as an extensive reading of a wide range of research concerning the Ainu from the past, so as to reveal a fresh interpretation to society. This article represents the basis of my research.

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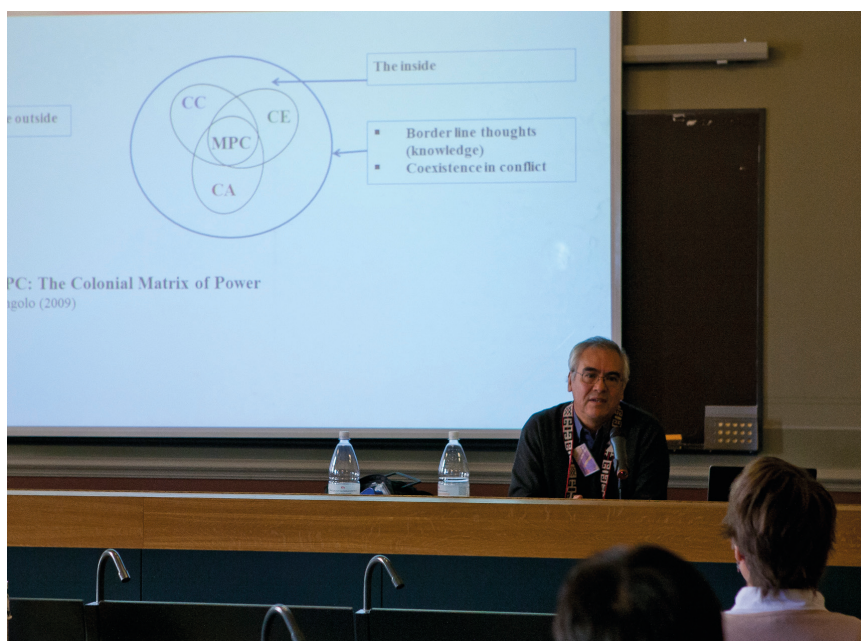
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Notes

- ¹ The Ainu research has been developed mainly around linguistics as a separate field of studies from various humanities such as historiography or anthropology though some are related.
- ² The current state of Ainu is summarized based on the research report by Hokkaido University.
- A. The college attendance rate of Ainu is only 4.7 percent (national average of Japan is 50 percent).
- B. The average household income of Ainu is 200-300 mil. JPY/year, this is 200 mil. JPY lower than national average.
- C. Discrimination against Ainu perseveres. Discrimination is especially relevant in regards to marriage patterns (Onai ed. 2010).
- ³ In regards to claims made by "Ainu with voice", Wajin researchers refrain from criticizing them due to the influence of the position of "Ainu with voice", hence it is not well-analyzed. In the future, I wish to deepen the argument on this point.
- ⁴ Other history books edited by Kaizawa are *Biratori-chō shi* and *Ainu si siryo hen 1-4*. In addition to these works, there are many history-related articles, published in both newspapers and magazines and written by Kaizawa, that I have not listed here.



Kaori Arai with interpreter Jorunn Nilsson at the Symposium. Photo by Tor Lundberg Tuorda.



Jorge Calbucura. Photo by Tor Lundberg Tuorda.

⁵ Kayano Shigeru (1926-2006). Born in Nibutani. After graduating from Nibutani Elementary [Primary] School, Shigeru worked in forestry and carpentry and at the same time began to collect Ainu objects (folk art) and folk tales. He was the recipient of many prizes. In 1994, he was elected to the House of Councilors, where he was instrumental in the creation of the *Law for the Promotion of Ainu Culture*.

⁶ Nitani Mitsugu (1928-). Born in Nibutani. After graduating from the upper grade of Biratori Primary School, Mitsugu worked in agriculture and forestry. He was interviewed twice by the author of this article, on February 23 and April 26, 2011, at the Nitani home in Nibutani.

⁷ Kimura Hidehiko (1963-). Born in Nibutani. After dropping out of Sapporo University, Hidehiko became a landscape architect in Nibutani. He was interviewed twice by the author of this article, on February 22 and April 19, 2011, at the Kimura home in Nibutani.

The Decolonization of Knowledge, and Being Mapuche in Chile¹

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In 2011, I started *Forum for Indigenous People's Rights*. The forum aims to identify the knowledge, information and experiences in the field with particular focus on social work and Indigenous people. I identify myself as Indigenous: Mapuche.

Abstract

This study focuses on the exploration of the interrelationship of the imagined national community made by collective myths. From the perspective of the colonial matrix of power theory the analysis focuses on “being Mapuche”—that is, belonging to Indigenous People in Chile. I will highlight the dynamic inter-relationship of three myths: the myth of the foundation, the myth of the blood sacrifice, and the myth of ideological relationship.

Introduction

The history of Indigenous Peoples' resistance to colonialism is closely linked to the military occupation of territories, the subjugation of its natives, and the imposition of a *colonial power matrix of power*. This power is embodied in three spheres:

- Control of the economy
- Control of the authority
- Control of knowledge and subjectivity

By appropriating lands, natural resources, forms of government and military control, as well as the forms of coloniality and being, one is in control of knowledge

production itself (Mignolo, 2009). Relating these three spheres within the colonial matrix of power occurs between the *material domination*, economy, authority, institutions, and the *epistemic domination*. From this interrelationship emerges the importance of the knowledge that is in the control of subjectivity and, consequently, in the control of the economy and authority.² As such, the colonial matrix of power defines and generates *insiders* – humanity, civilization, development – as well as *outsiders* – barbarians, Indians, and primitive and inferior beings.

Thus, generating and creating an outside through defining the inside, there exists a perpetual dynamic and asymmetrical condition; this is coexistence in conflict, with decolonial thoughts and decolonization emerging at the exterior within the border. From these circumstances the outsiders, previously limited in participation and decision-making, begin to demand their epistemic rights. It is in this context that the history of resistance of Indigenous Peoples casts a dimension to the political and social reality in Latin America.

Nation-State and National Identity as Symbolic Engineering

The modern nation is defined on the principle of territoriality, that is to say, on geographical representation. From this perspective the State is a national territory, which is the mental representation of a geographical, social and sociological space in the collective conscience of a nation. The relationship between territory and nation suggests the idea of a State, and consequently the emergence of the nationalist paradigm.³

The concept of *State* as the personification of nation and territory, without distinction, is recognized as existing both on local and global levels. For this purpose, it emphasizes the interrelationships between the societal, geographical and historical environments. State is located in a nation's moral centre, defining the profile of a sense of belonging and identity. *Nation* defines the extent of what is considered as the country of origin. A nation without a country, a State, is consequently not recognized as a nation.

Imbued here is a symbolic engineering mechanism that excludes dual identity from an imagined national community.⁴ The double national identity, particularly in the Americas, considers a dynamic interrelationship of three myths:

- The myth of the foundation, “We arrived first or as early as you...”,
- The myth of blood sacrifice, “We fought and gave our lives for our chosen homeland”,

- The myth of the ideological relationship, “the ideas we brought with us are American ideas” (Overland, 2000).

Furthermore, engineering and symbolic imagery as an idea of the double identity integrates two spheres of knowledge: the *cultural* and the *political*. This relationship is embodied in the mix of official history with myths and collective inventions. As a result, this relationship forms a dynamic imaginary structure where the “past” emerges as a symbolic expression of a collective destiny. In turn, this notion of the “past” serves as a continental and national emancipation project with future projections, and not as a pre-designed project in an archaic past.

The Mapuche Nation’s Territorial Autonomy: Historical Survey

In contrast to what happened to other Indigenous Peoples in North and South America, the Spanish Empire was never able to subjugate the Mapuche. On January 9, 1641, following decades of bloody fighting between Spain and the Mapuche, hostilities ceased with the signing of the *Treaty of Quilín*. This treaty recognized the River Bío-Bío as the southern border of the General Captaincy of Chile. It also stated that the Araucanía started at the Bío-Bío. In 1811, one hundred and seventy years later⁵ and under less advantageous conditions for the Mapuche, representatives of the new Republic of Chile ratified the principles of the treaty. By then, the Mapuche had preserved their territorial autonomy for two hundred and forty-two years.

The colonial war against the Mapuche is one of the longest in history. Military aggression covers more than three centuries, beginning with the Spanish invasion on Mapuche territory by Pedro de Valdivia in 1541, lasting through the *Conquest in the Desert* (1833-81) in Argentina,⁶ and then the *Pacification of the Araucanía* (1862-83) in Chile.⁷ Historically, the cause for struggle between the Mapuche and the Spanish Empire, and its successor republics, has been land. The Mapuche sought to defend their territory, while the Spanish, Chile and Argentina aimed at expanding their territory by conquest.

Much like other Indigenous groups in the Americas, the Mapuche suffered a drastic reduction in numbers in later centuries.⁸ According to Hernández (1985: 14), the Mapuche population in Chile prior to the Spanish invasion reached approximately one million people.⁹ After three decades the Mapuche had been reduced to 600,000 in number. Two hundred years later, the genocide reached its peak through a war of extermination launched by the governments of both Ar-

gentina and Chile. By the late 19th century, no more than 150,000 Mapuche were estimated to have lived in Chile following the wars.¹⁰

Before the Republics of Chile and Argentina exercised sovereignty over Mapuche territory, the “indigenous question” was a political-military problem. In January 1883, the Chilean Army occupied the Araucanía with Chile taking possession of approximately 9 million hectares of land. The Government of Chile, by decree, declared this territory property of the Republic. In the course of 35 years, 1884-1919, approximately 80,000 Mapuche were confined to some three thousand reservations; a territory consisting of approximately 500,000 hectares in a mountainous zone devoid of Government assistance. The reservations became enclaves for an agrarian subsistence economy.¹¹

The Myths

The Myth of Foundation

In the Americas the foundation myth has shaped the identity of its countries through a synthesis of the past, developed from a unique and exclusive fusion. It is based on the premise that has generated a version of a highly-complicated issue in the historiography of the Americas: the myth that “we arrived first.” In empirical terms, this is referred to as frontier expansion, displacement, location as well as transition and alteration of socio-cultural boundaries.

The theory of frontier expansion in the Americas entails two models of appropriation of territory: the Hispanic and Anglo-Saxon. According to Turner (1893) in the Anglo-Saxon case the “frontier expansion” is characterized by the appropriation of the “free lands” (*terra nullius*).

The official version of Chilean history stresses the idea of an expanding Chilean frontier, similar to the North American model, “the great and continuous advance.” In this frame of reasoning the historian Villalobos (1982) has contributed a further interpretation of the notion of “displacement of the Spanish socio-cultural frontier.” Villalobos recognizes the existence of Indigenous population. The Mapuche, as groups of nomad conglomerates, would according to this description have the particularity of being social groups in a perpetual level of decay and anomie. According to Villalobos there are, other than this, no antecedents confirming the existence of a socio-cultural jurisdiction, much less a form of sovereignty exercised over territory by the Mapuche Indians. The Mapuche territory is considered “*terra nullius*” and is – as was argued in North America – open to the advancement of settlers.

The existence of a military frontier, and the subsequent resistance from the Mapuche Nation due to displacement of the socio-cultural boundary, enables us to interpret history from a decolonizing perspective. Particularly the issue of “parliaments”, held between the Spanish and Mapuche during more than two centuries, exemplifies the validity and existence of a military frontier and socio-cultural interaction.

The evidence of this relationship is embodied in the treaties signed between the Spanish Crown and the Mapuche Nation. The sequence of treaties between the Mapuche Nation and the Spanish Crown is long and starts with the Parliament of Killin, on January 6th 1641, and finishes with the General Parliament of Negrete, March 3-5th 1803.¹² In total, 36 international treaties were enacted with the Mapuche (Gavilán, 2002). And, until 1803, the Spanish Crown recognized the inviolability of Mapuche territory and self-determination as well as commitments to mutual defense against foreign aggression.¹³

In similar terms, the new Republic of Chile signed, in 1825, the *Treaty of Taphue* with Mapuche political representatives. The text of the *Treaty of Taphue* emphasizes that the new Chilean Republic will not violate their mutual frontier.¹⁴ This treaty establishes that the Bio-Bio River is the frontier between Chile and Ragko-Mapu,¹⁵ or the Mapuche Nation.¹⁶ An additional antecedent that is worth mentioning is the Chilean Constitution of 1833, which stipulates that the territorial jurisdiction of the Republic of Chile¹⁷ runs from the provinces of Coquimbo to Concepcion – north of Bio-Bio River.¹⁸

In sum, international treaties signed between the Spanish Crown, the Republic of Chile and the Mapuche population in Indigenous reservations are evidence of a border-coexistence between three sovereign nations.

The Myth of Blood Sacrifice

Culturally and politically, the myth of the blood sacrifice completes the integration of the national imagery, exalting the importance of sacrifice, or immolation, for the sake of the Motherland. This is materialized as a conduit of inclusion in the imaginary collective of those who were not endowed with the Latin biological-cultural heritage.

The homeland engages in wars; to immolate for the sake of the homeland is to express loyalty towards the imagined national community. In Latin America, this loyalty was certified by participation in the independence-, civil-, and interstate wars that shaped and reshaped boundaries of homelands. The gallery of American heroes includes not only individual deeds, but highlights the commitment of entire ethnic groups to causes.

In Chile it is difficult to find representatives of Indigenous Peoples as central characters in the war acts of the imagined homeland; rather, records indicate the opposite. Regarding the Mapuche Nation, these persons are mentioned chiefly as opponents against the founding of the Republic of Chile.

The independence war that was fought by the Chileans against the Spanish was, in its absolute majority, performed by Criollos – Spaniards born in the colonies of the empire – and mestizos – descendants of the Spanish and Indians. The Indigenous population, especially the Mapuche, predominantly fought on the side of the Spanish military forces.

From the point of view of the myth of blood sacrifice for the homeland, there have been seven occasions on which Chile could have established a gallery of heroes and martyrs for the national imaginary. Chile has participated in three interstate wars,¹⁹ three civil wars,²⁰ and one war of territorial annexation and ethnic cleansing.²¹ Of these seven armed conflicts, only in two has the Mapuche Nation actively participated as an adversary.

The first case involves the active participation of the Mapuche on the side of the Spanish Empire troops. On April 5th, 1818 the Chilean forces imposed a military defeat on the Spanish forces.²² The Spanish reorganized its military forces, retreating to the Mapuche territory south of the Bío-Bío River, and, with help received from the Mapuche, it was possible to proceed with military operations against the Chilean forces. The war raged extensively from 1819 to 1824, at which point the Spanish troops were defeated. During this time the Mapuche contingent that was at the disposal of Spain exceeded 6,000 warriors.²³ A year later, the peace *Treaty of Tiahue* was agreed to by the Mapuche Lonko, “political chief”, Francisco Mariluan, together with the Chilean government.²⁴

Notwithstanding, on July 2nd 1852, two decades after the peace agreement with the Mapuche Nation recognizing their autonomy and territory, the Chilean state enacted the law that *the Mapuche territories have to be annexed to the Chilean State*.²⁵ It is known as Chile’s most unusual law, as it is an extraterritorial legislation to be applied to territories that lie outside of the territorial jurisdiction of Chile.²⁶ The aggression, under the name “Pacification of Araucanía”, culminated with the occupation of the Mapuche territory and subsequent campaigns of ethnic cleansing.

Against this historical background it is possible to claim that territory, nation and nation-territory are interchangeable notions. Mapuche territorial self-autonomy, and the later annexation to the Chilean State, demonstrate that the nation-territory is susceptible to adopt different qualities depending on the institutional jurisdiction.

The problem with the Chilean official story is how it places Mapuche Indians in the imagined national community, because there is no information demonstrating their blood sacrifice for the Chilean homeland. It is no coincidence that the official story highlights the Mapuche persons who militarily resisted the attempts of the Spanish conquest; a story that integrates them into the national imagination as the precursors of the struggle for the independence of Chile from Spanish colonial rule.²⁷

The Myth of the Ideological Association

The third myth in the agenda of inclusions and exclusions articulates the cultural and political notion of “Latin America.” It emphasizes how Spanish conquest and colonization resulted in the integration of the continent into the Western, Christian world.

Latin American identity and nationalism is related to the idea of the modernist project; it confers to both notions a past and collective destiny that emancipates it for future projections rather than seeing its ancient, Indigenous past.

From this perspective, the Latin American identity and nationalism interrelates the myth of ideological association with the idea of modern thought and the notion of progress towards a rational culture. In this regard, the idea of modernity emerges from the concept of the accepting of a universal, single and identical rationality to all civilizations and throughout time (Villoro, 1998).

The Latin American identity refers to a widespread continental and generalized conscience of struggle for the Independence from the Spanish Empire. The Latin American identity is the consciousness of belonging to a wider imagined community with a common language, religion and cultural background. In this context, there stands out the foundation of republican institutions and the democratic ideals of independence from the colonial political system.

As a part of the myth of ideological association emerges the issue of continental or national identity, which is motivated by the Western idea that connects two concepts: *State* and *nation*. The myth of the ideological association strongly intends that State and nation are congruent; the idea of the Nation-State is characteristic of modern thinking (Maldonado, 2008).

The idea of nation emerges from two traditions of thought. On the one hand is the French tradition inherited from the French Revolution, which sees the nation as a political entity made up of law and equal citizens. The French Nation from the Napoleonic era is a political community formed after the State. The other definition corresponds to the German romantic tradition that sees the nation as

the existence of a cultural community, a common language and a common ethnic origin. The German tradition points to the existence of the nation a priori to the foundation of a State.

The idea of modernity emerges from accepting the concept of a single, universal, rationality. According to this interrelation, the Nation-State represents a rational construction, rooted in a supposed ethnic homogeneity as well as a linguistic and cultural uniformity.

In Latin America, the State emerges from importing the European political model, with the idea of “nation” as coming from the concept of the “ethnic melting pot” which presupposes the existence of a nation of equal citizens and without ethnic-cultural distinctions, within the State. As Maldonado (2008) points out, it is necessary to consider that a State is not the same as a nation; by definition, the State is an entity of political character. To consider both concepts as equivalents implies a contradiction by failing to consider the nation as a substantially cultural entity.²⁸ According to Villoro²⁹ (1998) to assume that the State and nation are a natural unit implies ignoring that the State and nation respond to different processes of building.

Nation was not always linked to the *State*. Before the modern era, nation did not involve any concepts of political sovereignty. Many nations could coexist under the same empire or kingdom without any other political bonds between them than the subjection to a common sovereign. Such is the case of the Mapuche Nation and its relationship with the Spanish Empire, as we have previously explained.

Establishing the distinction of nation in a political and cultural sense, Maldonado (2008) distinguishes between historical, or traditional, nations to those that are modern, or created. Following this distinction, Indigenous Peoples tend to be regarded as historical nations, and the ideological myth of the ideological association claims to assume the notion of modern nation. From the point of view of decolonizing theory,³⁰ and in particular from the perspective of knowledge and subjectivity, it is important to consider this distinction.

Subsequently, representative organizations of Indigenous Peoples in the Latin American political, academic and cultural context commonly receive harsh reactions when they use the concept “indigenous nation” to describe their ancestry. Referring to the postulate of coloniality of knowledge and being, it is necessary to point out that this refers to the cultural, historical, connotation of the term “nation” and not to its modern meaning. The representative organizations of Indigenous Peoples assign political meaning to “nation” to express and affirm identity – it is a means for obtaining political recognition for their existence within the Nation-State.³¹

Summary and Conclusion

This article has dealt with the historical confrontation between Native Peoples and the Republican States of Latin America. The focus has been on three concepts, from the perspective of the theory of the *colonial matrix* of power: Latin American identity, nationalism and Nation-State. “Being indigenous Mapuche in Chile” stood out as relevant in exploring the *imagined* national community made by the official history and collective myths.

The official version of the history of Chile, in spite of recognizing the existence of the Indigenous population (Mapuche) in the mentioned territories, stressed the idea of the expansion of the Chilean frontier in the image of the North American way – the “great and continuous advance.” This indicates that there existed an idea of a “terra nullius” successively opened to the advancing of settlers. The antecedent of the official history that supports this postulate emphasizes anomie as endemic in Mapuche society.

The second version, referring to the theory of decoloniality, emphasizes the existence of a military frontier, and the resistance of the Mapuche Nation to the displacement of the Hispanic socio-cultural frontier. This highlights the leading role of Indigenous People within the limits of socio-cultural interaction. In particular, this version highlights the role of the institutions of Indigenous Peoples as evidence of the adaptation process to which the political structures of Indigenous Peoples were submitted, as an after-effect of the conditions imposed on them. Not only the situation of the Mapuche territorial autonomy at the border of the Spanish Empire, but also the occupation and annexation of the Mapuche territory to the Chilean State make it evident that the territory is susceptible to adopting different qualities. In this way, the situation underlying the analysis of the concept Nation-State and national identity is a symbolically engineered product.

From a decolonizing perspective, the invention of the *nation* in the Chilean case is also a process of dehistoricization for the Mapuche Nation. This is done through official national history and collective myths, as a means for defining the profile of belonging national identity.

From the perspective of the theory of decolonization, the Mapuche and Chilean history begins with the imposition of the colonial power matrix. The colonization of the Mapuche Nation and the role of colonizer of the Chilean Nation materializes during the military occupation of the Mapuche territory. Resulting from this is the subjugation of the Mapuche Nation in the three spheres of colonial matrix of power, the first two of which are the following:

- the control of the economy through the internment of the Mapuche population in Indian reservations;
- the control of authority through the abolition of formal power for the traditional Mapuche authorities and military control in the areas of Indian reservations.

These past events allow us to establish the relationship between these two spheres of the colonial matrix of power with the third: the control of knowledge and subjectivity. In this particular context, this control emerges as a precursor in the exploration of the notion of *coloniality* in the field of the geo-politics of knowledge. From a decolonizing perspective, “Knowledge and being Mapuche” is part of the process of the symbolic engineering invention, where the invention of the social space and its equivalent – territory, nation and State jurisdiction – are central and decisive.

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Notes

¹ A version of this paper was presented at the international symposium on *Independence and Dependence in Latin America, 200 years later*. Latin America Institute, Stockholm University.

² According to Mignolo (2009) the colonial matrix of power is structured in two phases of unequal weight: modernity and coloniality.

³ In order to discuss this issue see William and Smith, (1989) ; Dietz (1989) and Anderson (1983)

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Parliament of Concepción (1811).

⁶ The "Conquest of the Desert" military campaign began on 22nd March 1833, the Argentine army occupied Patagonia. On 28th July 1881, the President of Chile, Anibal Pinto, signed the treaty whereby Chile renounced its historical rights over Patagonia and which established the Andes as the border between Chile and Argentina. Patagonia became the property of the Argentine Republic. The 5th May 1885, Namuncura, successor to Juan Calbucura, formally surrendered to the Argentinean General Winter.

⁷ In 1862 the Chilean army begins its advance south of the Bio-Bio. On 1st January 1883, Toki Epulef is defeated. The Chilean army occupies the Araucania.

⁸ The majority of researchers consider a combination of disease, wars, and natural catastrophes as factors for the decrease in population (see Bengoa 1985).

⁹ This number is corroborated by Hidalgo (1973), who based his estimates on a detailed study of the chronicles pertaining to the first stage of the Spanish conquest. According to some researchers, the estimate of a population of one million is considered "optimistic" (see Solis 1981).

¹⁰ According to Guevara (1913) around 117,000.

¹¹ About the matter see Calbucura (2008)

¹² It recognizes the existence of Mapuche sovereignty over the territory that runs from the River Bio Bio to the River Tolten.

¹³ The Spaniards' concern was to prevent the establishment of bases of operations for pirates.

¹⁴ From the original text "Recalling the outrageous thefts which were performed from both sides in the past, it is established that, the Chilean who trespasses in order to steal the land and were apprehended, will be punished by the cacique under whose power it had befallen, as it will also be, in accordance to the laws of the country, the native who were caught in thefts on this side of the River Bio Bio which is the dividing line between the new allied brothers."

¹⁵ From mapudungun (mapuche leanguage) "ragko", which means "clay land" and was transformed into the term "Arauco" by the Spaniards. With this term they named the Mapuche territory south of the River Bio Bio.

¹⁶ The signing of the Treaty is preceded by the enactment of the *Law of October 27th 1823*, which recognizes the Treaties and Parliaments as a rule of international right valid between Chile and the Araucanian Territories. Later on, in January 19th, 1825, the President of the Chilean Republic, Ramon Freire, signed the Treaty of Taphue.

¹⁷ 23 years after of the declaration of the independence of Chile.

¹⁸ The maps of the American continent of that time bear witness to the demarcation.

¹⁹ War of the Independence of Chile (against Spain – Mapuche nation), 1813-1826 ; War against the Peruvian-Bolivian Confederation (1836-1839) ; War of the Pacific (1879-1884).

²⁰ Civil War 1829-1830 ; Civil War 1851 ; Civil War 1891.

²¹ Occupation of the Araucania (1861-1883) or "Pacification of the Araucania" against the Mapuche nation.

²² Maipú Battle.

²³ This is the number led by the Mapuche military chief Mañil. It is also to be considered the participation of other military leaders, such as those from the locations of Arauco, Tubul, Boroa, Imperial and Lebu.

²⁴ Represented by the President of the Chilean Republic Ramon Freire.

²⁵ This law is followed by one of December 4th, 1866, which decrees the foundation of the province of Arauco in the heart of the Mapuche territory.

²⁶ Art. 1: A new Province is created under the name of Province of Arauco, which will demarcate its limits from the Indigenous Territories located South of Bio Bio ; Art. 3: To all the effects of this new law they fall under the will of the supreme government to annex everything as much as the President of the Republic requires.

²⁷ About this issue see Calbucura (2005).

²⁸ About the discussion of the concept see Chacon (2005).

²⁹ Quoted by Maldonado (2008).

³⁰ For further discussion on decolonizing theory see Tuhiwai, (1999), Fanon (1990), Memmi (1991), Nandy (1983), Thiong'o and Ngugi wa (2005) and Mignolo (2009).

³¹ About the discussion of the concept see Maldonado (2008).

Photos from the RE-Mindings symposium. Photo by Tor Lundberg Tuorda.



May-Britt Öhman.



Sigrid Stångberg discussing.



Gunilla Larsson.

Protecting Our Memory from Being Blasted Away

Archaeological Supradisciplinary Research Retracing Sámi History in Gállok/Kallak

Gunilla Larsson

Gunilla Larsson is a trained and experienced archeologist with a specific focus on Sámi cultural heritage. She is also of Forest Sámi background from the Lule River Valley region. She published her Ph.D. thesis in 2007.¹ In her Ph.D. thesis, Larsson analyzed the historical distribution of Sámi boat-building in Scandinavia and documented findings of Sámi boats from central Sweden and northwards in the Viking Age; these boats were sewn with the very typical Sámi sewing technique, which indicated interaction between Swedish and Sámi groups.

Larsson has worked in her capacity as archeologist since 1988 in several research projects regarding Sámi cultural heritage, in collaboration with renowned researchers and practitioners and linked to important institutions working with Sámi culture. Larsson's work has been both within field studies and investigations as well as teaching.

Abstract

Sámi history is largely absent in national Swedish history-writing and Swedish history education at primary schools, secondary schools, high schools and university teachings, and it is only very limited at present within research in Sweden. Moreover, archaeological research has traditionally been colonialist. Interestingly, during the last years of the National Survey for Ancient Monuments by the Swedish Board of Antiquities, 1984-1996, there was an increased awareness of the Sámi cultural heritage, and related research was initiated along with new methods for finding Sámi remains. However, when this survey ended the specific knowledge and methods within it disappeared. Swedish law stipulates that no registered archaeological sites can be destroyed without prior investigation and documentation. Yet current lack of knowledge, as well as lack of investment in finding Sámi heritage and history preserved in the ground, means that such archaeological riches are threatened to be eradicated forever by the current boom

of mining enterprises and other exploitation projects. This loss will happen unless the ground and archaeological groundwork are protected by a collaboration of engaged activists and scholars.

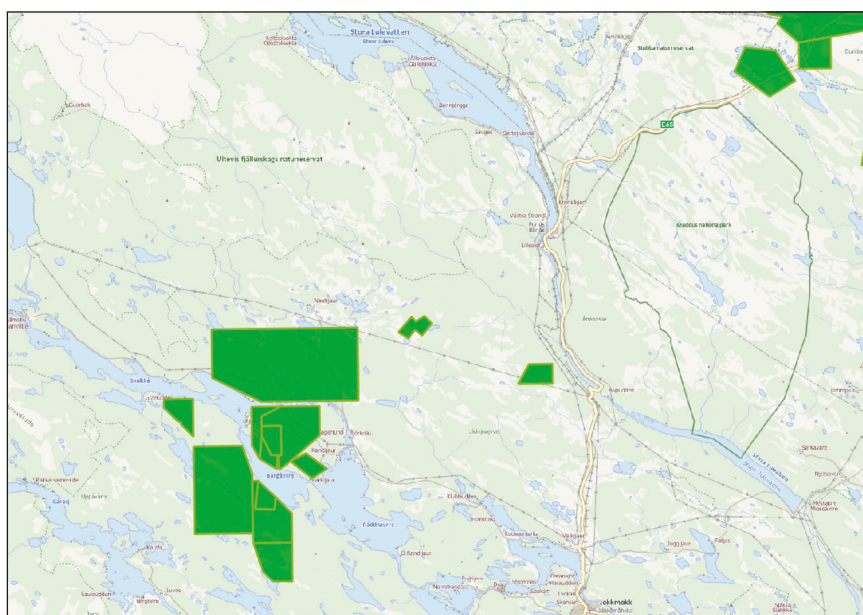
This paper discusses the case of Gállok/Kallak, by the Lule River in Norrbotten County, and the recent work performed in recovering this heritage. Before any actual mining can start there must be an archaeological investigation. Such an investigation was performed for the area of Gállok, however several archaeological sites found by local inhabitants were not registered. In September 2012 a collaboration between Sámi activists struggling against the mine and Sámi scholars from Uppsala University resulted in a four-day-long investigation of remains. The paper discusses this supradisciplinary collaboration and possible consequences of the mining project.

The Sámi People are the Indigenous People of Scandinavia. However, our history has never been written, and our opinion is never seriously considered when important decisions are taken regarding the exploitation of Sápmi, our remaining homeland. Our memories are not documented and protected but, rather, they are under threat to be blasted away in the plans of enormous mining projects.

Traces of the History That Was Never Written

As is the situation for many other Indigenous Peoples, Sámi history has not been part of the colonizing State's history-writing, however this history is still preserved and hidden in archaeological remains. In these remains lies the silent proof of Sámi history, existence and presence where there is a lack of historical documents. These are especially important in areas where Sámi traditional rights to land and reindeer grazing grounds are continuously being questioned. This archaeological information would be a valuable contribution if surveying were performed on the basis of knowledge of Sámi cultural remains. Moreover, when registered by the National survey and the National Board of Antiquities, these remains must be protected by Swedish national law for the protection of the cultural environments they have been found in. In this way, the registered sites could be destroyed without proper investigation and documentation.

Sámi history is largely absent in national Swedish history-writing and Swedish history education at primary schools, secondary schools, high schools and university teachings, and it is only very limited present within research in Sweden. Sámi past has been defined almost only by ethnology. As has been in the field

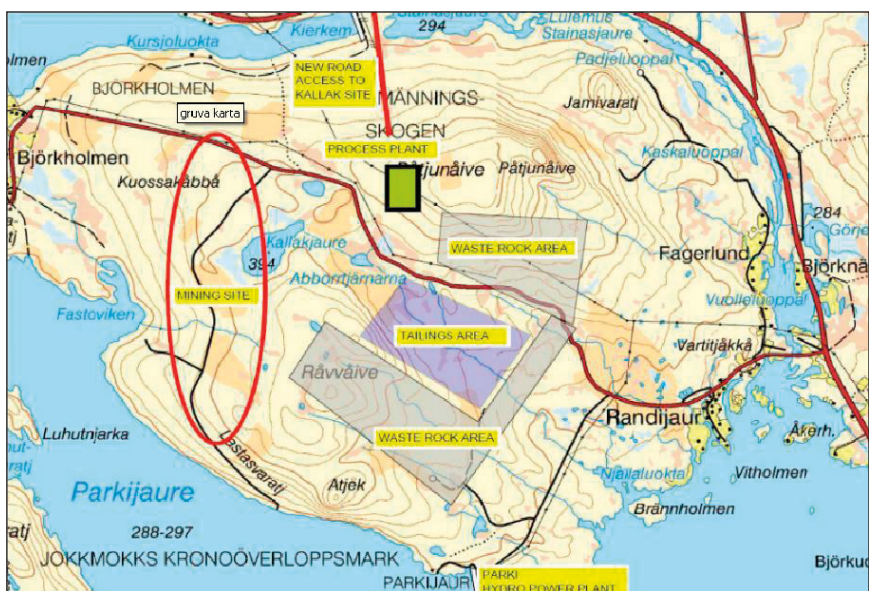


Map showing areas of test drilling permits in the area of Gállok and elsewhere outside Jokkmokk. Source: Swedish Geological Survey (SGU), website mineralrights, 2013.

of history, archaeological research has also traditionally been very nationalistic; the idea of one nation, one people, and one history has dominated and for a long time. In archaeological surveying the result was that, for a long time, only remains of the Swedish population and settlers were documented and registered for protection by national law. Nordic archaeology has, since its beginnings in the 19th century, specifically been developed to define Scandinavian, and especially Germanic, prehistory.

During the last years of the National Survey for Ancient Monuments by the Swedish Board of Antiquities, 1984-1996, a local office was opened in Luleå. As a result, there became an increased awareness of the Sámi cultural heritage and related research was initiated. Completely new met-

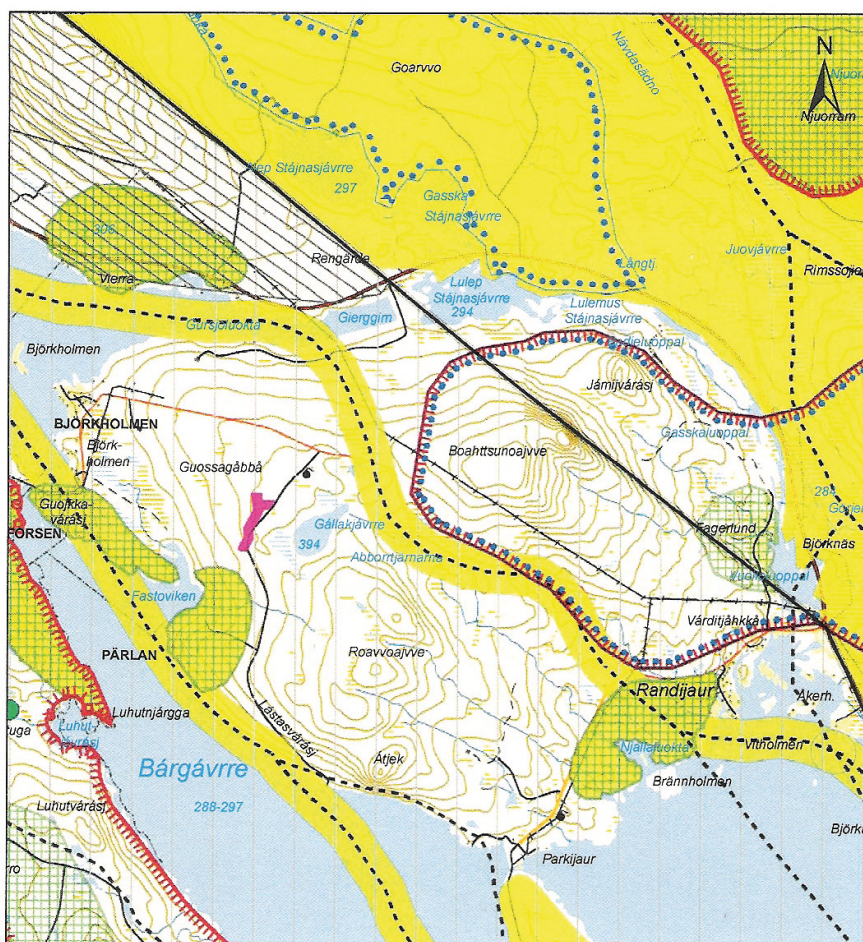




Map over planned mining activities on the island of Gállok. Source: Ruotevare & Kallak. Iron Ore Projects - Conceptual Study for Beowulf plc Raw Materials Group, 2010-03-30.

hods for finding Sámi remains that were developed in the northernmost counties of Sweden, where the surveying was organised from the department in Luleå. However, in 1996 the National Survey for Ancient Monuments ended- and only when this work had just started. When this survey ended, the specific knowledge and methods contained within disappeared. Responsibility was transferred to the regional counties, but without the same economical resources. Today, lack of knowledge and documentation means that Sámi heritage and Sámi history preserved in the ground are under threat to be eradicated by mining enterprises, dams and other exploitation projects.

This paper discusses the case of Gállok/Kallak, by the Lule River in Norrbotten County and threatened by a planned mining project, and the recent work with recovering the Sámi heritage there. Before any actual mining can start in Sweden, there must be an archaeological investigation; this was performed for the area of Gállok. However, like any exploitation project in Sweden, these archaeological investigations were financed by the very same company planning to exploit the area. Only a limited investigation of the huge area was done. Several places found by local inhabitants were not registered. In September 2012, a collaboration between Sámi activists struggling against the mine and Sámi scholars from Uppsala University



Map of the environmental impact assessment by the prospecting company Beowulf/ JIMAB. Yellow areas represent "national interest for reindeer herding economy," situated in the middle of the planned mining area. Source: Hifab/Klara Eriksson, Caroline Lithner, Frida Sandén, Helena Troéng. Slutrapport Miljökonsekvensbeskrivning Kallak Norra. June 26, 2012, p.19.

resulted in a four-day-long investigation of remains. This paper discusses this supradisciplinary collaboration and the possible consequences of the mining project.

Methods Developed 1984-1996

Northern Sweden lacks the kind of ancient monuments and remains that are associated with Swedish settlements in the south of Sweden. Because of this, the office of the National Board of Antiquities in Luleå, responsible for surveying in the northernmost counties in Sweden Västerbotten and Norrbotten, developed new methods for finding remains of settlements of another type than in the South. In the 1980s these methods focused especially *árran*, the Sámi camp site hearths. Rich vegetation with grass and herbs revealing high nutrition in the ground is the first indication of a pasture area associated with a Sámi camp site, existing along a movement route or at a seasonal camp site where reindeer have been gathered for milking. When such a place was found, a geological survey stick was used on elevated structures that could be the remains of hearths, so as to see if there were remains of charcoal or burnt sand. Often in summertime storage pits were used for milk mixed with herbs, which could also be found during the surveying. Knowledge of Sámi economy meant that both Forest Sámi habitations by lakes, but also in connection with the bogs, were where summer Forest reindeer grazing areas would be found.

Knowledge of Sami culture, beliefs and history meant that bear graves, hunting pits and a few stone cairns acting as border marks for “skatteland,” the Sámi land that was taken by the State government in 1886,² were also found.

By these new methods hundreds, and probably over a thousand, Sámi remains were found in these counties. These remains were found not only in present-day Sápmi, but also along the Bothnian coast and in the archipelago – a proof of an earlier Sámi presence in a larger area, from which Sámi were driven away in the 16th to 18th centuries. However, after the systematic survey for ancient monuments had been operating for just a few years it was stopped – and this when only a few areas had been covered by the work. Today, vast mining projects are planned in areas that have never been surveyed – areas where now our memories and history are threatened to be, literally, blown away.

Gállok

One of those places where our heritage is threatened is Gállok, outside of Jokkmokk. In this area, encircled by the Little Lule River, a big Iron Mine with open pits is plan-



*Buorna storage pit for joåmoe, kombo or fish beside lake Gállokjaure, close to the brooke.
Photo by Gunilla Larsson.*

ned by Beowulf mining company. The area is in what is known to many as Lappland, a province created in 1749 within the *Lappmarksreglemente* by the Swedish government. Even though colonisation by Swedish settlers was encouraged, the document *Lappmarksreglemente* stipulates that Sámi economic activities like hunting, fishing and reindeer herding should be left undisturbed by the settlers. The settlers where only allowed to fish within five kilometers from the new settlement, and the Sámi could stop any settlement that harmed their activities. In the *Lappkodicillen* of 1751, a State-border treaty between Norway and Sweden, it is also stipulated that the Sámi own their *skatteland* [taxed property and land], and that their trade and movements across the border within the context of reindeer herding should not be disturbed. Hundred of years later, the area has been significantly reduced, and in 1867 the Swedish Government created the “cultivation border.” This was done with the same intentions as before – to have an area within which a limitation for colonization in regards

to new settlements should prevail. However, this promise did not last for long. The *skatteländ* were stolen by the Swedish State in 1886. Today, the State government encourages full-scale exploitation that threatens not only the Sámi cultural heritage but is also a blow to Sámi economy and way of living.

A survey for ancient monuments was made in 2011 by the Norrbotten Museum, but it was financed by Beowulf Mining Company. This is currently the standard procedure when exploitation is planned; the company who wants to exploit an area also pays for the archaeological investigation. In this context it is the regional county administration that decides who shall do the survey for ancient monuments. Remains from the past are, in fact, protected by Swedish law (1989), and an archaeological excavation is needed before any mining can begin. However, as manifested in 2012, the survey financed by Beowulf Mining in reality only covered a limited area and in a short amount of time; only a few local people were consulted, and remains found by local people were not registered. The results of the survey also show, due to the fact that the best sites for Sámi settlements and other Sámi remains had no registered localities within the survey, that knowledge was lacking concerning Sámi cultural remains in the methodology and its application. This is, in large part, due to a general lack of awareness of Sámi culture, history and economy, and also of conditions for reindeer herding.

The island has been and is still important for several Sami villages, both Mountain Sámi and Forest Sámi. It has been, and still is, winter pasture ground for rein-



Árran. Photo by Gunilla Larsson.

deer-herding Sámi villages, today for *Jåhkågasska* (*Jåhkåkaska*) and *Sirges*, and, historically, for *Tuorpon* Mountain Sámi villages. For these communities this area is very central along the migration route between spring and autumn, as well as wintertime pasture grounds. The area has also had several Forest Sámi *skatteland*. The central lake in the area, Gállokjaure, has given name to a Sámi family, Kallok.

The threat to the Sámi society and cultural heritage is not new; many of their historical remains, including campsites along Lake Parkijaure, were already destroyed by dam construction. But with the planned mining project, the whole area will be affected by open-pit mining, waste rock areas, tailing areas, new access roads, and buildings for workers and equipment on a large scale.

Therefore, a collaboration between local Sámi activists, local inhabitants, Sámi scholars and scholars of Sámi origin from Uppsala University, including Gunilla Larsson from the Department of Archaeology and Ancient History and May-Britt Öhman at the Center for Gender Research, was started in September 2012. Included in the preparations for the collaborative fieldwork were a careful study of archival material concerning the *skatteland*, old maps, aerial photos and geological maps. Geological information revealed where there were good winter pasture grounds as well as well-drained places for settlements, by the rivers. Alongside this were several interviews with local people whose ancestors had lived here.

During the four days of fieldwork with the new methods developed in Luleå, twenty-one historic Sámi localities were found. These localities include settlements and camp sites from the stone age up until the 19th century and *árran* [hearths], hunting pits, storage pits, marked travel routes, portages along the communication route, a sacrificial site, and a probable gravesite. Already, on the first day of the fieldwork, the remains observed by lake Gállokjaure could be identified as a Forest Sámi camp sites on two locations at the best places by the lake. This was the central place in the *skatteland* “Tjärborgarens land,” a *skatteland* earlier within the Jokkmokk Forest Sámi village. At one of the sites an old remain of a *timmerkåta* [timbered hut used by Forest Sámi during the last couple of centuries] was identified together with a storage pit, called *buorna* in Sámi, and is always found at the Sámi summer camp sites. On the other site the foundation for a *timmerkåta* was discovered together with traces of fireplaces. These were found using a geological stick, as well as storage pits and remains of timbered constructions by the lake where they were likely used for storing fishing equipment. This was the very best location, since a small stream was passing beside it from the lake. But, surprisingly, it had still not been observed or registered by

the earlier Beowulf-financed survey. Also, good bogs for summer pasture of the Forest reindeer were in the vicinity. Fire-cracked stones at this site revealed that it had been used for millennia.

Together with good winter pasture grounds containing reindeer lichen and many remains of felled trees with the leichen *skägglav* [famine food for reindeers] were traces of the winter camp sites of the Mountain Sámi village Tuorpon. These sites were at the shore of Lake Parkijaure, in the Little Lule river system that has been used for the movement between the summer and winter pasture grounds. Here Sámi fireplaces were found, but also remains of settlements from the Stone Age and onwards, indicating continuity in dwelling at this site, as well, for thousands of years.

Local people could also inform the research group about the location of a sacrificial site along the travel route. This site is within the area that would be destroyed. It is also known as one of the most important holy places and sacrificial sites of the past, the mountain *Átjek* – a name meaning ‘thunder’ – associated with the thunder god, Tor.

In the village of Björkholmen many remains of Sámi history are preserved, such as old fenced areas for the winter gathering of reindeer herds. Swedish law also protects these remains. Here, also, were old skis still leaning against the trees; skis are a Sámi invention that made us superior in hunting.



6,4000 year old scraper from settlement found by May-Britt Öhman, here showing it proudly, during the supradisciplinary extra survey of September 2012. Photo by Gunilla Larsson.

Concluding Remark – Invitation to Activist and Scholarly Resistance

Current lack of knowledge as well as lack of investment in finding Sámi heritage and history preserved in the ground means that in many places, such as in Gállok, Sámi heritage and history is currently under threat to be forever eradicated. At present-day this threat is posed by the current boom of mining enterprises and other exploitation projects, unless Sámi heritage and history in the ground are protected by engaged activists and scholars, and in collaboration.



Winter reindeer separation enclosure. Photo by Gunilla Larsson.



Gunilla Larsson taking C14-samples from a geological survey stick. Photo by May-Britt Öhman.

Notes

¹ Larsson, Gunilla. *Ship and Society. Maritime Ideology in Late Iron Age Sweden*. Aun 37. Dept. of Archaeology and Ancient History, Uppsala University, Uppsala, Sweden.

² Skatteland - The 'Tax Land' were geographically defined territories owned and payed tax for by Sámi people in the same way as free farmers who owned their land "skattejord." These territories were created after the colonization of the northern territories – Sápmi, the land of the Sámi, for which the Sámi had to pay tax (Lundmark, Lennart, *Så länge vi har marker: samerna och staten under sexhundra år*, Rabén Prisma, Stockholm, 1998:59). The "skatteland" could be bought, sold, given away and inherited in the same way as other private property. There were also documents and certificates of registrations issued on request. The Sámi /Sámi family with the title to the land had an exclusive right to hunting, fishing and reindeer herding. Any intruding foreigner performing the same activities could be taken to court. Forest Sámi families stayed on their "skatteland" all the year round, while the Mountain Sámi had "skatteland" in both the summer pasture areas in the mountains and at the spring and autumn pasture areas, while they often rented winter pasture ground on a land belonging to a Forest Sámi family. This ownership ceased to exist by the law 1886 and replaced by a right to have pasture ground according to "ancient tradition" (in Swedish: "urminnes hävd") for the reindeer herding Sámi, if they had documents to prove it. The ownership of Sámi land was transferred to the state. Cf. Lundmark, Lennart, *Samernas skatteland i Norr- och Västerbotten under 300 år*, Institutet för rättshistorisk forskning, Stockholm, 2006 ; Korpiaakko, Kaisa, "Land ownership among the saami of Sweden-Finland: theory and practice." In *Readings in Saami history, culture and language*. 3., 79-89, 1992.

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Integrating Indigenous Knowledge in Natural Resource Management

Lessons Learned from Co-Management of Small Game Hunting in Ammarnäs

Eva J:son Lönn

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Abstract

The scientific discussions on natural resource management have for the past years been focused on the importance of indigenous knowledge as a means for promoting sustainable usage of the world's natural resources. This article presents a case study on co-management of small game hunting in Ammarnäs. In this case two Sami villages are responsible for the operative management of small game hunting at a local level. The study sought to analyze challenges for the integration of indigenous knowledge into natural resource management – and in this case, integration is shown to have worked effectively. Still, there was potential to improve the integration of indigenous knowledge by developing more symmetrical power relationships between the local management and State authorities, both regionally and nationally, since it is in these places that the conditions and frameworks for natural resource management are set.



*Ammarnäs. Reindeers on grazing in an area where small game hunting is conducted.
Photo by Eva J:son Lönn.*

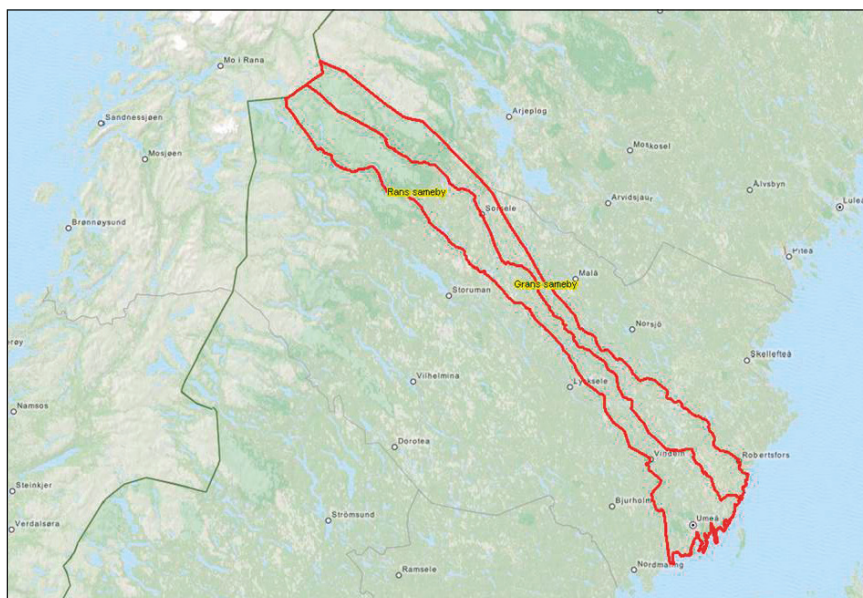
Introduction

Climate change, environmental degradation and overconsumption of natural resources are, according to activists and scientists, among the most serious threats to mankind. As anxiety about these issues has become more profound, so, too, have researchers shown a growing interest in how indigenous knowledge¹ can promote a more sustainable usage of natural resources (Agrawal, 2005; Berkes, 2009; Nordin-Jonsson, 2010; Tunón, 2012).

Indigenous people are considered to hold extensive knowledge of local natural resources. This knowledge of the land is often more refined than the knowledge that is held by State authorities, who frequently are responsible for the resource management (Agrawal, 2005; Agrawal and Gibson, 1999).

Even in Sweden there are many ambitions and hopes that indigenous knowledge can become an integral component of natural resource management. In State investigations several new management areas are proposed where Sami villages and landowners together, instead of the State, are responsible for managing the small game hunting (Sandström, 2008: 17f; SOU 2005: 116).

However, so far there are few concrete examples of co-management of natural resources that involve Swedish indigenous people. One exception is the effort to co-manage the World Heritage Site Lapponia in Norrbotten, northern Sweden (Green 2009). Another example is that of the co-management of small game hunting in Ammarnäs, which commenced in 2006 as a collaboration project between two Sami vil-



lages in Ammarnäs, Gran and Ran, with Sorsele Municipality and the County Administrative Board, Länsstyrelsen, in Västerbotten. This particular co-management arrangement was made permanent in 2010. Between September 2011 and August 2012, I followed the key actors of this management. The participants were interviewed and a field study was carried out in Ammarnäs, in order to assess the possibilities and challenges for integrating Sami knowledge into resource management.

Background

In 1993, small game hunting on State property was deregulated for public usage north of the cultivation border (Prop. 1992/93: 32). Thus, the County



Ran- and Gran village year-round regions in Västerbotten. Sources: Sametinget and Per Sandström, SLU, Umeå.

Administrative Board had to accommodate hunting for all by providing a license to those who wished to hunt for small game in the Mountain regions. The primary game in these regions is ptarmigan.

This deregulation has infringed upon the year-round land usage of reindeer herding (SFS, 1993: 384). Before the deregulation, Sami villages had to be consulted for rights to hunt *ptarmigan*.² With the reforms, the herders lost their means of decision-making concerning small game hunting within the reindeer areas (Sametinget, 1994).

For Ammarnäs, being one of Sweden's most intensely used regions for reindeer husbandry, the reform dramatically changed the amount of hunters and hunting hounds present in Vindelfjällen. Since hunting is conducted during periods when the herds are usually left in peace, the management reform and the hunting that ensued caused much disruption to the reindeer husbandry; reindeer became stressed, and herds were separated and dispersed over large areas without acquiring the sufficient grazing and tranquility so as to build fat reserves for survival through the winter. In order to regain control of the situation, the herders advocated for reinstating Sami Rights to control and organize the small game hunting. This was the beginning of the Ammarnäs project (Sandström 2008: 152 f).

The co-management meant that the County Administrative Board of Västerbotten made strategic decisions regarding hunting, while operative responsibility for natural resources resided with the local initiative, the Ammarnäs group, consisting of three people: Project Leader Rune Tovefjärn, former Municipality Counsel of Sorsele Municipality, active hunter, and Chairman of the Swedish Hunters' Association; and the Herders Anders Skum and Olle Larsson, who were representatives for Gran and Ran Sami villages and each had more than thirty years of reindeer herding experience.

Integration of Herding Knowledge in the Co-Management

To accommodate both the means for herding and hunting, the Ammarnäs group sought to get better control of both the region and the amount of hunters in each hunting zone.³ For this purpose, the previous zones were split up into several smaller zones, with limits to the number of hunters present.⁴

Another precondition for grazing peacefulness was that indigenous knowledge of the herders was taken into account when designing the management, which was also done. The borders of the hunting zones were drawn by Skum and Larsson based on their knowledge of the landscape and reindeers movement patterns:

“Many [areas] are drawn according to creeks, valleys and pathways. These are natural restrictions and boundaries.” Skum explained.

The herders’ knowledge was also decisive in relation to cancellation [in Swedish *avlysning*] of the hunting zones. The Ammarnäs group decided which hunting zones should remain open or be closed depending on where the reindeer were located. One week prior to each hunting season the group visited the pasturelands of Ran- and Gran villages using helicopters. The purpose was that herders would be able to locate the reindeers and calculate how their movement patterns could be influenced by access to pasture, wind- and temperature conditions.

On August 17, 2012, I joined one of the helicopter tours as well as the discussions about cancellations afterwards. During the entire flight the herders and the pilot were talking about the amounts of wild game, where the herds were, about the history of these lands and the people who lived and worked there. Tovejtjärn remained silent most of the time, memorizing the discussions of the herders in order to assess a suitable proposal for *cancellation* that the group could decide on later. Since the herders’ knowledge was site-specific, Larsson and Skum took turns in leading the flight when passing over Ran, and later over Gran.

That fall the mountains were greener and had thicker snow layers than usual since the summer had been unusually cold. The cold had been replaced by warmth and drought. Therefore, the herds were expected to reside on mountain’s ice sheets during daylight to cool off. In the night they migrated to lower altitudes, to the edge of the forests to eat mushrooms and graze on the grass and herbs.

We saw herds scattered along the mountain ridge, consisting of anything from a hundred to approximately 4,000 animals. Skum explained that this situation was quite unique; he had never before seen so few reindeer in this region at this time of the year. He believed, which was later verified by other herders from Svaipas Sami village, that the herds from Gran had migrated over to Norrbotten because the grass was greener there. This meant that 10,000 reindeer any day could relocate to the pasturelands of Gran; where and when would be influenced by wind- and temperature conditions. Skum explained,

When they arrive [in Gran’s pasture area] I don’t know...But there will be thousands of reindeer [---] [Unless] there are northerly or easterly winds [---] then they will go somewhere else. Much is dependent on the weather now.... When they eventually start moving it is like roulette, they may move eastward but can also end up south of here. Should they come, they will pass through G3 [a hunting zone]. It will all go very fast. Should a hunter be there then, well then everything [the small game hunt] is spoiled.



A reindeer herd, as seen from helicopter, cooling off on the snow layer during summer warmth. Photo by Eva J:son Lönn.

From quotes like this it becomes apparent how much weather conditions influence the movement patterns of reindeer, how flexible resource managers have to be, and how closely they must monitor the conditions of each region and the importance of the herders' knowledge to interpret the variables influencing the herds' movement patterns. As Larsson states,

This herd probably holds more than 4,000 reindeer. Should it rain or get colder they will scatter over the entire area [---] If we receive westerly winds they will move here [westward]... Should we receive heavy precipitation and easterly winds, most of the herd will move into the forests of Kraipe [eastward]. Then we might have to adapt and close down some areas.

The herders' knowledge of the region has taken decades and generations to accumulate. Skum and Larsson continually referred to conditions from past years when talking about the reindeer now, estimating the importance of the landscape and weather etc. And, according to Skum, he has an indigenous knowledge bank dating hundreds of years back in time. When new situations arise, he reiterates the stories told by herders who were there before him, their memories and their experiences. There are also some senior herders in the village that he may consult.

The herders expressed that this was an extreme year. Despite the harsh conditions, the Ammarnäs group did not seem to be worried. The proximity between the various hunting zones, added with the daily dialogue between herders, hunters and tourist entrepreneurs, enables swift adaptation to the movement of the herds in relation to other activities.

Although the project was considered successful by all actors involved, and the herders' knowledge was included in all phases, the involvement of indigenous knowledge could have been integrated more extensively. This was particularly apparent in terms of power relations, roles of responsibility and epistemological assumptions regarding knowledge itself throughout the co-management project.

Institutional Power Limited Application of Indigenous Knowledge

Co-management always implicates the establishment of some form of partnership between different levels of power (Dolšák & Ostrom, 2003; Sandström, 2004). In this study, this partnership involved primarily The County Administrative Board and organizations at the local level, the Ammarnäs group and Sorsele Municipality.

As with previous research, the power relations were asymmetrical with the result that indigenous knowledge, that of the herders, was undervalued and, consequently, less operationalized in relation to natural sciences and positivistic knowledge (Cf. Agrawal, 2005; Bohensky & Maru, 2011; Sandström 2004). The reasons for this are several. Legislation, conditions and rules from the authorities established limits as to how co-management could be conducted; this is partly because The County Administrative Board hold views on knowledge other than that of the Ammarnäs Group.

Whereas the Ammarnäs Group promoted local knowledge of culture, nature, animals and weather conditions, the attitude from the Director for Nature Preservation at The County Administrative Board, along with small game managers, was ambivalent towards the value and application of indigenous knowledge. The knowledge and practices of herders were considered as unique and irreplaceable, however, local knowledge was also considered subjective, hard to measure, assess or make scientifically documentation of, and hence problematic. As Jonsson, Director of Nature Preservation, The County Administrative Board, stated,

The main issue is that it [local knowledge] is hard to acquire [laughter], to have it documented [...] It is not scientifically documented, and consequently is not always correct, if I put it that way [...] The problem is that we do not know if it works. We have no authorized method. They who should do this [the herders], they are the instruments and they are hard to standardize.

The consequence of this positivistic attitude towards knowledge was that the herders' assessment of local conditions were ignored, as were accounts of the nega-



*Small game hunters waiting to be flown out to Vindelfjällen with helicopter.
Photo by Eva J:son Lönn.*

tive effects of small game hunting on herding, since these could not be measured according to recognized scientific methods. Larsson details:

There is some paragraph in the legislation for reindeer husbandry [that small game is prohibited should it cause considerable⁵] inconvenience for herding. Well, what is inconvenience for herding? "Prove it," they [The County Administrative Board] tell us. But how is one to prove it? It cannot be done.

Positivistic knowledge, as endorsed by The County Administrative Board, can be contrasted against that of hermeneutics, which more closely resembles the view held by herders. Hermeneutics is characterized by being interpretative and emphasizing understanding and a holistic perspective in order to make as feasible interpretations of reality as possible. For instance, to understand the effects of small game hunting on reindeer, the land and herding as seen over the entire year, not only during the actual hunting season:

To give the herd tranquility during grazing is important. Especially if July and August have been particularly warm, the reindeers are limited to the snow-covered areas during the days. When transcending into the valleys they are hunted directly [by small game hunters]. This results in disturbed nutrient intake and meager reindeers by the end of August. Then comes winter. Should it turn out colder than usual, the reindeers stands far worse chances of making it through until spring. – The Ammarnäs Group

Indigenous Knowledge is Primarily Tacit Knowledge

That herders' knowledge was merely partially integrated cannot be explained solely by differences in epistemological perspective between local and regional actors. It is true that indigenous knowledge is hard to document. This knowledge is holistic, complex and complicated to communicate since it comprises tacit knowledge; knowledge that has not been, or cannot be, articulated (Zhenhua, 2003); Skum explains, "[We] acquire it [herding knowledge] from birth and through our upbringing [...] [It] is part of everyday activities. I have a hard time grasping it [...] It is in my blood..." Tacit knowledge can be activated during certain situations, for example when a herder is on the mountain and using his senses to assess how specific conditions, occurring then and there, may affect the movement patterns of the herd. The herders also have skills that they consider as non-translatable to contexts other than reindeer husbandry. This is particularly true for mountain- and survival skills:

For us, just to make fire under poor weather conditions and staying alive, it has taken hundreds, perhaps thousands of years of traditions to gain this knowledge which we are spoon-fed with as children [...] I continually try to teach my children what I have learned [...] This is particularly true for the small, but elementary, things. For example, 90-95 percent of the Swedish populace would not last a day where we live. For us, however, our habitat is not hostile. Somehow, you become one with the nature. But this [trait] is continually diluted, generation by generation [...] I teach them [my children] to orientate during bad weather, like fog. You have to memorize all stones and creeks. Maybe you find a tree. Another time it is a toppled rock. You have to remember everything. There is GPS. All is very simple. But one day, electronics will break down. You end up without electricity, and you will have to manage without it, regardless. So it is essential to learn all the basics and then combine them with all the modern, the high-tech stuff. Because all that is modern and energized breaks down sooner or later and then you are screwed if you have not learned the basics. – The Ammarnäs Group

Concluding Remarks – Towards the Integration of More Indigenous Knowledge

Several natural scientists have studied how power allocation between different levels in co-management is influencing integration of local knowledge. However, few have studied what affects the relationships may have on integration of indigenous knowledge (Agrawal, 2005; Berkes, 2009).

Research on natural resources has to be supplemented with an indigenous perspective, and authorities must be made aware of the effects of asymmetrical power relations on the integration, or lack thereof, of indigenous knowledge.

Knowledge and power are closely linked. In the Ammarnäs Project, the positivistic perspective of The County Administrative Board inhibited integration of indigenous knowledge. Several research reports suggest that when local population is involved in natural resource management, the administration becomes more cost effective and usage of resources more sustainable and justly proportionate than when only scientific methods are used (Danielsen et al., 2007).

To conclusively utilize local knowledge generally, and indigenous knowledge specifically, The County Administrative Board and natural resource research need to supplement natural scientific theories and methods with that of hermeneutic methods, for example narratives, interviews and reflexive observations (See Cruikshank, 2005; Jernsletten, 2009; Ryd, 2007).

Moreover, there is a need to develop new methods for monitoring indigenous knowledge that, at its core, consists of tacit knowledge. Indigenous concepts of biological diversity and ecological resilience have much to contribute to natural resource management. To realize its potential, it is necessary for authorities and scientists to increasingly involve indigenous culture, history and knowledge, for example by including the indigenous population in natural resource research and co-management.

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Notes

¹ Indigenous knowledge is here referred to as a complex system of knowledge including academic, scientific and practical knowledge, as well as tacit knowledge, belief systems, norms and ideas about life, living and relationships towards local environment, nature and culture. Indigenous knowledge is dynamic, develops and continually adapts to new conditions. Knowledge is traded from generation to generation by oral history, participation and mentorship (Cf. Berkes 2007 ; Jernsletten 2009 ; Nordin 2012 ; Nordin-Jonsson 2010 ; UNESCO and MOST 1994-2004). Indigenous- and traditional knowledge are here synonymous.

² The right to reindeer herding is an exclusive privilege held by Sami who are members of Sami villages. Membership also grants hunting- and fishing rights (Ibid ; SFS 1971:437).

³ Hunting areas in Ammarnäs fully overlap the all-year pasturelands of Ran and Gran villages.

⁴ Small game hunting coincide with moose hunting. Many herders and locals depend on moose for supplemental incomes. The Ammarnäs Group emphasized the importance of management being susceptible to demands on how small game hunting and moose hunting could be harmonized without disturbances to either of them.

⁵ For details, see SFS 1993: 36.

Research for and with Minorities and Indigenous Peoples Who Are Opposing Dam Projects and Are in Search of Local Autonomy and Social Justice in Japan

Hiroshi Maruyama

Hiroshi Maruyama is a professor of environmental and minority studies at the Muroran Institute of Technology in Hokkaido Japan. He has devoted himself to research for and with minorities who struggle against the authorities in search of local autonomy and social justice over environmental issues affecting them. His research sheds light on those conflicts in favour of minorities from a supradisciplinary approach. In recent years, he has published several papers on Ainu issues in international peer-reviewed journals including *Polar Record* of Cambridge University Press. He is pioneering the following fields: Japan's Ainu policy and international human rights law, comparative studies between Sami and Ainu for their indigenous rights, human dimensions of bear/human conflicts in Hokkaido Japan, and environmental issues and local autonomy in Japan. In addition, he is guest researcher at the Hugo Valentin Centre, Uppsala University, during the fall of 2013 and part of the spring semester 2014. The aim is to collaborate with Prof. Leena Huss and Dr. May-Britt Öhman of Uppsala University for the development of minority studies.

Abstract

There have been many controversial dam projects in rural areas of Japan since Japan's rapid economic growth began in the 1950s. Local residents were excluded from the decision-making in regards to those dam projects under *the River Act*. In 1997, as a result of public opinion against the pro-dam policy, *the River Act* was revised with respect to democratic decision-making. Nevertheless, the majority of municipalities in rural areas still adhere to an old-fashioned idea that dam projects are available as a quick means of subsidies and of job creation instead of promoting agriculture, forestry and fisheries. It is therefore not easy for local opposition groups to form a majority in their communities. This article aims at outlining three dam issues in which the author has been involved in as a

researcher, and draws lessons from them concerning how academic research can empower minorities and Indigenous Peoples who pursue local autonomy in their communities or social justice in court over conflicts with the authorities.

Introduction

In post-war Japan, development plans for the main rivers had been exclusively dominated by the national government under the policy of national land development. In the 1990s, however, the construction of a huge dam on the Nagara River, which then was the only river without a dam on its main course in the mainland of Japan, brought the general public to skepticism and dislike of the policy. The excessiveness of river development became the object of popular criticism. As a result, the government had no option but to revise *the River Act* in May 1997 in terms of democratic decision-making. In other words, *the Revised River Act* imposes a duty on the national government to make decisions regarding the construction of dams and embankments at the planning level after listening to the voices of the mayors concerned as well as the local residents. However, the policies regarding each river development, for example calculating basic flood discharge prior to establishing the planning level, are still controlled by the national government.

Against the backdrop of the democratic revision of *the River Act*, there had been plenty of local campaigns to oppose the construction of dams across the country. Almost all of those campaigns failed to form a majority in the communities concerned because the municipalities politically accepted the dam projects. These dam projects were accepted by the municipalities due to being seen as a quick means to receive subsidies, in return for the acceptance. The dams were also seen by the municipalities as a means to create jobs instead of promoting agriculture, forestry and fisheries, which are industries that have been the most basic industries for subsistence in the region. In general Japan is a consensus-based society, such that the general public has a tendency to accept the decisions of the authorities. One rare successful example of opposition to the authorities' decision regarding a dam can be seen in Kito Village, which is located on the upper reaches of the Naka River in Tokushima Prefecture. The success was brought about by the local residents' continual endeavours to maintain local autonomy as well as to conserve nature and culture.

Some campaigns have initiated litigation over dam issues for social justice. In the case of the Nibutani Dam Project in Hokkaido, two Ainu elders filed a suit

against the national government. They finally won an unprecedented decision on their Indigenous Rights, through an eight-year struggle for justice backed by Human Rights lawyers and Japanese researchers; however the dam was, unfortunately, completed. Furthermore, the New Uchinomi Dam Project on Shodo Island in the Inland Sea of Japan is still pending in court. The author conducted a questionnaire survey of opinions of local residents regarding the dam project in cooperation with a local opposition campaign and a nationwide citizen's organization dealing with dam issues. The outcomes of the survey may make a breakthrough in the near future in court through uncovering a violation of *the Revised River Act* by the authorities.

This article mainly aims to outline these three examples, in which the author has been involved, and to draw lessons from them on how academic research can empower minorities and Indigenous Peoples who pursue local autonomy in their communities, or social justice in court, over dam projects against the authorities.



A local shrine in Kito Village. In 2000, the village had a population of around 2,000 inhabitants and eight communities along the Nakagawa. Each community has its own shrine and temple. Photo by Hiroshi Maruyama.

Pursuit of Local Autonomy in Kito Village¹

In July 1971, a local newspaper reported that the Hosogochi Dam Project was to be commenced in their community. Tamura Yoshimi had no sooner read the article than he organized a campaign against the dam project with his neighbors in fear of the submergence of the upper part of their village. In September 1974, they submitted a petition with 1,120 signatures to the village assembly that the dam project should be withdrawn. However, the dam project was passed by a majority at the September regular meeting. Then the opposition campaign of local residents submitted a petition calling for the recall of the assembly, with 703 signatures that exceeded a third of the electorate required for the recall. The assembly voluntarily reversed the decision on the dam project and dissolved itself



Some villagers live in a house on the steep slope of a mountain. They used to engage in the slash-and-burn agriculture until 1960s. Photo by Tanaka Masumi.

before the approval of the recall by the board of elections. The result of subsequent elections was that a third of the quota in the assembly was held by the opposition campaign.

The mayor of Kito village, who once planned to develop the village based on subsidies from the national government provided in return for an acceptance of the dam project, had to take into consideration the result of the election. He left the decision on how to deal with the dam project to a consultative committee, which was made up of the local residents. In November 1976, the committee, after eleven meetings over a period of eighteen months, unanimously reached the conclusion that Kito Village

should reject the preliminary research for the dam project. At first the members of the opposition campaign formed a small minority in the committee, however they had taken the lead in discussing the dam project from various perspectives. The committee invited both proponents and opponents to their meetings. While the bureaucrats on the side of the proponents presented their views unconvincingly, the guest researchers for the opponents revealed many problems with the dam project. In December 1976, the village assembly passed a draft resolution to oppose the dam project by a small majority, with six in favour and five against, following the conclusion of the committee.

In March 1993, backed by the opposition campaign, Fujita Megumi, who sought cancellation of the dam project, was elected the mayor of Kito village against the backdrop of a re-emergence of the Hosogochi Dam Project. In December 1994, he enacted two ordinances – *the Environmental Basic Ordinance and the Ordinance for Prevention of Dam Construction* – in cooperation with the village assembly, of which the majority was formed of opponents of the dam project at the time. In June 1995, Megumi refused to participate in an improvised committee that had been organized by the national government to rethink the dam project. He did this because the majority of the committee members were appointed by the proponent prefectural governor and, consequently, he feared that

fair decision-making had not been secured. As a result, the committee was never held. In April 1996, Megumi adopted a policy to establish an integrated system of producing, processing and selling of Yuzu (a kind of orange which is easy for even old farmers to harvest), as well as forest conservation, instead of the dam project. Furthermore, Fujita Megumi had continued calling for the cancellation of the dam project through the media by opening the municipality to journalists and researchers. In December 2000, the dam project in Kito Village was finally cancelled by the national government.

Two activists have been central to the opposition campaign: Fujita Megumi and Tamura Yoshimi. Both have been closely associated with nature and culture of the village. Fujita grew up in a family that was part of and relied on the forest industry. In his childhood he worked hard to help his father in the forest as soon as he had returned home from school. The only relaxation for him was to play with his friends for a short while by fishing in the river. In his adulthood, he devoted himself to union activities while working for a public corporation, and he also extended his sympathy to a death-row convict who suffered under a false charge. Tamura had been engaged in logging as a logger for a small forest management firm throughout his life. He managed to collect almost all of the documents, including flyers and memos, regarding the opposition's activities, which were very helpful to my research.

Ainu Elders' Struggle for Justice in Nibutani²

In June 1971, the Hokkaido Shimbun Press brought the Nibutani Dam Project on the Saru River to light. It was to be a part of the East Tomakomai Industrial Area Development Project under the policy of national land development. The dam project was originally designated to supply industrial water for the East Tomakomai Industrial Area through more than thirty kilometric conduits. Several years afterwards the main purpose of the dam project was manipulated to flood-control by the authorities behind closed doors, because the collapse of the development project was expected. All of the landowners concerned, in addition to the municipality of Biratori Town, where the Saru River is located, immediately accepted the dam project. Only two Ainu elders, Kaizawa Tadashi and Kayano Shigeru, refused to accept the expropriation of their lands for the dam project. Their struggle in court against the expropriation lasted eight years in total, with the argument that the dam project would likely to deteriorate Ainu heritage sites and natural resources for Ainu cultural activities in Biratori Town, where the Ainu

have lived from time immemorial. The following paragraphs briefly outline the central components of their struggle for social justice.

In March 1989, Kaizawa and Kayano filed an administrative appeal to the Minister of Construction against the expropriation decision, pursuant to *the Administrative Complaint Investigation Law* and *the Land Expropriation Law*. Four years later, as expected, the Minister of Construction decided to not overrule the expropriation decision. In May 1993, Kaizawa Koichi, aiming to follow his father Tadashi's wishes, and Kayano Shigeru brought a lawsuit for revocation of the expropriation decision against the Hokkaido Land Expropriation Committee and the national government. In the court appearances, Kaizawa Tadashi's testimonies focused on the history of discrimination and oppression by the Japanese towards the Ainu under the relentless assimilation policy throughout modern Japanese history. Kayano Shigeru centered his points on the deprivation of Ainu's lands, language and culture by the Japanese. More than ten Human Rights lawyers voluntarily organized a team of defense lawyers to support the plaintiffs. Furthermore, Japanese researchers of Indigenous studies substantiated the statements of the Ainu plaintiffs from academic standpoints.

In March 1997, the Sapporo District Court ruled that the Nibutani Dam Project should have taken into account Ainu culture particular to the area. The Court ruled that the authorities neglected to perform research regarding whether or not the benefits of flood control outweigh the cost, brought by the dam project, to the Ainu's right to enjoyment of culture. The authorization of the dam project was, in effect, illegal. It was the first time in Japanese history that a government body had recognized the Ainu's right to enjoy their culture and their indigenouness. Unfortunately, the judgment document also stated that a revocation of the illegal-authorization-based expropriation did not satisfy public welfare, as the Nibutani Dam had already been completed. In May 1997, the so-called *New Ainu Law* came into effect. At the same time, *the Hokkaido Former Aborigines Protection Act* of 1899, which symbolized the assimilation policy of Japan, was finally abandoned. However, *the New Ainu Law* does not recognize the Ainu's indigenouness, let alone their Indigenous Rights, which were divorced from a draft of the *New Ainu Law*. *The New Ainu Law* was unanimously adopted in July, 1984 by the Ainu Association of Hokkaido.

Kaizawa Tadashi served as Vice President of the Ainu Association of Hokkaido for two decades: from 1972 to 1992. During that time he took the lead in making the above-mentioned draft of *the New Ainu Law*. He also compiled

a series of Ainu history books. This was the first time that the Ainu themselves had done such a thing. Additionally, in the 1970s and 80s, in their community Nibutani, Tadashi helped Kayano Shigeru open the first Ainu language school and build the first Ainu cultural museum in Japan. Another Ainu elder, Kayano Shigeru, managed to collect Ainu cultural properties, including Ainu folk handicrafts and Ainu folk stories, as his life's work. He also published dozens of books on Ainu language and culture, received literary awards, and was finally awarded a Ph.D for his systematic research on Ainu culture. Kayano Shigeru also served four years, from 1994-98, as the first Ainu member of the House of Councillors, as part of the Social Democratic Party of Japan. Kaizawa Koichi, who is the only survivor of the Ainu plaintiffs, still continues his struggle to ensure Indigenous Rights on the basis of the unprecedented court decision of 1997 and International Human Rights Law.



The Nibutani Dam in the Saru River inundated Ainu fields and wreaked utter havoc on many Ainu cultural heritage sites. The reservoir has already been filled with sediments. Photo by Hiroshi Maruyama.

A Questionnaire Survey on Shodo Island

In April 2011 a questionnaire survey by the author³ demonstrated that the majority of local residents on Shodo Island, in the Inland Sea of Japan, had doubts about the legitimacy of the New Uchinomi Dam Project. The survey also showed that the majority preferred the social welfare policy for the elderly and the price-cutting of sea traffic to the dam project. These findings encouraged the local residents, who had been involved in the opposition campaign for more than a decade, because they had believed that proponents of the dam project had an overwhelming majority. The questionnaire revealed the silent majority actually had the same opinion as the opposition campaigners.

The questionnaire was followed by the author's survey⁴ of the decision-making process through a careful reading of the minutes of assemblies in regards to the dam project. The following mistakes on the side of the authorities are found:

1. The authorities explicitly do not conform to the Revised River Act in terms of decision-making based on the following findings: every minute of the explanatory meetings organized by the authorities, for local residents, makes it clear that the authorities never tried to ascertain the opinions of local residents pursuant to the Revised River Act.
2. The authorities consistently imposed the dam project on the local residents. In other words, although the authorities assert that the dam project would improve flood control more than alternatives, no minutes support their assertion. Further, damage caused by flooding was exaggerated and fabricated by the authorities themselves.
3. The authorities also justify the dam project by acknowledging that the local residents had strongly requested them to promote the dam project. However, documents of neighborhood associations show that pro-business politicians, in collusion with heads of the neighborhood associations, the mayor concerned and the prefectural government, arranged the promotion. Many locals had been silenced by social exclusion.

In June 2001, an explanatory meeting organized by the authorities, which demonstrated how big the dam project was, triggered the establishment of an opposition campaign made up of local residents, including landowners of the planned dam site. In September 2001, the opposition campaign submitted a written request for

the cancellation of the dam project to the prefectural governor with 1,223 signatures. There are three main points to their assertion:

1. There is a danger that the dam project destroys nature and the landscape of Kankakei National Park, of which the border in the south is only hundreds of metres away from the planned dam site.
2. The planned dam is likely to provide a sense of fear for a few thousand local residents who live within a couple of kilometres downstream from the planned dam site. In addition, the total length of the river on which the dam project is planned is only 4 kilometres.
3. The dam project is unnecessary in terms of flood control and water supply. Apart from the fact that damage by flooding is exaggerated and fabricated by the authorities, water shortage has never taken place since the 1996 completion of a new dam in their municipality.



The Biratori Dam Project is under construction on an upper tributary of the Saru River despite the court's decision of 1997. Photo by Hiroshi Maruyama.



The New Uchinomi Dam is being constructed between the Kankakei National Park on the mountain-side and the residential area on the sea-side. Photo by Hiroshi Maruyama.

The authorities, however, have never listened to these voices, and they took forceful measures when expropriating local residents' lands for the dam project.

The then around 20 members of the opposition campaign brought a lawsuit against the authorities for the revocation of the authorization of the New Uchinomi Dam Project. All of these campaigners are elderly, with the oldest of them in her 90s. Yamanishi Katsuaki and Kushimoto Itoe have led the opposition campaign from its onset. Yamanishi is the former head of a soy sauce manufacturing company that is the first to produce organic soy sauce in Japan. Kushimoto is a former nurse-teacher of junior high school and a peace activist. Once a month, for more than six years, they have held protest rallies in front of the prefectural office and gave pedestrians flyers against the dam project. They have maintained hopes that justice will be served over the dam project in court and in their lifetime.

Conclusion

Through involvement in these three dam issues the author has learned ways in which academic research can empower minorities and Indigenous Peoples who are struggling for local autonomy or social justice over conflicts with the authorities. Within this context, the author has two main points.

Firstly, research can provide future generations as well as local residents in other areas with detailed records of those struggles. In fact, newspapers and magazines pay only temporary attention to those struggles due to limited time and space, whereas academic articles and books are able to deal with the struggles in a systematic manner. For example, the author's ten-year research on the Hosogochi Dam Project in Kito Village came to fruition in an academic book,⁵ which is expected to pass on a whole picture of the opposition campaign to future generations and local residents in other areas. Thus researchers can carry out their responsibilities for history and future.

Secondly, research can help minorities and Indigenous Peoples who are struggling for local autonomy and social justice understand what to do next and to see hope for the future. This can be done by e.g. finding violations of the laws concerned by the authorities. In order to empower those people who are excluded from decision-making, researchers need to work for and with them in search for solutions. Hopefully the author's academic articles⁶ on Ainu issues, including a book⁷ co-edited by Kaizawa Koichi, will suggest that International Human Rights Law and the relevant instruments are helpful to the Ainu seeking Indigenous Rights. In addition, in sometime 2014 the author is likely to appear in court as a witness, with the outcomes of research^{8,9}, and on behalf of the opposition campaign, against the New Uchinomi Dam Project. Thus researchers can make a difference in the world toward decentralization in solidarity with minorities and Indigenous Peoples.



An elderly in her 80s is in front of the prefectural office giving pedestrians flyers protesting the dam project. Photo by Hiroshi Maruyama.

Notes

- ¹ Maruyama, H. *Naihatsuteki hatten to chiiki shakai no kanosei* [Endogenous development and possibilities of a local community]. Kyoto: Horitsu Bunka Sha, 2006.
- ² Maruyama, H. "Nibutani damu no ihosei to ainu bunka [The illegality of the Nibutani Dam Project and publicness of Ainu culture in Hokkaido, Japan]." In K. Kaizawa & H. Maruyama, (eds.), *Ainu minzoku no fukken* [Restoration of the Ainu as Indigenous People]. Kyoto: Horitsu Bunka Sha, 2012 ; Maruyama, H. "Ainu landowners' struggle for justice and the illegality of the Nibutani Dam project in Hokkaido Japan." *International Community Law Review*. 14(1). p. 63-80, 2011.
- ³ Maruyama, H. "Tasuha no seigi to uchinomidamu saikaihatsu no kokyosei [Justice of the "majority" and publicness of the Uchinomi Dam Redevelopment Project]." *Kagaku Shakai Ningen* [Science, Society and Technology]. 119. p. 68-89, 2012.
- ⁴ Maruyama, H. "Uchinomidamu saikatsu no ihosei – jigyonintei no ihosei wo megutte – [Illegality of the Uchinomi Dam Redevelopment Project – Referring to the authorization of the project –]." *Kagaku Shakai Ningen* [Science, Society and Technology]. 121. p. 112-126, 2012.
- ⁵ Maruyama, H. *Naihatsuteki hatten to chiiki shakai no kanosei* [Endogenous development and possibilities of a local community]. Kyoto: Horitsu Bunka Sha, 2006.
- ⁶ Maruyama, H. "Ainu landowners' struggle for justice and the illegality of the Nibutani Dam project in Hokkaido Japan." *In International Community Law Review*. 14(1). p. 63-80, 2012 ; Maruyama, H. "Japan's post-war Ainu policy: Why the Japanese Government has not recognized Ainu indigenous rights?" *In Polar Record*. [Online], 2012. Available from: <http://journals.cambridge.org> [Accessed: 14 January 2013] ; Maruyama, H. (2013). "Disregard for the Conservation of Ainu Culture and the Environment: The Biratori Dam Project and Japan's Current Policy Toward the Ainu." *In AlterNative*. 9(1). p. 74-86.
- ⁷ Maruyama, H. (2011) Nibutani damu no ihosei to ainu bunka [The illegality of the Nibutani Dam Project and publicness of Ainu culture in Hokkaido, Japan]. In K. Kaizawa & H. Maruyama., (eds.), *Ainu minzoku no fukken* [Restoration of the Ainu as indigenous people]. Kyoto: Horitsu Bunka Sha.
- ⁸ Maruyama, H. (2012). Tasuha no seigi to uchinomidamu saikaihatsu no kokyosei [Justice of the "majority" and publicness of the Uchinomi Dam Redevelopment Project]. *Kagaku Shakai Ningen* [Science, Society and Technology]. 119. p. 68-89.
- ⁹ Maruyama, H. (2012) Uchinomidamu saikatsu no ihosei – jigyonintei no ihosei wo megutte – [Illegality of the Uchinomi Dam Redevelopment Project – Referring to the authorization of the project –]. *Kagaku Shakai Ningen* [Science, Society and Technology]. 121. p. 112-126.

Winds of Change

The Role and Potential of Sámi Parliamentarians

Stefan Mikaelsson

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Abstract

This text is based on a presentation by Stefan Mikaelsson held at RE-Mindings symposium, October 2012, his opening speech for the Sámi Plenary 62nd session in Vualtjere/Vilhelmina, Sweden, February 19, 2013, and his presentation for the panel “Decolonizing Sápmi: archeology, food security and struggles against mining and militarization” at the annual meeting of NAISA, Native American and Indigenous Studies Association, in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Canada, June 13-15, 2013. In this article Mikaelsson speaks of the threats against lands and waters, culture and food security, and ultimately the survival and continuance of the Sámi People. He speaks of the complex situation and monetary economy that makes it difficult to respond to these threats and challenges, and that the never-ending negotiations with the Swedish government and the Swedish membership within the European Union are ultimately undermining Sámi culture. Mikaelsson argues for a need for responding against threats and challenges through a collaboration within the Sámi Parliament and between Sámi people in general.

Introduction – Winds of Change Are Blowing

Winds of change and destruction are blowing across the lands of the Sámi People¹ – threatening the survival of our culture and our survival as a People. Our lands and waters are located above and below the Arctic Circle and cultivation border; we have lived in an Arctic climate for thousands of years. We have been able to live and prosper in these regions due to our ingenuity, hard work and collaboration with our fellow companions – the reindeer – and in close exchange with the nature and its gifts. We have traded with other peoples, while keeping and developing our own cultures and ways of producing food in harmony, despite

brutal attempts of colonization. Our possibilities to produce safe and healthy food have been diminishing constantly for over more than half a decade. And, as of late, we face severe consequences of an even fiercer State-driven exploitation and colonization.

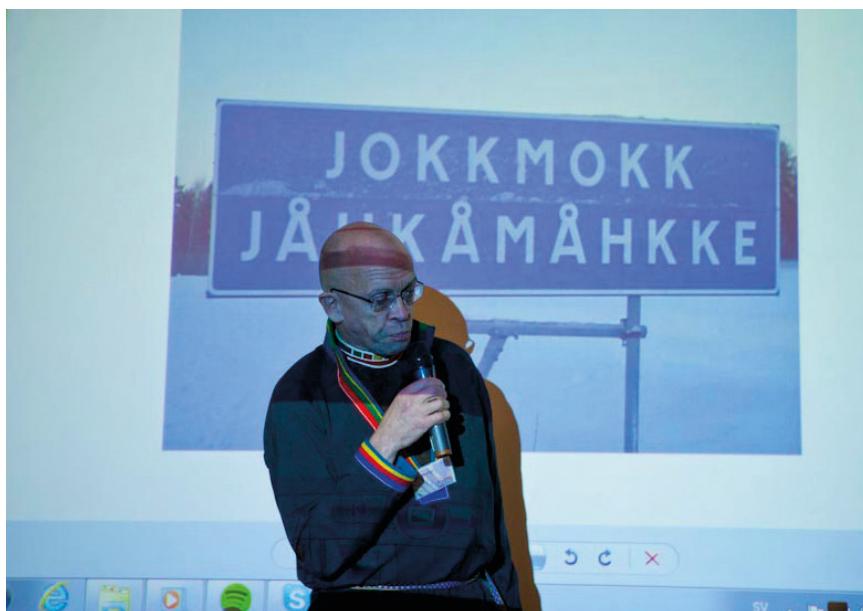
I call for all Sámi Parliamentarians to raise our voices, to stop the negotiations with a colonial power that is slowly, but inexorably, destroying our culture. This destruction is currently conducted by allowing mining exploitations all over our lands and waters, through the destruction of our cultural heritage and rights as an Indigenous People, and through the failing support provided for reindeer herders. We are criminalized for being Sámi. I call for us – within the Sámi Parliament in Sweden, as well as all Sámi Parliaments – to collaborate for the reclaiming of the Sámi lands and waters.

Swedish and European Colonialism

The membership of Sweden and Finland in the European Union (EU) has resulted in the opposite of what was expected. Instead of enhancing the Sámi People's legitimate rights and status and the immediate implementation of the international-community-adopted Human Rights instruments, the European democracies have violated Sámi Rights. Of these, the most important and legitimate rights, as a People, are the exclusive rights to inhabit, cultivate, possess and control our Sámi territory.

European colonialism, founded on racism, considers the Sámi People as an inferior people, unable to realize our own good and even less knowledgeable in the management of our own culture and heritage for future generations. This colonialism is as strong today as it was in 1919, when Sweden began the forced relocation of reindeer herders and their families, the forced slaughter of reindeers, and a commitment to active and brutal Swedification processes towards the Sámi.

All parts of Sámi culture and all aspects of the Sámi People, as defined by the Sámi, ourselves, must be embraced by the proposed solutions. Some may argue that Nyamko Sabuni, Minister for Integration of the Swedish Government October 6, 2006 – October 5, 2010, and her successor, Erik Ullenhag, have actively supported collaboration between the Sámi and the State. Although this is a renewal process that they have promoted, even on local level, between the Swedish government offices and the Sámi People, far too little has been done in reality. If the Sámi do not lead these initiatives, any changes for the better will



Stefan Mikaelsson presenting at RE-Mindings Symposium. Photo by Tor Lundberg Tuorda.

have been based solely on arbitrariness and random circumstances, rather than a genuine respect for the Sámi People or our status in a society dominated by Swedish standards and legislation.

The mining plague is now spreading around Europe, affecting municipalities, mayors, county governors and other authorities or organizations. These pro-mining entities are now using well-disguised terminology, promising that Swedish authorities will take into account the Sámi interests in any mining exploration and establishment – that “there is space for everyone.” We know that this is not the reality; there is not space for everyone. Little by little, the Sámi traditional way of life is forced to end. This is the result of over 100 years of aggressive colonialism.

It is unacceptable that the dominant societies of Europe still consider an Indigenous People, the Sámi, as part of their entertainment and our culture as objects to put on display in museums and research institutions. The responsible organizations, personnel and scholars, consist of a vast majority of non-Sámi; and being Sámi is not considered important when doing research on Sámi societies or within Sámi territory. At the same time, the moment the interests for the Sámi ebb, Sámi traditional activities will fall out of favor with State support. A result of this is that the Sámi are considered as competitors for land-use territory and, subsequently, expected to give-way to foreign and non-Sámi interests, favoring

the “interest of the Swedish public.” This includes supporting foreign and non-Sámi industrial ventures.

The Sámi People are dependent on a close contact with our nature. Our culture would not survive a totally changed and corrupted nature that has lost its biological diversity, key habitats, diversely-aged forests, non-fragmented lands and clean water.

International Rights of the Sámi and Activism

Indigenous and tribal rights to the lands and waters is also one of the principles behind the development of ILO Convention No. 169.² The ILO convention 169 is an attempt by the international community, on the basis of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, adopted by the United Nations in 1948,³ to prevent different dominant communities from altering or destroying aboriginal peoples’ relationship with their traditional lands and waters. We, the Sámi, walk towards the future in the footsteps of our ancestors. Once these footsteps have been erased, our future will be wiped out.

Reindeer herding is a core traditional activity within Sámi culture. The husbandry and slaughtering of reindeer are good measurements for the condition of the traditional Sámi way of life. The Sámi Parliament in Sweden was established in 1993. At this time, the yearly slaughter of reindeer in Sweden amounted to 100,000 per year. At present, the yearly slaughter is about half that number. The Sámi reindeer herders are struggling to prevent a further decline of the reindeer stock and subsequent slaughter. In this work against further decline, the herders need to protect the reindeer calves and adults against predators. However, a growing national and international concern about wildlife has left reindeer herders with large losses of reindeer due to predation by lynx, wolverines, bears, eagles and, in some areas, wolves. Yet, reindeer herders have been prosecuted and sentenced within the Swedish court system for what is termed “illegal hunting” of these predators.

To my mind, protecting our reindeer is not a criminal act. It is a way to assert our cultural survival. But in Sweden, illegal shooting of one or more predators is a severe crime, regardless of quantity. Yet, for the Sámi it is a means to protect the newborn calves, giving the reindeer enough calm during grazing – the tranquility that they are denied under current Swedish legislation. Nor is it to my mind a crime to build a traditional *lávvu*, or *goatje*, a cabin on our own Sámi ancestral lands. Rather, it is an act to continue the Sámi culture, to remember our traditions,

to live the way we have always lived, in the areas where we have always lived since long before the establishment of modern Nation-States.

The Sámi lived in these high mountains, in remote forest valleys, or close to the fishing lake where my grandfather and grandmother had their fishing waters, long before the Swedish king's men burned down their huts and, with threat of legal action, claimed that Sámi fishing was illegal. This colonizing practice still continues in some of the Sámi areas, although nowadays representatives of the Swedish state – the County Administration – perform the burning of cabins.⁴

Resistance Towards the Swedish State

In 1998, the Minister of Agriculture, who also is responsible for overseeing reindeer herding in the State and business concerning the Sámi People in Sweden in general, apologized to the Sámi People for the assaults made on them by the Swedish state.⁵

But for what purpose was this apology, I ask myself? Since then, nothing has changed for the better – the apologies lacked content; except for one thing, which is the annual ceremonial dinner with the Minister, initiated after the apology as a means to discuss “Sámi business” with Sámi representatives. I neither have, nor ever will, attended those dinners – my faith in European democracy has been shaken at its foundation.

I attended my first meeting about Swedish State public inquiries into Sámi issues in 1977. The purpose for the Swedish Government was to propose actual solutions to our problems.⁶ Oh how happy I was to see that my part of the Sámi territory would finally enjoy the benefits of policies that would mean the achievement of progressive solutions. However today, 36 years later, nothing has improved. The opposite has occurred, and my excitement over being a Swedish citizen has long since gone.

I do not expect the Swedish Government to, within my lifespan, have the will to do anything other than consolidate what is already happening everywhere in Sápmi/Sábme, to maintain the status quo in the state of Swedish-Sámi affairs. I do not expect any ratification of international conventions by the Swedish State that could improve the conditions for the Sámi; there will be no ratification of the Nordic Sámi Convention, and there will be no ratification of ILO Convention No. 169. We cannot hope for the implementation of the UN International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR)⁷ nor the UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR).⁸ We can forget the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP).⁹ These will never be implemented by Sweden. Realizing what the actual situation is like, I pose this question: is there any

other option for the Sámi Parliament in the Swedish side of Sápmi, but to cancel all negotiations with the Swedish government? If we continue our negotiations, as we have done since the establishment of the Sámi Parliament 20 years ago, but continually fail – what will this lead to? I believe that, within a decade, we will have reached a level where only 25,000 reindeer are slaughtered per year – along with a final collapse of reindeer herding. This means the collapse of our livelihood, our possibility to sustain ourselves with food from within our own territory. Furthermore, the traditional Sámi *lavvus* might also be considered to be “illegal” and consequently burnt down by representatives of the Swedish state. We will be negotiating away our own culture and right to exist as Sámi, as human beings.

Today, 20 years after the establishment of the Sámi Parliament in Sweden, we, the Sámi Parliamentarians, have better opportunities to act than ever before. We have the potential to make the European colonial powers, and European democracies, accountable – both on a national level and within court procedures pursued through the international community’s Human Rights instruments.

What we need to do is *resist*, instead of accepting never-ending negotiations where *business as usual* leads to further loss of Sámi territory, lands and waters. The way I see it, *resistance* is the only remaining possibility in a desperate situation. The Sámi Parliament on the Swedish side of Sápmi has already spoken all the words that may be spoken, in documents and statements. So far, none of our actions have had any significant effect on the dominant Swedish society. The colonization and destruction keeps continuing, without any stop.

Modern Nation-State Economy and the Sámi Parliament

However, one question remains – the question is whether the Sámi Parliamentarians are ready and prepared to promote Sámi Rights, and in a uncompromised way? It is difficult to not be compromised by a monetarily-based economy that has been imposed upon us throughout a century of colonization. Many Sámi are already used to a lifestyle where working within the mines provides a high monthly salary and, consequently, high retirement funds. This might be more interesting for those Sámi persons than having the rights to traditional Sámi lands and waters. Realizing that struggling for Sámi rights might mean the loss of such incomes, or even unemployment, may make some Sámi unwilling to take up the fight. Even Sámi Parliamentarians who are working for mining companies might refrain from speaking of Sámi Rights, for fear of losing voters or income along

with prospects of retirement funds.

Furthermore, Sámi persons who do not have memberships within the *Sameby*¹⁰ may accept working for the mining exploiters, and thereby contribute to the destruction of the Sámi traditional lands and waters. Indeed, even members of the Samebys, during certain periods, work for mining companies to earn extra income. Many Sámi have become dependent on this unsustainable monetary economy – it is an addiction from which it is difficult to be cured.¹¹

Other Parliamentarians may consider the struggle for Sámi rights as a way to create a polarization between “Sámi” and “Swedes”¹² – the Sámi society and the dominant Swedish society – within the small communities in our Sámi territory. I argue that it is possible to reclaim Sámi traditional rights without causing polarization and conflicts. To achieve this, we need support from Swedish local and national politicians; it will take careful and wise politics from both Sámi and Swedish politicians, along with good policy-making.

We desperately need to reinforce ourselves as *Culture Carriers* – carriers of Sámi culture – and to reclaim our space and rights. The Culture Carriers are the individuals that, through their/our everyday life and practices – and sometimes clashing with Swedish legislation – reclaim and continue our Indigenous culture. The fisherpersons, yoikers, hunters, herdswo/men, artisans, constructors of Sámi traditional *goatje*, and wanderers are all Culture Carriers. This essential work of transferring Sámi culture to children, nieces, nephews, and other adult Sámi, cannot continue if our lands and waters are turned into holes and tailing dams. The day the transfer ceased would forebode the end of Sámi culture; it would be the death to our way of life.

However, I am hopeful. The Sámi Parliamentarians can come together to restore and reclaim our rights. On us rests the responsibility and possibilities for ensuring that Sámi culture may survive and prosper for posterity. This can only occur once we collaborate. We can choose to do it during our Parliament sessions, by working in a constructive way. If we do not assume this responsibility, we will have left the burden to do so to coming generations.

Concluding Remarks

Below are a few questions that remain open-ended and should be addressed by us, the Sámi Parliamentarians. They concern urgent issues for political decision-makers in the Swedish Parliament and in the EU to resolve:

- The relationship between Sweden and the EU. Will the demands of the EU on unlimited access to natural resources in the Arctic, due to the regulation of the international market, contribute to the creation an Arctic desert? Would this be done despite the risk of severely altering, or destroying, the means to produce food in these regions?
- The European lifestyle of consumption and waste production. If every citizen on this planet lived like an average European, we would need four planets equivalent to the size of and resources contained within this one, and only, Earth. How can destructive lifestyles be changed to become sustainable or reduce the impacts on climate? What is the role of the Arctic in this matter, and how can we assert that the Arctic is not further destroyed by destructive lifestyles or quests for oil and minerals in our lands and territories?

To conclude, I will quote from a poem by the Sámi artist Nils-Aslak Valkeapää:

They come and ask where is your home they come with papers and say	Dat bohtet ja jerret gos du ruoktu lea Dat buktet báhpiriid ja dadjet
this belongs to nobody this is government land everything belongs to the State	dát ii leat geange dát lea Riikka eanan Riikka visot
They bring out dingy fat books and say	Dat ohcet assás duolva girjjiid ja dadjet
this is the law it applies to you too	dá lea láhka ja dát guoská dunai
What shall I say sister what shall I say brother	Maid mun dajan oabbá maid mun dajan viellja
You know brother you understand sister – <i>Aillohas</i> ¹³	Don diedđát dan viellja don ipmirdat oabbá ¹⁴

Notes

¹ There is not one single Sámi language – and thus not one single word for the land of the Sámi, but nine different words. Sápmi is the word in North Sámi, Sábmme in Lule Sámi, Saemie in South Sámi, Säämi in Inari Sámi, and Säämjánnam in Skolt Sámi.

² International Labour Organization, ILO, Convention no. 169, 1989 [Accessed July 10, 2013].

³ United Nations, The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948 [Accessed July 10, 2013].

⁴ This concerns mainly the Västerbotten County, within the Swedish State. Cf. Fjällström, Carola. *Jakt och Fiskesamerna* [Hunting and Fishing Sami], Motion nr. 299 till Sametinget [Motion to the Swedish Sámi Parliament], dated May 19, 2004, 299 04-05- 27 Carola Fjällström, *Skydd mot Sámiska byggnader* [Protection regarding Sami buildings] 04-10- 21. Sametinget, Kiruna.

⁵ <http://www.regeringen.se/sb/d/1473/a/58188> ; <http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/9808/08/telegram/inrikes35.html>

⁶ Swedish Government. *Om insatser för samerna* [On the interventions for the Sami]. Government proposition, 1976/77:80, Stockholm, 1977 ; SOU 99. "Sameutredningen", In *Samerna i Sverige: stöd åt språk och kultur : betänkande* [The Sami in Sweden: Support for language and culture: reflection], Liber/ Allmänna förlag, Stockholm, 1975.

⁷ <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CESCR.aspx>

⁸ <http://untreaty.un.org/cod/avl/ha/iccpr/iccpr.html>

⁹ <http://social.un.org/index/IndigenousPeoples/DeclarationontheRightsofIndigenousPeoples.aspx>

¹⁰ A *sameby* is a Sámi economic association where reindeer herding is organized, a membership that provides rights for fishing and hunting within specific areas.

¹¹ Within the mining sector, salaries are considerably higher than elsewhere in the Sámi territories. Also many Sámi may take short-term jobs in the mining sector, earning a larger amount of money for a few weeks of work per year. For salary statistics of the mining sector in the county of Norrbotten – where the majority of the current mines are located today – see the following website on salary statistics, Lönestatistik.se [Accessed July 16, 2013].

¹² As "Swedes" in this case I consider those people living in the inland and mountain communities within the Sámi territory that are not (yet) on the Sámi Parliament voting register. Most people that live in these communities are, however, related in some way or another, whether "Sámi" or "Swede." Many people who identify themselves as Sámi are also not on the voting register.

¹³ This is a quote from a longer poem in North Sámi by the famous Sámi poet, author and artist Nils-Aslak Valkeapää: *Ruoktu Váimmus*, DAT 1985, Nils-Aslak Valkeapää. The English translation is from *Trekways of the Wind*, DAT 1994, Nils-Aslak Valkeapää. Translated to English from North Sámi by Ralph Salisbury, Lars Nordström and Harald Gaski

Permission to publish the quote from the poem in North Sámi and in English has been provided by the Lassagammi foundation, www.lassagammi.no.

The Swedish version of the book is named *Vidderna inom mig*, DAT, 1987.

¹⁴ This is the quote from the poem by Valkeapää, in original text, North Sámi language.

In Defense of the Intolerable Condition of Prevailing Darkness

Places that Matter – Uppsala, Syter Valley, Rönnbäck, Gállok

Markus Nyström

Markus Nyström is a master student in Environmental History at Uppsala University, Sweden. For several years, he has worked as a course coordinator and editor at the Center for Environment and Development Studies (CEMUS) at Uppsala University, organizing several courses on different topics relating to sustainable development. Nyström's academic background is primarily in literature and rhetoric, in which he holds a bachelor degree. A conclusion he has reached from his work is the need to combine academic and intellectual work with activism, and he is nowadays involved in the anti-mining movement in Sweden and internationally.

Abstract

In this essay Markus Nyström argues, with a profound experience in his youth as the starting point, that the discourse of value is flawed in modern Western society. The economized perception of value is not only the main source of environmental degradation and threat to Indigenous Peoples' rights, but also threatens to undermine the environmental and Indigenous Peoples' movements from within. *Value, rationality, price, time and experience* are concepts examined. Darkness is the metaphor for uncertainty – not knowing; enlightenment the metaphor for knowledge. Contrary to this, Markus Nyström argues that the greatest knowledge – the greatest enlightenment – is to know what it is one does not, and cannot, know. In the essay, specific places of importance to the author himself are mentioned; Uppsala, the Syter Valley, Rönnbäck and Gállok (Kallak).

Introduction

I attended the symposium *RE: Mindings: Co-Constituting Indigenous/Academic/Artistic Knowledges and Understandings of Land-, Water-, Body-, and Lab-scapes*

in Uppsala in October 2012. I participated more on a hunch than with a clear idea of what the symposium would entail. With the benefit of hindsight, I can honestly say it changed my life to some degree. Since I work with education for sustainable development, I am quite familiar with, and almost jaded by, hearing about the dire state of the world. However, the symposium reinvigorated my commitment by alerting me to the fact that destructive exploitation and neo-colonialism happen close to home. In particular, I learned about the developments of the mining industry in Sweden.

At the symposium dinner I ended up sitting next to two of the speakers, Marie Persson and Tor Lundberg Tuorda. Marie had given a talk about a planned nickel mine in Rönnbäck in her home valley of Björkvattsdalen, Northern Sweden. The mine, which is of gigantic proportions, is to be located in and around the Ume River, which provides drinking water to over 120,000 people and is regulated by a large hydroelectric power dam. Tor told me about the large-scale mining plans in Jokkmokk municipality where he lives and in land previously untouched by mining. Currently the mining enterprise is prospecting for mines in or close to Lapponia, a UNESCO World Heritage Site. In this case, too, mines are to be located upstream from water supplies and near dams.

I had not heard about any of these developments before. But the obvious risks to health and safety, coupled with severe environmental effects, compelled me to become involved in the anti-mining movement – a movement currently gaining momentum in Sweden. The Rönnbäck mining plans are those furthest underway and closest to becoming a reality, so my studies and engagement have focused mostly on that area.

I have an academic background in literature and rhetoric; it is a bad habit of mine – or maybe a really healthy one – to focus on words. This essay is an exploration of some of the key words that explicitly or implicitly shape the debate about natural resources in general. Of special significance is the understanding of *value* – what is regarded as valuable and why, who has the power of definition, and on what basis are value judgments made?

But the starting point for this essay is not academic, nor is it theory, concepts or abstractions – the starting point is *experience*: a very particular and profound experience that I had in my youth.

Syter Valley

When I started sixth grade there was a new boy in class. He was sitting right behind me. My classmates and I looked with some amount of suspicion at the

newcomer who sat silent, with blue eyes under a thick, blonde mop of hair.

The teacher started the lesson. It was hot outside; the windows to the schoolyard were open. It was a wonderful day – the kind of day that is exciting and important but usually forgotten with age. Not so with this day, though – thanks to Josef.

The teacher asked him to come up the black board to introduce himself to the class.

“My name’s Josef”, he said with a distinct northern accent. “I come from Lycksele.”

“Can you show where that is on the map?” the teacher asked and rolled down a map of Sweden. Without flinching, Josef took the pointer and pointed out the location – far up north, in the middle of the country. We were quite impressed.

By lunchtime I had gotten to know Josef a little bit. He fooled us into believing he could speak Sámi, and he taught us made-up cuss words. He told us that he travelled by skis until the last day of school before summer break, that he had battled with wolves using nothing but a pocket knife, and that he had driven a snow mobile 90 kilometers per hour – though only the last claim had any correlation to reality. The class liked him from the start because he spoon-fed us with our own prejudices about the North: Norrland. Josef and I eventually became best friends, which we still are to this day.

Fast-forward to eight months later, to April 1995. Josef and I got into our heads that we would go on a week-long mountain hike. We got a classmate onboard named Martin, along with Josef’s cousin Emil. There would be no grown-ups around – just four 13-year old boys running free in the Swedish mountains. Prior to the trip, my nights spent in a tent could be counted on one hand. We prepared at Josef’s place around the kitchen table: packing oatmeal and gorp in little bags, discussing gore-tex and meters of elevation – the latter mostly a theoretical concept to a young boy like me, who had grown up in flatlands of Uppland, mid-Sweden.

The bus finally stopped in Hemavan and we got out. I still remember the strange feeling I had getting off of the bus. The temperature was cooler than I had expected. And the smell, compared to home, was completely different – reminiscent of some type of citrus.

Finally we came into the Syter Valley proper, and the clouds pulled away as did the light rain. The weather turned very pleasant and calm, and we made our camp for the evening.

We started our hike uphill along the trail, which later leveled off into the Syter Valley. We made lunch on our ethanol stove, watching reindeer, the first I ever saw. We continued and finally reached into the Syter Valley proper. The clouds pulled away as did the light rain. The weather turned very pleasant and calm, and we made our camp for the evening.

To just recently have begun to understand the allure of mountains, and then leave the flatlands of my childhood – the waving wheat fields, the brown rivers, the assuring smell of cow dung in the spring – for this enormity, this unintelligible vastness: was simply breathtaking – almost a spiritual experience. But, strangely, it was not only a feeling of awe that struck me; it was not only a matter of beauty. Visiting these mountains gave me a real sense of homecoming. I belonged there. I did not realize it then, but it was at this particular moment in my life, seeing the Syter Valley – only 30 kilometers from Rönnbäck which Marie Persson, 17 years later, is fighting to save from the mining industry – that my lifelong love for, sometimes obsession with, mountains, rivers and forests really took hold of me. It would forever change me.

Value and Rationality

What this experience – and subsequent similar ones – taught me was really quite simple. I learned that the Norra Storfjället Mountains – which the Syter Valley goes through – is worth something quite different than the market value of the natural resources it contains. And even if I have not experienced Rönnbäck personally, this place, too, by definition has other values than what global markets could conjure up for it. Insisting on treating “nature” as if its value is only that which the market-economy gives it is to vastly underestimate – no, to totally misunderstand – its full value. Oscar Wilde, the famous 19th century English writer, once wrote, “nowadays people know the price of everything and the value of nothing.”¹ This statement holds true over a hundred years later in regards to the value of nature.

To understand something’s true value is impossible and most likely – if it weren’t impossible – not desirable. It is impossible because “true value” implies a value that is the same for all, a quantitative value by definition. But we still do have some sort of system for evaluation and valuation at our disposal – economics – and it is important to understand the basis, the framework, of that system. To best understand that framework, a story is needed:

A man is walking down a dark road. He comes to a lamppost where another man, on his knees in the gutter, is looking for something.

“What are you looking for?” the first man asks.

“My car keys”, the kneeling man answers.

“What makes you think they are lying somewhere here?”

“Nothing” the kneeling man looks up and continues. “But this is where light is, so it is easier to look here.”

Something's value – its “meaning” – is forever encapsulated in darkness. One cannot know value in any objective sense, only from one's own point of reference. Economics provides us with a light in that darkness, a place apparently illuminated or “enlightened.” However, it is not at all certain that where light is shining is where truths, the car keys in the story above, are to be found.

It is easy to believe that the value of a mountain is its ore since the ore is demanded by the market and thus has a price. The price indicates the value of the mountain: one *form* of value, but not *the* value. The price of ore can, in fact, also be the value of *destroying* the mountain. Market value shines its light, however we remain in darkness.

Since the field of economics is the dominating, established way for collectively figuring out what a certain something is worth – since it is the only lamppost on the street – there is an inbuilt tendency to deny the possibility of value being something other than price.

But price and value are two different things. Neil Evernden (1993) reflects on and exemplifies how horrifying and bizarre it would be to see a human being's value based on the raw materials the human body consists of. Everyone *knows* that a human life is worth something different than the amounts of minerals and elements that can be “produced” from a human body. At the same time, this is exactly the way we continuously, on an industrial scale, treat that which we call nature. And it is important to note that the problem, with such a preposterous valuation of a human being, is not that the value is *too low*. The problem is that such a valuation is simply wrong in and of itself.

But is it rational to value nature in this way, ignoring other forms of value? That is a matter of *opinion*, meaning that rationality is ideological. Of misunderstood concepts in contemporary language, *rationality* is probably the most important. Though intrinsically ideological, rationality is treated with tired acceptance. Whenever someone claims that their position is the most rational, or most efficient, the discussion ends; you cannot argue against rationality. This is despite the fact that what is deemed rational is different depending on culture, faith, politics, and so on – it is ideological.

Rationality then is not only misunderstood but also highly normative. Rationality guides behavior, societal development and thinking. That is why my *experience* of the Syter Valley was so important to me, since it hurled me into a trajectory that eventually lead me to question rationality as a concept. I suspect most of us, if not all, have had those experiences where other forms of value are obvious – we have found car keys, so to speak, in other places than where the

lamppost of economics has shone its light. This is why taking *experience* seriously is potentially a revolutionary act.²

The default position, though, seems to be that rational thinking was what brought us out of the caves and into the modern era. We cherish rationality for all it has given us and dare not oppose it. This, however, is based on confusing two different uses of the word rationality: scientific rationality and economic rationality. Scientific rationality is basic logic, as in $1+1=2$. Scientific rationality tends to give precedence to things that are quantifiable over things that are not. For example, love can not be described through equations – as is similar to “irrational” experiences of value – and so, science tends to overlook this point. Again, we see the problem of only being able to look for the keys where the proverbial lamp is shining.

Economic rationality, however, is another thing entirely. It is ideological, not logical, proclaiming that *quantity* is all that counts, no pun intended, and also that “2” is always *better* than “1.” *That* is ideological.

In economics, the concept of rationality is central and is treated as a neutral term. It is rational to always pursue what gives the highest rate of return, to “maximize utility.” If you can use a land area in such a way that you earn \$2 million per year, that use is regarded as more rational than using the land area to make \$1 million per year. This is without any significant respect to other uses, or users, of the land, along with other forms of value that land may hold. This rationality is shortsighted and does not consider future generations’ land usage, a point to which we will return soon. Maximizing utility is also considered rational despite contrary interests of the owners or inhabitants of the land. You are expected to always want more, even if you, by your own standards, have enough. In a word, it is rational to be *insatiable*.

But how could I have been insatiable when standing there, feeling small and amazed, in the Syter Valley? The very idea feels sacrilegious to me since it would, by definition, mean a serious belittlement of the experience itself.

An uncritical approach to economic rationality, combined with politics that have abdicated from presenting alternatives, due to the fact that politicians have been unable to withstand the arguments of economic rationality – results in nothing other than environmental and social degradation. And, possibly, such an uncritical approach allows for cheap, glittering, blipping toys “Made in China” for voters. We have been served a politically and ideologically poisonous cocktail that has, to an overwhelming degree, negative effects on welfare, democratic power and public insight in a long-term perspective.

Time

Among the powerful feelings I experienced in the Syter Valley was that of appreciating the unfathomably old age of that place. The feeling of belonging was therefore not only a sense of place, but also a profound feeling of belonging in time. My own existence was just a tiny dot in the history of the world, and it made me content. How could I ever interpret that feeling so as to justify my own existence to be of such immense importance as to give me – or my contemporaries – the right to devastate that place with reference to longevity and sustainability?

Yet, this is done consistently. The Swedish Minister of Enterprise, Annie Lööf, routinely makes statements about the sustainability and longevity of the mining industry, and this despite the fact that modern mining technology – and the nature of the mineral deposits – only rarely allows for mines to be in service longer than 30 years. It should be added that the mining companies themselves provide the estimates and have all to gain from exaggerating figures. In Lööf's mind, 30 years is enough to call it sustainable – even though “future generations”, in its plural form, is a central theme in sustainable development. 30 years is, for all practical purposes of politics and enterprise, forever, it seems.

The company that plans the Rönneback mine has forecasted that it will last approximately 20 years. When mining companies apply for a mining concession, they have to report on the effects on other economic activities. If 20-30 years is the benchmark for “a very long time”, other economic activities – formal and informal – like reindeer husbandry, hunting, fishing and tourism, will never be able to compete. But if one were to take a long-term perspective – say, 300 years – those other economic activities would out-compete mining in their economic value.

Time is therefore one of the real battlefields of sustainability today, and it is not only so in the mining sector. For example, the European Union (EU) has a goal of cutting carbon dioxide (CO₂) emissions by 80 percent by the year 2050, which is 37 years from the time of writing this article. This goal of the EU does not take into account that further economic growth *after* 2050 will increase CO₂ emissions and, at the same time, the last 20 percent is going to be virtually impossible to reduce due to decreasing marginal returns on climate technology investments. It seems, therefore, that 2050 is the longest amount of time the political elite could even begin to conceptualize, despite the persistent references to “future generations.”

It is sometimes said that human nature is myopic – not looking very far ahead of current events – but I disagree mainly for two reasons. Firstly, in many instances, it is simply a matter of mathematics. For example, one can simply extend the equations to cover 300 years instead of 30. Choosing the sooner date is not

more “natural” than the longer timeframe. Secondly, I simply do not accept the statement that we do not possess the ability to picture a longer time-period than about 30 years. In fact, I would call that a preposterous claim. I myself am a living proof that it is.

No, the reasons for this short-sightedness are political and pragmatical. The reasons are political because looking further ahead would mean to actually face the deeper meanings of sustainability – that we have to live on this planet together with all other living beings, and that the economic system must adapt to this. Quite simply, we must acknowledge an end to economic growth. Furthermore, it is at present political suicide to seriously bring these matters up in political debate as it implicates an end to consumption as we know it – it entails that we would have to stop being insatiable, which goes against the economic rationality so predominant in our time. Thus, short-term thinking is infused into the framework of economic rationality.

The pragmatic reason *for* short-sightedness is somewhat more defensible. It is a fact that the further ahead a forecast aims, the less accurate it is going to be. So why, then, one could ask, look so far ahead as to render all prognoses worthless? However, this assumes that everything is “up for grabs”, so to speak, when it this is not the case. The finite resources of the planet, or how much CO₂ the atmosphere can handle without causing climate chaos, are notions somewhat uncertain, but only to a certain degree – we can still safely and logically assume that limits *do* exist.

I wonder also if there might be a third perspective at play here. If one never stretches one’s mind further than thirty years, it is as if the world ends there. Time and space cease to exist after that point; they have no relevance. Could it be that shortsightedness is a kind of emotional response to cope with the vast eons of time that will come after us, *without us*? Could it be, in effect, that shortsightedness takes our mind away from the conceptualizing of our own mortality?

Experience and the Environmental Movement

Immediate experience almost always has to give way to abstract understanding when valuing nature. One’s immediate experience of a mountain, a river, a forest or a plain as “something more” or at least as “something else” than the natural resources it can supply to the market economy is a value systematically denied any importance in public debate.

The reason is that experience, or “feelings”, are deemed as irrational, unprofessional and subjective, many times synonymous with “untrue” – all things

modern society scorn and devalue. In this respect, to acknowledge subjectivity is to acknowledge darkness, turning off the electricity to the lamppost. The logical conclusion therefore seems to be that we, humanity, are completely lost in a prevailing darkness of relativity when it comes to value; nothing is illuminated, nothing can be discerned – everything is relative. In reaction to this intolerable condition, we have at least established *one* lamppost on the street – measuring value by peoples’ willingness to pay. Taking experience seriously, however, is to invite the darkness of relativity.

But experience is not useless just because we cannot quantify it, nor are we lost if we trust it. Experience is not useless since it is what people experience – we actually do not have much else to go on, do we? The problem comes from the impossibility to quantify and categorize experience into a coherent system of valuation, but that does not take away from the reality of experience.

And we are not in the dark because of this, due to the fact that we can discuss, tell stories, write poetry, create art, etcetera, where we *negotiate* value and tell others about our experiences. Value is, therefore, tightly connected to cultural expressions. Indeed, it could be said that this negotiation of value is one of the primary functions of cultural expressions, and has always been. Culture tells stories of right and wrong, of sacredness and sin, of proper behavior, etcetera. Through culture we establish a collective *idea*, not measurement, of value, which in turn shapes the way we experience reality. This means that subjective value does not have to be individual. A “whole bunch” of people can have the same understanding of something’s value because they share the same stories, even though that value is not quantifiable through any scientific or quantitative method. Virtually all of us think that a human life is worth something else than its market value, because we tell those kind of stories in our society. But far fewer would admit that a mountain has any particular intrinsic value, because our society does not tell that kind of story. Quite the opposite story is told time and time again concerning nature – that the world is ours to exploit.

The environmental movement has always had stories other than the quantifiable, scientific ones. The romantics in different ages have in common that they are or were of the opinion that there can be completely different ways than the status quo admits of experiencing – and thus valuing – nature. Too often, however, those arguing for other forms of value are simply ignored or ridiculed. But I would argue that this romantic branch of arguments in the environmental movement is *not* something of the fringes, but at the very core of the movement itself. Supposedly for the environmental movement to be “taken seri-

ously”, its arguments have had to adapt according to the status quo. Economists today routinely talk about the economic reasons for limiting CO₂ emissions and about the need for economic growth so that we can “afford” to protect the environment, and they are armed with compelling scientific statistics supporting their cause. Ironically, many in the environmental movement now employing such a language and thinking came to the environmental movement because of quite different, subjective and profound experiences of nature. No person becomes involved in efforts to “save the planet” out of some backwards zeal to save or earn money. Environmentalism is about that nagging feeling that we, as humanity, are about to lose something very dear, essential and *unintelligibly valuable*; it is a reaction towards mankind’s treatment of its fellow living creatures on the planet – not as brothers and sisters, but as dead resources awaiting proper exploitation by the global economy.

This leads us to a rather contradictory conclusion: people struck by a nagging or acute feeling of unease at the prospect of continuous industrial expansion seem to have to employ the same language as the industry they oppose in order for their opposition to be heard. But in doing so, in employing that language, they lose something of the reason why they oppose this expansion in the first place. Language shapes thinking, and vice versa. Therefore it could be argued that there is a risk involved in “economizing” the environmental arguments, a risk of forgetting what it is all about. One example of this is that some environmentalists argue for an expansion of the mining sector, at the expense of Indigenous Peoples and the environment. This so that more metal is available for building environmentally friendly technologies and machines, so that we do not, in turn, harm the environment. This argument is clearly riddled with double standards. But it exemplifies an effort to fit environmental argumentation into the rhetoric of the status quo.

In essence, what this economized language permits is a different form of power relationship to nature. Permitting a close, equal and emotional relationship or bond to other living beings, as well as mountains, rivers or “landscapes” – like the one I experienced in the Syter Valley – is unthinkable in an economized discourse. The economized discourse, instead, presumes a *user-used* relationship between humans and the living world. The relationship is nowhere near equal. Rather, a *user-used* relationship emphasizes *inequality* and is why it permits “us” to treat nature exploitatively in the first place.

Yes, the environmental movements oppose oil drilling in the Arctic, the clear-cutting of rain forests, coal power, and so on. Those industrial activities are merely the result of the relationship that modern society holds towards nature in

which humans are assumed to hold a position of power above and beyond nature. I would argue that this way of thinking, this unequal relationship or *story*, is at the very core of what the environmental movement opposes. But can the environmental movement be said to be in opposition if it doesn't tell other stories?

Sense of Place and Economized Arguments

Perhaps the most important lesson I learned at the symposium was how many of the participants complemented the more conventional environmental and health arguments with arguments concerning how their identity is tightly intertwined with landscapes under threat. I must admit, I don't feel like that. I live in Uppsala, but I can't say I feel like I am part of that landscape, that I *am* that landscape. The Sámi and other Indigenous People attending the symposium therefore gave me an example of a different sense of *place* than that which I am accustomed to. Maybe I am a living example of the rootless and placeless postmodern human... if so, what value can a place have for me? It would be possible to conclude from this that experience itself is tainted and shaped by modern thinking. Experiencing nature is something one has to re-learn in modern society.

I believe this identity-intertwined sense of place to be a great source of commitment, and that this source of commitment might also be under threat – not only from the industries threatening these landscapes, but also from within through the economized language that claims to be in service of environmental issues. For example the argument that *sámi* reindeer husbandry is actually more profitable than mining in the context of 300 years instead of 30. Even though that argument could be made successfully, my argument here is that reindeer husbandry brings with it, in addition, quite different forms of value than those that are purely economic – for example values of identity, culture, history and place. There is a fine line between the pragmatism of using an economized language in defense of nature and place, on the one hand, and forgetting the reason for the defense on the other; one could plausibly win the battle, but probably lose the war.

There is also yet another real risk involved in using the economized language to protect the environment or Indigenous Peoples' rights. If one were, for example, successful in convincing authorities and the public that reindeer husbandry is actually more economically rational than mining, for instance calculating in the context of 300 years instead of 30, there may still come a day when it is not. Reindeer herding Sámi's rights would then, in effect, be dependent upon the price of ore not reaching levels too high in monetary value.

Winning the fight instead with arguments based on other forms of value – identity, history, and intrinsic value of nature, etcetera – would always be able to withstand the onslaught of the story of economy. It would not matter what price the ore in the mountain has on the global market, because that market price would still not be able to compete with the *kind* of value ascribed to it by the Indigenous People. It is the same example as with the valuing of a human being based on the elements she contains – it doesn't matter what price a human body has, because it is the wrong system of valuation from the very start.

Argument Summary and Concluding Remarks

I have written an essay and with quite a broad pen, so to speak, about some of the key concepts in regards to what we call nature. Value, rationality, price, time and experience are words I've examined. Another concept vital to the understanding of nature is, of course, the concept of “nature” itself. The concept of “nature” is, rightly, highly contested since it connotes a separation between what is nature and what is not nature, a separation most dubious and riddled with questions about power relations.

I am hardly the first to attempt a critique of this kind – for example, there are Neil Evernden and Raj Patel, whom I have already mentioned, as well as other writers worth mentioning, such as Tim Ingold, Derrick Jensen, Arundhati Roy and Arne Næss. There is, I would say, a rather deep understanding of the flawed thinking underlying much of Western Civilization's relationship to nature. And the question remains: why is this critique not making even a dent in the status quo of ideologies? Or is it? Supposing that it does not make a dent, should the environmental and Indigenous Peoples' movement(s) change arguments, so as to “economize” their arguments? My answer is – *no*. If we in these movements do so, I believe that we have already lost.

What I would argue is of the greatest importance is to remember that the words, and the meanings of the words, that we use to describe our relationship to nature are negotiable. The stories are not written in stone. One should not allow oneself to stand idly by when arguments of economic rationality is used in support of a certain kind of action, but rather jump on those arguments immediately and question the basis for that rationality. At the same time, one should defend one's own experience of the world since, in the end, it is the only thing one has. If Marie Persson's Rönneby or Tor Lundberg Tuorda's Gállok means something quite different to me than what the terminology of economic rationality will allow



Markus Nyström at "Kamp Gállok" – the protest camp against test mining at Gállok, Kallak, Jokkmokk. July 2013. Photo by May-Britt Öhman.

me to express, then the terminology itself is inadequate.

In a larger perspective, I believe that the environmental movement should not be ashamed of its "romantic" origins and aspirations, but rather the opposite; it is that flora of feelings, hopes and fears, which drive the movement. All arguments and methods for achieving the goal of not destroying the planet are good arguments and methods, in my opinion. However, we in the environmental movement should be wary so as to not invite shallow greenwashing by destructive industries. And the risk of doing so increase enormously if we (only) employ an economized language.

Darkness is the metaphor for uncertainty, not knowing, and unintelligibility. Enlightenment is the metaphor for the opposite. But I believe the greatest knowledge or wisdom – the greatest enlightenment – is to know what it is one does not and can not know. Let us admit that we do live in a world of darkness, and that the lamppost of economics is, in fact, arbitrary and separated from our real experiences of the world. Let us admit that this lamppost has had us looking for the truth in the wrong places.

Making the final touches on this essay, I'm on a train going north. It is early July, 2013. My final destination is Gállok, Jokkmokk, where protests against test-

mining activities have already begun, police have already arrested people, and the mining company is planning to start blowing up the mountain in a couple of days' time. There will be conflict. Right next to the site, overlooking the trapped water of the Parkijaur reservoir, where the sacrificial sites of the ancient Sámi are slumbering under the artificially elevated surface, is the holy mountain *Átjek*. This mountain is likely to be turned into rubble if the mine continues on to become a large-scale operation. And just as when I was a boy, I will get off of the train and draw a deep breath of that fragrant, cool air. I will smile deep inside and frown at the wind in my face. For I know what I treasure, and I know why.

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- Patel, Raj. *The Value of Nothing: How to Reshape Market Society and Redefine Democracy*. Picador, New York, 2009.

Notes

¹ This quote inspired the American writer Raj Patel to write his powerfully critical book *The Value of Nothing* (2009).

² "Taking experience seriously is potentially a revolutionary act" is an unaccredited quote one of my co-workers have had up on the wall for several years.



The Little Lule River coming down from the mountains at Gállok. July 2013.
Photo by May-Britt Öhman.

Visions for a Future at the Source of the Ume River, Sweden

The Battle against the Rönnbäck Nickel Mining Project

Marie Persson

Marie Persson is Sámi. In 2013 she was elected as a member of the Sámi Parliament in Sweden. She has a Master's Degree in Systems Science and is running her own business as a graphic designer. She lives in the mountains of Tärnaby/Dearna with her husband Anders and their two children, Ailo and Freja. Anders works at the Sámi Language Centre and Marie as a graphic designer at her own company, *Kvanne*. As of 2010, Marie has been putting great work and effort into addressing the mining issue, due to the fact that traditional Sámi land in Tärnaby/Dearna is now threatened by a huge nickel mine that the mining company IGE/Nickel Mountain is planning for. Marie is the founder of the network "Stop Rönnbäck Nickel Mining Project in Tärnaby", and she has been struggling to connect people and share information about the global mining boom, so as to collaborate with others in the same situation. In the end of 2012 Marie was elected as the citizen of the year in the county of Västerbotten, of the readers of the new paper Västerbottens-Kuriren.

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Since 2009, research fellow at the Centre for Gender Research at Uppsala University. Research "Situating perspectives on the hydropower exploitation in Sapmi: Swedish technological expansion in the 20th century and its impact on the indigenous population" projects (PostDoc Swedish Research Council 2009-2010); "DAMMED: Security, Risk and Resilience around the Dams of Sub-Arctica" (Swedish Research Council 2010-2012); "Rivers, Resistance,

Resilience: Sustainable Futures in Sápmi and other Indigenous Peoples' Territories (FORMAS 2013-2016).

Abstract

This article was first written by May-Britt Öhman based on the presentation by Marie Persson at the RE-Mindings symposium and also based on conversations between the two of them at several other occasions. Marie has added on further relevant information and statements. The article is written as a presentation made by Marie, from her point of view. In the article the course of the struggle for stopping the plans for a nickel mine at Rönnbäcken, Tärnaby, is written showing a case of resistance against aggressive Swedish State colonialism in Sápmi. The Rönnbäck Nickel Mining Project in Tärnaby, currently processing for opening, is supported by the Swedish State through the Swedish government. Despite the fact that the implementation of Indigenous Rights should have radically changed with the UN-adoption of the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP, 2007), the Swedish Government and its Ministry of Enterprise, Energy and Communications, *Näringsdepartementet*, has weighed the national interest concerning the Indigenous way of living with reindeer herding and the Sámi culture as less important than the interest concerning the extraction of minerals. This mine will seriously deteriorate reindeer migration routes, risking the survival of Sámi traditional cultural and economic activities along with natural resources and health of the whole river valley. Specific information on the dangers for dam failures due to mining exploitations within the hydropower reservoirs with disastrous consequences for the whole Ume River Valley, including the city of Umeå with 118 000 inhabitants, has been added by May-Britt Öhman. The article concludes that the current mineral policies of the Swedish government and the current legislation for promoting mineral extractions have severe negative consequences for local communities, the protection of land and water as well as for Indigenous Peoples all over the world.

Introduction – Rönnbäck and Rönnbäcknäset, Björkvattdalen

Rönnbäcknäset, in Tärnaby – called *Dearna* in Sámi, is located on an island in the major tributary river of the Ume River in the valley of Björkvattdalen. This valley used to be the most fertile river valley in the region, attracting the first



*View from Rönnbäcknäset with some of the age old pine trees in the foreground. The planned nickel mining area at Rönnbäcknäset by the Ume river in Björkvattsdalen, Tärnaby.
Photo by Marie Persson.*



*The island of Rönnbäcknäset within the hydropower reservoir Gardiken. The island has documented valuable nature. The mine is a high-risk project due to several aspects.
Photo by Anders Östergren.*

settlers to cultivate it. Since 1950s and 60s, it has been subject to colonial assaults through hydropower regulations that have had severe impacts. The dam at Gardikfors caused water levels of the lakes in lower regions to rise up to 20 meters. Significant forest areas, fields and meadows were inundated. Also, the village of Rönnbäck was exterminated and had to be moved and several homesteads in the whole valley of Björkvattsdalen were abandoned or affected.

In terms of hydropower, Ume River is one of Sweden's most regulated waterways. It flows from the mountains on the border between Sweden and Norway, down to the coast of the Gulf of Bothnia by the city of Umeå. The water of the Ume river serves as drinking water for the whole Ume river valley, including the over 100,000 inhabitants of Umeå.¹

As hydropower and reservoir regulation expanded during early 20th century the region and its people has suffered a deep trauma. Many people had to leave their homes, the memory and loss of which is still painful. Additionally, people at present still live under threat from ongoing regulations. In wintertime, the ice cover becomes unstable; during the summer the water is filled with stubs from trees that were flooded. Previously small lakes are, due to hydropower regulation, disproportionately large in relation to their surroundings, a condition that is hazardous under windy conditions.



Freja assembling cloudberry. Photo by Marie Persson.



Our life with nature – fishing, hunting, handicraft etc. – we cannot live here IF land and water are destroyed. To the left, Ailo. To the right, trout. Photo by Marie Persson.

Being a traditional Sámi territory, the people here have already suffered the impacts of Swedish State colonialism through the loss of their rights, Sámi language, religion and culture. Yet, people live here and we go on with our lives. We live from many different incomes, often mixing them to make a good living: fishing, hunting, reindeer herding, tourism, graphic design, administrative work, care work, public sector, artisan work. The Sámi cultural tradition is still alive, and presently there are many efforts to revitalize traditional Sámi culture.

I myself live with my family here, combining work on the labor market with traditional practices of fishing, hunting, duodji/handicraft as well as berry- and herb-gathering. My husband and I wish to continue this way of life and the traditions that have been passed on to us by our ancestors; we wish to pass on this culture to our children, Ailo and Freja.

The IGE Nickel Mine project in Rönnbäck

In October 2012 the IGE Nickel Mountain mining project received *the Exploitation Concession* from the Swedish Mining Inspectorate (Bergsstaten, 2012), a

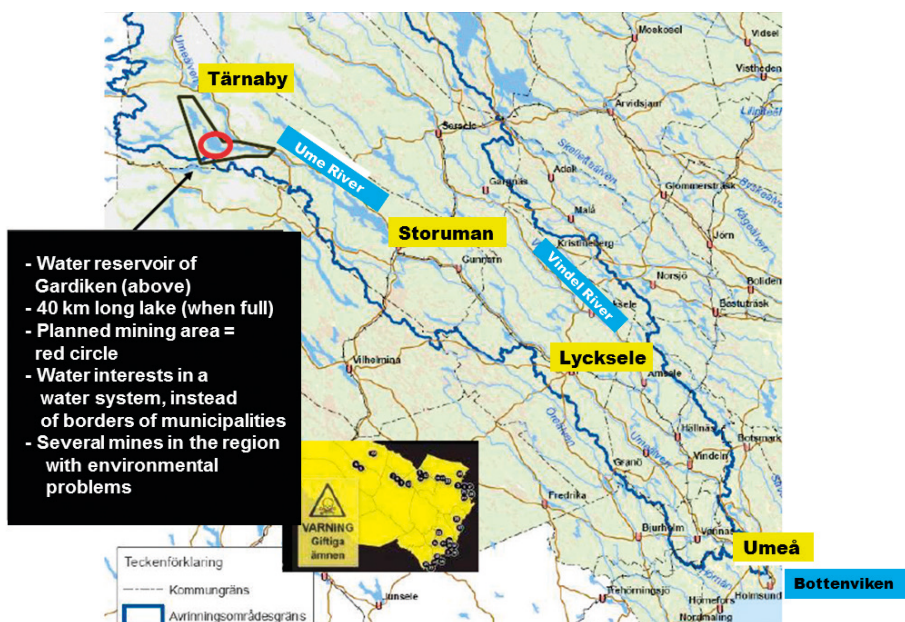


In the valley of Björkvattsdalen. Photo by Marie Persson.

concession that is valid for 25 years. The County Administrative Board approved the environmental impact study that was performed by IGE Mountain Nordic AB.²

But already by 2010 I had realized that mining projects were receiving support from geologists in conjunction with a political will that considered ore as a “matter of national interest.” I understood that the planned mines might become a reality, thereby destroying our way of life here for all future. This was the catalyst for my resistance against the mining. I began by setting up a network using social media, founding and administrating the Facebook site “Stop Rönnbäck Nickel Mining Project”, in Swedish *Stoppa Gruvan i Rönnbäck i Björkvattsdalen, Tärnaby*.

The mine is planned to become one of the largest mining projects in Sweden. Its nickel ore has been estimated to last no more than 17 years, with an annual production of 20 million tonnes. A mine on this scale has gigantic impact on its surroundings, in this case on the valley *Björkvattsdalen*. The three open-pit sulphide mines would alter the landscape forever, leaving behind waste dumps, roads and buildings as well as tailing dams needed to manage the toxic waters from the mining process. Apart from the landscape alteration there will also be noise



The mining area and the Ume River catchment area. Illustration: The network Stop the Rönnbäck Nickel Mining Project.

pollution, vibrations, dust and increased traffic. No one can know for sure what the consequences will be for the environment, the animals or the fish – or what happens in the event of toxic water leakage into the Gardiken water reservoir. Sulphide mining is always risky since leakage can erupt long after the mine has been shut down.

In addition to the environmental risks being enormous, the planned mine is another severe encroachment on our cultural history. Part of this is the negative effects on the reindeer herding existing in the area. But another important matter is the fact that the majority of the Sámi people being affected by the project are completely neglected in decision making process since they not are reindeer herders.³ Because of this they lack the right to appeal within the mining process. They are not considered “stakeholders” in the court procedures unless they are land owners within the very limited area where the concession permits are given. Yet, the concession area is just a small part of the total mining area. This is a major democratic deficiency and also against current national and European legislation. Not only is this refusal to consider appeals from persons whose water qualities will be affected also against both the European Union water directive as

well as against the legal implementation of this directive in Swedish law. It goes against the European Landscape Convention, which has been both signed and ratified by Sweden.⁵

Finally, this is also a severe neglect of Indigenous Peoples' rights. The Sámi people is recognized as a People in the Swedish constitution and have the right to the principal of Free, Prior and Informed consent in all matters that concerns their livelihood. The Sámi people have the right to decide how the long-term development of their society should be formed. It is time that the Swedish state starts respecting the rights of the Sámi people. If the Sámi People were treated as a People, I believe we would be stronger in countering the current ongoing colonial process.

It is the Swedish Government that holds the ultimate possibility of weighing the different interests against each other. On the one hand, Sámi reindeer herding has been classified as a “national interest” of the Swedish State; on the other hand, the mining enterprise is also claimed to be a “national interest” of Sweden. On August 22nd 2013 the Swedish Government declared that the mining should be prioritized over reindeer herding and thus approved of the mining concessions at Rönneback applied for by the mining company, which met strong reactions from the whole Sami community, including the Sami Parliament.⁶

Before discussing what a legitimate interest is, it is of importance to remember the risks involved in the unique location of this mining project. The planned



To the left, the mining area in Björkvattsdalen. To the right, the same area applied to the center of Stockholm, the capital of Sweden. The v-shape in the top of the area – turning the form into the shape of a heart, is due to the paying respect to our graveyard and church Voittajaure kapell located there. Illustration by Marie Persson.

mining site with three open day-pits of sulphide mining is located on an island and on both sides within the hydropower reservoir Gardiken, created as the dam Gardikfors constructed between 1959 and 1963. The regulation amplitude of the Gardiken reservoir is 20 meters. Gardiken is one of the largest hydropower reservoirs in Sweden, with a regulation capacity of 875 Million m³, and an average production of 287 GWh per year.

Furthermore, Gardiken and Gardikfors are located downstream from several other dams and reservoirs – Abelvattnet, Överuman, Klippen, Ajaure and Gejmån. Of these, Abelvattnet and Ajaure are classified to be within the high-consequence group of dams/reservoirs within the Swedish framework for assessing consequences resulting from technological failure. The location of Gardiken/Gardikfors, downstream from several high-risk dams, means that not only is there a risk for the mine to cause disturbance and dam failure to Gardiken/Gardikfors. It also means that a dam failure in any of the upstream dams might cause failure to the planned tailing dams and mine further down



Overview of a small part of the planned mining area and what it looks like today. This is a small fraction of where the waste from the nickel mine is supposed to be dumped in the water, of the Ume River. There will also be huge sand deposits. Photo by Torkel Stångberg.

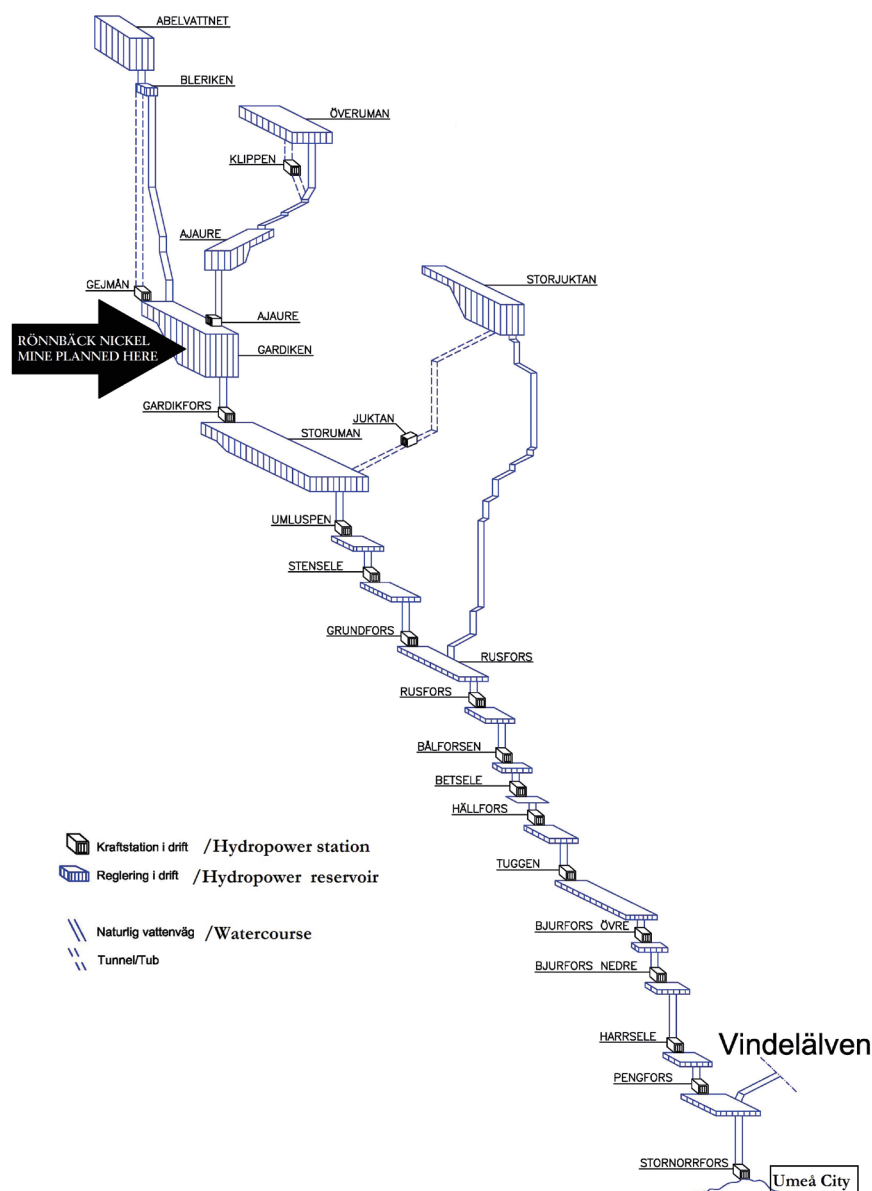
the river.⁷ In case of a dam failure at the tailing dams drinking water for the whole river valley of the Ume River would be directly affected. Furthermore the ground water can be severely polluted for a long time. This risk, added to the presence of asbestos already detected in the ground, poses a lethal danger to all living beings in the river valley. Furthermore, the county of Västerbotten and Norrbotten contain many mining projects and the county administration boards have several reports from existing mining companies. A recent study, made by journalist Arne Müller, shows that the risks of dam failure of tailing dams are considerable due to their different, more short-term and simple construction compared to hydropower dams.⁸ This risk should also be considered when discussing the idea of constructing mining dams inside hydropower dams.

The New Swedish Mineral Act and Policies – Giving Away the Swedish Ground for Free

The current *Swedish Mineral Act* has its roots in the establishment of a specific authority – the Mining Inspectorate – *Bergsstaten* – in the 17th century. The aim of the Inspectorate was and still is to strengthen and enhance mining projects within the State of Sweden.

The Mining Inspectorate is, today, the official body in Sweden responsible for issuing permits for exploration and mining, and since 2009 the Mining Inspectorate has also a part of the Geological Survey of Sweden (SGU). The Mining Inspectorate is headed by the Chief Mining Inspector.⁹ The first mineral rights were determined as early as the 14th century, both in Sweden and other States. Though there have been several laws and regulations for mining, their common denominator has always been to secure the possibility to extract minerals from the ground, even when such activity has conflicted with other interests.

The *Mineral Law of 1974* stated that 50% of the mineral value was to be paid by the extractor to the Swedish State. This law was altered in 1991-1992 to the most recent Mineral law – *Minerallagen* (1991: 45). Within this new version of the law only a half per mille, or 0.05%, of the mineral value is to be paid to the Swedish State each year by mining companies, and one and a half per mille, 0.15%, is to be paid to the landowner. This means that the exploiter gets 99.8% of the mineral value per year. There will be extremely little, probably nothing, in return in monetary value to the local communities affected and having to deal with gigantic environmental consequences for all future.



Schematic image of the dams and reservoirs in the Ume River, by Vattenregleringsföretagen.¹⁰ The location of the planned nickel mine at Rönnbäck, within the reservoir Gardiken, is pointed out. It is planned to be placed below several hydropower dams and upstream of several other. Locating a mine here will create an extremely risky situation and might cause dam failures downstream and thus the destruction of the Ume River waters for years to come, and also the cities along the Ume River, in particular the city of Umeå. Illustration by Vattenregleringsföretagen/May-Britt Öhman.

Furthermore, according to the Swedish State landowners and municipalities have no right to stop the prospecting – test drilling – unless there are specific circumstances, such as protected water sources or other important industrial activities in the area. Reindeer herding has so far never been considered as an important enough activity by the Swedish State to stop prospecting activities. This means that the Sweden’s mineral policy of today is extremely favorable to mining exploiters. Internationally Sweden is ranked as no. 2 in the world as the most favorable country for mining projects.¹¹

Furthermore, the law on mineral rights states that mining enterprises have no obligations, whatsoever, to contribute to the local communities affected by the prospecting or mining. Today, within the *Mineral Strategy* adopted by the Swedish Government, in March 2013, we see how the Swedish Government promotes the facilitating of mining concessions to an even greater extent, referring to this as an important effort in creating a more “efficient” process.¹² This is, by and large, funded by using the Swedish tax funds, for example in building infrastructure such as roads and railroads. Also worth mentioning in this regard are the open archives of the Geological Survey of Sweden (SGU). This agency is the Swedish expert for issues relating to soil, bedrock and groundwater in Sweden. SGU serves under the Ministry of Enterprise, Energy and Communications.¹³ The Mining Inspectorate is, as mentioned, one of the departments of the SGU. SGU was established as a government agency in 1858, with the task to identifying and mapping mineral resources in Sweden.¹⁴ An extensive work has been made and the majority of Swedish mineral assets have been mapped. Until 1992, the Swedish State itself performed the prospecting; to be able to access the information and core samples specific permission was required, provided by the Board of the State’s Mining Property (NSG).¹⁵ This board, established in 1973, was dissolved in 1993, along with the State mining lands being sold as the State mine-prospecting was stopped.¹⁶

Today there is open access to information assembled through this work that is financed by Swedish tax funds. Data is available online, with map viewers available in both Swedish and English, to find all sites of interest in terms of mineral findings and locations. The core test samples are also an open archive, available to all interested parties. In this archive there are more than 3 million meters of core samples. The low cost to visit the core test samples archive, in Malå, is about SEK 1,000, approximately 100 Euro, per 24 hours, including a room to work in. The staff provides the ground data, and then the visitors are free to create their own analyses.¹⁷

The Swedish Mineral Strategy – A Strategy to Colonize Sápmi

On February 16, 2013, the Swedish Government took the decision to adopt the “Swedish Mineral Strategy.”¹⁸ This strategy was developed by the current minority government of Sweden without ever having been discussed with the Swedish Parliament itself.¹⁹ This strategy includes an increase of existing mines in Sweden within less than 10 years. Today there are, in total, 16 functioning mines in Sweden; by 2020 there should be 31 mines; by 2030, this strategy envisions the existence of 47 mines. The strategy is summarized on the Swedish Government’s website as follows:

With this mineral strategy, the competitiveness of the Swedish mining – and mineral sectors – will be increased so that Sweden maintains, and reinforces, its position as the leading mining country of the European Union.²⁰

Within these statements I see how the mineral strategy of the European Union (EU) is pushing forward the mining exploitation of Scandinavia. I find that the mineral politics of the Swedish Government represent, along with its old-fashioned mineral laws, the continued colonization of Sápmi and the whole of the Northern regions of Sweden.

Sweden Needs to Become a Role Model

In my opinion, the strategies and laws currently at play in Sweden are completely wrong; the big picture is missing. Indigenous Peoples’ Rights – including the rights of us, the Sámi – are omitted from consideration and completely ignored. As a result, our way of living is both disregarded and degraded.

When we, the Sámi, speak of our rights to continue our traditional livelihoods, we are met with suggestions of “technical solutions” and compensation – fences, tunnels and money. Hereby, the exploiting companies and the Swedish state are ignoring the whole concept of our human rights and rights as an indigenous people. The government has proven to view upon the Sámi people from a strictly economical perspective – how much income the reindeer herding specifically are generating in a certain area, compared to assumptions of what a planned mine would generate. This is a severe violation of the human rights of the whole Sámi people. We have the right to pass our culture on to our children and also the right to self-determination – the ability to decide how the Sámi society should develop in a long-term aspect. The reindeer herding is more than an ordinary enterprise



Marie Persson, to the right, with Erena Rhöse at the Gállok protest art and barricade, Jokkmokk, August, 2013. Private collection.



Ailo and Freja, Marie's children. Photo by Marie Persson.



*Marie's father Knut, a Sámi drum maker, to the right. Left: a drum made by Knut.
Photo by Marie Persson.*

since it is an important part of the *whole* Sámi culture. The Sámi people are working in a wide range of professions but the connection to land and water is fundamental. I ask: What happens to the Sámi people when the government starts to put price tags on different Sámi groups in different areas of Sápmi?

The government also talks about the importance of dialogue and co-existence. But sometimes it is impossible to combine two different activities in the same area. We don't have very large geographical areas in the mountain region of Tärnaby. Money and rocks cannot be eaten and we cannot exist parallel to this mine. We need land and water to keep our culture alive. We cannot accept that these things are given away to the short-sighted interests of a handful of investors from elsewhere. They do not live here; they will not have to live with the consequences today, nor in the future.

Sweden is a traditional mining nation and Sweden should take on the responsibility to be a role model thus – to show by example how a democracy pays respect

to its local and Indigenous Peoples affected by mining and related activities. And that we can avoid specific high-risk projects and protect water, air and environment where it is needed. What Sweden does is of importance to other nations around the world. Since Sweden is a mining nation the multi-national mining companies use Sweden as an example when they want to start mining projects in other countries, for instance Latin America, Africa or Philippines. Sweden – and we, as citizens of Sweden – need to stand up for health, nature, waters, Indigenous Peoples and local communities around the world. And if we cannot do this, what signal do we then give to the global mining industry?

Notes

¹ Umeå city and Tärnaby use the surface water of the Ume River, whilst other villages use groundwater in the valley. However, even if the groundwater is used, this water interacts with the surface water of the Ume River. Thus it is reasonable to say that all communities downstream of the planned mine will at some point be more or less affected by toxic discharges from the mine. It is mainly a matter of time, as any tailing dam continuously releases waste as water flows through. There is a constant leakage. Cf. the websites of the municipalities: Storuman – storuman.se ; Lycksele – lycksele.se ; Vännäs – vannas.se ; Umeå – umea.se. Also see Västerbotten County Administrative Board – Regional Water provision plan for Västerbotten county, 2013 with appendix ; Länsstyrelsen Västerbotten Regional Vattenförsörjningsplan, 2013, Bilaga 2 Viktiga dricksvattenresurser i Västerbottens län, Remissversion [Accessed Sept. 16, 2013].

² IGE Nordic AB. *Miljökonsekvensbeskrivning för bearbetningskoncession* [Environmental impact study]. Rönnbäcken 2010-02-15. 2010 [Accessed Jan. 31, 2013] ; Bergsstaten 2012] ; Beslut – Bearbetningskoncession Rönnbäcken K nr 3 i Storumans kommun, Västerbottens län, Dnr BS 22-1714-2011/Mining Inspectorate of Sweden – Decision – Exploitation Concession [Accessed jan. 31, 2013].

³ Appeals against the mining concession permission (Bearbetningskoncessionen) was made by several individual and networks. Only the appeal made by the reindeer herding community was accepted for consideration, whereas all the others were not considered at all. Amongst these were the appeal by Marie Persson, and also that of May-Britt Öhman and Eva-Lotta Thunqvist claiming expertise knowledge in regard to dam safety aspects and water quality. See Näringsdepartementet, Regeringsbeslut, 2013-08-22, Överklaganden av bergmästarens beslut om bearbetningskoncession för områdena Rönnbäcken K nr 1 och Rönnbäcken K nr 2 samt Rönnbäcken K nr 3 i Storumans kommun, Västerbottens län. (Private archive)

⁴ EU:s vattendirektiv Ramdirektivet för vatten – Europaparlamentets och EU rådets direktiv direktiv 2000/60/EG ; Förordning (2004:660) om förvaltning av kvaliteten på vattenmiljön.

⁵ Cf. The Council of Europe, the European Landscape Convention, Florence, 2000 ; Naturvårdsverket, Landskapskonventionen [Accessed Sept. 16, 2013].

⁶ Cf. Uttalande från Sametingets Plenum, Aug. 28, 2013 " Sametinget kan inte acceptera fortsatt exploatering av Sápmi [The Sami Parliament cannot accept continued exploitation of Sápmi]." In Sametinget. se [Accessed Sept 16, 2013].

⁷ Öhman, May-Britt ; Sandström, Camilla ; Thunqvist, Eva-Lotta, "Designing Dam Safeties: Perspectives on Large Scale Dams within the Intra-actions of Technology, Nature and Human Decision Making", Peer reviewed and accepted conference paper to: ICOLD Symposium, *International Commission of Large Dams, Annual Meeting, Symposium Changing Times: Infrastructure Development to Infrastructure Management* Seattle, August 14, 2013.

⁸ Müller, Arne, *Smutsiga miljarder: den svenska gruvboomens baksida*, Ord & visor, Skellefteå, 2013

⁹ See the website of the Geological Survey of Sweden – organizational structure [Accessed July 17, 2013].

¹⁰ Vattenregleringsföretagen, 2012,. *Schematisk bild av Umeälven* [Schematic picture of the Ume river].

¹¹ The Fraser Institute/McCahon, Kristin ; The Fraser Institute Annual Survey of Mining Companies 2012/2013, 2013 [Accessed Sept. 16, 2013].

¹² Cf. *Sveriges mineralstrategi: för ett hållbart nyttjande av Sveriges mineraltillgångar som skapar tillväxt i hela landet*, Regeringskansliet, Näringsdepartementet, Stockholm, 2013. (*The Mineral Strategy of Sweden. For a sustainable use of the Swedish mineral assets which creates economic growth within the whole country*).

¹³ *Näringsdepartementet* [Ministry of Enterprise, Energy and Communications].

¹⁴ Pässe, Tore., Kim-Andersson, Anna (eds.) *Sveriges geologiska undersökning: 150 år i samhällets tjänst : undersökningen, uppdragen, människorna*, Sveriges geologiska undersökning, Uppsala, 2008.

¹⁵ Nämnden för Statens Gruvegendom.

¹⁶ Website of National Archive Database, Riksarkivet, Statens Industriverk [Accessed July 17, 2013].

¹⁷ Kåks Röshammar, Charlotta, "Kärnfullt jättearkiv [Sourceful huge archive]." In *Arbetet*, April 5, [Accessed, July 17, 2013].

¹⁸ Sveriges Mineralstrategi, 2013.

¹⁹ The current Swedish government, formed after the general elections in September 2010, consists of four political parties, which together have 173 out of 349 seats in the Swedish Parliament. The next elections will take place in September 2014. Cf. the website of the Swedish parliament – Riksdagen, Ledamöter –Partier [Accessed July 17, 2013].

²⁰ Swedish government website [Accessed July 17, 2013].

Historical Consciousness in Ainu Oral Tradition

Perspectives on How to Perform Research with and for the Ainu People in Japan

Minako Sakata

Minako Sakata is a research associate of Asian studies at the University of Tokyo and teaches undergraduate courses at Hosei University, Wako University, and Atomi University in Tokyo. Her Ph.D. dissertation was published as *Ainu Kosho Bungaku no Episutemoroji: Rekishi no Hoho toshiteno Ainu Sanbun Setsuwa* from Ochanomizushobo, Tokyo in 2011. In this thesis, bridging several disciplines such as history, anthropology and literature, she analyzed the representation of Ainu-*Wajin* relations in Ainu folk tales and explored historical consciousness and epistemology in Ainu oral tradition. She revealed that Ainu oral tradition handles many historical subjects concerning Ainu-*Wajin* relations, and that we can see the Ainu way of counter-narrative as opposed to the historical discourse constructed by *Wajin* scholars. Current interests include comparative oral traditions of Indigenous Peoples, especially in regards to contact narratives, and the Ainu history of thought considering the relations between Ainu tradition and the modern Ainu activist's discourse in Japanese language.

Abstract

In the field of Japanese history, Ainu oral tradition has been dismissed as fiction and thus unworthy of consideration. The Ainu history has been written predominantly based on archives compiled by the *Wajin*, or ethnic Japanese, which emphasizes Japanese control over the Ainu. Such discourses implicitly encourage the epistemic recolonization of the Ainu today. In this article I discuss the issue of how we can refigure the history of the Ainu based on their oral tradition, which was a kind of media through which the modern Ainu learned to know the past. Contrary to the *Wajin* historians' discourses described above, Ainu narratives reconfigure Ainu-*Wajin* relations – without the notion of ruler-ruled relations. Instead, they propose that their survival unit is constituted by

the Ainu, Gods and the *Wajin*, and in a pattern in which all constituents act in reciprocal relations. This world-view epistemically resists the *Wajin*'s historical depiction. When seeing Ainu modern history as a continuity of this Ainu world-view, the phenomenon that has been described as 'assimilation' of the Ainu into the majority Japanese society might be understood as a result of the way that the Ainu struggled to maintain the world that they inherited from their ancestors.

Introduction

In the field of Japanese history Ainu oral tradition has been dismissed as fiction, unworthy of consideration, and it has been practically ignored. The Ainu, an Indigenous People in northern Japan, were incorporated into Japan in 1869. They had their own language and oral culture until the early 20th century, when the official language of the Ainu was gradually changed to Japanese under the assimilation policy implemented by the Japanese government.

The Ainu history has been written predominantly based on archives compiled by the *Wajin*, or ethnic Japanese, as the history of Ainu-*Wajin* relations in which colonization by Japanese government is implicitly or explicitly regarded as the destiny of the Ainu. Such descriptions are certainly revealing about Japanese governmental policy towards the Ainu. However, at the same time, these descriptions implicitly encourage the epistemic recolonization of the Ainu today.

In this article I discuss the issue of how we can refigure the history of the Ainu based on their oral tradition, which has been an important medium for the Ainu people to learn about their ancestors' ways of life as well as their thoughts and beliefs. To compare epistemic differences between the Ainu oral tradition and academic historiography, I focus the issue of representations of the Ainu-*Wajin* relations in Ainu narratives.

Overview of the History of Ainu-*Wajin* Relations

Ainu-*Wajin* relations have a long history. Trade relations were established before the 13-14th century. Since the *Wajin* first settled in the southern peninsula of Hokkaido called Oshima-hanto in the 15th century, the Ainu and the *Wajin* have experienced periodic conflicts, which has always resulted in the Ainu's defeat. In the early 18th century *Wajin* merchants started commercial fishery in Hokkaido. The Ainu became laborers and suffered physical abuse. Frequent contact with the

Wajin brought small pox to the Ainu communities, which resulted in the rapid decrease of the Ainu population, most severely in the early 19th century. It is also said that Ainu society became more and more dependent on Japanese commodities, and was integrated into Japan gradually until the mid-19th century. After these incidents, the Ainu were completely incorporated into the modern Nation-State of Japan in 1869, a year after the Meiji restoration.

Based on this master narrative, historians have traditionally taken two opposing views: one view is the colonialist interpretation of history in the pre- and post-war periods, while the other is criticism (beginning in the 1970s) that resists such an interpretation. In the former view, incorporation of the Ainu into Japan was seen as the Ainu's destiny, based on the principle of the survival of the fittest. In the latter view, which denounced the Japanese government, as well as Japanese merchants and their agents, historians claimed that the incorporation of the Ainu was not their destiny, but rather the result of direct or indirect violence by the *Wajin*, such as physical or economic oppression.

However, it is obvious that neither interpretation provides useful information to allow us to properly respect the Ainu and their culture. Ainu-*Wajin* relations have been presented in the simple framework of 'fight and defeat history' or 'the history of the economic dependence' of the Ainu. In such historical discourse, which is accessible to the Ainu themselves since they are now Japanese speakers, the Ainu are simply represented as inferior and vulnerable people based on the Japanese perspective. In this way, learning history is hitherto to stigmatize the Ainu; as a result, an alternative discourse, and one based on the Ainu tradition, is needed – because it is what their ancestors recorded for their descendants. Moreover, the Ainu narratives also deal with Ainu-*Wajin* relations in the pre-annexation period, which further enriches an historical discourse. For example, were the Ainu conquered without any resistance because they had been already weakened before the annexation? Based on archival studies, the answer is 'yes'. However, we also need to look for confirmation of this by examining Ainu oral tradition, to see the past in the way the Ainu themselves must have seen it.

Ainu-*Wajin* Relations in Ainu Oral Literature

From the late 19th to early 20th century, a large number of myths, epics and folk tales were recorded as written texts and audio recordings. Although these oral traditions are categorized as 'literature' by *Wajin* scholars, Ainu practitioners do

not define them as such. For the Ainu, every genre has its own uses and meanings. Myths are origin stories or the media through which people learn moral values and rules. Epics are entertainment, told on occasions such as ceremonies or when receiving guests. Folk tales are stories of what really happened in the past (history). In each genre, there are stories in which *Wajin* appear. As shown below, such stories help us to understand the Ainu's concept of *Wajin* in the days when the Ainu language was spoken.

The Ainurakkur Myth

One set of important myths refers to Ainurakkur, who is a god of Ainu culture. It is said that he gave birth to Ainu culture by teaching the Ainu people every skill necessary in Ainu life, such as hunting, fishery, gathering, and woodworking.

In some Ainurakkur myths, we can see a motif of a trinity that includes gods, the Ainu and the *Wajin*. For instance, *Kamuy Oyna* is a myth that explains Ainurakkur's lineage and birth (Kannari and Kindaichi 1961: 279-350). Ainurakkur's mother is an elm-tree goddess who was first sent to the Ainu land after the creation; his father is the younger brother of the god of the heavens.

The climax of the *Kamuy Oyna* myth occurs in the scene of Ainurakkur's battle against a witch, so as to save his fiancée. In this battle, Ainurakkur's father sends reinforcements, which are a bird god, several small Ainu made of mist, and several small *Wajin* also made of mist, all of whom ride on a golden vehicle. As they fight the enemy, the Ainu sing an Ainu song and the *Wajin* sing a *Wajin* song. Considering the nature of this myth, which explains Ainurakkur's background and the birth of the Ainu land, it is quite interesting that the *Wajin* appear suddenly and naturally.

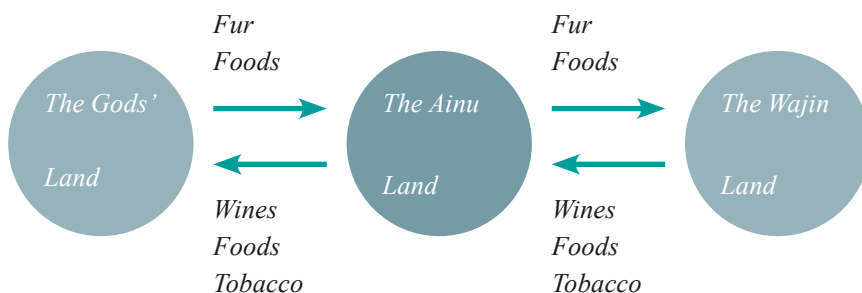
By comparing this motif to the traditions of other Indigenous Peoples, we can surmise what this motif suggests. One of the characteristics of Ainu tradition is a lack of the first contact narrative with the colonizer, which is present in most narratives that describe Indigenous Peoples encountering Westerners.¹ Instead, the *Wajin* exist in the Ainu consciousness from the beginning as *Sisam*, which literally means, "neighbor." This is similar to traditions of Indigenous Peoples in Northeast Asia, a contemporary Russian territory. In the traditions of these peoples, such as the Nivkh or the Chukchi, neighboring Indigenous Peoples often appear, and there are even myths that explain the origins of both themselves and the neighboring Peoples (Kreĭnovich 1993: 264-265, Hattori 2000: 167, Coxwell 1978: 24, Ogihara 1996: 111-112).

On the other hand, many Indigenous Peoples in Northeast Asia have narratives about their first contact with Russians (Sasaki 1996: 101-102, Slezkine 1994: 14-16). Thus, we can see two models concerning relations with others in the traditions of Indigenous Peoples; one is the Native-Westerners relations model, the other is the Native-Native relations model. On this point, the *Wajin* in Ainu oral literature are also a neighboring Indigenous People, rather than complete strangers who suddenly emerge from the horizon like Westerners. Therefore, in this case *Wajins* belong to the Native-Native relations model.

The Survival Unit in Ainu Oral Literature

Ainu myths are based on a world constituted of gods, the Ainu and the *Wajin*. In this trinity, relations among the entities are not hierarchical. In Ainu cosmology, gods are non-human species and natural phenomena. They are not always superior powers but sometimes fail or become evil, and are held accountable or punished by the Ainu. Relations with the *Wajin* are similar. Contrary to mainstream historical discourse, which describes the *Wajin* rule to the Ainu, in Ainu narratives the *Wajin* are not a superior power. In Ainu narratives, the Ainu and the *Wajin* are bound to each other by trade, which is actually a partial activity in a chain of reciprocity in the context of the Ainu's world-view.

The Ainu regarded themselves as living in and with this environment, consisting of nature and a neighbor, the *Wajin*. The relations with gods and the *Wajin* are symbolized as trade relations. Trade is represented as exchanging of gifts in Ainu narratives, and there are some Ainu folktales about trade with the *Wajin*. In such narratives, there is always a god who protects an Ainu trader and gives him spiritual power. In return, Ainu protagonists worship the god and offer food and wine obtained by trade. Thus, trade relations as a whole are facilitated by gods, the Ainu and the *Wajin* (see the illustration of this relationship below); among them, gifts circulate. I call such relations the survival unit of Ainu oral literature, which I define as a chain of relations necessary for survival (Sakata 2011). Gregory Bateson, criticizing the Occidental epistemology that treats the survival unit as either the family line or species, claimed that the unit of survival in the real biological world is the organism plus its environment, and that the organism that destroys its environment, destroys itself (Bateson 1987:491). In this sense, the survival unit in Ainu oral literature is the Ainu, plus Gods and the *Wajin*, and the *Wajin*, in traditional Ainu world-view, is regarded as a part of the environment.



The Ainu Traditional World View

Through trade with the others, the Ainu gain benefits to make their living better and wealthy. However, both gods and the *Wajin* are sometimes harmful to the Ainu's lives. For example, bear gods bring furs and meats to the Ainu and are one of most worshipped gods, however, they sometimes kill the Ainu, as well. There are also natural disasters. In addition, while the Ainu obtain valuable goods from the *Wajin* merchants, some of the *Wajin* merchants are brutal. Accepting both benefit and danger in relations with others, and conceptualizing their world as a unit constituted of different kinds of actors, the Ainu have conceptualized a way to maintain relations with them, because each actor has its role(s) to sustain the other.

Considering the history of the Japanese pre-annexation period in the context of such a world-view, we find another reason why the Ainu became Japanese citizens without any resistance. In Ainu narratives, the Ainu maintained relations with the *Wajin*; even when bad *Wajin* use violence or forced them to do unreasonable labor, Ainu protagonists do not choose to break off relations with the *Wajin* – instead, the Ainu seek to better the situation. This is the same attitude the Ainu have had towards gods and nature.

Becoming Japanese citizens in the late 19th century can also be considered as an extension of this Ainu world-view. As I mentioned above, the Ainu oral tradition was recorded during the late 19th century to the 20th century. Although its contents are about the pre-annexation period, the contents were spoken by the modern Ainu. Thus, the recording of the narratives were not only done by *Wajin* scholars, but also Ainu tradition-bearers, themselves. Matsu Kannari (1875-1961), who is one of the most famous Ainu storytellers, for instance, wrote down

both her and her family's repertoire in more than 100 notebooks. Modern Ainu elders inherited their ancestors' world-view, and they recorded it earnestly so as to pass it on to their descendants.

Pre-war Ainu activists ostensibly promoted Ainu assimilation into the majority Japanese society. They cooperated with the Japanese authorities for the improvements of education, hygiene and livelihood in Ainu communities, instead of attacking Japanese policy. Majority Japanese regarded this phenomenon as a process of assimilation of the Ainu into Japanese society, and thought that, as a result of integration, sooner or later the Ainu would disappear. However, while Ainu activists sought to change the Ainu way of living, they, at the same time, protested discrimination against the Ainu. Thus what they aimed at was not assimilation or abandonment of Ainu identity, but acculturation to become a citizens of the Nation-State of Japan.²

Such attitudes are interpreted by scholars today as being attributed to the fact that the 'Japanese' pre-war Ainu activists sought to be, in their own context, not members of an ethnically-homogeneous State, but rather of a multi-ethnic State (Morris-Suzuki 1998, Howell 2004). Considering the epistemology of Ainu oral tradition, the modern Ainu activists' attitude mentioned above is more understandable. Actually, some of the most famous Ainu activists are also tradition-bearers.³ In Ainu traditional epistemology, seeking to live in harmony does not signify Ainu defeat; rather, it was what the Ainu aimed for. Although the Ainu became Japanese citizens and Japanese speakers, they were not conquered by the *Wajin*. However harsh the process has been, the Ainu have maintained relations with their old neighbor, as their ancestors did.

Changing Verbal Culture and Intervals of Tradition

However, Ainu oral tradition has not been directly transmitted from Ainu elders to the younger generations. Since the late 19th century, acquiring the Japanese language has been seen as the way of survival for the Ainu, who had suddenly become the minority in colonial Hokkaido. Under such conditions, Ainu elders recited myths or folktales to *Wajin* scholars or to any *Wajin* who were interested in conserving Ainu tradition; this phenomenon has often been considered as part of the process of the extinction of Ainu language and oral culture. However, it can be said that both shifts – in the official language and the mode of transmitting of traditions – have been methods of survival for the Ainu and their identity. Considered in this way, the Ainu can be seen to have survived.

It is said that in the early 20th century the Ainu were enthusiastic for education, and that they encouraged their children to learn Japanese instead of the Ainu language. Ainu children also made great efforts to study at school so as to show that they were not racially inferior to the *Wajin* (Ogawa, 1997). However, this should not be thought of as a process of assimilation, but should, rather, be respected as a process through which the Ainu made the Japanese language their native language both for survival and for pride.

Ainu practitioners seemed to understand the significance of the recording of their repertoires. Yae Shitaku said to a *Wajin* scholar, who recorded her oral narratives, that, “by doing this, I can tell these stories to audiences that I have never met or cannot meet” (Ainu Mukeibunka Denshohozonkai 1983:35). Tatsujiro Kuzuno used to say, “I do not care whether I tell Ainu traditions to the Ainu or the *Wajin*, as long as he or she inherits them” (Ekasi to Fuchi Henshu Iinkai 1983:193). In this way, the Ainu tradition-bearers made efforts to transmit their stories for future generations.

Choosing Japanese as their first language for practical reasons, and recording oral tradition by collaborating with *Wajin* scholars, are the ways in which the Ainu and their traditions survived. We should not interpret this as the conclusion of Ainu history, because their history is still open to the future. Tarokichi Urakawa, one of founders of the Ainu Association, told his daughter that she did not have to learn Ainu language; at the same time, he told his wife Tare Urakawa that she should remember the Ainu language because it will reappear in the future. (Ekasi to Fuchi Henshu Iinkai 1983: 373). Tare Urakawa eventually became one of the most famous practitioners of Ainu traditional culture and language. As Tarokichi Urakawa’s dual attitude implies, both the Japanese language and the Ainu language belong to the Ainu.

Conclusion: Towards a Decolonized Future

Ainu oral literature has a dual nature; the past in its contents and the present of its oration. The stories are about the Ainu past, but they are spoken by the modern Ainu. In this way, Ainu oral literature is a kind of media through which the modern Ainu learn to know the past.

Viewing history through the epistemology in Ainu oral literature, we find another narrative on Ainu-*Wajin* relations in pre-Annexation period. In contrast to historians’ discourse, which explains the *Wajin*’s rule over the Ainu since long before the Meiji restoration, Ainu narratives refigure Ainu-*Wajin* relations without the notion of ruler-ruled relations. Instead, Ainu narratives propose that the

world is constituted by the Ainu, Gods and the *Wajin* in a pattern in which all constituents act in reciprocal relations. This world-view epistemically resists the *Wajin*'s historical depiction above.

When seeing Ainu modern history as a continuity of this Ainu world-view, the phenomenon that has been described as assimilation of the Ainu into majority Japanese society might, in fact, be understood as a result of the way that the Ainu struggled to maintain their survival unit and the world that they inherited from their ancestors. Logical continuity between Ainu tradition and modern Ainu activists' discourse is, hitherto, not fully brought out; however, it is a significant subject to be explored for the reconfiguring of Ainu history.

As a *Wajin* scholar, I think one of my most important tasks is to transmit Ainu traditions to Ainu descendants. It is not simply a matter of language, but also an epistemological issue. I believe that many Ainu stories are quite intelligent, and that they demand that we change our own epistemology. To re-transmit them to Ainu descendants also means to revive their honor, which *Wajin* scholars have degraded. Reading the stories that Ainu tradition-bearers have saved for their descendants, and studying the meaning within these stories, are activities that can help to create a new history for a decolonized future of the Ainu People, as well as a new mode of inheriting tradition.

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Notes

¹ Regarding the first contact narrative of native North America, see Simmons 1986, Harkin 1997, Lutz ed. 2007. Regarding Aborigines in Australia, see Hokari 2004. Regarding the Maori, see Salmond 1991.

² To understand this attitude, we also need to consider what happened in majority Japanese culture during the Meiji Restoration period. Modernization in Japan means more or less Westernization. The Japanese government banned some Japanese customs, and changed Japanese everyday life and values into Western way to show that Japan was a civilized society to Western countries. Westernization in Japan was a sort of defense against Western imperialism. It was thought to be the only way to avoid Western invasion and keep Japan's independence at that time. In the late 19th century, when the Ainu faced assimilation policies, the Japanese themselves experienced drastic change of their living and culture. Thus, the Ainu leaders might also learn that they need to change their living to save Ainu identity.

³ Kozo Fushine (1874-1938) and Kizo Nukishio (1908-1985) are such figures. They did not mention Ainu tradition in their political debate, and thereby scholars have not paid attention to the continuity of Ainu tradition and the modern Ainu activists' argument. However, we should consider the relations between them. I have briefly touched on this issue in Sakata 2011.

Sámi Genealogy Research as Resistance Practice

Countering Ethnical Cleansing and Reclaiming Our Memory, History and Culture

Agneta Silversparf

I am Agneta Silversparf, born by the Lule River in a small village called Bodträskfors in a reindeer herding family. I went to secondary school in Piteå, where I took courses within the Humanities. (Piteå högre allmänna läroverk, latinlinjens helklassiska gren). Some years later I studied at the secondary school in Gislaved and Trollhättan, but this time Economy. The studies I did at universities were short courses, for example, The Biology of the Reindeer, 10 credits.

Through the years I have worked at a number of different places all over Sweden and in all kinds of trades; from wood industries in Småland to Norrbotten and where I worked as a buyer of reindeer for the different slaughterhouses. Since the beginning of the early 1970s I have been engaged in Sami associations in Stockholm, Umeå and Jokkmokk. In 1981-88 I was the accountant in The Swedish Sami Organization (SSR). For a numbers of years I have been engaged in the Organization of Same Ätnam, where I was member of the board for some years. I am the founder and chairwoman of the Sami association Silbonah Sámesijdda, founded in 1997, and editor of its newsletter *Medlemsnytt*. I work on Sami genealogy retracing Sami heritage. The findings are presented in this newsletter. I am a member of a Sami village, Udtja sameby.

Abstract

This article accounts for the history of Swedish state regulations against the Sami people in terms of numbers, heritage and decision-making. For instance, currently it is not the Sami People as a People, that are considered to be Sami. The current official number of Sami often referred to in official documents are based on those Sami working in the profession of reindeer herding – the number of Sami who owned reindeer at a specific period, around 1965-71. The actual much larger number of Sami is hidden by State-based regulations and categorizations. This is due to a century long racist Lap-should-be-Lap policy, aiming at invisibilising and

reducing the number of Sami persons, and thereby phasing out the Sami culture.

In the article the author describes how performing Sami genealogy research and publishing the results four times per year in the members' newsletter (*Medlemsnytt*) of the Sami association Silbonah Sámesijdda is a resistance practice against this colonial invisibilisation of the Sami. It is a reclaiming of Sami history and memory. The author also shares some background for understanding from her own family history, and how this history is interlinked with the genealogy and heritage of the Sami in general. Lastly, some reflections on the future of Sami genealogy are discussed.

Introduction

My name is Agneta Silversparf, and I am the Chairwoman of *Silbonah Sámesijdda*, a Sami association founded in 1997. The reason why I wrote this article was to tell how the Swedish authorities, through legislation, sought to change Sami identity from being a People into being a profession – a reindeer herder. Since the 1970s, the official number of Sami persons in Sweden has been closely associated with the conditions for the herders, with little regard for other practices of the Sami People or their descendants.

This is one of the recurring topics in the newsletter of *Silbonah Sámesijdda*, for which I am the Editor. The *Silbonah Sámesijdda newsletter (Medlemsnytt)* has been published quarterly since 2005 and has dealt with various events affecting the Sami throughout history. Everything from laws and regulations to court records, newspapers and genealogy can be found in the archives. The purpose of writing on these topics is to create a greater understanding of how colonialism, racism and Swedish laws affected our ancestors and to explain how the contemporary situation has developed for the Sami.

Background of Establishing Silbonah Sámesijdda

In the early 1980s I asked my father the names of his grandfather and grandmother. With an embarrassed smile, he replied that he did not know – my father knew little about our family history and felt at a loss for it. None of my relatives knew about previous generations, nor did they know of the history of the village of Rödningsträsk. This was the beginning of my search for answers.

The idea of documenting Rödningsträsk village had been in my thoughts for some time. I could research genealogy at the library, but more substantial work required

economic resources. The surrounding landscape contained traces of the ancestors – wooden corrals, Sami architecture, huts and repositories. I applied for funding in order to renovate what remnants could still be restored. This was the beginning for the founding of a new Sami association – *Silbonah Sámesijdda* was established in 1997 through the support of the Sami families and the reindeer herders.

The work of the association has since then focused on Forest Sami history and culture – identifying predecessors of the area, as well as important events that occurred in the region. The main objective has been to strengthen Sami identity by giving people access to the Sami electoral register. This is important among the wider community of the Sami, such as for the Forest Sami and their descendants elsewhere, since mountain reindeer husbandry has been regarded as the norm of Sami society. Support for mountain reindeer husbandry Sami culture has often proven stereotypical, and such biased support exemplifies how Swedish colonialism has made other Sami cultures and identities invisible.

Through the work of *Silbonah Sámesijdda* many people have found support in the process of identifying as Sami. Additionally, all who are interested to do so have the possibility of participating by contributing what relevant materials they may have of their own.



Me, Agneta, in my office where I spend most of my time among shelves of archive material, printers and copying machines. I read parish registers on one computer and write in the genealogical database on the other. Here is also where the Silbonah Sámesijdda Newsletter (Medlemsnytt) is produced quarterly. Photo by Eric Stenberg.

Apart from the periods of time when I lived in the countryside without access to computers, libraries or archives, I have worked relentlessly with developing the genealogy for the Sami People. Genealogical roots are easy to follow due to Sami usage of patronymic systems: the father's first name became the surname of the child with the suffix -son/-daughter. This provided a means of tracing whom was related to whom, especially when the Sami name was also included.

Still, doing Sami genealogy research has been complicated – much in part due to the efforts of the Swedish authorities. For example, 20th century Swedish priests of Edefors Parish systematically omitted Sami surnames from the church records. In addition to exclusively using the Swedish modern patronymic system of “-son”-names, there are several examples when authorities omitted the Sami ancestry. Young Sami, working as farm serfs called *dräng* [male serf] and *piga* [female serf], were commonly described as “Swedish” *piga* or “Swedish” *dräng*, despite their parents being Sami.¹

Previously church records had recorded whether or not people were Sami,² however this practice changed with the *Name Act of 1901*.³ The patronymic system was banned, and all Swedish citizens were obliged to acquire a family name that could be inherited by their heirs. Until then, the priests had made changes to names in the parish registers, even if these were nobiliary surnames.⁴ With the establishment of the *Name Act of 1901*, many Sami families replaced their surname with Swedish ones, for example Lundmark, Lundman, and Nyman.

Defining the Sami Identity

The name directive is but one of several means by which the Swedish authorities, through the centuries, have legislated and regulated Sami communities. The *Reindeer Grazing Acts* were established in 1886, 1898 and 1928. In 1971 the *Reindeer Husbandry Act of 1971* was established and is still currently valid. Until the *Reindeer Grazing Act of 1886*, there had previously been no difference between herding Sami and other Sami subsistence practices or trades. All of this changed with the Swedish Legislative Committee of 1882, whose work resulted in the act of 1886, influencing the direction taken by subsequent authorities. The relationship between Swedish Sami and Swedish population was supposed to be regulated through legislation. Lennart Lundmark has written about this “Lap should be Lap policy” promoted by different means.⁵ It was soon narrowed down in such a way so as to define the Sami as only those practicing reindeer herding. For example, the first paragraph of the act regulates the Sami right to reside “with his reindeer” on certain areas.⁶

Beginning in the late 19th century the Swedish government pursued the even older intention of reducing both the Sami and reindeer populations within Sweden. When the border of 1888 between Norway-Sweden, Finland and Russia became increasingly regulated,⁷ the transhumance Sami reindeer gatherings posed a problem to the Swedish Parliament.

Prior to 1920, State authorities commonly exercised ethnic cleansing of the Sami and their reindeer from ancestral lands. This proved a great distress Sami families, who were forced to leave their homelands and relocate; it also meant suffering for the people (including local Sami) living in the regions and settlements to which these Sami had to migrate. This created a meeting of differing peoples, languages and practices of life. Following this, many Sami were left without any option but to sell their herds, to provide settlement areas for the displaced northern Sami.

In 1912, there was a secret meeting between the Foreign Minister of Sweden and governors, local authorities and other officials of the State.⁸ On the agenda was the question as to how the areas of Sápmi of the Forest Sami in Sweden could be used to accommodate the northern Sami migrants. A proposal to exterminate the forest reindeer was put forward but not adopted. Although this proposal was not accepted, the ideological content of it survived. Not one of the solutions finally opted for addressed the opinions of the Sami themselves. Forest reindeer husbandry has been neglected, ignored, invisibilised and the number has been dramatically reduced ever since.

The question of finding a legal definition of the term “Sami” was first proposed in *Bill No. 169* to the Swedish Parliament of 1917. Its content aimed towards excluding the Sami from occupations other than reindeer herding. To some degree there were also attempts to prevent the combining of reindeer husbandry and agriculture. The bill was not successful in its entirety, but there were more to follow.

A decade later, the state report SOU 1927:25 wished to define the relationship between membership in the Sami and settler villages of Sweden. This relationship was revised in the *Reindeer Grazing Act of 1928*, which defines Sami as “a nomadic reindeer herder”, stated in 1§1 and explained in the following passage:⁹

“...the Sami were divided into two groups: the Sami with legal right to reindeer herding and the Sami without that right. Only the former group is called Sami in the law. The others are judicially equal to the non-Sami population.”¹⁰

The *Act* closely defined the linkages between the herding vocation and Sami genealogy:

“The right to reindeer herding will be due to those of Sami origin if his father or mother, or one of their parents, permanently had reindeer herding as a profession. ‘Sami’ is in this Act every person who has the right to reindeer husbandry.”¹¹

Furthermore, the status of Sami women was weakened by paragraph §1, a phrasing that was not to disappear until 1971:

“The right of reindeer husbandry belongs to a woman who is, or has been, married to a man with such a right. If a woman who has the right of reindeer husbandry marries a man who has no such rights, then she loses her rights.”¹²

To conclude, according to the Swedish law of 1928, to be a Sami meant having the right to reindeer husbandry. However having the right was not enough, if a person did not actually work within reindeer husbandry, one was not considered to be officially “Sami.” In the *Act of 1971*, still in effect at present, a Sami is defined in the very same way. Moreover, Sami women have faced additional discrimination under Swedish Sami-defining law.¹³

Looking back, we find this Swedish national policy being applied in the parish censuses of Northern Sweden, for example in Jokkmokk and Edefors in 1912, 1915, 1920, 1939-45 and 1945.¹⁴ In these cases, primarily Forest Sami and reindeer herding families were registered – all other Sami families that had, for the past two generations, refrained from reindeer herding were disqualified as Sami henceforth. Additionally, authorities estimated the proportions of Sami lineage of each individual. In one family, relatives of mine, the father was listed as a *whole Sami*, the mother as *half* and the children 3/4th Sami.

The current official number of Sami in Sweden has been estimated to approximately 20,000 persons. This number is based entirely on registers of reindeer owners (so called renlängder within which owners of reindeer are registered) from 1965-71.¹⁵ That means that the current number of Sami in Sweden today is based on the reindeer owning Sami from a very limited time period. Those families that lost their reindeer earlier, or did not own any reindeer at this point in time, are not accounted for. Neither are those families that have not been reindeer herders since many generations back, which is a large number of Sami in Sweden. Thus only the reindeer owning population of the Sami People

was counted and consequently categorized as Sami. From this an estimation of the figure 20 000 was made and presented in the report published in 1975.¹⁶ Forty years late this is still the number officially used, even by the Swedish Sami Parliament.¹⁷

In my research regarding my birth parish and along the Lule River, vast amounts of persons have proved to be Sami descendants. Indeed, the first settlers of this region were Sami. However, they were not considered as such due to their being settlers and thus not corresponding to the Swedish authorities' idea of the Sami being nomadic. Ann Charlotte Sjaggo, in her Bachelor's thesis in Sámi studies at Umeå University from 2003, with the title "When the Sami became settlers", argues that most of the settlers within a specific region the Jokkmokk area are Sami who left a nomadic life. Eventually they also changed ethnic identity.¹⁸ The dissertation by Filip Hultblad of 1968, from the Geographical institution at Uppsala University, also focusing on Jokkmokk, provides a similar understand-



Kulturhusens dag [Cultural Centres' Day] 2005. Silbonah Sámesijdda had received grants from Swedish National Heritage Board to upgrade a deteriorated cot. It was re-opened with freshly brewed coffee, cheese and traditional bread, gáhkku. Photo: Private collection.

ding.¹⁹ From my own Sami genealogy investigations I can see the very same things as Sjaggo and Hultblad states. A vast majority of people originating – settlers – within the Lule River Valley seem to have Sami heritage. My recent studies of the genealogy of families within the Pite river valley, the river south of Lule River, shows the same patterns. I find it likely that the same goes for the other river valleys in the north of Sweden. It is hard to give an exact number of the amount of person who could be counted as Sami descendants – and if they so wish themselves – to be Sami and I don't want to do this until I have enough material to confirm such a number. But I do find that the number must be investigated and updated. The loss of memory is our biggest problem, the shame of being Sami has been very detrimental to our sense of pride and self esteem, to dare to identify as Sami. I – and others find – this to be a consequence of how throughout history, and still today, *the dominant Swedish society* has sought to make the Sami People invisible. Getting the numbers right is a very important start for reclaiming our history, our pride, our present and our future.

Anna Lydia Svalastog in her article in this publication²⁰ accounts for the situation in regard to literature in bookstores, and how teachers' education is void of knowledge of Sami history and culture. Another indication of this, relevant to us Sami genealogy researchers, is the lack of forums for genealogical research concerning the Sami. Until 2005 there was a site named *Anbytarforum*, which was the website of the Swedish Genealogy Association.²¹ At *Anbytarforum* users could publish data and make inquiries searching for persons and personal data. Amongst parishes and families were ethnic minority groups, for example Jews and Sami. Protests against the Jewish site grew as the hate crimes against the population grew, and demands were made for the page to be removed. As a result, the Data Inspection Board decided that the genealogical site of ethnic groups would be shut down.²² Along with closing down the website, so, too, disappeared the possibilities for the information stored on Sami heritage – which is a great loss. There is still a webpage operating that provides general information about the Sami, but the means for dialogue remain insufficient.

We are, together, quite a few genealogists that research within Sami families. Some of us have close contact via email, exchanging information. We spend a lot of time and effort in researching and may well be called serious. There are also a large number of so-called amateur researchers. We have personal email contact almost every week, exchanging information. Some old conversations remain at *Anbytarforum*, and every month I am contacted by people who have read my earlier posts about different Sami families.

Regarding research on Sami identity, and the avarice shown by the Swedish State towards its Indigenous population the Sami, may be summed up using the words of Johan Kitok (2011):

“I would not say that researchers don't know what they are doing. But the fact that they claim that an industry can rise to a race, those who originated that idea must have realized that it was beyond all rhyme and reason. But they didn't.”²³

Reluctance and Appreciation in Regards to Sami Heritage

I have found that not all persons who request genealogy investigations and are made aware of their Sami roots appreciate it. Racism towards the Sami sometimes runs deep within the dominant society, as has been experienced by Sami genealogist Agnes Palmgren from Gammelstad, Luleå, Sweden:

A woman thinking that she was a descendant of a noble family, the Silfversparre family, approached Palmgren with a request to research her family lineage. The researcher gathered all the information she could, finally tracing the linkage to the family Silfversparre in Rödingsträsk. Silfversparre, in fact, was a Forest Sami family who originated from the village inside the forests near the Lule River. The supposedly nobility-born woman came to get the genealogical research she had ordered. However, when she learned of her Sami lineage she threw the research on the floor and left the house, refusing to compensate the researcher for any of the work done.²⁴ Silfversparre was indeed the name of Swedish nobility – but it was also the name of my ancestors' families. They were Sami from Sjöcksjock. They may have been noble, but they were not members of the Swedish Nobility.

During the years that I have researched Sami identity, I have met with several people who previously were unaware of their Sami heritage. For example, two of my second cousins, twin sisters in Uppsala, Anna Greta, and Vännäs, Ann-Louise,²⁵ are amongst those whom I have had the most contact with. Their grandfather was a reindeer herder together with my grandfather in Rödingsträsk until the end of the 1920s. My cousins' father was a state forester in Storuman. He had never spoken to his children about Rödingsträsk, and he had never said anything about their Sami roots. Only by the age of 50 did the sisters learn about their family's past.

The thirst for understanding one's own heritage may, for some, be as great and enjoyable as seeing what treasures can be found in the archives of memories, including the unique ways by which one remembers. For example, Anna Greta nowadays celebrates the Sami National Day with reindeer meat, table settings in the Sami colors, and champagne.

Work In Progress

My genealogy computer program, named *Holger*,²⁶ is one of a handful of database applications used by researchers. It is easy to add people, link families and tribes, and connect to other databases. The most important information I retrieve through church-, birth-, marriage- and death records, parish registers and migration records. There are many CDs produced by the Swedish Heritage Association, local research organizations and private individuals; they can be very helpful when you have problems finding certain data.

Another archive that is important is the *Court archive*. These are registers that provide knowledge about human family relationships through inventories. In Norrbotten and Västerbotten, Northern Sweden, we have a particularly difficult situation in this regard. Most church records are scanned and are available on the Internet, including the National Archives. However, Court rolls of Jokkmokk and Överluleå parishes are not yet scanned, so we have to travel far distances south to *Landsarkivet*, the National Archives in Härnösand, where all documents relating to our two northernmost counties are archived. Jämtland has its own *Landsarkiv* in Östersund. The scanning of archived materials is ongoing, and eventually they will be available to all of us.

However, access to data can never replace the analysis of content, nor can it replace the process of critically assessing the sources. Genealogical research performed online is of varying quality. Misinterpretations may have devastating consequences for persons with hopes of learning more about their past. Recently, a man from Gällivare contacted me regarding his dissatisfaction upon hiring someone to research his family's genealogy. He had been informed that he belonged to the Silfversparre family in Rödningsträsk. His grandmother's father's name was John Erik Nilsson, born in 1884. My inspection of birth records showed that two Johan Erik's with a father called Nils were born in that year. One Johan Erik belonged, indeed, to the Silfversparre family; while the other Johan Erik, who was his actual ancestor, had parents in Gällivare parish and belonged to the Finnish family Lehto. The man's disappointment was intense, partly because the research for which he had paid for was of no use, but also because he had lost a family to which he wished to belong.

Concluding Remarks

I have good hopes for the future. Sami, who earlier were unaware of their heritage, today have good possibilities to learn about it. This is due to several factors:

- The legislation has, in this respect, improved the situation for Sami – with the constitutional changes of SFS 2010:1408, the Sami have status as a People. As an ethnic group and Indigenous People, the Sami now enjoy rights under International Law.
- On a regional level, the municipalities have obligations towards the Sami concerning language and education. Furthermore, Sami must be given influence over decision-making in the municipalities regarding issues that concern their heritage.

The Sami, who had or have been taught to be ashamed of their roots, today stand a far greater chance of reframing these experience towards something valued – something of their own.

Notes

¹ Vigselbok [Engagement and marriage books] Jokkmokk EI:2 p 14, Brita Stina Hansdotter Kilvo, Svanträsk, married the 28th of January 1865.

² The term prevalently used was "Lapp", a derogatory sobriquet for Sami.

³ Swedish Government. *Släktnamnsförordningen, 5 dec. 1901* [Decree of 5th December]. Stockholm, 1901.

⁴ Husförhörlängd Jokkmokk [Jokkmokk Parish catechetical records]. AI:2 p 121 Sjocksjock 1782-1828, Anders Andersson Silfversparre f 1764.

⁵ There was a specific state promoted "Lap should be Lap policy", separating reindeer herding nomadic mountain Sami from the rest. According to Lennart Lundmark (2002), p. 63. the "Laplander should be Laplander policy" was an attempt by the Swedish state to categorize the "Laplanders." Although racism was an important part, the economic policy was also of interest. This led to a position where state policy regarding the Sámi had to pay respect to three different criteria: First of all the race, i.e. the origin, where the person came from. Secondly the way of living, i.e. whether the person was nomadic or not. Thirdly, the economic activity, i.e. if the person was a reindeer herder or not. This led to three distinct categories, the real "Laplanders" were the ones who were nomadic, living in special huts and herding reindeer. The second category was the "Forest Laplander", living in normal houses but still reindeer-herding, who were considered something in between Laplanders and the other population. Finally, the persons of Laplander origin, but living in houses and not involved in reindeer-herding, who were considered to have lost their Laplander origin and thus defined as part of the general non-Sámi population, and thus supposed to be or become Swedish ; Lundmark, Lennart. *Lappen är ombytlig, ostadig och obekväm: Svenska statens samepolitik i rasismens tidevarv* [The Lapp is changeful, unstable and uneasy: Swedish state Sami policy in the era of racism]. Umeå, 2002.

⁶ See Swedish Government, *Förordning ang de svenska lapparne och de bofasta i Sverige* [Decree regarding the Swedish "lapps" and those domiciled in Sweden]. Stockholm, 1883.

⁷ Marainen, Johannes, *Förflyttningar i Sápmi* [Forced migration in Sápmi]. SÁPMI 2/84, 1984.

⁸ Swedish Government. *Sammanträde på Saltsjöbaden den 30 mars 1912* [Session at Saltsjöbaden, 30th of March], SSR Archive, 1912.

⁹ Cramér, Tomas/Prawitz, Gunnar. *Studier i renbeteslagstiftning* [Studies in jurisdiction on reindeer pasture]. Stockholm 1970.

¹⁰ Cramér/Prawitz, 1970.

¹¹ Swedish Government. *Lag om de svenska lapparnas rätt till renbete i Sverige; given Stockholms slott den 18 juli 1928* [Law on the right of Swedish Lapps to reindeer pasture. Stockholm Castle 18th of July, 1928].

¹² Swedish government, Law, 1928.

¹³ See also Amft, Andrea, *Sápmi i förändringens tid: en studie i svenska samers levnadsvillkor under 1900-talet ur ett genus- och etnicitetsperspektiv*, Umeå, 2002.

¹⁴ *Husförhörlängd Edefors Alla* [Edefors parish. All parish catechetical records], Edefors:4a, p. 282 Rödingsträsk 1918-1927 ; *Länsstyrelsen i Norrbottens län. Förteckning över lappar tillhörande Edefors församling 1912. Landskansliet E XXII:5* [Norrbotten County Administrative Board. Investigation regarding Wood Lapps in Jokkmokk's and Edefors Municipalities], 1939 ; *1945 års folkräkning ang lappbefolkningen i Edefors och Jokkmokk. Lappfogden i norra distriktet. FX:2* [Census of Lapp population in Edefors and Jokkmokk. Lapp Bailiff in the Northern District] ; *Förteckning över lappbefolkningen den 31 december 1920. Lappkommittén 1919. YK 193 vol. 9* [Lapp Committee. Record of Lapp population 31 December 1920] ; *Förteckning över renägare inom Jokkmokks socken. 1913 års renbetesdelegation, vol. 18* [Jokkmokk Parish. Record of reindeer owners. Delegation for reindeer pasture].

¹⁵ For the methodology of the counting of Sami, see Swedish Government, *Sameutredningen, Samerna i Sverige: stöd åt språk och kultur : betänkande* [Swedish Government. The Sami in Sweden. Support for language and culture], Liber/Allmänna förl., Stockholm, 1975, SOU 1975:100, Bilaga 1 – en befolkningsstudie.

¹⁶ Henrik Barruk (2008) *Interviewed 2008* ; Mr. Henning Johansson who was the main responsible for the demographic part of estimating the number of Sami. According to Barruk Henning Johansson, spent the years 1971-1974 to identify reindeer owners from the register of reindeer owning persons (*renlängder*) starting from late 19th century going both back in time as well as forward. To validate the investigation, Henning Johansson also made telephone calls to persons to verify their Sami ancestry. Those that never had owned reindeer were not counted at all. Johansson stated that it is likely that not even all those that actually owned reindeer was not counted. However, this information is not provided in description of the methodology in the state inquiry. It might be a misunderstanding by Barruk, and we need to trust the method accounted for in the state inquiry SOU 1975:100. For further investigation of the actual methodology used to estimate the number of Sami an investigation of the archival material is needed. In any case, Henning Johansson acknowledged in the interview (Barruk 2008) that the number of Sami far from fully accounted for and only based on reindeer owning Sami. Barruk, Henrik, *Samiskan i Sverige: rapport från språkkampanjrådet 2008 : en sammanställning av befintliga resultat och fakta om samiskans användning och utbredning i Sverige*. Kiruna: Sámediggi, 2008, p.20.

¹⁷ Current number of Sami in Sweden, according to the website of the Swedish Sami Parliament, which is a Swedish government authority and at the same time an elected parliament, is 20 000, In *Sametinget* [Accessed September 7, 2013].

¹⁸ Sjaggo, Ann Charlotte. *När samerna blev nybyggare. C-uppsats* [When the Sami became settlers. Bachelor-thesis]. Umeå universitet, 2003.

¹⁹ Hultblad, Filip, *Övergång från nomadism till agrar bosättning i Jokkmokks socken* [Transition from nomadism to farming in the parish of Jokkmokk]. Diss. Uppsala University, 1968.

²⁰ See Svalastog, Anna Lydia, "On Teachers' Education in Sweden, School curriculums, and the Sámi people." In this volume.

²¹ <http://aforum/genealogi.se/discuss>.

²² Datainspektionen. *Beslut Dnr 708-2005* [Swedish Data Inspection Board's decision] [Accessed 2005-10-26].

²³ Kitok, Johan, *Maktens olika ansikten* [The many faces of power], Porjus, 2011.

²⁴ Interview with Agnes Palmgren.

²⁵ Edelbro, Anna-Greta. Uppsala och Ann-Louise Edelbro, Vännäs.

²⁶ Website *Holger* [Accessed Sept. 7, 2013].

Indigenous, Local, Sustainable?

Reflections on the Relevance of 'Indigenous' Discourse for Sustainability

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Abstract

The article examines if Indigenous economic and social practices can serve as examples of and strategies for sustainable living, what happens when they face disturbances, and what such practices mean for the global sustainability movement. An 'Indigenous strategy' is seen as a system of behaviors consistent with their long-term goals and cultural practices, enabling their current and future generations to meet their needs. The article looks into the 'locality' of Indigenous knowledge as both a strength and a weakness, allowing to solve local problems, but having arguably little instrumental value against the development discourse. The intrinsic value of such knowledge is stressed as a factor of cultural and economic diversity of human populations.

Introduction

The RE:Mindings symposium has focused on the relationships between Indigenous populations vis-à-vis the State, Indigenous economic and cultural practices

vis-à-vis industrial economies, and the complex linkages between Indigenous cultures and sustainability. This article reflects on the questions that frequently come to mind in discussions regarding Indigenous cultures and sustainability: Are Indigenous Peoples ‘victims’ of modern development, and their existence jeopardized? Or are they actors in the current strife of all of humanity for sustainability? In this article I will argue the latter:

Some features of indigenous knowledge which give it salient relevance to sustainable development planning are its conformity to high labour and low capital demands; dynamics, having evolved over centuries; locally appropriate nature; cognizance of diversified production systems; emphasis on survival first and avoidance of risk; rational decision-making; various adaptive strategies for use at times of stress [drought and famine] ingenious system of intercropping; integration with social institutions; and flexibility, with considerable potential entrepreneurial abilities.¹

The purpose of this reflection is to examine whether sustainable practices of Indigenous Peoples can be considered strategies for sustainability in general, and Indigenous Peoples themselves actors for sustainable development. In order to do that reflecting, a number of questions need to be answered:

1. Are Indigenous economic and social practices examples of sustainable living?
2. Can these practices be sustained in the face of disturbances?
3. To what extent can these practices be considered as strategies, and Indigenous Peoples as actors for sustainability? And, finally:
4. What is the meaning of these practices for the global sustainability movement?

The following definitions are important to explain for this discussion:

Sustainable development is understood in its general classical definition, by World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), 1987, as ‘development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of the future generations to meet their own needs’.

Indigenous Peoples are understood as those whose populations are smaller than those of the dominant ethnicities in their countries, who have their distinctive linguistic and cultural traditions, still spoken and practiced, whose cultural survival depends on their connection to the land they have historically inhabited, and who have an Indigenous self-identification (Cultural Survival, 2013).

A *strategy* is 'the pattern or plan that integrates an organization's major goals, policies and action sequences into a cohesive whole' (Quinn, 1998, p. 5). This definition of *strategy*, though borrowed from organizational management, is relevant in the context of Indigenous Peoples, because it suggests that a strategy can be a pattern of behavior rather than a plan.

It is not the intention that is important for the existence of a strategy, but consistency of behavior with goals and policies (Mintzberg, 2007). In the case of Indigenous populations, it is probably adequate to replace the word 'policies' with 'cultural traditions', because they play a similar role in defining a community's actions. Note that this is a simplification of the case, though it is one that serves to stimulate the current discussion.

Therefore, a strategy of an Indigenous population for sustainable development could be represented by patterns of behavior which are consistent with their long-term goals and cultural practices, and which ensure the ability of the both present and future generations of such a population to meet their needs. This paper focuses on only one example – the Bhotiya People – and constitutes a philosophical reflection based on secondary data.

The Bhotiyas' Examples of Sustainable Practices

The case of the Bhotiya People of the Central Himalayas is an example of an Indigenous People's sustainable practices. These People, of Mongoloid origin, annually migrate between their summer settlements, 4100 meter above sea level, and their winter settlements, at 1200 meters (Farooquee et al., 2004).

The tribe's economy is subsistence farming and pastoralism, with sales of woolen products and livestock accounting for the majority of total income. There is also some trade in forest products, for example medical plants, which amounts to 12-13% of the economy (Farooquee and Saxena, 1996). Their system of living can be referred to as sustainable in the following ways:

- focus is long-term optimization of productivity, rather than its short-term maximization;
- livelihood depends on the immediate environment, which made them greatly diversified in their resource-use practices;
- every available resource (domestic or wild) is used and protected from depletion;

- deep local knowledge, such as that of medical herbs and perfected sense of livestock husbandry;
- highly-developed social institutions, norms and perspectives that are essential sustainable living.

Such decisions as resource sharing, maintenance and protection are taken by the community – the village council, forest council, water council, youth forum and women’s organization. These social institutions have provided the understanding of the environment that allowed the People to regulate their demands – so as to avoid excessive pressure on the ecosystem. The attitude of the Bhotiyas to nature is very respectful and marked by a strong sense of belongingness (Farooquee et al. (2004).

This relationship is also reflected in spiritual practices, like worshipping trees by tying colored pieces of fabric to their branches, or assigning parts of the natural landscape to prayer sites. Such worshipped trees and sites are protected from cutting or infringement of economic activities, which allows for preservation of native species in different locations. Moreover, bird hunting is traditionally not allowed in the community, because birds are considered to be indicators of seasons and providing important signs paramount to survival in this environment.

Weaknesses of Indigenous Practices

According to DeWalt (1994), Indigenous technologies are adaptable to fit changing conditions. For example, the Runa People of Ecuadorian Amazon have managed successfully over the years to change their practices in order to provide for a growing population.

On the other hand, Indigenous knowledge has been criticized for being ‘immobile, having little utility outside of particular places’ (Klopenburg, 1991, cited in DeWalt, 1994, p. 125); even though, admittedly, this is the opposite side of the deep local-knowledge coin.

Other problems include extensive land use, making Indigenous knowledge susceptible to pressure from the industrialized world and property rights, and high exposure to environmental risks such as floods, changes in climate, etc. Low labor productivity restricts the sustainability of economic practices to low-density populations (DeWalt, 1994).

Apparently, this means that the aforementioned flexibility of Indigenous knowledge and the ability therein to adapt to changing circumstances is somewhat limited. From this point of view, we can conclude that sustainability of Indigenous knowledge and practices is relative and context-dependent.

The Encounter with Industrial Development

An example of the limits to the continuity of Indigenous practices is an encounter with industrial society. The temptations of the city have attracted young Bhotiyas since late 1960s, when the Bhotiyas became an Indian Scheduled Tribe; the poaching of birds and animals started occurring, and subsistence practices shifted towards a monetary economy. With market forces taking hold of the society, the traditional institutions have broken down; diverse resource-sharing turned into a competition over a few most profitable resources, and conservation practices collapsed. Similarly to other Himalayan societies, Indigenous knowledge of the Bhotiyas has largely been lost, including the knowledge of native and domesticated flora and fauna, medicinal plants, sustainable resource management practices, art and jewelry-making techniques (Farooquee et al. 2004).

What will be lost if the culture and identity of the Bhotiya submits to the industrial society, and disappears? I argue that this change has primarily two consequences: firstly, the total level of cultural diversity in the world is lowered – humanity will become a trifle culturally poorer, a trifle more homogenous, and, therefore, a trifle less resilient, as diversity is an important prerequisite for resilience (Sachs, 1999). Secondly, by losing an Indigenous culture, with its innate awareness of complexities, interconnectedness and its alive, breathing comprehension of natural beauty, and its inherent respect and piety for the earth that maintains our sustenance, our species will lose one hope – one possibility of a future.

This statement draws support from the urging of WCED (1987), according to which Indigenous communities' disappearances means that society loses an opportunity to learn from their knowledge of complex ecosystems management. DeWalt (1994) argues that a loss of an Indigenous culture erodes cultural diversity of humanity, resulting in 'wasting' of social, technological, moral and other kinds of knowledge. Ironically, it is in the name of development that such losses occur (DeWalt, 1994, Farooquee et al., 2004).

Indigenous Knowledge: Discourse and Application

So far I have identified the following challenges faced by the Bhotiya Indigenous People:

1. The 'industrialism' paradigm and 'mainstream' development are two strong forces to combat with respect to protecting Indigenous cultures and knowledge,
2. Arguable 'immobility' of the knowledge, which makes it difficult to 'market' as a solution to environmental and cultural problems of the world,
3. Ambivalence of Indigenous knowledge in terms of being resilient on the one hand and susceptible to 'development' pressure and extreme changes in natural conditions, on the other.

What are the ways to overcome these difficulties and build upon the advantages that Indigenous Peoples inherently have?

Basically, it appears that there are two main aspects of promoting Indigenous sustainable practices: firstly, the actual use and preservation of Indigenous knowledge, and secondly, the shaping of the discourse about it.

The importance of the discourse is highlighted by understanding that, although it is largely a matter of perception or philosophical argument, it would be, in a practical manner, beneficial for Indigenous Peoples to be considered actors for sustainability. In this way it would be easier for them to have leverage when protecting their lands and, therefore, their knowledge. Arguably, it enables the global society to benefit in the long-run from Indigenous Peoples' experiences and expertise.

Interestingly but predictably enough, Indigenous identity is not something that was conjured up overnight; identity is a result of certain political and historical processes. In many instances, former peasants or tribesmen would be re-imaged as Indigenous People, and their messages would be re-articulated as Indigenous messages (Dove, 2006). One successful example of such re-articulation was the Zapatistas in Chiapas who managed, by employing the discourse on ethnic identity, to leverage international support for their land claims (Moksnes, 2005; Dove, 2006).

In many cases, such as in Brazil and North America, there is a shift in issue articulation from *Indigenous Rights* to *sacredness* of Indigenous culture. In any case, the concept of *indigeneity* is not free from negative aspects. Several researchers have found this line of reasoning excluding towards other stigmatized groups, as it creates attention and political power for groups of people who can claim indigen-

eity as opposed to those of the poor who cannot make such a claim (Dove, 2006).

Several studies suggest that the preservation of Indigenous knowledge may improve and reinforce 'Western science', both in practice and education. Corsiglia and Snively (2001) argue that Indigenous knowledge approaches have some advantages over modern technology, especially when it comes to small-scale farming; since biodiversity has intrinsic value to Indigenous farmers, Indigenous knowledge minimizes the risks for local community ecosystems.

Using similar arguments, Western scholars are urged to acknowledge the contribution of traditional knowledge to ecology and especially those areas where Western science exhibits systematic weaknesses, for example when developing sustainability strategies. The argument is that a broader definition of science benefits students who seek to solve contemporary and critical environmental problems.

However, some of these studies seem dubious. Warren and Cashman (1988) are suggesting ways in which Indigenous knowledge can be used for sustainable agriculture and rural development. Throughout their work the authors hold a respectful, benign and benevolent tone with regard to local people and knowledge. Still, the authors seem to base their discussion on the assumption that 'development' in Western understanding is by default 'good' or inevitable; they do not question whether, perhaps, Indigenous communities should simply be left alone to preserve their knowledge and pass it on. Rather, they explore how 'development programs' can be advanced in remote villages in consultation with, and participation from, the local people.

Of concern here is that 'development' has become 'so much an integral part of Western thinking that now we take it for granted' (Hyden, 2006, p. 184). Hopefully, this can be attributed to the fact that Warren and Cashman (1988) wrote under the influence of the neoliberal economic agenda of the 1980s.

Indigenous Practices as Strategies

As seen from the example of the Bhotiya People, the main objective of an Indigenous population is long-term survival. Throughout the centuries the Bhotiyas have consciously maintained a sustainable livelihood, aware of the fragile and complex connections between their society and the sublime natural environments that they inhabit in winters and summers. However, are the practices actually strategies?

Indigenous Peoples can be presented as important political actors, as they do not claim the land they inhabit for themselves (Hawken, 2007). It is precisely be-

cause they know that the land is not theirs that they are able to protect it from the encroachment of industrialization and resource exploitation. Indigenous Peoples appear as the best imaginable stewards of the planet's biodiversity, richness and beauty wherever it has not yet been touched by the iron hand of 'civilization'.

Still, can we actually claim that there is an Indigenous sustainability strategy? The problem is that for most scholars, as Dove (2006) argues, the presence of such a strategy depends entirely on the intention for sustainability, which is not true if conservation of natural resources is not intentional but simply the only way of living they know.

Apparently, whether or not Indigenous practices actually constitute a strategy is a question of perception. Be that as it may, one argument for Indigenous practices as sustainability strategies would be that if the whole of society lived according to Indigenous values, norms and practices, then the whole of society would experience less problems of environmental and social degradation. Therefore, these values, norms and practices combined do represent a sustainability strategy.

Conclusion

Indigenous Peoples, undoubtedly, have mastered deep ecological knowledge and sustainable environmental practices. In some respects they exhibit strong sustainability, with economic and social structures inscribed in the riches and limitations of natural environments. Their practices clearly succeed in many instances where conventional science fails. If we accept Mintzberg et al.'s definition of *strategy* as a pattern of behavior consistent with goals and policies, then we may infer that the economic and social practices of Indigenous Peoples present local strategies for providing for the needs of the current and the future generations.

However, it can also be claimed that it would be beneficial for Indigenous Peoples themselves, as well as the global society, to accept that Indigenous knowledge provides such a strategy. If universally accepted and incorporated into the definition of science, this acceptance would promote the preservation and practice of Indigenous knowledge from whose diversity and resilience humanity is likely to benefit in the long run. The main limitation of such a possibility lies both within the weakness and strength of Indigenous knowledge: the fact that it is inherently local, 'immobile', makes it strong when it comes to solving local problems through deep understanding, and weak when trying to replicate Indigenous practices elsewhere. Still, by supporting the relevant discourse about the importance of Indigenous knowledge in regards to sustainability on the one hand,

and taking practical steps of integration of such knowledge into modern systems and thinking on the other, it is plausible that such limitations may be overcome and thus enable Indigenous contribution to sustainable development.

Perhaps an even more important value and relevance of Indigenous knowledge in regards to sustainability is embedded in the intrinsic value of the very existence of Indigenous knowledge. It is not what good such knowledge can do for humanity, but rather the very existence of exuberant, intricate, seemingly primitive but highly-refined diversity of Indigenous knowledge and cultures that is worth preserving for the future generations.

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Note

- ¹ Vanek, 1989, p.167, quoted in DeWalt, 1994, p.124.

On Teachers' Education in Sweden, School Curriculums, and the Sámi People

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Abstract

This article discusses the intersection of Teachers Education and the Swedish society with regards to Sámi religion, history and culture. It aims at a renewed understanding of present premises for construction of curriculums in courses on Sámi history, culture and religion. An important back drop is the Swedish State's regulation of Teachers Education, their inclusion of indigenous peoples' interests, and the general demand for research based and reflexive academic teaching. I argue that Teachers' Education and Swedish bookstores present research based knowledge on the Sámi People's religion, history and culture in a weak and accidental manner. For a better understanding, I discuss Anthony Giddens' description of society as regionalized into "back stage" and "front stage" regions structured by different rules – back stage rules being loosely structured and characterized by feelings, subjectivity and bodily activities, while front stage rules are strictly disciplined, and not characterized by personal feelings or bodily excursion. Universities and Colleges fit front stage characteristics, though Teachers' Education, as well as Swedish bookstores, seems to be structured by back stage rules when it comes to the Sámi People. Giddens emphasizes how social encounters between people contribute to the construction of social institutions and

their organization. As such, the loose link between research based teaching and Teachers Education regarding the Sámi people, generates societal consequences. If reflexivity is a major feature of present academic life, we should expect universities to change present premises for research based new curriculums regarding Sámi history, culture and religion. The argument forwarded in this article is thus that, first of all, this situation needs to be made visible. The blind spot has to be identified and targeted. Qualified and reflexive knowledge and competence in Sámi religion, history and culture need to be integrated within all disciplines of academic education. Secondly, I argue that there is an urgent need for the (re-)establishment of the discipline of Native Studies – Indigenous Studies headed and fronted by Sámi scholars – which would have the responsibility of developing and renewing research-based curriculums on Sámi culture, history and religion. To be able to reach the full extent and depth of Sámi religion, culture and history, this discipline needs to be directed by Sámi scholars.

Starting point – Teachers' Education and Knowledge About the Sámi People

This article is based on my Associate Professor Lecture given May 23, 2005 at the Faculty of Humanities, Umeå University, Sweden.¹ At the time, I was responsible for curriculums for courses in history of religions, including particular courses for Teachers Education. And at the faculty with which I was affiliated, the 'Northern space'² was defined as one of its important themes for education and research. At the Department for religious studies, Sámi history of religion became my responsibility. I found two areas of complications related to the process of creating new curriculums on Sámi religion, history and culture:

- a) The (post-)colonial 'otherness' of history of Sámi religion in academic writing. That is; only what was different from non-Sámis seemed to be understood as genuinely Sámi,
- b) The general lack of basic knowledge on Sámi religion, history and culture in Swedish society at large.³

In my Associate Professor Lecture I wanted to better understand the mechanisms upholding Sámi otherness and marginalization. Additionally, I wished to discuss these challenges with special attention to the relation between Teachers Educa-

tion and the Swedish society. My main question was: *What are the particular challenges for developing curriculums for academic courses on the Sámi Peoples' religion, history and culture in Sweden?*

Academic training and education must always be based on research within the subject matter. Furthermore, the interests of immigrants, national minorities, and indigenous peoples, are emphasized by the Swedish State in the guidelines for authorities and institutions that manage the conditions for education of Swedish citizens. This means that minority interests and native peoples should be integrated into school education, and subsequently teachers need to be trained in these subject matters.⁴ However, when attempting to meet the demands of these guidelines regarding the Sámi People, I found challenges for which I was not prepared.

In 2005, there was no discipline of Native or Indigenous Studies in Sweden that held responsibility for the development of research-based curriculums with regards to Sápmi and Sámi culture, history and religion. This has now in part changed regarding responsibility for native languages.⁵ However, at this point, Umeå University had one field of academic studies focusing Sámi studies run by Sámi scholars at the Department of Archaeology and Sami studies. This department no longer exists and there is currently no such department in Sweden, run by Sámi scholars. In Sweden, Sámi studies were being performed within various fields. It was the responsibility of the individual institutions and university teachers to create and renew research upon which the curriculums should be based. There was a similar situation regarding Sámi literature in bookstores, confirmed by a pilot study I conducted. Bookstores are an arena where teachers at universities and public schools should be confronted with information about Sámi culture. When I first started to teaching, I also found there was a general lack of knowledge on the Sámi people amongst my students. I assumed that the absence of literature in book stores could be seen as corresponding to a more general societal lack of knowledge about Sámi culture, history and religion. Despite the fact that this lecture was given in 2005, and that the pilot studies that it presents may be considered outdated, I have found through conversations with research colleagues that the very same situations seem to be prevalent today in 2013.⁶ I have also added updated information regarding Teachers Education in a separate section at the end of this paper. Thus, the arguments made in my Associate Professor lecture seem to continue to be useful for understanding the current situation; the conclusions in my lecture are, most likely, still valid:

- Qualified and reflexive knowledge and competence on Sámi religion, history and culture need to be integrated within all disciplines of academic education, and;
- There is an urgent need for the (re-)establishment of a discipline for Native/ Indigenous Studies that would have the responsibility for developing and renewing research-based curriculums on Sámi culture, history and religion. To be able to reach the full extent and depth of the Sámi religion, culture and history, this discipline needs to be run by Sámi scholars.

Native Studies – Back Stage Rules on Front Stage Station

Teaching at universities should be based on research in relevant fields. Therefore, developing curriculums can be a complex and challenging obligation due to traditions, paradigms and competing interests within ongoing research. Curriculums for Teachers Education classes should also reflect the fact that teachers in public schools in Sweden are obliged to follow curriculums defined by the Swedish State.⁷ Apart from areas of relevance for courses on the Sámi People's religion, history and culture, *reflexivity* is to be included in new curriculums.⁸ *Reflexivity* – to critically reflect upon ones' activities and one's self – was an important part of the academic debate in the 1990s in Sweden and a given frame for my own work with new curriculums.

Applying a reflexive approach within academic research means to recognize that research is not neutral, but reflect the ideals, knowledge, and context of the researcher as well as society at large. In Sweden, Ethnology was a field of academic debate on reflexivity that spilled over into public debate through popularized books on Swedish cultural history.⁹ However, reflexivity, coined as a key concept in Anthony Giddens' theory of modernity, might be said to be the most influential definition of the concept.¹⁰ Within History of Religions the reflexivity debate was expressed in the inclusion of interdisciplinary and theoretical discussions of key analytic concepts; in the 1990s religious rites were a particularly vibrant topic, as well as the debates that demanded an analytical shift that included analysis of politics – analysis of post-colonialism, globalization and gender. In my analysis of challenges related to new curriculums for courses for Teachers Education, I decided to refer to Anthony Giddens' concept of reflexivity because his theory highlighted which rules for behavior one would expect at academic institutions, the relation between

academic institutions and society, as well as the relation between practice by individuals inside academic institutions, outside of academic institutions, and in society at large.

In Giddens's theory about (late-)modernity he argues that modernity represents a new state of being, a mode of reflexivity, characterized by self critical inquiry. This is a process so pertinent that it should be named a main characteristic of present/modern society.¹¹ According to Giddens, modern society is organized into two regions.¹² Giddens borrows his terminology from the ethno-methodologist Erving Goffman (1959), naming the arenas "*back stage*" and "*front stage*." Through modifying Goffman's dichotomy, Giddens includes these two concepts when discussing *stations* – places where people meet and interact. The *front stage* and the *back stage* are understood as representing different regions of a station that in turn represents different sets of rules for interaction. The *front stage* is stricter and rule-oriented – disciplined, one could say. The *back stage* is less strict, and more emotional and bodily – less disciplined. Giddens argue that "the back stage is a place where self-conceptions can be repaired and people can engage in criticism of and resistance to front stage demands and conventions."¹³ Seen from my perspective, Universities and Colleges are expected to represent societal *front stages*. Activities are heavily regulated, expected to conform to established rules of behavior, predictable in terms of demonstrating reason and logic, consequent in keeping out private and personal politics, as well as subjective feelings or personal identity that collide with academic values.

A Pilot Study – Swedish Bookstores

To be able to further discuss the general knowledge on the Sámi people in Sweden, and the knowledge one could expect to find represented amongst university staff, I needed a clarifying example. Because of my work on new curriculums, I directed my attention to how books on the Sámi people were distributed. My argument was that if bookstores are seen as representing a key resource for universities and schools, it is interesting to know how they include and distribute books on Sámi religion, history and culture. This led to a pilot study on the representation of books on Sámi religion, history and culture in Swedish bookstores. An e-mail containing the following questions was sent to all the Swedish bookstores that were listed at the bookstore website *Svensk bokhandel*.¹⁴ My letter to the bookstores was designed as follows:

Hi

I am conducting an inquiry due to further work on curriculums and I kindly ask you to answer my questions below:

1. Do you have access to any of the following authors?:

Mikael Svonni (Ordbok/Sátnegirji)

Nils Aslak Valkeapää

Louise Bäckman

Israel Ruong

Johan Turi

Brita Pollan

Håkan Rydving

2. What is available at your bookstore on Sámi language, culture history, handicraft, ethnology/folklore – for example fairy tales or texts on food?

Thanks in advance.

Kind regards,

Anna Lydia Svalastog

[my university e-mail address]¹⁵

I received answers from seventy-five bookstores. Sixteen of these seventy-five had one or more titles regarding Sámi history, culture and religion. Four of the sixteen had several books. Those four bookstores were located in Stockholm, Uppsala, Luleå and Västerås.

Here is some information regarding the books that I inquired about in my questionnaire: Johan Turi (2011/2010/1910) is a classic author, the first Sámi author writing in Sámi about Sámi culture. Nils Aslak Valkeapää was a poet and singer, and the first, and only, Sámi author to receive the Nordic Council Literature Prize;¹⁶ he received this prize in 1991. Israel Ruong's book (1969) on the Sámi people is a third classic Sámi work. Ruong was a Sámi academic at Uppsala University, and the first Sámi to write a scholarly book on the Sámi people. In contrast to Turi's ethnographic book, which mainly referred to his own geographic background, Ruong covered Sámi life in general. Svonni's Northern Sámi dictionary (1990) was the most updated dictionary for the Northern Sámi

dialect.¹⁷ Louise Bäckman, a female Sámi scholar, and the non-Sámi scholars Håkan Rydving and Brita Pollan all represent the field of history of religions, and I did not expect many of the bookstores to have their texts available. The books I expected to be available, just like I expect Norwegian and Swedish classics to be timeless and available in all bookstores, did seem to have a status as classics; however, they were not distributed as one would expect classic literature to be, and several of these books had been sold out from the publishers years ago without new editions being printed.

In my second question, I gave no names of authors, I only inquired about new books on Sámi culture. In bookstores, there is generally a plethora of books on everyday life, food, handy craft, and pastime activities in general. Yet, books specifically on Sámi culture were not available, despite the fact that there are numerous such books in existence that the bookstores could make available, for example the many books by Yngve Ryd.¹⁸ Though my study must be regarded as a pilot study, I dare conclude that the production of classics and academic books focusing on the Sámi People, as well as the distribution of new literature on Sámi culture had in fact been conducted; however, these books were not kept in the distribution system.¹⁹ One important consequence of this lack of literature on Sámi history, culture and religion is that teachers in Swedish schools cannot go to Swedish bookstores and expect to get a hold of relevant classic or new literature on Sámi history, culture and religion.

This general lack of available literature made me question whether there also was a general lack of demand for these books. I also wondered *who* was teaching Sámi studies to students in Teachers' Education. In the spring of 2005, twenty-nine Swedish Universities and Colleges were involved in Teachers' Education.²⁰ As a senior university teacher, I knew that I had to teach courses that did not represent my own field of research. However, when I gave courses on, for example, 'World religion' or 'New age and new religious movements', I had access to a combination of my own training, available books and academic journals and colleagues, which together represented the necessary resources to produce new updated and relevant courses. Most of the 29 universities and colleges on the list did not have teachers with Ph.D.s that cover – directly or indirectly – Sámi history, culture and religion. Thus, just as it has in my own education, the inclusion of Sámi history, culture and religion occur within academic training 'by accident'. Some changes have occurred since 2005, but the situation is far from resolved.²¹

Thus far, both bookstores and Teachers' Education in Sweden seem to represent knowledge on the Sámi People's religion, history and culture in an

accidental manner; Sámi books and knowledge might be present, but most likely are not. If bookstores and Teachers' Education are defined as *front stages*, they seem to be operating by *back stage* rules when it comes to the Sámi People. Though rules regarding expected behavior are established for universities and colleges, they are not structuring actual behavior on this stage. To operate in such a manner is similar to the 'othering' of a People, and it is contrasted against a call for, yet apparent lack of, reflexivity in late-modern society. The 'Othering' of a People is a characteristic well known in post-colonial and Native theory. Since reflexivity is a major feature of present academic life, one should expect universities to reflect on this situation through critical examination and re-interpretation of the curriculum.

History of Religions and the Sámi People

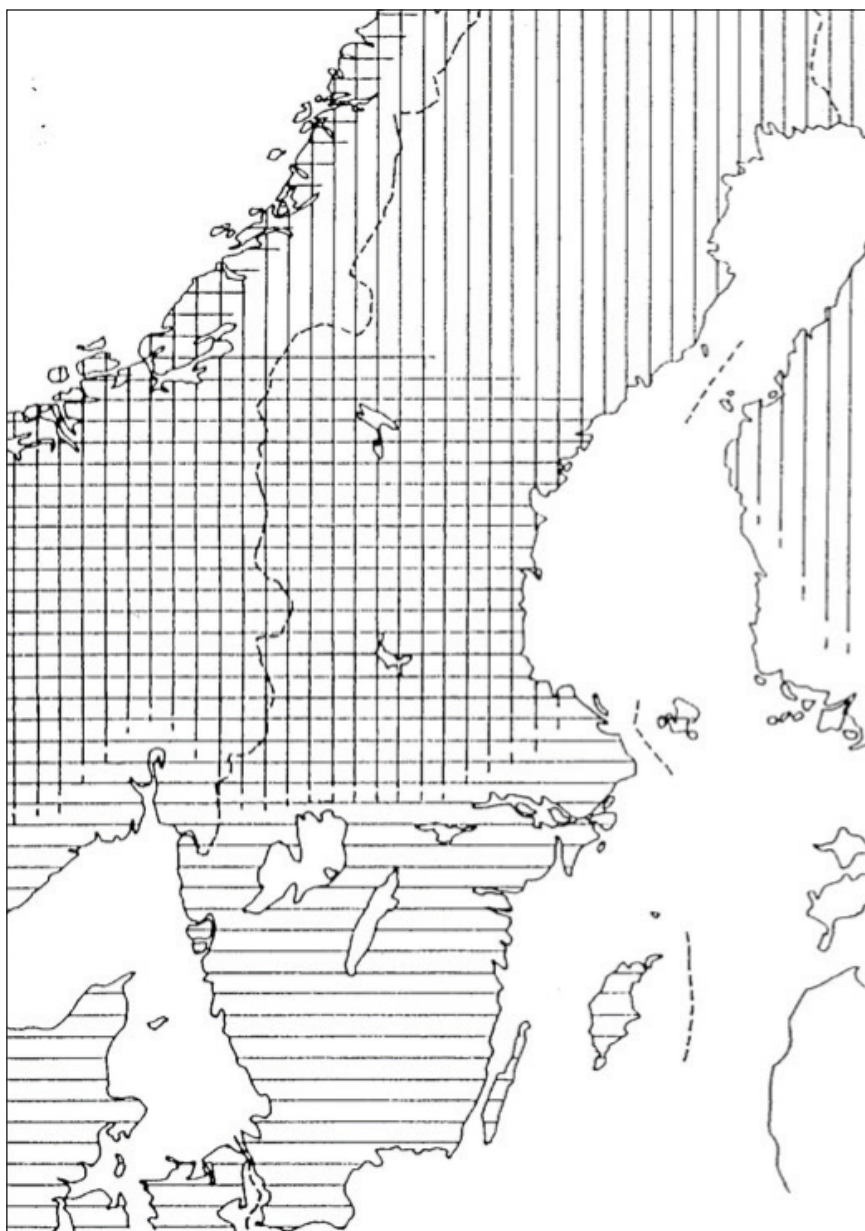
Within History of Religion, studies of Sámi history of religion used to put emphasis on the Sámi people as "the exotic other." The particular emphasis was on reindeer herding communities located in mountain areas, on the tundra and in arctic surroundings in pre-Christian-time. This was a focus that tended to push forward a reductionist and exclusive understanding of culture. After World War II former comparisons between Sámi religion and so-called Scandinavian religion – meaning studies that had been characterized by evolutionary assumptions – were no longer deemed as an acceptable means for approaching Sámi history. Also non-evolutionary comparative studies with so-called Scandinavian religion were avoided. So, after World War II and the fall of evolutionary theories of societies, comparative studies of Sámi culture were primarily conducted in relation to other nomadic Peoples north of the Polar circle.

Due to the new reflexive climate for discussing culture and history after World War II, and in the new era of former colonies becoming independent Nation-States, the monumental concepts and the theories within which they were defined were loudly debated, and phenomenology, as represented by Mircea Eliade, was excluded or marginalized in Scandinavia.²² Within History of Religions discussions on the key concepts of *religion*, *myth* and *rite* have always been analytically and theoretically central. The critique of phenomenology and key analytical concepts was directed towards the way they used to represent so-called *monumental concept*; a concept that focuses on phenomenon, and is lacking of contexts and detached from the variety of experiences that reflect social groups and gender. As a consequence of this critique, focus moved from phenomenon towards relations,

interaction, processes, context, and position like gender, 'class', ethnicity, etc. Since the 1980s, there has been a harsh interdisciplinary debate over perspectives on how to interpret Sámi presence on the Scandinavian Peninsula. Inger Zachrisson's archeological map exemplifies what this controversy is all about, and how it is of relevance for the history of religions. Zachrisson's map was based on archaeological findings, and the diagonal lines on the map show Sámi presence on the Scandinavian Peninsula.²³ The findings collided with several theories within the humanities – theories on history and migration of the Sámi people and theories on language history.²⁴ Zachrisson's map was confirmed both by Medieval law, which regulated relations between Sámi and non-Sámi people in medieval history, and linguistic inquiries on loan-words from Sámi to old Norse.²⁵ Yet, the map was disregarded by some fellow academic scholars as being irrelevant. To construct new curriculums in a time period when colonial perspectives were still a part of academic discourse was, of course, complicated. In part, this explains why it was difficult to find relevant Sámi literature; it also underlines the need for broad, inter-disciplinary perspectives on Sámi history of religion.²⁵

Despite the fact that academic discourse was pushing reflexive activities, discussions and projects (SOU 1997: 121, p. 30), certain fields of research seemed to be less open to contextualization and analysis of social and economic relations and interaction, as well as to analysis of their impact on historic and cultural expressions or phenomena. A tentative conclusion, in Giddens' terminology, is that even academic institutions are indeed *regionalized*. It also seems as if a particular station, a particular part of a front stage, can switch between front- and back stage rules, depending on whether they are to represent, approach, discuss, majority population or native peoples. Representatives of academic knowledge of specific groups and places reflect conflicting perspectives and politics of those places, and some are to a lesser degree than others disciplined by the rules of reflexivity.

Today, both Sámi and non-Sámi scholars develop teaching and competence regarding Sámi history, culture and religion. If including the whole of Fennoscandia,²⁷ there are nomad school curriculums, Sámi high schools, Sámi Colleges, a few Sámi research institutions, a few academic positions in Sámi language and Sámi literature, and one non-Sámi²⁸ center for research on Sámi people and history.²⁹ The tendency, though, is that qualified education seems to be singled out to institutions or centers outside of, or on the margins of, Teachers' Education.



The map by archeologist Inger Zachrisson, representing Scandinavia around the year 1000 A.D., where the centre of the Scandinavian Peninsula is a meeting zone for Sámi and Nordic cultural influences. The vertical lines represent Sámi culture, the horizontal represent Nordic or Germanic culture. Source: Zachrisson, 1997, p.219.

Concluding Remarks

Academic institutions seem to be organized in a way that makes it possible to study Sámi history, culture and religion within the walls of the established institutions. At the same time, the very same departments often refrain from integrating those subjects into the curriculum of the education. In the terminology of Giddens, encounters between people represent a social dynamic that contributes to the creation or construction of social institutions and their organization. As such, the academic institutions do not only reflect, but also create, society.

In this investigation, I have used Giddens' terminology to analyze internal and external academic challenges, creating tension between expectations and demands for curriculums on Sámi religion, history and culture in Teachers' Education. As described above, social encounters takes place at stations that are regionalized in *front stages* and *back stages*, representing different types of appearances, and universities and colleges should be expected to be run by front stage rules. Yet it seems as if *back stage* rules are used for organizing studies in Sámi history, culture and religion, which might also contribute to explain why Teachers' Education and bookstores seem to have a tentative and accidental way of integrating and institutionalizing qualified, reflexive knowledge and competence of Sámi religion, history and culture.

One important feature of the present situation seems to be that what are actually front stage activities regarding Sámi history, culture and religion, seem in present *Teachers' Education* to be played out with back stage rules within current academic education. This is peculiar and thought-provoking, since Sámi history, culture and religion long since has been a well-established area of research interest in the Nordic countries, yet only loosely connected to integration and institutionalization of results in actual, practical education. However, just as important is the fact that, if encounters between individuals represent a key dynamic upon which social institutions are made and society reproduced, the loose link between the interest for research and its integration have wider implications.

If we consider Giddens to be right in his argument – that encounters represent social dynamics contributing to creating, or constructing, social institutions and society at large – then it is of general importance to act to change that setting. It is important to recognize that, within dominant Swedish society – which Giddens, along with the majority of scholars and university Teachers', perceive as driven by critical reflexive work – Sámi religion, culture and history are not automatically nor systematically included in this reflexive work. This implies that, when aspects of Sámi religion, culture and history are taken into account, it is only by

chance and circumstances that people in charge of developing university courses have competence in these subjects. Despite this fact, it is the case that this knowledge and competence does exist, albeit to a very limited extent. And yet, despite this fact, it was expected that the different university disciplines all have the competence to teach these aspects.

My argument is that, first of all, these conditions need to be made visible. The blind spot has to be identified and targeted. Secondly, I find that there is an urgent need for the (re-)establishment of the discipline of Native Studies – Indigenous Studies – headed and fronted by Sámi scholars.

Presented in plain text, this is necessary if we are actually going to be able to follow the instructions of the Swedish State regarding Teachers' Education, so as to ensure that the interests of national minorities and native peoples are integrated into the education of Swedish citizens. In conclusion: *Qualified and reflexive knowledge and competence in Sámi religion, history and culture need to be integrated within all disciplines of academic education. Moreover, there is an urgent need for the (re-)establishment of a discipline for Native/Indigenous Studies, which would be responsible for developing and renewing research-based curriculums on Sámi culture, history and religion. To be able to reach the full extent and depth of Sámi religion, culture and history, this discipline needs to be directed by Sámi scholars.*

There have been some changes regarding Teachers Education after my lecture in 2005, in particular regarding Sámi language. In 2012 the Swedish Parliament decided that some Teacher Education studies were to be given main responsibility for minority languages, to guarantee future teachers with competence. Umeå University was made responsible for Sámi languages and is scheduled to be starting off autumn of 2014, i.e. next year. This decision regards teachers that are to teach the 7th-9th year in public schools. The problem is that this, though this strategy hopefully will cover the pupils' need for second-language teaching during their 7th-9th year at school, the real challenge today is the need for teachers that can teach Sámi mother tongue language the first 6 years, a group that so far is left aside, which was pointed out of various reviewers of the proposal, though these obstacles were not met.

The Law on minority languages (Swedish Government 2009:724) accepts support for these languages in public childcare as well as in elderly care, though this law does not give explicit support for minority languages in the compulsory school system. The regulation of the compulsory school system (Swedish Government 2011:185) states that pupils who have another language than English as their main language in daily and social life with one or both of their parents,

are to get parts of their teaching during their first years at school in this particular language (§12). However, no more than half of the teaching may be conducted in this language, and Swedish must gradually become the main language (§13)

In summary, mother tongue language is not a main priority for the first six years of schooling, and Sámi language is not accepted as a main languages for teaching in Sweden. This is in contrast to present knowledge on language revitalization: it is at early age children need to be fully exposed to their mother tongue.³⁰ This should also be seen in contrast to Finland and Norway who passed edicts making Sámi language a teaching language.³¹ Regarding Teachers Education and the inclusion of Sámi history and culture, changes have occurred since 2005.³² However, these legislative improvements do not alter my main conclusion regarding Sámi othering nor the (post-)colonial frames within which academic practice and governmental decision-making operates regarding Teachers Education.

Acknowledgement

I thank the editors for their patience, engagement and insightful suggestions, Anne Walseth for proofreading and Coppeélie Cocq and Mikael Vinka for their guidance and precision into the present situation of Teachers Education.

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Nordic Council Literature Prize.

Läroplan för det obligatoriska skolväsenet 94 [Curriculum for compulsory school 1994].

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Attachment 1:

Questionnaire send by e-mail to Swedish bookstores listed at <http://www.svb.se>

Hej, Jag gör en inventering inför kommande kursplanering och undrar om ni kan svara på nedanstående frågor:

1. Har ni tillgängligt någon bok av följande författare?

Mikael Svonni (Ordbok/Sátneigirji)

Nils Aslak Valkeapää

Louise Bäckman

Israel Roung

Johan Thuri

Brita Pollan

Håkan Rydving

2. Vad har ni tillgängligt om samisk språk, kultur, historia, hantverk, etno-folkloristiskt material som folksagor, mat?

På förhand stort tack

Vänlig hälsning,

Anna Lydia Svalastog

Attachment 2:

Universities and Colleges giving Teachers' Education

Attachment 3:

Sámi studies, research and education

Göteborgs universitet

Linköpings universitet

Högskolan i Borås

Luleå tekniska universitet

Högskolan i Dalarna

Lunds universitet

Högskolan på Gotland

Musikhögskolan i Malmö

Högskolan i Gävle

Lärarhögskolan i Stockholm

Högskolan i Halmstad

Malmö högskola

Högskolan i Jönköping

Mitthögskolan

Högskolan i Kalmar

Mälardalens högskola

Högskolan i Kristianstad

Stockholms universitet

Högskolan i Skövde

Södertörns högskola

Högskolan i Trollhättan/Uddevalla

Umeå universitet

Idrottshögskolan i Stockholm

Uppsala universitet

Karlstads universitet

Örebro universitet

Konstfack

Kungliga Musikhögskolan i Stockholm

Kungliga Tekniska Högskolan

Sámi University College, Sámi allaskuvla, Guovdageaidnu, [Norway], www.samiskhs.no

Samisk videregående skole og reindrift, Guovdageaidnu, [Norway], www.samisk.vgs.no

The Tromsø University [Norway]; Senter for samisk helseforskning (Centre for Sami Health Research) and Senter for samiske studier, SESAM (Centre for Sami Studies) uit.no/sesam

Samernas utbildningscentrum, Jokkmokk, [Sweden] www.samernas.se

The University of Umeå [Sweden] Centre for Sami Research (CeSam) cesam.umu.se

The University of Oulu [Finland] – the The Giellagas Institute www.oulu.fi/giellagas

Notes

¹ Associate-professor-lectures are a compulsory part of the process of becoming associate professor, (permanent faculty member, *Docent*) in Sweden. The applicant for the title has to give a public lecture as a complement to the expert evaluation of our postdoc works, i.e. research, teaching, administration.

² 'Northern Space' (Swedish: 'det nordliga rummet') is linked to a combination of geographic location, local culture and relations in past and present time of the Scandinavian peninsula. The area of study that the 'Northern Space' covers is not clear cut, but can be exemplified by the following three activities: a) Present Northern Studies at the Faculty of Arts at Umeå University ; b) The final rapport on the project 'Kulturgräns norr – syntes', 2010 ; c) The Journal of Northern Studies that was launched in 2007 at Umeå University <http://www.jns.org.umu.se/>.

³ I consider language as a component of Sámi history and culture.

⁴ SOU 1997:121 ; Läroplan för förskolan 98 [Curriculum for Pre-School] ; Läroplan för det obligatoriska skolväsendet 94, [Curriculums for different disciplines].

⁵ See final section of this text.

⁶ Cf. Öhman, Forthcoming. "TechnoVisions of a Sámi cyborg: re-claiming Sámi body-, land- and waterscapes after a century of colonial exploitations in Sápmi", In Bull, Jacob et al. (eds.). *Ill-disciplined gender: Nature/Culture and Transgressive encounters*. Grahn W, Zachrisson I, Fossum B, Bergstøl J, Swensen G, Ljungdalen E, Amundsen H, Riseth JA, Myrvoll M, "Om samisk kultur och historia i SHM:s utställningar, skrivelse till museichefen, SHM", daterad 17 Januari 2013.

⁷ Cf. the website of the The Swedish National Agency for Education www.skolverket.se [Accessed 20130717].

⁸ SOU 1997: 121 ; Ministry of Education and Research 1994, 1998.

⁹ The discussion on reflexivity in the field of Ethnology in Sweden started with readings of, amongst others, George Devereux from the field of Psychology (*From Anxiety to Method*, 1967), an embraced critical texts from both Sociology and Anthropology. Ehn & Löfgren 2004 ; Ehn 2001 ; Ehn & Klein 1994 ; Ehn, Frykman & Löfgren 1993 ; Gerholm & Gerholm 1992.

¹⁰ Giddens, Anthony (1990). *The Consequence of Modernity*.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Earlier on, Emile Durkheim (sociology) had used the concept public and private, and Mircea Eliade (history of religion) used the concepts holy and profane, to describe different spheres of society. Though Giddens concepts may be understood as overlapping with Durkheim and Eliade, Giddens chose a theoretical perspective that represented social constructionism and not phenomenology. Durkheim, Émile (1965/1912). *The elementary forms of the religious life*; Eliade, Mircea (1957). *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*.

¹³ Johansson, Thomas (1995). *Rutinisering och reflexivitet: en introduktion till Anthony Giddens [Routinization and reflexivity: an introduction to Anthony Giddens]*.

¹⁴ *Svensk bokhandel* is a bookstore website for all major bookstores in Sweden. See <http://www.svb.se>.

¹⁵ See Attachment 1 for the original letter in Swedish.

¹⁶ Nordiska rådets litteraturpris [Nordic Research Council's Literature Price].

¹⁷ This Sámi dialect is the most prevalent used in media, popular Sámi culture, academic language courses, etcetera.

¹⁸ For instance: Ryd, Yngve, (1999) *Torvkåtor: intervjuer med gamla kåtabyggare : Jokkmokks socken, Jokkmokks kommun, Lappland, Norrbottens län : dokumentation/intervjuer [Peat Cots: interviews with old cot builders in Jokkmokk Parish-, Municipality, Lappland, Norrbottens County] ; (2000). Timrade kåtor: intervjuer [Timbered Cots: interviews] ; (2001). Snö: en renskötare berättar [Snow: the accounts of a reindeer herder] ; (2005). Eld: flammor och glöd – samisk eldkonst [Fire: flames and fervor – Sami firecraft] ; Ryd, Yngve., Ryd, Lilian (1989). *Nybyggjarliv: om nybyggjarlivet i Lule lappmark kring sekelskiftet 1900 [Settler life: regarding the life of settlers in Lule lapland at the turn of the 19th century]*.*

¹⁹ A brief look into the current online bookstores of today indicates that the situation is quite similar. For instance, Johan Turi's classical work "*Muitalus samid birra*" is available at the Swedish online bookstore Adlibris.se [Accessed July 24, 2013] in the latest edition by Mikael Svonni – in North Sámi only and at a very high price – SEK 718. Yet, the book has been translated into both English and Norwegian and published in 2011. (Turi, 2010, 2011a, 2011b). The English translation is available only through shipping from Nordic Studies Press, the United States, at the price of USD 19.95. The dictionary North-Sámi – Swedish by Mikael Svonni is not available at all, neither from 1990 or the recently released updated version of 2013. However, some of the books by Yngve Ryd and Lilian Ryd (Lilian Ryd writes on women's life to a large extent, see, for instance, Ryd, Lilian, 2013, 2007, 2005) are available on the online shop Adlibris.se.

²⁰ See Attachment two.

²¹ See last section of this paper.

²² Eliade was like the Godfather of History of Religions as a discipline, coining concepts and theorizing the field. He was also the Editor in Chief of *The Encyclopedia of Religion* (1993).

²³ Zachrisson 1997 .

²⁴ Zachrisson, 1997 ; Amft. and Svonni ed., 2006 ; Kusmenko ed., 2004 ; Bergstøl, 2008

²⁵ Svalastog 2006 ; Ojala, Carl-Gösta (2012). "Samisk förhistoria och samisk arkeologi i Sverige – i går, i dag och i framtiden?" In H. Tunón., M. Frändén., C-G Ojal., M-B Öhman (eds.). *Uppsala mitt i Sápmi* ["Sami prehistory and Sami archeology in Sweden – in the past, the present and the future? In *Uppsala in the middle of Sápmi*"] ; Ojala, C-G. (2009). *Sámi Prehistories – the politics of archaeology and identity in northernmost Europe*.

²⁶ In 2005, my series of new courses on Sámi history of religions was completed. I then went on to publish texts reflecting needs and questions that this work had generated: Svalastog (2006) ; Pye & Svalastog (2007) ; Svalastog (2009) ; Svalastog & Eriksson (2010) ; Svalastog (2011) ; Svalastog (2012) ; Svalastog (2013), and Svalastog manuscript (2014).

²⁷ *Fennoscandia* refers to Norway, Sweden, Finland and the Cole Peninsula.

²⁸ Non-Sámi refers here to a center not headed by a Sámi scholar.

²⁹ There is today, in 2013, no Institution nor Centre for Sámi studies in Sweden that is headed by a Sámi

³⁰ Grenoble, Lenore, and Whaley, Lindsey. 2006.

³¹ For details on Finland, see Law concerning Finnish National Education ; For details on Norway, see Law concerning Norwegian National Education.

³² For more details, see: Svenska språklagen [Swedish Linguistic Law] ; Minoritetspråklagen [Law concerning minority languages] ; Skolförordningen [National Curriculum] ; Skollagen [Law concerning Swedish National Education].

Indigenous Bioscientists Constitute Knowledge across Cultures of Expertise and Tradition

An Indigenous Standpoint Research Project

Kim TallBear

Associate professor of Anthropology at the University of Texas at Austin and Assistant Professor of Science, Technology, and Environmental Policy at the University of California, Berkeley. Enrolled member, Sisseton-Wahpeton Oyate, Lake Traverse Reservation, Old Agency, South Dakota, U.S.A. Also descended from the Cheyenne & Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma. Former Council Member, Native American and Indigenous Studies Association (NAISA) Kim TallBear is Assistant Professor of Science, Technology, and Environmental Policy at the University of California, Berkeley. In 2012-13 she was also a Donald D. Harrington Fellow in Anthropology at the University of Texas, Austin.

Her book, based on ten years of ethnographic and archival research, *Native American DNA: Tribal Belonging and the False Promise of Genetic Science*, was published in 2013 with the University of Minnesota Press. Her more recent research is entitled: “Constituting Knowledge across Cultures of Expertise and Tradition: Indigenous Bio-scientists.” She is interested in the role of Native American scientists in the democratization of bio-scientific fields and in informing scientific governance within tribes. Kim also studies intersections of constructions of “nature” and of “sexuality.”

Finally, she brings indigenous thought (which never severed narrative from spirit from materiality) to bear on recent “New Materialisms” scholarship that attempts in a Western academic framework to mend the nature/culture divide. Kim has published research, policy, review, and opinion articles on a variety of issues related to science, technology, environment, and culture in indigenous studies, anthropology, and feminist or women’s journals and edited volumes. Kim is an elected member of the governing council of the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association.

Abstract

This talk explains my recent Indigenous Science Studies research project – an ethnography of Indigenous bioscientists in the U.S. – as it is informed by two key Feminist Science Studies frames, “feminist objectivity” and “feminist standpoint theory.” Most often, anthropological projects focused on Native Americans derive from outside the Native American community and often turn Native American social and cultural practices into anthropological curiosities and sites of difference from the non-Indigenous observer.

However, from my longstanding location within U.S. Native American social, cultural, educational, and professional circles, this Indigenous standpoint project examines cultural and social conditions that lead U.S. Native Americans to work as bioscientific researchers. The Indigenous standpoint in this research is not mainly concerned with assessing Native American social or cultural difference from the mainstream. Rather, this research investigates how Indigenous participation in bioscience can help make Western bioscience more multi-cultural and democratic, while also serving Native American community capacity-building and self-governance.

This talk also advocates that Indigenous Studies scholars pay greater attention to the role of science and technology as they seek to do research that supports Indigenous sovereignty. Both Nation States and Indigenous Nations increasingly govern through science. However, in its U.S. formation, Indigenous Studies is more focused in humanities fields. It engages too little with the physical and biological sciences and with technology fields. If Indigenous Studies scholars ignore the role of technoscience in both limiting and facilitating Indigenous sovereignty, they limit their relevance for Indigenous communities.

An Indigenous Standpoint – A Dakota Standpoint

In 1973 I asked my mother, then a young university student, what it meant that “*Custer Died for Your Sins*”? That seminal 1969 monograph by Native American Studies scholar Vine Deloria, Jr.¹ famously interrogated the practices and power of anthropology to define and represent Native peoples’ histories, practices, and identities to the world. Deloria was critical of various anthropological “revelations” of Indians as “folk people”, as “caught between two worlds”, or as not real enough because they did not do enough Indian dancing. He saw such representations and the influence of anthropology on the American popular imagination, including in “Indian Country”² as detrimental to Indian self-concepts and notions

of self-sufficiency, and to Indian political organizing, assumptions of power, and self-governance.³

I grew up in the early 1970s in eastern South Dakota among Native American university students, artists, and activists. My mother shared with her four children oral narratives of our Dakota history when public school history books whitewashed U.S. colonialism and conditions for Native Americans, which they mostly did. She always had alternative history books in the house that critiqued dominant U.S. American narratives that assume the moral rightness of the U.S. national project. *Custer Died for Your Sins* was a key volume in that collection of books. Thus Deloria's text and its reception in my corner of Indian Country shaped my relationship to anthropological representations and to the very idea of research from early on. As a result, it has become second nature for me to ponder the politics that run through knowledge production at every stage – how authors and researchers begin where they do, which audiences they imagine will receive their knowledge production, and what leads them to assume that they should research a subject or object. Where their research questions come from, out of which life experiences or cultural assumptions, and not others? I wonder how researchers gain access to subjects, who brokers their research relationships, how much it costs to do research, and who funds research. I think about which research protections are in place and whose certifications, laws, and policies guide those protections. I wonder who controls and has access to data and whose languages are at play.

When I entered graduate school in Santa Cruz, California nearly 30 years after my politicization began, I encountered Feminist Science Studies and standpoint theory. The new theoretical languages were challenging, but the fundamental concepts made sense to me. Vine Deloria, Jr. and my mother had essentially taught me throughout my entire life what I would now call an "Indigenous" standpoint, or more specifically, a Dakota standpoint on U.S. history and anthropology, on science and technology. Feminist philosopher of science, Sandra Harding, explains that feminist standpoint theory is concerned with "the view from women's lives" as a standpoint from which to begin inquiry. She wants women's situations – and those of other marginalized peoples in a gender, class, race, sexual-orientation, and otherwise-stratified society – to not be written out of scientific accounts as "bias."⁴ Complementing this idea is Donna Haraway's notion that all views produce situated knowledges.⁵ What each and every one of us has access to are partial knowledges because our knowledges are produced within historical, social, value-laden, and technological contexts.

But “objectivity”, or rigorous knowledge production is not to be thrown to the side. Both Harding and Haraway advocate a “stronger”, or a “feminist objectivity”, in which we are more promiscuous in our accounting of standpoints. Haraway calls us to see from multiple standpoints at once because such a “double vision” is more rigorous. It reveals “both dominations and possibilities unimaginable from a single standpoint.”⁶ For feminist epistemologists, more “strongly objective” inquiry does *not only not* require “point-of-viewlessness,”⁷ it actively incorporates knowledges from multiple locations. Rigorous inquiry must also include beginning from the lives of the marginal, for example from the lives of “women and traditional cultures.”⁸ This is not just a multicultural gesture to pay greater attention from without, but it is a call to begin from within, to be driven to inquire from within the needs and priorities articulated in marginal spaces. The idea is that the views from such lives can produce empirically more accurate and theoretically richer explanations than conventional research that treats the views from some lives and not others as bias. She explains that the modern/traditional binary that continues to shape social and natural scientific research – clearly at play, for example, in anthropology historically – as well as philosophy and public policy “typically treats the needs and desires of women and traditional cultures as irrational, incomprehensible, and irrelevant – or even a powerful obstacle to ideas and strategies for social progress.”

The table conversation between feminists and Indigenous critics of technoscience should be obvious. Both are “valuable ‘strangers’ to the social order” who bring a “combination of nearness and remoteness, concern and indifference that are, contrary to positivist thought, central to *maximizing* objectivity.” The outsider sees patterns of belief or behavior that are hard for the “natives”, in this case referring to the scientists, to see whose ways of living and thinking fit “too closely the dominant institutions and conceptual schemes.” In order to precisely represent and effectively confront power, standpoint theorists also pay attention to the fact that subjectivities and lives lived at the intersections of multiple systems of domination become complex. For example, they avoid claiming a single or universal “women’s experience” – another reason why their theorizing is beneficial for doing Indigenous standpoint theory in the 21st century. The feminists recognize that individuals can be oppressed in some situations, and in relation to some groups, while being privileged in other instances.

The Empirical Project: Indigenous Bioscientists

I will revisit the particular Indigenous historical and contemporary social context

for this research at the end of my talk. I will discuss the broader context in which I integrate Feminist Technoscience Studies with Indigenous Studies, in particular why it is important to engage feminism and technoscience when building Indigenous Studies as a field in the Western academy. In the meantime, keep in mind that in the part of the world where I work – with U.S. Native American tribes and First Nations in Canada – Indigenous peoples increasingly govern through technoscience. A key way in which they expand their governance authority is through securing a place at the policy table by talking the privileged global language of technoscientific rationality. The courts of settler colonial nations obviously are not often amenable to Indigenous land and governance claims.

I have recently begun to work with Indigenous bioscientists, including biological anthropologists and archaeologists, to understand their role as agents in the democratization of bioscientific fields. By the democratization of science I mean three related things that I think of in relation to research involving Indigenous populations, but these lessons are also applicable beyond the Indigenous world:

1. That the research priorities and jurisdiction of potential subjects are privileged along with the needs of scientific institutions. For example, that Indigenous jurisdiction or “sovereignty” over research efforts on Indigenous lands and knowledges is understood and addressed.⁹ But this is a step that is better served not by standard western bioethical frameworks of individual or even group “informed consent”, but rather, for example, by research relationships that involve power-sharing via research contracts and Indigenous-driven research.
2. Second, that more diverse knowledges and ethical practices come to inform bioscientific research questions and methods, thus making scientific knowledge production more multi-cultural.
3. Third, that we start thinking more in terms of a “distributive justice” model in which a wider variety of people access a fairer share of the benefits of scientific knowledge production.¹⁰ This includes re-defining what counts as research benefit beyond vague promises in the case of biomedical research of distant cures [read pharmaceuticals] or knowledge “for the good of all”, while tangible research benefits accrue to scientists in the form of research grants, career development, the training of non-Indigenous students and the building of non-Indigenous institutions and economies. Once we comprehensively assess the risks and benefits of research, we have a clearer picture of how those should be distributed.

As former ASHG President Rod McInnes explained, communities involved in the Estonian Genome Project expect to receive benefits from research that include better healthcare, better healthcare delivery, technology development, economic development, and jobs. “Why”, he asked, “should aboriginal populations expect less?”

That is my central hypothesis – that diverse scientists, Native Americans in this case – will help enable a different kind of science that is not only more inclusive and accountable to a broader sector of society, but that *science itself* will improve. The alternative hypothesis is that greater Native American inclusion in scientific fields will result simply in a “browning of the laboratory”, with no real change in concepts and approaches.

I am also interested in Native American scientists’ roles in the development of scientific governance within U.S. tribes. Not much data to that end has yet emerged. Established Native American bioscientists are fewer in number than those that are presently in the training pipeline, and senior scientists are more likely to serve as technical advisors to those in governance. In the next phase of research I will expand fieldwork to include research on Canadian scientific communities.

Method and Ethics

During this talk I draw on 12 months of fieldwork to explain how Indigenous bioscientists – young as many of them are – are affecting bioscientific fields in interesting ways that are not only good for them but for their fields, and hopefully for Native American tribes eventually. In addition to archival work, meaning the academic literature on natives in science and demographic info from various professional organizations and training programs, I interview and do participant observation among biological scientists. But I am no distant observer. In my longer standing research among population geneticists and biological anthropologists, all non-native, who study Native American migrations into the New World, I can never feign neutrality. I came to be interested in human genetics precisely because I observed in my work as a planner, people in Indian Country being worried about the potential negative effects for Native American lives of extractive genetic research practices. They are also worried about the potential for genetic narratives to rewrite Native American history and understandings of Native American health problems as genetic rather than as produced of colonial change. Re-scripting Native American history and embodied responses to that history have potential implications for rights to resources.

Care for the Subject

I conceived of this particular project in part because I needed to care for my subjects. In the research for my forthcoming book, *Native American DNA*, I began to feel demoralized by what and whom I studied. I did not like how it felt to not care, indeed even to hope sometimes for the projects I studied to fail. Yet, I studied scientists in the first place because I felt uneasy studying the Native American “community member” and their “views of genetics.”¹¹ The power differences between me, the Ph.D. investigator, and folks at home culminated in my uncomfortable position.

But “studying up”,¹² a clearly much-needed intervention in late 20th-century anthropology, proved to be no easy antidote to “studying down.” Studying up produced other predicaments for me. Unease. But that is not my primary reason for coming to “study across.” I do not want to simply critique. I want to be productively critical. Let me turn to two feminist GIS scholars, Schuurman and Pratt (2002), who provide some guidance on this matter. They explain that:

‘How’ critique is expressed, as well as what its objectives are, is critical to achieving changes in any research area. We start from the position that many of the critiques of Geographic Information Systems (GIS) have aimed to demonstrate what is ‘wrong’ with this subdiscipline of geography rather than engaging critically with the technology. Critics have judged the processes and outcomes of GIS as problematic without grounding their criticism in the practices of the technology.

This follows a pattern of external critique in which the investigator has little at stake in the outcome. External critiques...tend to be concerned with epistemological assumptions and social repercussions, while internal critiques have focused on the technical. But there is a further difference. Internal critiques have a stake in the future of the technology while external ones tend not to...We argue for a form of critique that transcends this binary by tackling enframing assumptions while remaining invested in the subject. To be constructive, critique must care for the subject.¹³

As a former community planner, this ethic resonates with me. Planning explicitly involves research for change. I approach Native American bioscientists as someone who is positively invested in their work in both personal and research terms. And I gamble that my work might go farther to help democratize their fields than does my other research in which I speak as an outsider, and uninvested critic.

The Politics of Identifying Subjects

I should note how I choose my subjects, especially given that concepts of tribal citizenship and U.S. racial formations overlap and conflict with one another, and so Native American identities are hotly contested.¹⁴ I do not ask scientists their enrollment status. Often their status in a federally-recognized tribe¹⁵ emerges during the course of an interview. Enrollment is not unimportant.¹⁶ It does not guarantee socialization within a tribal community, but it can help constitute it. It makes living on-reservation easier. It enables access to housing and education and to preferential employment. It is a political affiliation that makes one a member of the tribal electorate. That said, not being officially enrolled does not preclude social and cultural affiliation with a tribe. Plus, and maybe this is really my reason, I feel it is bad manners to directly ask after a person's tribal enrollment status.

Fortunately, in addition to all of the political considerations, this method of identifying subjects is, I think, the most robust anyway for finding scientists to converse with who are defensibly Native American. I rely on recognition by peers to determine subjects to interview. This means that the Native American scientists that I interview tend to self-identify to their peers as Native American and within their institutions in very active ways. These are not simply "box checkers." They participate in Native American scientific professional networks and student organizations.¹⁷ They are known by others and thus their names are recommended to me. To my knowledge, all of my subjects are enrolled. It emerges in conversation. But they could not be and still be recognized if they were consistently active. Likewise, those who are enrolled but not active in such networks would be lost from my sample. In the end, I see a confluence of tribal citizenship and social identity among the scientists. This group seems likely to be able to cross the boundaries then between science and tribal knowledge systems.

My participant observation venues emerged from, and reinforces, professional and tribal networks. I attended the Summer Internship for Native Americans in Genomics (SING) for which I am an ethics advisor, and the recent annual SACNAS meeting. To date I have interviewed or interacted with scientists from the following peoples: Diné (or Navajo), Ojibway, Seneca, Eastern Band of Cherokee, Coleville, Laguna Pueblo, Yurok, Ohlone, Onondaga, and Miami. I am scheduled to interview Native Hawaiian, Coleville, Lakota, Mohawk, Ojibwe, and Oklahoma Cherokee scientists. Navajo Nation is especially well-represented among subjects.

What is Different about Native American Bioscientists?

Situatedness, Mentoring, and Surprising Ethical Responses

Three broad characteristics have begun to emerge among Native American bioscientists that show what a more multicultural science would look like.

1. They emphasize situatedness.¹⁸
2. Mentoring, by those who target people historically marginalized from science, has been key to their staying in science.
3. Native American scientists respond in surprising ways to moral and cultural challenges.

How do Native American scientists situate themselves? Almost without exception, they talk openly about the intersections of science and the personal. I hear little of that common ideology that “science” – or the systematic, empirical investigation of the material world – happens ideally with humans and their cultures abstracted from the process. Remarkably, more than in other scientific communities I have encountered, these communities – and I observe this at Native American scientific association meetings – systematically and openly discuss personal history and family as both a source of support and a reason to achieve.

Almost all of the scientists I worked with were in the first generation in their families to graduate from university. Most were also the first individuals in their generation to graduate. A few had parents who had attended some university but did not finish. One had an uncle with a college degree. Some parents attended trade schools. By and large the scientists’ parents are working class. For many families, the work of a research scientist is unintelligible. This is not surprising given the inter-generational education differences. But the lack of understanding seemed to amuse or only mildly exasperate the Native American scientists:

When I go home, all my uncles – they always ask, you know, are you a doctor yet? And they think I’m a medical doctor. No, no, no, I’m a scientist, and I have to explain it to them every time, this is what I’m going to do. I’m never going to treat you. And they tell me everything that’s going on with them, and what should they be taking? I don’t know!

A graduate researcher from a Minnesota Ojibwe tribe explained, “up on my rez, I don’t even talk about science. I talk about fishing or...something more relative to what people do.” He said this very matter-of-factly without a hint of resentment.

Despite the unfamiliarity of Native American scientists' families with their work, families were supportive of their scientific endeavors, wanting their offspring to have better lives. For one Navajo scientist, her parents spoke often with her about her challenges in doing science, especially when it might conflict with traditional approaches, as for example, when she dealt with death or dead bodies, human and nonhuman. She was encouraged by her father to think through the challenges and to weigh the cultural costs against the benefits. Hers was not solely an individual decision, as she respected her social and cultural context. But in the end she as an individual had to make a choice with input about what was appropriate and ethical behavior. One scientist noted that it is difficult to explain back home the desire to do bioscience because people hear "the worst of thing...the horror stories [e.g. the Havasupai case] ...and that's what they have going on in their mind." I have also heard African-American scientists express these same family predicaments. The horror stories are not emerging as a chief barrier of doing science, but rather Native scientists talk about a broader lack of opportunity to do, and familiarity with, research and a sense of cultural unease with key practices.

There are links between situating oneself and the practice of mentoring, a core function of Native American scientific associations. These associations showcase scientific practice, but they also bring to the fore systematic and open discussion about personal history, and the importance of family and culture. It goes without saying that Native American scientists do science because they are deeply curious, and want to prove, in response to racist contrary assumptions, that they can. Histories of exclusion from scientific fields and feelings of cultural isolation in relation to normative practices emerge as central, but in ways that are generative. So even when family or cultural kin do not understand or are leery of the decision to become a scientist, they are still sources of support and a reason for striving – to not only *do* science, but to *change* science.

Difficulties in doing science for the scientists I interviewed do not boil down to easy distinctions, such as "evolution versus creationism", either/or universalizing worldviews about how we came to exist in this universe. Things are more complicated for Native American scientists, but in that, they are also more hopeful.

For one Navajo graduate student, the dissection of owl pellets¹⁹ early on in high school in a reservation border town public school was a preview for the kind of cultural challenges she would encounter. In her culture, owls are "the worst omen", and to be avoided. She had a difficult decision to make. She also spoke of dissection of a cat in her high school career. Not only is death profane, or contaminating

– certain people in a community, for example, are charged with preparing a dead human body for burial – but dissection can also be viewed by Navajo as “messing” with or disrespecting dead bodies. She had also entertained thoughts early on about medical school, and was warned she would have to dissect human cadavers. For her, there was a sense that this type of activity constituted “manipulation” and there would have to be a certain amount of respect and thoughtful consideration involved.

Some Indigenous scientists have engaged in ceremonies to purify themselves after such an encounter, sometimes even creating new ceremonies to deal with these predicaments. This Navajo scientist found she was able to accept dissection of both human and nonhuman already dead bodies, provided the work was done thoughtfully and with appropriate respect. But she experienced being unable to kill mice for research. Fortunately, she found herself in the lab of an Indian [South Asian] Principal Investigator (PI) who is also averse to killing mice. This scientist describes her advisor as having “very Native-type feelings.” Subsequently, she experienced the lab atmosphere to be more culturally friendly. This Native scientist also notes that she is “critical of mouse-models” in her work related to leukemia in humans because the human and “mirroring” [mouse] forms of the proteins she is interested in are so different. Thus she is been able to avoid killing mice for technical as well as ethical reasons.

Therefore, the difficulties faced by the Native American bioscientists I interviewed cannot be understood within a dichotomy of “traditional knowledge” versus “science.” Rather, they can be better understood within a notion of “harmony”²⁰ versus the will to know. Many of the Native American scientists I have met hail from reservations and have access to traditional knowledge bearers, including medicine people, even though they spend much of their time away from the reservation ensconced in university laboratories. Almost all travel home periodically, and do not necessarily have trouble reconciling ceremonial practices, or immaterial, “spiritual” beliefs with the materialist explanations of science. These scientists seem comfortable themselves with having two different knowledge forms at hand to meet their different needs. One subject noted:

How I understand science versus traditional knowledge, to me they are separate. Science, to me...it's like trying to understand the mechanisms to how things work, whereas I contrast that with traditional knowledge. I feel like in traditional knowledge, at least in my tribe [Navajo], it's trying to find harmony with the things that already exist, trying to live with that. So it's different...you know you don't have to know everything.

In response to a question about the (in)congruence of “traditional knowledge practices” of the Indigenous scientists’ respective tribes and the knowledge prac-

tices of their chosen bioscientific fields, several responded that the two do not relate or seem incompatible because their tribal communities do not know much about science. Those who answered the question in this way seem to see traditional knowledge and science in more binary terms; the scientific method being a different mode of knowledge production than that of traditional knowledge.

Yet, when asked more specifically they always acknowledged that there are elements of traditional knowledge which are akin to the scientific method. In addition, they were in every instance comfortable moving between the two knowledge worlds and with the decisions they had made to locate themselves more firmly or for the greater proportion of their daily lives in the world of science. I found this level of comfort with their decisions pleasantly surprising.

Rather than being stumped by incompatible knowledge forms – as a Creation vs. Evolution discourse would have us believe things are – these Native American scientists expressed a more fundamental sense of unease with perhaps what could be described as social differences between traditional scientific versus traditional tribal relationships with knowledge. There is a right-to-know ethos, a notion of intellectual autonomy that is a taken-for-granted good in science. Yet in the tribal worlds, tribal scientists move in and out of, some knowledges are reserved for some social actors, and not others.²¹ These social differences and how to be a good and legitimate actor in each respective community are challenges that these young scientists attend to diligently and thoughtfully.

In addition, not knowing – just accepting, “trying to find harmony with the things that already exist” is a key virtue. For a bioscientist, those things that already exist might be predominantly nonhuman. The Ojibwe graduate student researcher, who now studies human cancers, before studied wild rice breeds. Being a sacred plant to the Ojibwe, and a topic laced with controversy between tribal people and non-Native scientists,²² he made a decision not to study wild rice genetics.

Diversifying and Democratizing the Laboratory

Native American scientists see a diversified lab as more likely to produce a diversified intellectual terrain, which can lead to expanded hypotheses and innovations in methods. Thus it is a matter of helping wider sectors of society, including Native Americans, to be better served by bioscientific research. One Navajo scientist attributed the tolerance in her lab to different cultural beliefs about death and nonhumans in the research enterprise to the culturally different background of her advisor. Her advisor is not a Western, white male. In fact, in further conversation

it became clear that while her dissertation committee is comprised of nearly all white males, her close mentors have been non-white and/or female scientists.²³

These “diverse” scientists were doing work that interested the Navajo researcher – research on conditions that disproportionately affect people of color. And they were all committed to diversity in the laboratory and to mentoring, so they created conditions that made Native American scientists more comfortable. For example, two Native American genetic archaeologists argue that Native American tribes should reconsider research on ancient human remains for two reasons:

1. First, Native Americans have the incentive to develop methods that are less destructive of bone and that are more respectful to the being – not simply lifeless biomaterial – under study.
2. Second, scientific narratives have much authority in policymaking. It is therefore prudent to have a voice in the construction of historical narratives that are increasingly genetic. Native American voices, for example, can contribute research questions and hypotheses, methods and ethics that are consonant with our cultural practices and knowledge priorities, rather than shaped solely by non-tribal research priorities and Western bioethical assumptions.

I also find that Native American genetic scientists tend to be more interested in what happened over here, and not so much in how, when or how many people crossed the Bering Strait, and in how many waves. They are interested for example in how tribal peoples *today* are related to one another. What were their associations historically? How does genetics correlate with oral histories about relations and associations? How can human genetics and plant genetics illuminate those relationships? And how can genetic research be done in ways that are respectful, and which accord more intellectual property rights to Native peoples and not simply to non-Indigenous institutions?

While the majority of Native American bioscientists I have interacted with are early on in their careers, their current paths suggest that they can indeed help “democratize” the biosciences by bringing more diverse ontological and ethical assumptions to the field and to the lab, which may in turn shape expanded sets of research questions and methods, making scientific fields more welcome for diverse scientists, and producing knowledge benefits – and in ways that brings benefit – to a wider variety of people. These scientists are young, and their potential

for affecting scientific fields is only in its early stages. It may be that I will have to follow their cohort for some years. These scientists provide an antidote to the discouragement I felt when I started researching genome diversity researchers.

The assumptions, priorities and technical language of that field suggest to me a lack of real investment in the flourishing of Indigenous communities whose DNA is required for study. Like philosophers, naturalists, and federal agents before them, such scientists often presume that Indigenous peoples are vanishing and then define us out of existence according to degrees of genetic admixture. Native scientists' conceptual frameworks are more complex than that. They are aware to varying degrees of how colonial history shapes *their* inquiry. And, so far, they do not insist on myopically constructed historical narratives that privilege genetics over creation narratives. All of these accounts matter in understanding the world and who we are today: colonialism, genetics, oral history and narrative. These Native American scientists all seek to know what we can know materially – they are scientists! But they are also to different degrees okay with knowing, you might say “believing”, things that cannot be known materially, or which they cannot explain.

Intersecting Indigenous Studies, Feminist Studies, and Science

Native American and Indigenous Studies (NAIS) is a relatively recent academic field with roots tracing back to the 1960s and Indigenous peoples' social movements. It has been articulated foremost by Indigenous scholars in the U.S., Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, but increasingly includes scholars from Latin America, Asia, and Europe. NAIS has as its central goal doing scholarship that is in support of Indigenous sovereignty and self-determination, including critical analyses of settler-colonial societies and their continuing colonial relationships with Indigenous peoples in those Nation-States. Scholars of NAIS incisively and passionately theorize Indigenous sovereignty, or self-determination. But while worldwide, “technoscientific” knowledges are integral to governance, including for Indigenous peoples, NAIS in the English-speaking world fraternizes mainly with “humanities” scholars, especially from literature and history. Scholars talk and write extensively of sovereignty and “decolonization”, but they largely ignore the role of technoscience in Indigenous sovereignty, thus revealing a Eurocentric disciplinary chauvinism. Why is that? Indigenous Studies scholars contradict their stated desire to (also) engage Indigenous ontologies. But Indigenous ontologies – or what Indigenous peoples know – do not break the world into disciplines

– into “literature”, “history”, “religion”, “biology”, “philosophy”, “physics” – those categories leading inevitably to hierarchy. Just like breaking the continuum of life into races, sexualities, and species leads to racisms, sexism, and speciesism. Our research and teaching as Indigenous intellectuals must boldly travel the multiple networks that have arisen in the West after the cutting of the world into knowledge categories. We must agree to be promiscuous disciplinary travelers and radical experimental surgeons, re-attaching knowledges one to another in our approaches to the problems we tackle, hoping their neurological networks will reconnect themselves. The academy is not synonymous with Indigenous thought for sure, but it can be used to do some strategic repair work in the world.

The research I presented today and this entire symposium on Indigenous and feminist technoscience presents lines of academic inquiry that re-entangle what the West has torn asunder and which NAIS scholars need to engage if they are to – as we say in English – walk their (sovereignty) talk. This is why this symposium is timely and exciting. As I noted at the beginning of this talk, I came to Feminist Science Studies as part of my process of inverting a fundamental assumption in the academy – that scientists inquire, and Indigenous peoples get studied. I came to this work and to Feminist Science Studies with a strong sense of the need for, but not necessarily the theoretical language, that would help me challenge those troublesome claims to neutrality that Western science likes to make. Feminist Science Studies worked with the Native American Studies frameworks I was already using to help me articulate the idea that no one stands nowhere, and everywhere at the same time. Donna Haraway’s metaphor of the “God trick” has helped me and many others articulate a challenge to the supposed distance with which scientists – most often white, heteronormative, men – gaze upon the world. Feminist scholars including Haraway and Sandra Harding have noted how marginal standpoints rather can help maximize objectivity. They explain that inquiring from within and out of (hypotheses, methods), the lives of the marginalized – those who understand both the dominant society and their own – that such multiple standpoints produce stronger a stronger objectivity. Thus objectivity should not be conflated with neutrality, but might be thought of as a more rigorous form of peer review in which the needs and questions of a broader sector of society inform the science that gets done.

There is another aspect to the broader research that I do, one that prior to the Indigenous bioscientists project largely rejected studying Native Americans ourselves. In part, mine was a performative move that explicitly sought to demonstrate what it might look and feel like to be “gazed back” at. What would it

feel like to anthropologists, to genetic scientists, to consumers of genetic tests, mostly self-identified European Americans or whites in the community I studied, to be the object of research – of the gaze? And furthermore, under the gaze of an Indigenous person? I engaged in what feminist anthropologist Laura Nader called “studying up.” Second, as Vine Deloria highlighted we Native Americans are simply over studied, for too long the object of the scientific and colonial gaze. In addition, it is scientists – like the church – whose discourses of Indigenous backwardness, as less civilized peoples have given us trouble. It occurred to me that a pro-Indigenous sovereignty research project should figure out what genome scientists are up to in their study of our genomes. We should learn a bit of the science in order to critically analyze their work with our interests in mind, meaning Indigenous self-determination – the reverse of what they do: critically analyze our life practices with their own interests in mind, that is in order to build their knowledges, institutions, careers, and economies. In part, it would be a counter-hegemonic move to simply not study ourselves – even from an Indigenous standpoint. In addition, and more practically, I had a general social unease with making fellow tribal members and other Native American people the objects of my research. I faced an ethical predicament: did I want to disrupt normal social relations at home in order to study in my own community from an Indigenous standpoint. I decided to attempt another approach to study, to inquire in a way that would promote Indigenous interests while not making Indigenous peoples themselves the subjects of study.

With all of that in mind, I wrote a dissertation²⁴ that investigates this history and current practices of genetic scientists to study of ancient human migrations into and throughout the Americas. From an Indigenous standpoint, I look critically at the cultural and historical standpoints of those scientists – how their research agenda might serve their own career needs and the nation-building needs of mainstream U.S. universities and disciplines but it certainly does not serve the needs of Indigenous peoples, or our institutions, narratives, and lifeways. My book examines the subfield of “molecular anthropology” or “anthropological genetics”²⁵, particularly scientists who focus on the genetic history of populations in the Americas. In the genomes of the living and the dead, scientists look for the “genetic signatures” of ancient peoples whom they perceive as original populations of the continents. Scientists who trace human migrations do not tell a story from the standpoint of those peoples who were encountered. They tell a story from the standpoint of those who did the encountering – who named and ordered

many thousands of peoples into undifferentiated racial or continental masses, that is, “Native Americans”, “Africans”, “Asians, and “Indo-Europeans.” Almost never identifying as Indigenous people themselves they desire to know the “origins” of those who were first encountered when European settlers landed on the shores of the American continents.²⁶

But we Indigenous peoples whose ancestors were already there and who already know our origins and identities as the First Peoples in the “Americas” very likely have other ardent research questions to pursue: how might such genetic research have violated our rights to respect the bodies of our dead; our rights to our own biological and cultural patrimony; our right to not be researched without full consent; and how might it affect our abilities to get recognition by the U.S. as self-determined Indigenous peoples and thereby claim land rights?

So while appreciated, my work is still uncommon in Indigenous Studies in the English-speaking world that is focused too much on “culture” absent the politics of the Natural Sciences and technology fields. This is a different problem than Hadi’s description yesterday of what is wrong with mainstream Norwegian education that promotes apolitical cultural knowledge about Sami.²⁷ Indigenous Studies in the U.S. is comprised largely of very politicized analyses, though mainly from fields situated within The Humanities. So in a sense, we too in Indigenous Studies in the U.S. do not have a culture/politics divide but we have a nature/culture divide....the same one that the scientists have. I see this as a principle problem for the development of the field in our parts of the world. We are not theorizing or producing applied knowledge in the array of areas that Indigenous peoples need to do what we say we want to support with our scholarship – and that is Indigenous self-governance and sovereignty. We live in a world in which nations govern through science. Indigenous peoples are no exception. Therefore science must be governed to ensure that it is ethical and that its benefits are distributed to wider sectors of society. We in the academy who do Indigenous Studies must then engage science as has been evinced by presentations at this symposium on dams in Sweden and their harms to Sami lifeways.²⁸

Notes

¹ Vine Deloria Jr. was Dakota like I am.

² “Indian Country” is a legal term, meaning land owned or regulated in some manner by tribal governments.

³ Vine Deloria Jr. *Custer Died for Your Sins: an Indian Manifesto*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1969 ; repr., 1988).

⁴ Sandra Harding. *Sciences from Below: Feminisms, Postcolonialities, and Modernities*. Duke University Press, Durham and London, 2008, p. 3.

⁵ Donna J. Haraway. "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective," in *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature*. Routledge, New York and London, 1991, p. 189-91.

⁶ Donna J. Haraway. "A Cyborg Manifesto: Science, Technology, and Socialist-Feminism in the Late Twentieth Century," in *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: the Reinvention of Nature*. Routledge, New York and London, 1991, p. 154.

⁷ Sandra Harding. *Whose Science? Whose Knowledge?: Thinking from Women's Lives*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY, 1991, p. 109.

⁸ Sandra Harding. *Sciences from Below: Feminisms, Postcolonialities, and Modernities*. Duke University Press, Durham and London, 2008, p. 3.

⁹ Patricia Mariella, Eddie Brown, Michael Carter, and Vanessa Verri. "Tribally-Driven Participatory Research ; State of the Practice and Potential Strategies for the Future." In *Journal of Health Disparities Research and Practice* 3, no. 2, 2009, p. 41-58 ; The Mataatua Declaration on Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples, June 18, 1993. In Te Pareake Mead, Aroha., Ratuva, Steven (eds.). *Pacific Genes & Life Patents: Pacific Indigenous Experiences & Analysis of the Commodification & Ownership of Life*. New Zealand, Wellington. Call of the Earth Llamado de la Tierra and the United Nations University Institute of Advanced Studies, 2007, p. 197-200 ; Mead, Aroha. "Genealogy, Sacredness and the Commodities Market." In *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 20, no. 2, 46-53.

¹⁰ Harding 2008.

¹¹ Studying community members, rather than the scientists themselves, is the standard type of research for "public perceptions of science."

¹² Nader, Laura. "Up the Anthropologist – Perspectives Gained from Studying Up." In Hymes, Dell (ed.) *Reinventing Anthropology*. Vintage Books, A Division of Random House, New York, 1972, p. 284, 289.

¹³ Schuurman, Nadine., Pratt, Geraldine. "Care of the Subject: Feminism and Critiques of GIS." In *Gender, Place and Culture* 9, no. 3, p. 291-299.

¹⁴ Churchill, Ward. "The Crucible of American Indian Identity: Native Tradition versus Colonial Imposition in Postconquest North America." In *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 23, no. 1, 1999 ; J. Kēhaulani Kauanui. *Hawaiian Blood: Colonialism and the Politics of Sovereignty and Indigeneity*. Duke University Press, Durham, NC and London, 2008 ; Melissa L. Meyer. "American Indian Blood Quantum Requirements: Blood is Thicker than Family." In Matsumoto, Valerie J., Allmendinger, Blake (eds.). *Over the Edge: Remapping the American West*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998 ; Strong, Pauline Turner., Van Winkle, Barrik. "'Indian Blood': Reflections on the Reckoning and Refiguring of Native North American Identity." In *Cultural Anthropology* 11, no. 4, 1996 ; Sturm, Circe. *Cherokee Blood Politics*. University of California Press, Berkeley, 2002 ; Sturm, Circe. *Becoming Indian: The Struggle over Cherokee Identity in the 21st Century*. NM: School of Advanced Research Press, Santa Fe, 2011 ; Tall-Bear, Kimberly. "Native-American-DNA.coms: In Search of Native American Race and Tribe." In Koenig, Sandra Soo-Jin Lee Barbara., Richardson, Sarah. (eds.). *Revisiting Race in a Genomic Age*. NJ: Rutgers University Press, Piscataway, 2008, p. 247-48.

¹⁵ "Federally-recognized tribes" are those Native American tribes recognized by the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) as having a "government-to-government" relationship with the federal government. Such tribes are self-regulating to some degree and eligible for programmatic funding in a manner similar to states.

¹⁶ TallBear 2008 ; TallBear, "The Political Economy of Tribal Citizenship in the U.S.: Lessons for Canadian First Nations?" In *Aboriginal Policy Studies* 1, no. 3, 2011, p. 70-79.

¹⁷ An example of such networks and organizations is SACNAS – Society for the Advancement of Chicanos and Native Americans in Science.

¹⁸ "Situated" of course refers to Donna Haraway's seminal essay "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective." In *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature*. Routledge, New York and London, 1991, p. 183-201.

¹⁹ Owl pellets are indigestible, regurgitated parts of food from prey, for example exoskeletons or fur.

²⁰ Harmony is a particular concept expressed by Navajo scientists, but it is broadly applicable for other Indigenous Peoples and Native groups.

²¹ Gendered knowledges of who is being "called" to be a medicine person, and in turn having other medi-

cine people accepting that you are called, is not just an individual choice.

²² There is a general fear that scientists might bioengineer wild rice, adding to the controversy of studying it.

²³ Among her mentors were a female Indian PI ; a male, Nigerian medical doctor and researcher whom she worked with professionally ; and a white woman who led a Native American cancer research program at a state university

²⁴ The dissertation is now also a forthcoming book.

²⁵ Anthropological geneticists want to understand which human groups or "populations" are related to which others, and who descended from whom. Where geographically did the ancestors of different human groups migrate from? What were their patterns of geographic migration, and when did such migrations occur?

²⁶ Note, I have entered into collaborative research and teaching with Critical Human Migrations researchers who work a bit differently than this – but that is another story.

²⁷ Presentation by Dr. Hadi Lile, Faculty of Law, University of Oslo ; "Perspectives from the inside – What is important and not so important knowledge about the Sámi people?" at RE-Mindings RE: Mindings: Co-Constituting Indigenous/Academic/Artistic Knowledges and Understandings of Land-, Water-, Body-, and Lab-scapes": Uppsala Second Supradisciplinary Feminist TechnoScience Symposium, October 10-12, 2012, Uppsala University, Oct. 10.

²⁸ Arun Agrawal's essay "Dismantling the Divide Between Indigenous and Scientific Knowledge." In *Development and Change* 26, 1995, p. 413-439 may come to mind for readers. Agrawal advocated thinking beyond the supposed divide between Western and Indigenous knowledges for two reasons: 1) That no knowledge is fixed and the supposed binary between the two relegates both to a status of fixity in which Indigenous knowledges get preserved in some sort of not fully animate state thus of questionable use to practitioners ; 2) Second and related to that, keeping the two separate is not actually good strategy for protecting the interests of the "disadvantaged." Agrawal argues that Indigenous peoples themselves do not benefit from dichotomizing Western science and Indigenous knowledges. This research project on Indigenous bioscientists emphasizes both lessons – that Indigenous knowledge and Western bioscience can fertilize one another and that engaging with both can potentially expand Indigenous self-governance.



Kim TallBear presenting at the RE-Mindings symposium. Photo by Tor Lundberg Tuorda.

Investigating Bombshells Contaminations of the Waters of the Lule River Catchment Area

Some Conclusions from a Pilot Study made with Supradisciplinary Research Methodologies (Nausta, Udtja and Neat)

Eva-Lotta Thunqvist

Technical Dr. Eva-Lotta Thunqvist, (partner in the research project led by Dr May-Britt Öhman; DAMMED: Security, Risk and Resilience around the Dams of Sub-Arctica) is associate professor at the Centre for Health and Building, CHB, at the Royal Institute of Technology (KTH). specializes in land- and water resource management and has been project manager for several national and international projects concerning infrastructure and sustainable development. Established in 2008, the Centre for Health and Building, CHB, at the Royal Institute of Technology, Stockholm – undertakes research and development projects in cooperation with universities, industrial companies, municipalities and county councils. Competences at CHB include construction technology, planning, energy and water resource management, facility management, in-door climate, housing design, safety and work environment, ergonomics, patient safety and aged care. CHB is funded by real estate companies Faberge and Landic, Haninge Council and KTH and also receives project funding from SBUF, SLL, HI, AFA Insurance, Formas, SIDA and the EU.

Abstract

This presentation was made at the RE-Mindings symposium with the aim to raise the understanding of the importance of the cumulative effects of industrial activities and military activities on water quality in Sápmi. The investigations which it is based upon were made in a supradisciplinary collaboration with local inhabitants in Udtja, Vidsel and Jokkmokk.

North European Aerospace Testrange (NEAT) is 24 000 square kilometers, almost the size of Belgium. It is Europe's largest land base test area and located in Swedish Sápmi (Figure 1). Within the test range area (Figure 2), Sami people live and work.

[illegible]

Figure 1. Map of Sápmi Illustration by Anders Sunesson, Samiskst Informationscentrum¹ and Figure 2. NEAT area.²

Information was collected and interviews were made during field studies on site during the summer 2012. Information has also been obtained from FMV's home page and archives. Interviews have been made with people living and working in this area. Information has also been obtained from Ofog, an anti-military network organisation.

The NEAT test field is managed by FMV (Swedish Defence Materiel Administration) and SSC (Swedish Space Corporation), two Swedish civil authorities in cooperation. NEAT is used by Swedish and foreign defence organisations and weapon manufacturers. For more than 50 years different types of aircraft and air-, land- and sea-borne missiles, alongside a wide scale of unmanned aerial vehicle, UAV, and weapon systems have been tested at NEAT (FMV, 2012). The area is open for testing 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, all year around.

During 2009 the Nato Response Force had its largest exercise that year, Loyal Arrow, at NEAT, and during 2010 US Air Forces in Europa (USAFE) exercised at NEAT, using 20 air fighters and 250 soldiers (US Airforce, 2010). War crafts such as Eurofighter; UAVs such as Neuron and IAI Eagle; and robot systems such as Meteor, AMRAAM, Storm shadow and Robot 70 have been tested at NEAT (FMV 2012, Ofog 2013).

On the home page of Vidsel test range, FMV is promoting the concept, claiming that the area is 100% unpopulated (FMV 2013).

Waste from the tests such as from fired missiles, bombs and parts from aircrafts are spread to land and water in the area. Annually expeditions for identifying and collecting waste are arranged, employing local people. However, not all waste is found and collected (Figure 3). FMV, which promotes NEAT and is responsible for the activities in the area, do not require any environmental declaration of the material used during the exercises from participating organizations. (Personal communication with representative of FMV, Aug.2012) Neither are they systematically supervising soil nor water quality. E.g. the use of hydrazine, which is a highly poisonous and carcinogenic aircraft fuel, is not monitored at all. There has been some testing of water quality but this is neither systematically performed, nor testing for hydrazine or other substances than heavy metals. (Cf Karlsson/Grontmij, 2011)

The Swedish authorities exploit lands they do not own in order to make it possible for defence organisations and weapon manufacturers to test weapons and aircrafts. FMV is promoting the area as: "...uninhabited forest and swamp land..." with "...great opportunities for advanced missile trials..." However the activities at the test range is posing a threat to the people living and working in the area and causing conditions of constant stress. The test area is part of Lule and Pite river basins and catchment areas (Figure 4) and the environmental effects on



Sign warning for dangerous waste, instructing persons to not make fire as dangerous and explosive waste may be hidden beneath the surface soil. Private collection.



Metal objects on the ground at Vidsel. Private collection.

soil and water qualities from the activities should be investigated. Lule river is drinking water supply for around 100 000 people living in the river basin. The Pite river is a Swedish National River, one of four unregulated rivers in Sweden protected from further hydro power production development. The Pite river is considered especially important for its major environmental interest including otter, fishes like salmon, trout, pike perch and charr and freshwater pearl mussel.

The land and water resources in the Arctic and subarctic area are highly sensitive and almost impossible to restore after exploitation. The lives of indigenous and other Arctic peoples are closely linked to local resources. This regards particular wildlife and water which are the basis for local and indigenous society,

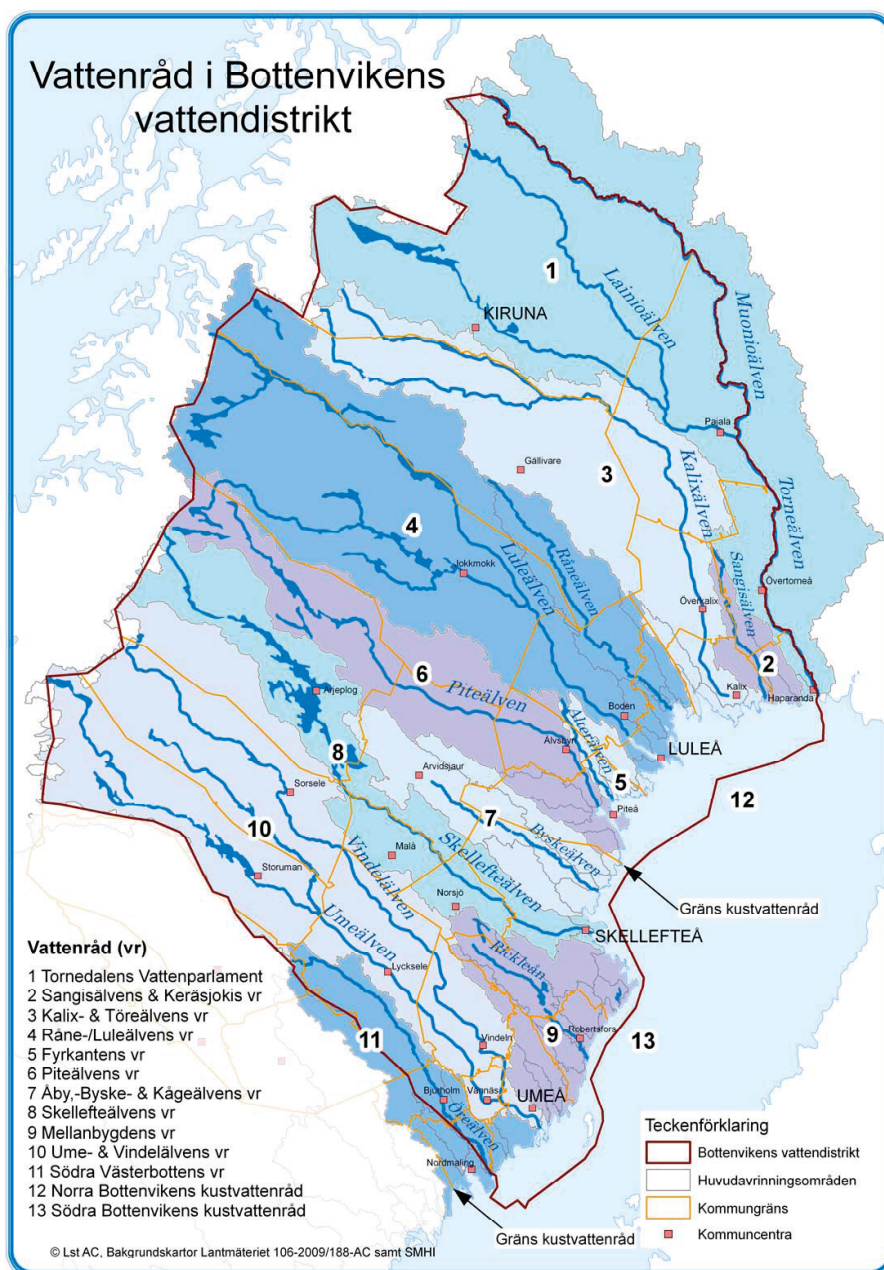


Figure 4. River basins in Northern Sweden – within the Gulf of Bothnia Water District – Bottenviken – Västerbotten and Norrbotten Counties, Sweden. Source: Vattenmyndigheterna [the Swedish River Basin District Authorities].

cultures and economies. Most of the large rivers and some of the small rivers (in Västerbotten and Norrbotten counties these are from south to north; Ångermanälven, Ume, Vindel, Sävar, Rickle, Bure, Skellefte, Åby, Pite and Lule rivers) in Sápmi have been exploited for hydropower production during the 20th century. Deforestation by clear-cutting large areas has had a severe impact on land and water quality. Furthermore, the current increase of mining projects in the area consist another threat to water quality. The rivers discharge in the Baltic Sea affecting water quality for people living by the coast. Ultimately it contributes to the further pollution of the whole of the Baltic Sea, which is already severely affected by both earlier and current agricultural and industrial activities. The Baltic Sea is already one of the most polluted seas in the world. (cf SOU 2003:72) Activities taking place within the NEAT certainly does have further negative impact on land and water quality and aggravate people's health.

Sweden has long history of good access to clean and safe waters, however this situation is currently endangered. It seems of high importance for all – decision makers on all levels, within authorities and political decision making structures and companies as well as us all as individuals – to realize that we all live down stream. The pollution that we in all our activities cause to the waters, we ultimately do to ourselves. There are some initiatives made recently with the EU water directive (EU, 2013) and European Union's Baltic Sea Region Programme (European Commission, 2013) to protect our waters.

However, the issues related to water are not stressed enough in the current industrial and military paradigm. I find that further investigations needs to be made on the totality of water polluting activities and also to work for further inclusion of this understanding into all decision making structures. Military testing areas are indeed a polluting factor that needs to be further investigated from a water perspective.

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Notes

¹ Source: Sametinget informationscentrum [Accessed Sept. 16, 2013].

² Source: Vidset Testrange – website [Accessed Sept. 16, 2013].



Eva-Lotta Thunqvist presenting at RE-Mindings. "Water quality – we all live downstream."
Photo by Tor Lundberg Tuorda.

Life as a Sami Activist

My Struggle for a Mining-Free Gállok – Jokkmokk and Kvikkjokk

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Abstract

I am Tor Lundberg Tuorda, a photographer, politician, and activist. This is a personal essay about my life, the reclamation of my Sami heritage, and my political activism and resistance against the exploitations of northern Sweden – Sábmme, the land of the Sami. It concerns our history, our way of life, our future, and the violations of our civil and human rights by corporations and the State. I address the activism and civil disobedience necessary to prevent those violations, particularly our struggle against mining exploitations in the municipality of Jokkmokk – Kvikkjokk, including Gállok, from 2006 to the present.

Sami Heritage

First, let me begin with my own life. I was born in 1961 and lived until the age of 16 in the city of Piteå. I grew up in the footsteps of my father, and later those of my mother when we moved to her birth place, Kvikkjokk. The nature and culture of those mountain villages in which I grew up appealed to me, as did learning more about the history of our family. I felt that I belonged in the Kvikkjokk delta, in Darrhavuobme, Sjnjerák and Änok – these were places that my Sami ancestors have inhabited for thousands of years.

Unfortunately, I was very alone in cherishing our past. Neither the village, nor my brother or relatives wished to recognize our Sami heritage the way I did. As result, it was primarily to the elders that I turned for discussing experiences of,

and feelings for, this land. As a child I had spent nights listening to their stories about hunting and fishing, about people they had met and missed, and fates of families and tragedies of love.

During my years in Kvikkjokk I resided in the attic apartment with my grandmother Signe; she had been raised in Njavve by the Little Lule River, 48 km downstream of Kvikkjokk. Grandmother taught me baking, to darn socks as well as knitting, and how to cook traditional dishes of herring, moose, and deer.

My cousins reminded me that my Sami blood was thinner than their own; on the other hand, Grandmother was of the Tuorda family and had been, instead, harassed for being too much Sami – a “proud *lapp* [derogatory term for Sami].” Grandmother had done what she could to erase her Sami heritage – a survival strategy commonly practiced within Sami communities at times when racial discrimination and National Socialism influenced Nordic societies. Consequently, Grandmother was reluctant at first to talk about our heritage when I enquired about it... on all other matters, past and present, she was eager to speak, and did so with humor and warm heart.

Sometimes it seems that you are damned if you do, and damned if you don't. My mother was scorned for performing poorly at traditional Sami vocations, such as haying and performing reindeer husbandry. Despite being much committed to this work, she was constantly devalued when compared in relation to her brothers. In contrast, my aunt had left the traditions to become a cantor of the Kvikkjokk church congregation, later moving to London once the Second World War was over. For this, my aunt was equally scorned by relatives and villagers; however she still and continually received the blessings and support of my grandparents.

Work and Political Engagement

Once I had grown up I realized that my heritage was as good as any others', and I set out to choose my own way of life, to earn my living. Initially I had many part-time jobs, some of which introduced me to research on nature and hydro geomorphology. For example, Per-Olof Hårdén of Uppsala University needed assistance to take sediment samples of glacial creeks, measuring PH-values and amounts of precipitation, as well as to change the diagrams for water registration around Kvikkjokk and Njoatsosvágge in Sarek.

In 1983 I started a family of my own, and had my first children Anton and Elina. By then I was working for the County Administrative Board with issues of reindeer husbandry, delivering materials and repairing lodging houses. When

Anton and Elina started school in Jokkmokk, 120 kilometers from my current work place, the family was separated for long periods of time. Eventually I managed to change positions and spend more time in Jokkmokk with my family. At this time I became engaged in the Green Party (Miljöpartiet) and as a member of the Municipal Council, as well as becoming a member on several Municipality Boards. During this time I also became member of *Naturskyddsföreningen* – the Society for the conservation of Nature – and later *Steget före*, an interest groups for forest care.

Things began changing for me in both my private and professional lives. My income was very low due to earning the salary of a health care assistant. I started my own company in 1991 in photo and layout – during which time I worked part-time as janitor and nature ward. A partnership separation came in 1993, along with a life crisis upon which I left all of my political assignments. In 1998 I met a new life partner, and we settled down in Randijaur 2000. In 2003 our daughter, Astrid, was born. Our son, Nils, was born in April 2013.

Exploitation and Resistance

A new period of activism started from this time. In 2006 the British prospecting company Beowulf Mining Plc. had been granted rights to prospect for titan and iron ore in the Ruovddevárre Mountains, around Kvikkjokk. Since 1996 Ruovddevárre had been a part of the World Heritage Site, Laponia. I started work against the prospecting by contacting the Laponia office in Jokkmokk, the Chief of Mountaineering, the Swedish National Heritage Board, and County Administrative Board administrators. Not one of these people paid any particular attention to the risks involved in the mining, nor to how it threatened to devastate the *world heritage* of Laponia.¹ I gave a couple of interviews in radio and the newspapers. Yet, no actions were taken from the authorities to further investigate these risks.

Previously, at the beginning of the 20th century, the very same site had been investigated for inundation by hydropower constructions. It was a State-funded plan which was only halted by the presence of a local priest residing in this region. At the time, concerned locals held meetings to discuss the events. At one meeting, housed in our family's tavern, the priest had exclaimed, "The right to build dams are, and will remain, the decision of Kvikkjokk locals themselves!" The priest was of the same craft as the Statesmen and administrators who had developed the plan for inundation. He dared to challenge and oppose their plans. Other regions were not as strong in their opposition to the plans of the Swedish State.

Statens Vattenfallsstyrelse, the State-owned energy company now named *Vattenfall*, has dammed all waterfalls all along the Large and Little Lule River into reservoirs with their powerplants. However, in Kvikkjokk they had met resistance. This is a tradition that has continued up to the present day, when other corporations have sought to alter the landscape in Kvikkjokk or to exploit its resources.

In 2010 I further investigated the other claims and prospecting licenses of Beowulf Mining in the county of Jokkmokk. The lands being claimed for prospecting encompassed gigantic deposits of iron, copper and uranium. I feared that the Änok Delta, consisting of virgin forests and waterways, would be destroyed by the mining industry. These were regions where I had grown up, where my soul and heart reside, along with the land property of the Tuorda family. This mining site, along with the others planned, would be in the regions where I myself work and live. Despite the vastness of Jokkmokk, all of the mines that had actually been realized as of late were located just around the corner from my home and places that I cherish and continue to return to.

In 2011 I wrote several blog entries on the mining issue. They were all well received by the readers. Through social media I connected to anti-mining groups around the North of Sweden, for example the effort to stop the nickel mine south of Tärnaby.² Having these networks, it was easy to begin coordinating activists into our own local action group *No mines in Jokkmokk!* A few weeks after setting up the Facebook group the members could be counted by the hundreds. In addition, cooperation was established with the Sami villages in Jokkmokk – Jåhkågasska and Sirges.

Later in December, 2011, I and other activists visited Beowulf's prospective mining site, named "Kallak" after the lake nearby – but known by the Sami as Gállokjávrre. We were kindly received and had coffee with Per-Ola Larson, Chief of Drilling. It became apparent that the company operated without a work plan, which we then photo-documented. After we reported this misconduct to the County Administrative Board, Beowulf was forced to cease prospecting and left the site.

In 2012 the Swedish State confiscated forests around Kvikkjokk and turned them into "nature reserves". One needs to remember that these were the very same forests that the Swedish State in the early 20th century had wished to inundate for hydropower construction. It was the same forests that the Swedish state wanted to use for blasting within Ruovddevárre, or to create the open-pit mine. The nature that is preserved in Kvikkjokk to this date has been preserved only due to the efforts of locals. The Swedish State both in the past and in the present wish for nothing but the exploitation and destruction of this region.

I joined the Sami Parliament, gradually distancing myself from the Swedish State, which up to this date have done little more than exploit the North of Scandinavia. The petty kings of the South have neglected and sidestepped the concerns of the inhabitants living north of the grain boundary in matters small and large; continually, unconsciously and brutally they have colonized these regions to the benefit only of the distant dominant Swedish society and corporations interested in monetary profits.



One out of six test mining trenches at Gállok, July 2013. Photo by May-Britt Öhman.



Test drilling site at Gállok, for the planned mine by the company JIMAB/Beowulf. The lake below is the Parkijaure – a hydropower reservoir within the Little Lule River. Dr. Eva-Lotta Thunqvist investigating the site. July 2012. Photo by May-Britt Öhman.

Debate and Civil Disobedience

The resistance against Beowulf Mining soon took on mass proportions. I would say that the catalyzing event was a highly insensitive comment made by Beowulf Chairman, Clive Sinclair-Poulton. During a stakeholder meeting in Stockholm, Sinclair-Poulton held a seminar on the Kallak mine. When he was asked about the opinions of the local population, he replied, “What local people?!” He showed an image of a landscape at Kallak – Gállok with no people in it, stating that there are no people here. In this way Kallak was portrayed by the company board Chairman as a region of clear-cut forests and open spaces – and no local people. This statement was met with strong reactions. One example was the manifestation organised by the network *No mines in Jokkmokk!* during the local Jokkmokk Winter Market days of 2012. Despite temperatures of 40 degrees below zero Celsius, hundreds joined the manifestation against Beowulf’s mining plans.³

Later on, the Nature School of Jokkmokk arranged a debate with the prospecting-endorsers, re-organized as “Jokkmokk Iron Mines AB” (JIMAB), though a fully-owned Beowulf subsidiary. Other participants were politicians, as well as critics of the mining. The audience listened as arguments for and against mining were exchanged in the crowded assembly hall at the *Östra Skolan*, [The

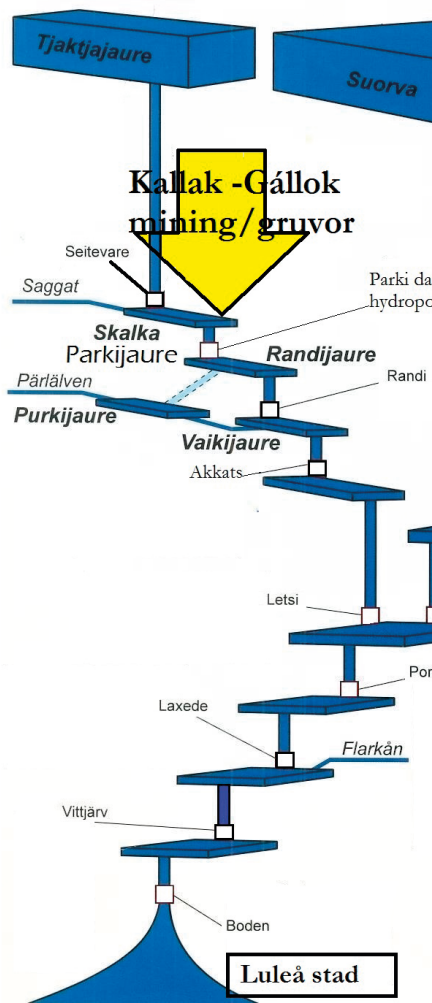


The dam and hydropower plant Parki, using the water from Parkijaure. The high consequence dam (if it fails the whole Lule River with seven more dams downstream is likely to be swept away causing disaster) is located only about 4 kilometers from the planned open pit mine. Photo by May-Britt Öhman.

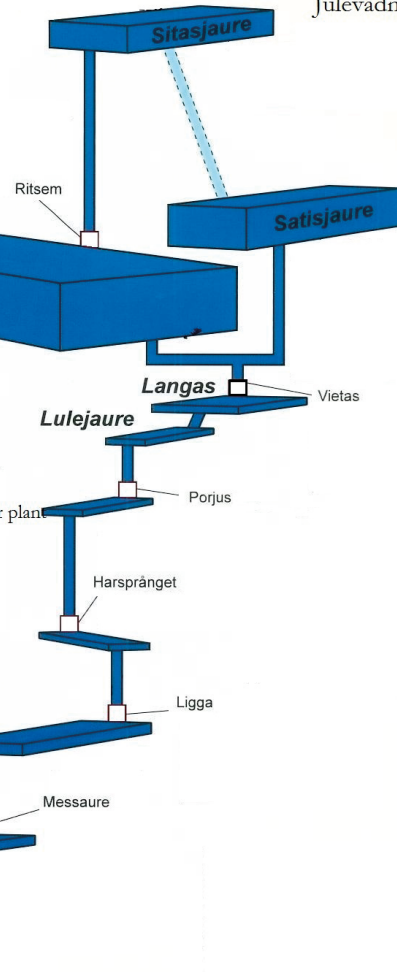
Schematic image of Lule River - hydropower reservoirs/dams and plants. Planned mining project at Kallak - Gállok indicated.

Little Lule River

Lilla Lule älv/Unna Julevädno



Great Lule River Stora Lule älv/Stuor Julevädno



Schematisk bild av Lule älv, vattenkraftdammar och kraftverk. Placering av tänkt gruva vid Kallak - Gállok markerad.

Original av/by Vattenfall, modified av/by May-Britt Öhman 2013-09-17

Schematic image of the regulated Lule River, Gállok – Kallak – is located within the Skalka/ Parkijaure reservoir. Illustration by, Vattenfall, modified by, May-Britt Öhman

Eastern School], in Jokkmokk. During the debate JIMAB repudiated information brought forward by local newspapers that they had been prospecting for uranium. In the meantime, one student used his Internet access to find verified accounts that JIMAB had a pending request to prospect for uranium. Mistrust was further aggravated as biologists, hired by JIMAB to investigate the threats posed to virgin forest by the mining site, had conducted insufficient inventory searches for endangered species in the area. The biologist of JIMAB claimed at this very same discussion to have investigated according to the same inventory methodology promoted by *Naturskyddsföreningen*. What the biologist did not know was that the developer of this methodology, Mats Karström, was among the persons in the audience that evening and a teacher at the school hosting the debate. I promptly presented Karström to the participants, and then asked his opinion on JIMAB's biological investigations. Karström replied that his own students had found more endangered species in their searches than JIMAB's biologist and concluded that the biologist had done a very poor job. The end result of the debate was that JIMAB appeared as a extremely unserious corporation.

At the time of the writing of this article, July 2013, JIMAB is preparing to do test mining in the area of Gállok/Kallak, for which the company has acquired permission from the State. In the meantime, protests are growing. A group of activists blocked the company's work by occupying an excavator planned to bulldoze earth from the mountain inside the forest. While one activist managed to escape, the remaining activists were captured by police and charged for arbitrary conduct.

Along the way, I have met with researchers at university, which has been very rewarding. Dr. Gunilla Larsson has provided her expertise in doing a first investigation into Sami remains that had not been identified by the Beowulf/JIMAB financed archeological investigations in the Gállok area.⁴ Supradisciplinary conversations with sociotechnical dam safety expert Dr. May-Britt Öhman, Uppsala University, and water quality expert Dr. Eva-Lotta Thunqvist at the Royal Institute of Technology, Stockholm, has made me aware of the gigantic risks of placing an open pit mine at Gállok. Not only will is a mine likely to contaminate drinking water for the whole Lule River valley, like the wells for all inhabitants along the river, the village Vuollerim, and also the cities Boden and Luleå. They also state that the blasting for and operations at an open pit mine at Gállok might lead to a dam failure at the Parki dam, destroying my current home at Randijaur and the entire Lule River valley downstream, all the way to the cities Boden and Luleå – affecting more than 100,000 inhabitants. I have taken up on this knowledge and been doing my best to raise the issue further.



Demonstration against mines at the 2013 Jokkmokk Winter market, February 8. On the banner it reads: "No Mines in Jokkmokk." The temperature was about - 35C. Photo by and courtesy of Elisa Ferrari.

For the Future

I wish to conclude my reflections so far, arguing that neither JIMAB nor its mother company Beowulf are serious companies, and nor are the other actors of the mining industry. These companies lie, manipulate, and are often subject to police investigations due to violations of the law and civil rights. In JIMAB's case, there are ongoing police investigations. Among the several environmental offences are charges for off-road driving in wetlands, oil spillage and prospective drilling without permits.

None of these offences seem to have the slightest effect on decision-makers in regards to approving or not approving JIMAB's plans for the development of a fully operational mine. I find this to be sort of the Wild West of Sweden, just about anything is allowed. There is no state supervision to make sure that things are made in a legal and serious way, respecting civil and human rights, respecting Swedish legislation, respecting our environment. I find that the origing of this problem is the *Swedish Mineral Act*. It is a law which originates from the 16th century and grants prospecting and mining companies virtually unlimited rights to investigate and drill almost anywhere. This law, given its outdated and envi-

ronmentally hostile nature, must be revised to accommodate the concerns of the Sami, Nature, and the possibilities for coming generations who wish to live and labor as their ancestors have done in these lands.

Critique must also be extended towards the Swedish Government, who is acting extremely pro-mining. Unfortunately the same goes for the current opposition, and it is unlikely that a regime shift, with the Social Democrats in power, would make any difference. The only political power that could stimulate a genuine, long-term, transition of society is currently the Green Party. However, that the Green Party would gain their own majority in the Swedish Parliament is, for the time being, mere utopian thinking. And, as the local people of Jokkmokk have, since the early 20th century, revolted against the colonialism of the Swedish State, so will our activism and civil disobedience continue to remind the State of the crimes being committed against its own Indigenous People, the Sami, and the nature in which we live.

Notes

¹ Lapponia is also one of the largest pristine ecosystems of the North.

² See the article by Marie Persson/May-Britt Öhman in this publication.

³ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w7vYBaCB4_k [Accessed Dec. 19, 2012].

⁴ See Gunilla Larsson's article in this publication.



Tor Lundberg Tuorda presenting at RE-Mindings. Photo by May-Britt Öhman.



From manifestation in Jökkmökki at the Wintermarket 2012, a snow wall with the answer to the rhetorical question by prospecting company Beowulf chairman on "What Local People?!" Photo by Tor Lundberg Tuorda.



*View over Parkijaure from the mountain Átjek, at Gállok, Jokkmokk.
Photo by Tor Lundberg Tuorda.*



*Northern light at a reindeer herding cabin, Háddit, Badjelánnda.
Photo by Tor Lundberg Tuorda.*



Tor Lundberg Tuorda by lake Gállokjávrre, Gállok, Jokkmokk, during a break at the supra-disciplinary archeological studies with archeologist Dr. Gunilla Larsson, September 2012. Photo by May-Britt Öhman.

Contested Political Representation of the Sami in the Kola Peninsula, Northwest Russia

Vladislava Vladimirova

Vladislava Vladimirova is an anthropologist working at the Uppsala Centre for Russian and Eurasian Studies and in the Department of Cultural Anthropology and Ethnology at Uppsala University. She has been conducting a program of field and archival research on Sami and other Northern Peoples in Russia. Her domains of interest include indigenous economy and ethnicity, Russian and international legislation concerning indigenous people, civil society, and indigeneity across borders. Theoretical inspiration for this research program comes from the areas of political ecology, economic anthropology, and moral anthropology. She has worked in international research projects funded by organizations including the Swedish Riksbanken, the Norwegian Research Council, the European Union and the National Academy of Sciences of the United States.

Abstract

The contemporary Russian legislation targeting the category defined as *Small-Numbered Peoples of the North, Siberia, and the Far East of the Russian Federation*, which includes the Sami, uses language that is, to a large extent, harmonious with international legal protections for Indigenous Peoples' Rights. Russian laws employ categories of rights to self-governance, traditional land use and economy, and to ethnic language and culture. Even though the right to self-governance seems to be a central goal, when it comes to its execution the laws are vague and general in their formulation, serving the regional administration of Murmansk Region – where Russian Sami officially reside – as a justification for being inconsistent in their policies towards Sami representation. In this unstable legal and political environment, Sami representation becomes a field of contestation used to promote different and often conflicting political and economic interests; these conflicts emerge within the Sami community itself. This chapter will outline the recent development of Sami representation practices and examine some implications they have for the situation of the Sami community in Russia.

Introduction

The Sami of Russia is one of the smallest Indigenous Peoples of the country, numbering less than 2000 people. They inhabit the westernmost part of the Russian North, close to the border with Norway and Finland. Even in Murmansk Region, they comprise only 0.15% of the total population of about 8000 people. The majority in Murmansk are Russians, but there are also 120 other ethnic groups in the region (Konstantinov, 1999: 8). The special category of *Small-Numbered People of the North, Siberia and the Far North of Russia* was created in 1926 (Beach, 2009) and was reorganized into its present form in the early 1990s to accommodate 40 different groups who are considered not only Indigenous to the territories of their residence, but also *numerically small*, meaning less than 50,000 persons. Such a definition already excluded some Indigenous Peoples from the list. In the case of the Kola Peninsula, the Komi are subjected to such exclusion even though they are involved in traditional economic activities like reindeer herding. This is so because they are immigrants to the region, and they belong to the numerically bigger Komi People. Such exclusion creates tensions in the community even though, as I explain below, they do not, in practice, influence individual or group rights to economic resources.

The unequal treatment of different claimants depending on Indigenous status is but one of the problems contained within Russian laws concerning Indigenous Peoples (Beach, 2009); differing degrees of participation in, and access to, State and international resources are assigned disproportionally amongst Indigenous People. Social capital and communicative resources determine disproportional usage of resources meant to be equally accessible to all members of the *Small-Numbered Peoples of the North*. A number of legislative acts extend the special rights granted to the Indigenous Peoples to “other ethnic groups living in the same region with indigenous peoples, and practicing similar historically established traditional economies and lifestyles” (Herding, 2002). Such vague formulations obstruct consensus amongst the local people, being Sami or members of other ethnic groups, as to who is entitled to the special rights envisaged in the Law; this, in turn, generates interpersonal and intergroup conflicts.

Among the variety of local and international opinions one dominant theme is that, while the ethno-political revival of Kola Peninsula Sami has been largely successful, attaining economic and social stability for the community remains out of reach. Two varieties of economic formation are claimed as the principle Indigenous enterprises:

- Reindeer herding cooperatives – “Tundra” of Lovozero, and “Olenevod” of Krasnoshchel’e – which were formerly Soviet State Farms (*sovkhozy*),
- Indigenous communities, *obshchiny*, in which membership and productive activities are organized around kinship and neighborhood ties.

Despite ongoing support from both international (predominantly Nordic) funding, as well as regional and federal government subsidies, the welfare of tundra-related communities has not improved substantially.

Thus, local and federal administrations fail to put into effect their proclaimed support for tundra-related communities. As a consequence, an unstable and economically volatile situation emerges, with far-reaching political and social implications. This situation has been aggravated by recent political developments in the Russian state that tend toward promoting state-controlled capitalism. Private and public projects that seek to use tundra resources have become increasingly prominent, especially in the field of recreational tourism, sport fishing and hunting. These enterprises result with the Sami and other tundra-related ethnic groups having their territorial rights circumvented and withdrawn. Reindeer herding, as a mainstay of the local cultural economy, and the most potent identity denominator, has become especially vulnerable to the impact of newly-authorized and encroaching resource users.

In this situation it is of vital importance to revive the debate about Indigenous representation and participation in the process of governance on regional and federal levels. This article first analyzes provisions about Indigenous self-governance in the special legislation of the *Small-Numbered Peoples of the North*. I show here that, despite their democratic character, Russian laws abound with broad, unclear formulations, and that they leave room for decisions to be taken according to the will of administrators, who are not always sympathetic to Indigenous Rights.

The next section provides a short account of practices of Sami representation in the Murmansk Region within dominant Indigenous organizations. Increased attention and support to Russian Sami from the West promotes political initiative and provides economic support. However, at the same time it contributes to centripetal tendencies and hinders internal agreements and unity necessary for the Sami community to stand up for their rights.

In the final section, I argue that Indigenous minority status and rights, despite the strong claims made in the newly reinstated legislation, does not influence

the life of the Sami People in Russia in the positive way envisioned by the Law. What seems more reliable, beneficial and desirable is the traditional reliance on contacts, networks, and patronage as a means for achieving goals of more private or community-level scales.

Indigenous Representation in Law

Contemporary Russian legislation targeting the *Small-Numbered Peoples of the North* revolves around rights to self-governance, traditional land use and economy, and ethnic language and culture. However, parallel with the discourse of rights is the legacy from the Soviet policy of patronship. This policy treated Indigenous Peoples as belonging to a lower stage of social and economic development and in need of specialized assistance. The notion of privileges, *l'goty*, replaces the concept of rights in many legislative acts of lower orders, such as ordinances of the local administration, programs for support of Indigenous Peoples, etcetera. This legacy is reflected especially in the everyday discourse between Indigenous Peoples and the Russian authorities.

The concept of rights has been strongly undermined by the character of mere recommendation found in many provisions. A good example of these tendencies is the law regarding *The common principles of organisation of obshchiny of the Small-Numbered Peoples of the Far North, Siberia and Far East of the Russian Federation*:

Article 18: Privileges granted to the members of obshchiny¹ of Small-Numbered peoples. The members of obshchiny of Small-Numbered peoples enjoy privileges, established by the Federal Legislation and the legislation of the subjects of the Russian Federation in order to protect their aboriginal environment, to preserve and develop their traditional ways of life and economic activities.²

This article was abolished in 2004, yet it has never been replaced with a more specific provision of rights. Article 69 of the Russian Constitution claims that the commonly-accepted principles and norms of International Law and agreements regarding Indigenous Peoples are also contained within the foundation of the Russian legal system. As a result, if an international agreement or document signed by Russia is in conflict with Russian Law, the international agreement is considered to have authority over the Russian Law. However, Russia has not ratified ILO 169 of 1989, which decreases the credibility of what the Constitution promises.

Even though the Sami People receive special treatment, for example through privileges and financial support from the State, ambiguity and complex legislation and administration makes it difficult to exercise those same rights according to official rules. The reasons for this are several: underpaid clerks overloaded with work, instability of the legal environment with frequently changing laws and a lack of information about these changes, as well as neglect concerning people's procedural rights to participate in the legislative processes (Donahoe, 2009; Novikova, 2002).

For example, the Federal Law *On Guarantees of the Rights of the Indigenous Small-Numbered Peoples of the Russian Federation* is the major document claiming to “guarantee” Indigenous Peoples’ rights in Russia. It was first ratified 30 April 1999 and contained, at the time, Article 13, which stipulated that, for the purposes of most-consistent and steady socio-economic and cultural development of Indigenous People – and the protection of their living environment and traditional livelihoods and economies – the regional legislative organs could establish quotas of representatives of Indigenous Peoples in the legislative and administrative organs of the regions (1999). Article 13 was later abolished in an amendment to the law of 2004.

Further illustrating the fluid, inconsistent character of similar laws, this particular law underwent further revisions in 2007, two times in 2008, and then



Sami event at the library in the village of Lovozero. Nina Afanas'eva, one of the first Sami leaders giving a speech. March, 2010. Photo by Vladislava Vladimirova.

again in 2009. The above-mentioned Article 13 was replaced with paragraph 6 in Article 7, which specified the commissions of the municipal administrations for:

- the environmental protection in the regions where indigenous people originally live,
- the preservation and development of indigenous traditional economy and culture.

If any chance for real self-governance had existed, at least legislatively prior to the amendment, it was reversed by Article 7(6); a situation was restored in which the municipal administration could decide about the principles of organization and activities for self-governance of territories where Indigenous Peoples live and practice traditional economies. The overall logic behind this is that regional self-governance, enacted through common elections of the regional and municipal heads of administrations, should ensure equal representation to all residents, including Indigenous Peoples.

The other major federal law claiming to protect Indigenous Peoples' rights only reinforces this impression when it stipulates in Article 7, named *Relations between obshchiny of Small-Numbered Peoples and the bodies of state authority and of local self-government*:

The state authorities of the Russian Federation, the state authorities of the administrative regions of the Russian Federation and the local self-government authorities may render assistance to obshchiny of minority peoples ...in protecting the environment of habitation, the traditional way of life, and the rights and interests of Small-Numbered Peoples in the following forms: conceding tax concessions and privileges; financing regional and local programmes for preservation and development of traditional ways of life and economy of Small-Numbered Peoples; free of charge consultations concerning practicing of traditional economic activities of Small-Numbered Peoples; conceding on the basis of competitions social orders for development and realisation of regional and local programmes for social and economic support to the obshchiny of indigenous peoples. Local self-government authorities in areas of compact populations of Small-Numbered Peoples may delegate to obshchiny of Small-Numbered Peoples, and unions (associations) of obshchiny of Small-Numbered Peoples separate plenipotential functions, following proposals by the obshchiny or associations of obshchiny.³

These laws all bear the character of recommendations and, in practice, they put the regulation and management of Indigenous organizations and economy in the

hands of regional and municipal administrations. This power-relation forces Indigenous Peoples to be obedient towards, and comply with, local administrators. In effect, the local authorities hold power over the Indigenous political and social organizations and determine what rights and privileges, as listed in Russian law, they will be granted.

Indigenous Sami Representation in Practice

In addition to the legal forms, in the realm of administrative practice, Indigenous Peoples' representation seems to be similarly unstable. Since I first conducted fieldwork in the Kola Peninsula in 2001, the organizations and forms of Sami representation have been redefined and remade, sometimes within quite short time periods.

In 2001 there was an "Office of Ethnic Groups", which had a Sami woman as Director and also a "Specialist of Indigenous Minority Affairs" within the Lovozero Municipal Administration. After a series of transformations in the first half of the 2000s, the Office of Ethnic Groups was united with the Committee of ZATO, the closed military towns of Murmansk Region. As a result of such illogical amalgamations, the long-term Sami representative quit her position and decided to continue serving her people through an academic career. The Counseling Service for Indigenous Issues had later been transferred to the Committee for Work with Social Organizations and Youth-Related Issues. The head of the Committee is not related to any Indigenous group, nor has special expertise in the field, as the Sami continuously have made critical remarks about.

By a joint Sami- and local authorities' initiative, with an official Act of Murmansk Region, the Centre of Indigenous Small-Numbered Peoples of the North was created in 2004. Its purpose was to improve the coordination of all existing Sami organizations and their connection to the regional administration. In 2006, a Kola Sami Coordination Committee was established at the Centre. The role of the Committee was to coordinate and facilitate all 19 existing Sami organizations to take common decisions regarding appointment of Sami representatives for national and international forums and meetings as well as to develop common recommendations regarding better administration and protection of Sami rights.

While the Coordination Committee was working on designing mechanisms to fulfill its functions and prove its feasibility and credibility among the Sami People, yet another Sami representative body was created, this time at the Mur-

mansk regional administration, namely the Council of Representatives of the Small-Numbered Peoples of the North.

The authorities tried to construct the legitimacy of this second organization by claiming that it was the most “true” representative of Sami People and interests. Their strategy this time was to invite the leaders of all registered Sami *obshchiny* and send applications for membership. Finally, 11 out of 21 representatives of *obshchiny* entered the second Council, together with a representative of the Government of Murmansk Region. Still, the organization claimed “to represent all Sami *obshchiny* in Murmansk Region.” According to Article 4.2 of the founding decree, it is the Regional Government that establishes the Council and decides who is to become a member, which is strongly limiting for actual Indigenous self-governance. The Council is:

A collective advisory organ ... created with the aim to protect the rights and lawful interests of ... Sami People. Its main task is the working out and execution of a set of organizational, economic, and juridical measures directed toward the protection of the natural environment and traditional way of life and economy of the Sami.⁴

While its mission seems serious, its commission to complete it is again too limiting. The Council has the right to give only recommendations, and when it comes to regulation of natural resources, for example land rights, it can only help if invited by the Government to monitor existing land use practices. Finally, members of the Council can only attend meetings of the Regional Legislative Organ, the *Duma*, when issues directly related to Indigenous interest are discussed (Evdokimov, 2009). As such, the Council has a strictly advisory role; it functions mostly by invitation from the authorities and under their full control, as the Decree shows.

In the context of Western democratic states, where Indigenous Peoples mostly gain legislative and political participation through bottom-up political initiatives and struggles, it may seem surprising that it was by initiative of the State administration, with Decree of the Government of Murmansk Region, that the Council of Representatives was created. But this reveals the general pattern of regional State policies toward Sami People that actually deprive them of political initiative. Constant replacement of Sami organizations with newly created ones, often accompanied with a change of leaders and staff, hinders the accumulation of experience, knowledge and long-term contacts. It creates incoherence and causes instability.

Why do the Sami People give their consent or join in on a policy that is obviously problematic and causes fragmentation in the Sami community by the constant

changing of positions, staff and organizations, as conditioned by the authorities? Answers are not yet conclusive, though analysis indicates a few factors that contribute to Sami acquiescence to this policy and practice. Most influential of these are the situations of economic crisis and inadequate opportunities, as well as political activity coupled with good connections with non-Sami persons in power; patronage becomes a resource that attracts the impoverished people, who traditionally composed a marginalized minority in the Northern State periphery.

Since the early 1990s several foreign, predominantly Fennoscandic NGOs and Nordic Sami organizations have worked in the Kola Peninsula to support the Sami People on the Russian side of Sapmi. The main aim of this has been to strengthen the Indigenous political movement and to develop a viable ethnic economy through enterprises such as private reindeer herding. While there have been considerable successes in the sphere of politics, for example in the creation of independent Sami organizations (Øverland and Berg-Nordlie, 2012), the economic situation has not yet improved substantially (Vladimirova, 2006).

I have little space for elaborating on the causes behind this development. Suffice to say that many opportunities for foreign support exist when one is willing to become involved in Indigenous politics; many Sami embarked on political and social work that proved to be profitable for them personally in many ways, in terms of economic as well as social capital. The somewhat negative effects of this increased political activity, however, are the higher level of internal conflict and competition for political positions and the use of political resources for individual profit. This situation of internal conflict and disagreement facilitates state policies of control and patronage.

Social conflicts and divisions inside the Sami community contribute to the inadequacy of civil society mechanisms to realize Indigenous Rights. Since the initiation of democratization in Russia in the early 1990s, many Indigenous social, political, and economic organizations have emerged. They put forth competing claims for the political representation of the Sami People. The ultimate effort for reunion and common action is, at present, the Kola Sami Parliament, *Kuellnegk neark Sam' Sobbar*, which was created at the Second Sami Congress in 2010. This was an initiative coming from within the community, raised through the Indigenous intelligentsia and encouraged by Nordic Sami, who have had such a form of political organization since the 1980s and 1990s. The Kola Sami Parliament could, to a certain extent, unify the organization of all Sami persons living within different Nation-States and improve their ability for common action and political coordination internationally (Berg-Nordlie, 2011).



International project for support of the Sami obshchina Puaz in the village of Loparskoe: Norwegian Sami sharing experiences with the obshchina representatives Elena Vladimirovna Tolstenko and Ol'ga Mikhailovna Sharshina. May, 2010. Photo by Vladislava Vladimirova.

The Russian Sami involved in this initiative worked out a strong representation for the mission of the Parliament: to unite all Sami to work for improved self-governance and the realization of Indigenous Rights. But other Sami, as well as non-Sami, question the legitimacy of the organization by pointing to limited participation in the elections, and argue that, like previous organizations, the Parliament is supported mostly by friends and relatives of the organizers and hence serves their personal interests. While I cannot judge the credibility of these claims, I can attest that there are certainly many Sami persons, especially amongst the village dwellers in tundra economies such as reindeer herding, who are not aware of or are not interested in participating in these Sami political structures and organizations. At the same time, with its idea of electing members that will truly represent the community, the Parliament has at least the potential of becoming a force capable of uniting the Sami community and defending its interests nationally and internationally, if it manages to build legitimacy among both the Sami People and State authorities.

For the time being in the Murmansk Region, the Sami Parliament and the Council of Representatives are forced to coexist while they have been unable to find means of working together. They have been in conflict over the legitimacy of their role as representatives of the Sami at different levels and forums. The Council has support and protection from the regional authorities; the Parliament, which is not established officially due to the fact that the Russian Federation has no provision to endow such status to any Indigenous representative body, is well-accepted abroad and has the support of most authoritative Sami ethnic politicians and leaders.

The matter at hand or at least one of them, is the question as to who is going to represent Sami voices, nationally and internationally, when economic resources, and compensation for them, are at stake.

Concluding Reflections

This article shows how real practices of Indigenous governance diverge from the special legislation about the *Small-Numbered Peoples of the Russian North*, with the example of Indigenous representation and self-governance in Murmansk Region. However, Sami on the Russian side of Sápmi often seem to accept the status quo. Contestations appear mostly in relation to the material and social capital that participation in political and social ethnic organizations gives access to. Sami representation becomes of political importance and of greater interest within the community in cases where natural resource use is involved. Such con-



*The reindeer is an important symbol within Sami culture: the Sami artist Iakov Iakovlev showing his drawings to the author, the village of Lovozero. March 2007.
Photo by Vladislava Vladimirova.*

testation and competition, however, most often find expression in the traditional forms of vernacular politics based on social networks of friendship and solidarity, with little credibility to legal regulation. The words of Vladislav Peskov, the ex-president of the Association of Indigenous Small-Numbered Peoples of the Nenets Autonomous Oblast, summarize the situation:

Clearer laws were needed, but for the time being at least, the law is working well for all parties involved... Different people need different things. Some need land, some need money, and the informal agreements with the drillers allow everyone to get what they really want.⁵

In the case of Murmansk Region the Russian State has, through its regional and municipal offices, supported external private investors by allowing them to lease portions of reindeer herding land for safari-type tourist ventures. New plans for extracting non-renewable resources will also encroach on reindeer grazing territories. In this situation, strong and united Indigenous representation can be of strategic importance for the Sami People to protect and negotiate their interests, and should thus be of primary importance to the international community of Indigenous Peoples.

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Notes

¹ This is how the same law defines *obshchiny* of minority peoples: "forms of self-governing organisations of people, belonging to minority peoples, and connected through kinship (family) and/or neighbourhood relationships, which are being created in the aim of protection of their traditional living territories, protection and development of their traditional ways of life, management and cultures" 2000 On "The common principles of organisation of obshchiny of the Numerically Small Peoples of the Far North, Siberia and Far East of the Russian Federation" Russia. In practice, *obshchiny* are able to realize only economic activity, often on a limited scale.

² Article 18 of Federal Law No 30, 2000.

³ Russian Federation (2000).

⁴ Evdokimov (2009).

⁵ Donahoe (2009).

Speaking Together from the Lands of fire and the Lands of ice

Sharing Experiences from Australian Aboriginal and Swedish Sámi Scholarly Collaborations

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Abstract

This article brings together two Indigenous scholars who have come to better know their Indigenous history as they story it alongside their work as historians and academics. We both find that the historical landscape changes when family history is bet-

ter understood; time and space become embodied, history becomes personal. Sámi Scholar May-Britt Öhman speaks of singing to the hillside *Sound of Music* style, when she felt forced to break out of song and into yoik.¹ Similarly Aboriginal Australian Scholar Frances Wyld writes about her connection to land and family history, including a visit to desert Australia where she no longer saw a world of ‘silos’ but of solace. Through embodiment comes a new identity, shared and understood. As scholars understanding the power-laden binaries of colonized and colonizer, writing at the intersection of personal and public using ego-histories, we find shared methodologies to tell stories of the self inhabiting lands of fire and ice. Applying *ego-histoire*, we argue for a new version of history as academic discipline; a discipline that includes the Indigenous peoples embodied vision and experiences. A history discipline which challenges the colonizer’s current Hi-Story within which Indigenous peoples are made the Other, the exotic, primitive, invisible and as a “vanishing race.” A history which empowers and strengthens ourselves as scholars while at the same time providing our students, Indigenous as well as non-Indigenous, with a history which takes into account Indigenous peoples visions, experiences and stories.

Introduction

This article is an account of the joint presentation at the RE-Mindings symposium by Frances Wyld and May-Britt Öhman, both Indigenous historians. It is also an account of the events that led to this joint presentation and at the same time a joint article based on our reflections on the importance of our collaboration. The text is written in a multivocal style, bringing our voices together in an, for academic history production, unordinary way. Our joint presentation at the RE-Mindings symposium took its point of departure in a co-authored article within the anthology *Ego-Histoire*, *Europe and Australian Indigenous Studies*.²

Popkin states in 1996; “Autobiographies made by historians are rare birds.”³ There have been efforts to get historians into using autobiographies as a mode of academic history writing. Still, by 2013 these comprise only a small portion of the annual scholarly production. Most historians remain within a positivistic paradigm where they are trained, and eager, to produce a historical narrative that can be proven correct, considered true, and possible to verify. The ideal is to describe events the way it *really* was.

However, for this to be possible, documents in archives form the primary source to be used most of the time. Some historians also do interviews, filming and recording.

Yet, this quest for the “truth” obscures the fact that most history written is the history of the winners – the HI-Story.⁴ It is the history, or the perspective, of those who have produced documents that are kept in archives endorsed by the nation-state; those that speak the languages that remain; those whose history is considered worth funding.

Being part of the ones that were colonized, those whose language was lost, those who did not produce written documents – or if they did, their history was/is not considered important enough to be researched as most historians rather write about their own history – and those whose collective memories were questioned and shamed – ultimately mean that you have to find your own way to write history. Many times, the format for writing history does not work with the one held by the dominant settler society – the winners’ society.

Ego-histoire is the genre term used by Pierre Nora for the work in which historians write autobiographies as history production. Nora invited several historians to write about their/our own lives and thereby engaging in a collective enterprise that went far beyond describing their personal experiences only. In this work, the historians also included the importance of places and memories of people, ultimately portraying a part of the collective history.⁵ Nora refers to this way of writing history as “a new genre, for a new age of historical consciousness.”⁶

In our joint article, Frances and May-Britt conclude that our collaboration strengthen us both; “we as authors, historians and Indigenous scholars are in support of the idea of *ego-histoire* because it fits an Indigenous worldview; we challenge the production of the winners’ HI-Story for currently existing nation-states. We argue for the idea of *ego-histoire* as it can bring forward a so-far silenced history – not available in documents of the colonizer’s archives. Together we dare to rely on our Indigenous traditions.”⁷

Background – How We Met

Frances and May-Britt met for the first time in 2011 at the NAISA (Native American and Indigenous Studies Association) in Sacramento.⁸ Frances presented at a session named “Writing Indigenous Selves” – already a very exciting title for a Sámi scholar who had the feeling that she needed help to find her own style in writing her version of history in a Swedish context dominated by a Swedish history.

Frances presented her paper with the title ‘Writing the Ephemera of Culture: Storm Method’.⁹ May-Britt had seen Frances’ paper in the conference program, but as the NAISA program is full of exciting papers, May-Britt managed to participate only at the very end of her presentation. Yet, May-Britt was caught by

the idea of a “STORM METHOD.” It seemed really exciting and new, for a Sámi scholar woman in the quest of finding her own way of writing her own history; for a Sámi scholar in a Swedish academic world where Sámi perspectives are a blind spot, a void without value.¹⁰

May-Britt did not understand much of Frances’ presentation. She had arrived late and furthermore it was given in English, which was not her mother tongue. Yet, she was touched by the fervor in Frances attitude when presenting, and the idea of talking about a STORM METHOD was exhilarating; it was like nothing she had heard of before in an academic setting. May-Britt approached Frances after the session and asked for her contact details. May-Britt read the explanation of Frances’ STORM METHOD:

Storm Method is an auto-ethnographic writing style that captures individual chaotic moments influenced by larger events in human history. It has force but like all storms it is ephemeral; it dissipates. I make a connection between my writing and Sturm und Drang [storm and stress], because as a member of colonized peoples I am often speaking back to particular moments in time, which in this case is the colonization of Australia in 1788 and coinciding with the era of Sturm und Drang.¹¹

Having returned home from the NAISA conference, Frances soon emailed May-Britt:

“Hi May-Britt

It was really good meeting you at NAISA in Sacramento. I want to learn more about your people, I believe we in Australia would have a lot in common with the Sami people. I hope you enjoyed the conference and you got home safely. One of the questions I have been asked since returning is ‘where to next’ for me, and I have said maybe Sweden. It would be good to have a collaboration with you and your University.

I see on your business card that you are within the Centre for Gender Research. Some of my work is not only within the area of gender and feminism but also in motherhood as activism. Because in Australia we have the legacy of the stolen generations and that mothering and having the ability to raise your own children was something that my mother took a lot of pride in after being removed from her own mother, I see the ability to mother and mother well as an activism often overlooked by feminism. I am happy to share some yet unpublished work on this with you.

Regards,
Frances”¹²

May-Britt replied promptly:

“Dear Frances,

Thanks for your mail! It was great meeting with you and it would indeed be interesting to share experiences and thoughts ahead!

I can see that there are several parallels. For instance – my family belonged to the part of Sami that in the 20th century were out defined as Sami, and shamed from being Sami. My mother strongly rejected the idea of her being a Sami, for instance. I attach the one article I’ve so far written on this theme.

The full reference is: 'Being May-Britt Öhman: Or, Reflections on my own Colonized Mind Regarding Hydropower Constructions in Sápmi' in Elovaara, Sefyrin, Öhman och Björkman, (eds.) *Travelling thoughtfulness? Feminist technoscience stories*, Umeå: Department of Informatics, Umeå University, 2010

Below you see the link to the call for posters to our symposium in November in Uppsala. As I said, I could possibly organise for you to come for a seminar presentation sometime around this symposium, which would then provide you with some funding for the travel. If you have an abstract and a title suggestion, that would be great so I can ask the people with the money!

<http://www.genna.gender.uu.se/conferences-events/conferences-workshops/bodiesknowingbodies/>

We have also just recently set up an association for Sami related research here in Uppsala. This association, however, the majority are not Sami themselves, so far.

Krister Stoor who is one of the key notes at the symposium, is a Sami, Forest Sami like me, but whose family have remained in the tradition, and he wrote his dissertation on Yoik – the traditional singing. Very exciting! We have a call for posters in order to be able to have more people coming in, some of these will be asked to be developed into papers.

All best,
May-Britt¹³

This correspondence formed the start of our collaboration. Frances was invited to the present at the Centre for Gender Research, Uppsala, on November 24th,

2011, and as May-Britt felt she had the possibility to do something more out of it, she decided to organize a symposium around Frances' seminar presentation – and also a planned visit by the dear colleague Dr. Minae Inahara.¹⁴ Thus the “Dist-Urbances”-Symposium was organized.¹⁵ The whole event took place November 22-24th, 2011 at the Centre for Gender Research, Uppsala University.

At this symposium, Frances presented her paper ‘Who is the Storyteller – Crow the Trickster or the Great Mother? The use of Archetypes in re-mythologizing the Self’.¹⁶ May-Britt, who had been trained in Political Science, and History of Science and Technology, and in an extremely positivistic tradition, was blown away with the possibility to write differently; the possibility of writing oneself into the academic story was new to her. May-Britt had made an attempt earlier, with the article “Being May-Britt Öhman”¹⁷ as she had mentioned to Frances in the first email exchange. But still, May-Britt was far away from daring to write her indigenous life, memories and dreams into an academic text. The visit by Frances in Uppsala and Stockholm was of crucial importance to May-Britt in daring to think, write and act differently.

Then again, once Frances had gone home to Australia, she contacted May-Britt again – now asking for the possibility to write a joint article for a coming book *Ego-Histoire*, *Europe and Australian Indigenous Studies*. May-Britt responded joyfully, but also warned that she is a lazy writer, in need of someone whipping her to get the things done.¹⁸ Frances responded:

Am also thinking of the possible collaboration for the call for papers sent earlier today [author's time zone), titles include, “Lands of fire and ice; storying the Self as Indigenous” “Singing the Landscape; stories of the Indigenous Self after colonization”, the last one inspired by your yolk attack. And don't worry I am very good at collaboration and weaving together papers that are multi-vocal.¹⁹

And so we started the work on this joint article. Frances took the lead; May-Britt was totally busy with other tasks most of the time. But suddenly, in the email conversations that went on as the article developed, May-Britt too began to find her own voice, guided and inspired by Frances.

Presentation at the RE-Mindings Symposium

For our presentation at the RE-Mindings symposium, we decided to prepare our contribution separately. *Frances started:*

“Prelude

We speak from a voice that is created in a hybrid space, joining the lands of Sápmi and Australia, working across disciplines, including words of both colonized and colonizer. But we follow a tradition of storytelling, a narrative evident in many Indigenous cultures and used as a teaching tool. It is also a device recognized by historians in the use of *ego-histoire*. Popkin states ‘Historian-autobiographers are uniquely placed to show that the historian’s subjectivity is not arbitrary but rather a result of choices among a historically defined range of possibilities’²⁰

Embodiment in a hybrid space

The term hybrid is controversial, and we use it in the way that Donna Haraway uses her *Cyborg Manifesto*:²¹ it is blasphemous. We use it in recognition that our work is a meeting of our biological and cultural selves. It is a hybrid space connected to sites of memory, “enveloped in a Möbius strip of the collective and the individual, the sacred and the profane, the immutable and the mobile.”²²

The Burning embers of colonization

Franz Fanon (1971, p.59) saw the ‘smoking ashes of a burnt-down house after the fire has been put out [but] which still threatened to burst into flames again’.²³ I ask the reader: “in relation to Australia, has there even been an attempt to put the fire out. Or have we witnessed merely the illusion of change?”²⁴

History and life-writing

Frances Peters-Little as Aboriginal woman and historian, recognizes that the discussion on remaining dispassionate in her work is a luxury she has “not been afforded”; for her and other Aboriginal people, “the past and present are linked indissolubly through place and belonging.”²⁵ It is timely for historians to place themselves in their work through life-writing and autobiography. Connections to the past must be maintained to continue the work of decolonizing academic spaces.

Land as a site of memory

As Indigenous peoples we need to move beyond objectification. When we travel to our lands of ice and fire our memories return. But it is the discontinuation of the binaries of northern and southern hemisphere and the borrowing of place we take from Pierre Nora that gives us the ability to move beyond objectification. Australia and Sweden – unlike the storying by Nora of the United

States – have yet to become sites of ‘plural memories’, to do so they both must embrace an instructive history to hold onto national identity. A life history cannot be written under these circumstances, instead we must escape to the place made possible by the work of Pierre Nora, we move “Between memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*” (1989, p. 10) because we know that the land is a site of memory.

A land of silos

In the land of silos, every year you get new information to whitewash your sense of knowing in a way that denies you the truth as you sit in a world dominated by Western science. You believe that like the ones who paint the silos white you make your own knowledge strong, you are re-imagining your own dominance on the landscape where your truth must be loud to affirm your own survival. In the land of solace you only have to listen to yourself and the truth that comes from being to survive.²⁶

Indigenous Standpoint, humor & Bakhtin’s Carnivalesque

Torres Strait Islander Martin Nakata called for the development of an Indigenous Standpoint theory.²⁷ He also wrote about the ability and need for Indigenous people to laugh, to have a sense of humor.

I am naming myself and writing from my standpoint as Aboriginal woman with a dual heritage trying to reconcile two belief systems, I am also trying to keep my sense of humor. I live two lives merged into one knowing, I live the official life “subjugated to a strict hierarchical orders”²⁸ within the university. And I also have the life of the carnival “free and unrestricted, full of ambivalent laughter, blasphemy, the profanation of everything sacred.” In Bakhtin’s carnival the fire “simultaneously destroys and renews the world” (2009, p. 254-256).”

May-Britt continued. It was her turn to speak, and she spoke:

“The co-authoring with Frances has given me the strength to speak about my own experiences of yoik attacks, hearing yoiks in my head, feeling how I am hushed by a mountain... Recover my own identity, and YOIK it! And to challenge a positivistic approach – which only makes me feel schizophrenic. Being taught to write about Sámis as “the Other” – but HOW and WHY do this – when it is about me and my family ? It is personal.”

May-Britt then showed photos from her home region in the land of ice, Jokkmokk and the Lule River Valley. By this time, fall 2012, May-Britt had learned about the threat to her home river, already a regulated and silenced river. A mining exploitation at the top of the Little Lule River – at Kallak – Gállok – as described in the presentation by Tor Lundberg Tuorda, was going on.²⁹ To May-Britt, learning about this new threat to her river, to her homelands and waters was shocking. To share the emotions of this exploitation that touched her to her inner and deepest, of both despair and hope, May-Britt read out a long passage by herself from the forthcoming joint article:

“I learnt in school, and it is still taught to school children, that the Scandinavian Peninsula was completely covered by an ice cover up to three kilometers thick, leaving no possibility for human or non-human life in this area. We learn that 10,000 years ago the ice started melting away and that today we can find traces of the first human settlers who migrated here. Archaeological investigations are plentiful in Sápmi. They have been conducted throughout the 20th century, the majority of them financed by the Swedish State Power company (Vattenfall) obliged to finance archaeological investigations before inundating our lands and damming our rivers.³⁰

Somehow, for some reason, it is very important to find out what the Sámi are. It seems very important to establish WHY we would be so different from the Swedes. The archaeologist C-G Ojala (2009), himself a person with his roots in this region with its mixed groups of Sámi, Finns and Swedes, writes in his dissertation:

The origin of the Sámi people has been one especially consistent theme in the history of scientific interest in the Sámi. At times, it has been the dominant theme, overshadowing other ways of studying and understanding the Sámi past. Throughout the centuries, many ideas and views on the origin of the Sámi have been put forward by different researchers – Lappologists, historians, archaeologists, linguists and anthropologists – who have connected various older sources and new findings in their search for origins. Moreover, the origin of the Sámi has very often been presented as being a great mystery and a riddle waiting to be solved.³¹

Who was here first, after the ice melted away? Who were the first human inhabitants has become a controversial political issue where archaeologists are called to provide testimonies in courts over disputes of traditional land rights between Sámi reindeer herders and other local inhabitants [Cf Ojala, p. 155] who have

been – despite probably being related to one another – categorized as Swedes and having bought or inherited land areas. Now, searching in literature for information so that I can understand and communicate how this land of ice would have looked – I find something revolutionary. Well, to me it is a revolutionary insight. I was told and had learnt to believe that nothing could have lived here with this immense ice-cover. That indeed my ancestors had to migrate here at some point, after the ice-age. But, in March 2012, a group of researchers at my own university published an article stating that trees lived here!

They write:

Our findings imply that conifer trees survived in ice-free refugia of Scandinavia during the last glaciation, challenging current views on survival and spread of trees as a response to climate changes.³²

They talk about trees. And now I remember Astrid Cleve von Euler (1936), the first female Ph.D. of natural sciences in Sweden and how I as a young student for my first essay ever discovered her work and her rejected claims of the ice age survival of Sámi on the Norwegian coast.³³ I was so thrilled back then, but I never heard of any such ideas again, until now. And I start to see humans and animals. Fish. And I remember a film, by an Sámi filmmaker, that I saw long ago, the first full-length film in Sámi language and based on an old Sámi myth – a Stallo (Stallú) tale. The Stallo, half human, half demon, is evil and cunning, and for no reason hates humans and tries to kill them, eat their flesh, kidnap children and women. In most narratives, the human (‘Sámi’ refers to ‘human’ in Sámi languages) ends with the Stallo being tricked into falling into a hole in the ice, or leading him to the mountain or forest naked to freeze to death.³⁴ In the film *Pathfinder*, it is Aigin, a Sámi boy living on the ice and snow, his family having been killed by a band of mean men, and being forced to be their pathfinder to show them the way to the other fleeing Sámis.³⁵ He manages to trick them and thereby to save his people.

The Stallo has been beaten again. What I remember of this film most of all is the overwhelming ice and snow. How could they have lived there? What was the director telling us by showing us all this ice and snow? And I remember experiencing 42 Celsius below zero last February in Jokkmokk. And then I think

about my Inuit friends in Greenland, who still live in a region covered by ice, in some parts up to three kilometres thick. And I think, ‘maybe we were actually always here’, just like the Sámi Johan Turi states in his book about Sámi of 1910.³⁶ Maybe we too, like our Aboriginal friends in Australia, have been here for at least 60,000 years. Surviving on and by the ice despite it seeming impossible.

Until now, when some scientists find evidence that certain trees survived. I feel hope. I don’t know why. But I feel hopeful. I will reclaim my past. I, who used to hate the cold and snow, I will reclaim my understanding of living with and enjoying the ice and snow. I yoik the ice. I yoik the snow. I yoik our past, our present and our future. The Stallo of today is the ongoing depletion of our nature, ever expanding greed for minerals, electricity, energy. They may call it ‘development’, ‘job opportunities’ and ‘renewable energy resources’, but in what it actually is about is yet another invasion by the Stallo. The animals, the reindeer, lose their grazing lands, our fish die, our waters get poisoned, they train shooting at missiles over our heads, and the electricity production turns our rivers into death traps for humans and animals. But we won’t give up. We survived the ice age; we will not be beaten by the Stallo. We will not perish, we won’t vanish. We were always here. We will always remain here.”

Reading this passage out, in this context – in a university room where the majority of the audience were Sámi and wearing Sámi outfits, as well as with participants from other parts of the world also being Indigenous/Native – scholars, artists, activists, being fully aware of what May-Britt and her family and Sámi people have experienced throughout centuries of colonization, and having Frances on the skype, direct from Australia, was very emotional to May-Britt. Her tears fell. Her tears made other persons’ tears fall as well. It was the first time ever that May-Britt showed her tears in front of an audience at a University, at an academic conference. The first time ever in public for that matter. This happened because May-Britt for the first time experienced what a “safe space” is. This was finally a safe space for Indigenous history and knowledge sharing! This was a space for sharing the personal indigenous history of traumas from colonization, from exploitation and the struggle for survival and the hopes for a better life. To share the dreams that we will resist, that we will go on, that we can do this, that we can conquer the arenas of status from which we may influence the power holders in society. It was a powerful moment.

Conclusion

Usually we write conclusions in academic texts. It would be appropriate with a conclusion here. However, this collaboration is but the start of a new era. There is no conclusion to be made at this stage. May-Britt and Frances met in Sacramento, at the NAISA conference. We strengthened each other through email exchanges and through discussing our dreams, our hopes and our texts. May-Britt was in an urgent need for support to develop her own way of thinking, writing and acting from an indigenous point of departure, which was the reason for calling on Indigenous colleagues and Indigenous allies to join her at the RE-Mindings Symposium. Frances – and all the other participants came to her support and together we created something that we do not yet fully understand the amplitude, or the result, of. The collaboration between May-Britt and Frances, for the forthcoming joint article is but a piece in this process.

We continue our yoiks, our songs, our exchanges.

Notes

¹ Yoik is traditional Sámi singing/recital where the story being told is an inherent part of the music produced. Being identified by the Swedish state church as heathen, the tradition has disappeared in many families, while kept in secret in others. The last two decades, with Sámi cultural revitalization, the tradition starts to regain force.

² Wyld, Frances., Öhman, May-Britt. "Lands of Fire and Ice ; From Hi-Story to History in the Lands of Fire and Ice: Our stories and Embodiment as Indigenous in a Colonized Hemisphere." In Castejon, Vanessa., Cole, Anna., Haag, Oliver., Hughes, Karen (eds.). *Ego-Histoire', Europe and Australian Indigenous Studies*. Biographical Live Series, Australian National University E Press, Forthcoming.

³ Popkin, JD. "Ego-Histoire and Beyond: Contemporary French Historian Autobiographers." In *French Historical Studies*, vol. 19, no. 4, 1996, pp. 1139-1167.

⁴ Historians working within the field of gender studies have shown how the production of history is also a matter of producing the male version – a focus on men's history, as in most society men and women have different tasks, and also that when women do prominent

⁵ Cf. Popkin, JD. 1996, p. 1140.

⁶ Nora, Pierre. *Essaid'ego-histoire*. 1996, p. 1140. Cited in Popkin, JD, Paris, 1987.

⁷ Öhman May-Britt and Frances Wyld, Forthcoming " From Hi-Story to History in the Lands of Fire and Ice ; embodiment as Indigenous in a colonized hemisphere" in 'Ego-Histoire', Europe and Indigenous Studies Castejon, Cole, Haag and Hughes (eds.) Biographical Lives Series, ANU E Press.

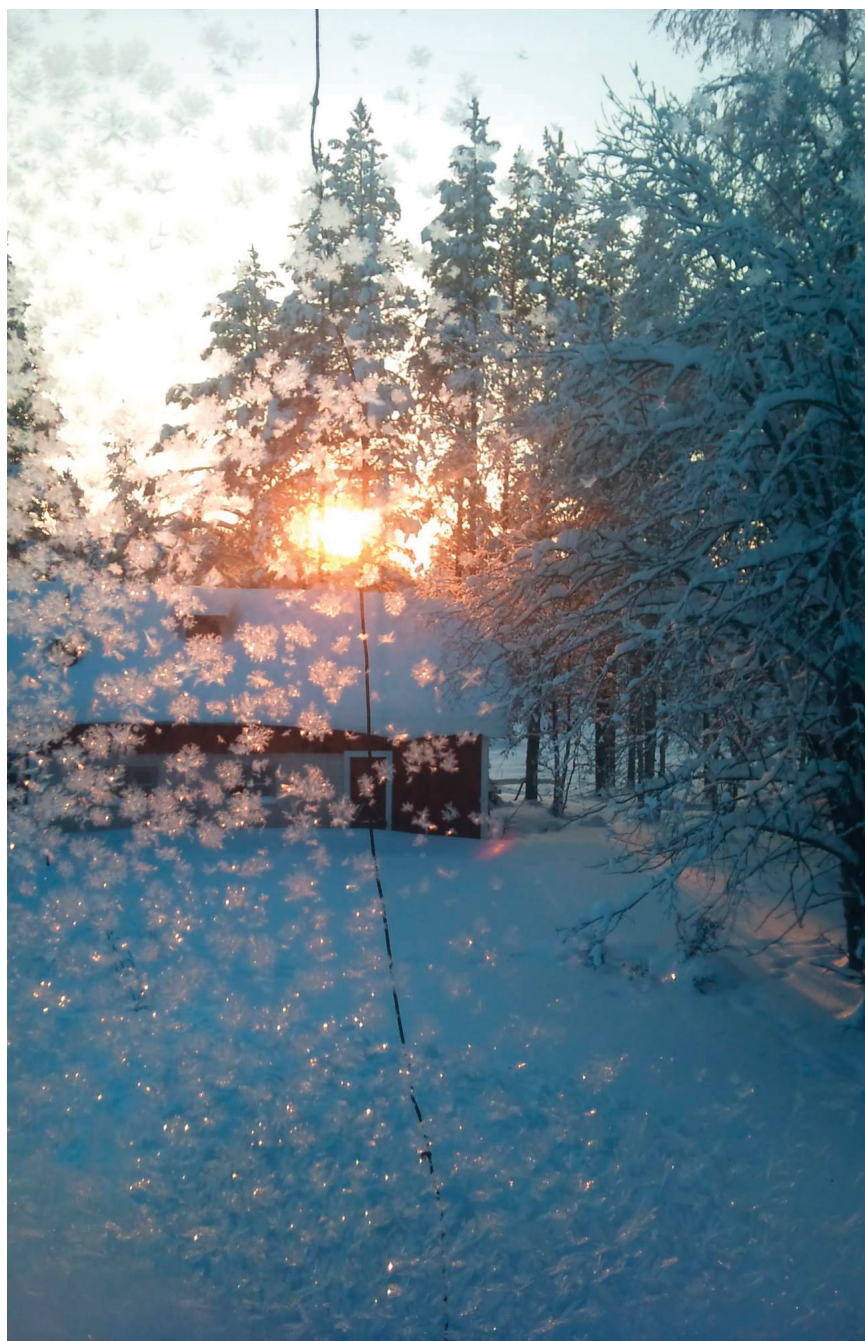
⁸ NAISA, Native American and Indigenous Studies Association – Sacramento, California, May 19-21, 2011.

⁹ In the conference program the title by Frances Wyld is "Between self and chaos ; sense-ing Indigenous auto-ethnography", although at the conference Frances opted to change the title to better suit the talk.

¹⁰ See the article by Anna Lydia Svalastog in this publication.

¹¹ Wyld, Frances. "Writing the Ephemeral of Culture: Storm Method." In *Social Alternatives* 30 (2) 40-43, 2011, p. 40.

¹² Email from Frances Wyld to May-Britt Öhman, May 30, 2011.



Landscapes in Jokkmokk at minus 35 C. February. Photo by May-Britt Öhman.

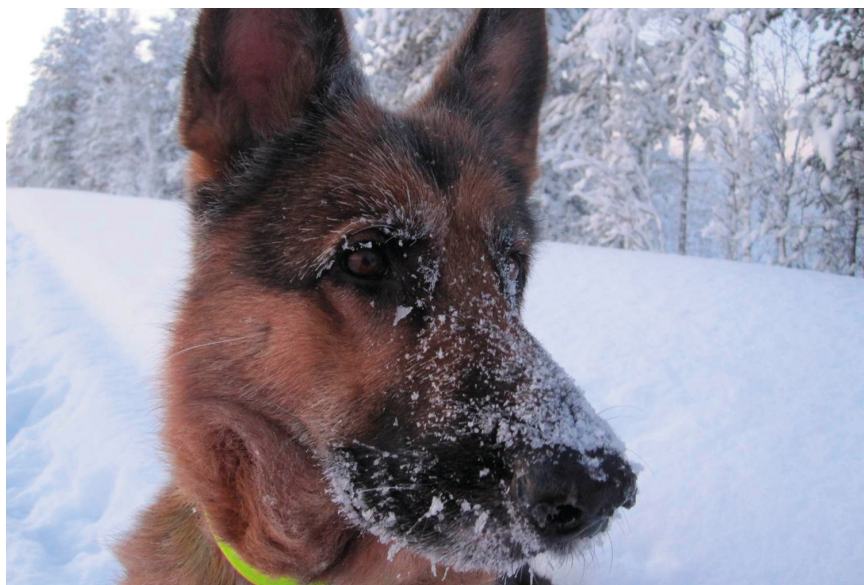


May-Britt Öhman and Frances Wyld [on Skype] presenting at the RE-Mindings Symposium. In the photo is also Kaori Arai, of the Ainu people in Japan. Photo by Tor Lundberg Tuorda.

- ¹³ Email from May-Britt Öhman to Frances Wyld, June 5, 2011.
- ¹⁴ Dr Minae Inahara, Centre for Research into Embodied Subjectivity (CRES) Department of Humanities (Philosophy), The University of Hull presented *Voicing Myself: Towards a Disabled Reading of a Cyborg Manifesto* at the DiST-Urbances symposium.
- ¹⁵ Full name, "Dist-Urbances: Embodying, Voicing, Challenging Comfort, Safety and Trust in Land- and Waterscapes of TechnoScience – The First Uppsala Supradisciplinary Feminist Technoscience Symposium." The Symposium [Accessed July 24, 2013].
- ¹⁶ Wyld, Frances, Presented at the Dist-urbances: Embodying, Voicing, Challenging Safety and Trust in Land and Waterscapes of TechnoScience, Uppsala University, 2011.
- ¹⁷ Being May-Britt Öhman: Or, Reflections on my own Colonized Mind Regarding Hydropower Constructions in Sápmi, Elovaara, Sefyrin, Öhman & Björkman, (eds.) *Travelling Thoughtfulness – Feminist Technoscience Stories*. Umeå Univ., Dept. of Informatics, 2010, p. 269-292.
- ¹⁸ Email Frances Wyld to May-Britt Öhman, Feb. 13th, [01:05:34 AM CEST] ; May-Britt Öhman to Frances Wyld, Feb. 13th, 2012, [07:59:13 PM CEST].
- ¹⁹ Email Frances Wyld to May-Britt Öhman, Feb. 13th, 2012 [Accessed 08:07:38 AM CEST].
- ²⁰ Popkin, JD. 1996. p. 1166-1167.
- ²¹ Haraway D. "A Cyborg Manifesto: Science, Technology and Socialist-Feminism in the Late Twentieth Century." In Haraway, D. (ed.), *Simians, Cyborgs and Women. The Reinvention of Nature*, Routledge, London and New York, 1991a, pp. 149-181.
- ²² Nora, P. 'Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*' *Representations* No. 26 *Special Issue: Memory and Counter Memory*. 1989, pp. 7-24,.
- ²³ Fanon, Frans. *The Wretched of the Earth*, Penguin, London, 1971.
- ²⁴ Watson, I. "Settled and Unsettled Spaces: Are We Free to Roam?" In Robinson, A Moreton (ed.). *Sovereign Subjects*. Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 2007, pp. 15-32.
- ²⁵ Peters-Little, F. "Introduction." In F Peters-Little, A Curthoys & J Docker (eds.). *Passionate Histories: Myth, Memory & Indigenous Australians*, Australian National University E Press, Canberra, 2010, pp. 1-6.
- ²⁶ Wyld, Frances. "In the Land of Silos", *Journal of Australian Indigenous Issues*, vol. 14 no. 1, 2011, pp. 63-66.
- ²⁷ Nakata, Martin. *Disciplining the Savages: Savaging the Disciplines*. Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra, 2007.
- ²⁸ Bakhtin, Mikhail. "Carnival and the carnivalesque." In J. Storey. *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: a reader*. Pearson Longman, Harlow, England, 2009, pp. 250-259.
- ²⁹ See Tor Lundberg Tuorda's article in this publication.
- ³⁰ Öhman, M-B. *Taming Exotic Beauties: Swedish Hydropower Constructions in Tanzania in the Era of Development Assistance, 1960s-1990s*. Stockholm, 2007.
- ³¹ Ojala, C-G. *Sámi Prehistories. The Politics of Archaeology and Identity in Northernmost Europe*. Occasional Papers in Archaeology 47, Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, Uppsala, 2009, p. 11.
- ³² Parducci L, T Jorgensen, M MTollefsrud, E Elverland, T Alm, S L Fontana. "Glacial Survival of Boreal Trees in Northern Scandinavia." *In Science* vol. 335, no. 6072, 2012, pp. 1083-1086.
- ³³ Cleve von Euler, A. *Komsakulturensålder* [The Age of the Komsa culture]. Lindesberg, 1936 ; Öhman, M-B. *De förstanaturvetenskapskvinnorna vid Uppsala universitet*, [The first women in science at the University of Uppsala]. Unpublished undergraduate essay, Department of History of Science and Ideas, Uppsala University, 1991.
- ³⁴ Cf. Cocq, C. *Revoicing Sámi narratives: North Sámi Storytelling at the Turn of the 20th Century*. Ph.D. thesis, Umeå, 2008, p. 157.
- ³⁵ Gaup, N. *Pathfinder* [Original title: Ofelaš], Norwegian Film Institute, Norway, 1987.
- ³⁶ Turi, J. *An account of the Sámi [Muittalussamidbirra]*, Nordic Studies Press, Chicago, 2011 [1910].



May-Britt awaiting Yoik contest at Jokkmokk Wintermarket, 2012. Private collection.



Lexie, May-Britt's German Shepherd companion, friend and research assistant, in Jokkmokk, February, minus 35 C. Photo by May-Britt Öhman.

When the land became a testing range

Nausta, Udtja and NEAT

Lilian Mikaelsson

Lilian Mikaelsson comes from a reindeer herding family, Forest Saami, and is also proud owner of some reindeer with her own mark that used to belong to her grandmother on her father's side. She holds a BA of Art Education from Bildlärarinstitutionen, Konstfack, for children up to age of 19. She has worked for many years as an art teacher in the public school. Lilian Mikaelsson has done two separate college courses at the Theological College, in "Racism and discrimination" and "Indigenous and Minorities rights." She has been engaged in NGO's and activist movements like the Fourth World Association, Latinamerican groups in Sweden and also served as chairperson in the Saami assoc., in Stockholm and as vice president in the National Association of Saamiland, Same Ätnam. In the Stockholm area, during many years and on many occasions she has played a part in innumerable seminars, demonstrations and culture events regarding Indigenous and especially Saami rights. She has been involved in Indigenous exchanges between Sweden and Bolivia (Kawsay) and in Colombia with The National Indigenous Organization of Colombia (ONIC).

Today, Lilian Mikaelsson is deputy member of board of the Saami Council, a Saami organization (an NGO), with Saami member organizations in Finland, Russia, Norway and Sweden. She is responsible for the Web site for Silbonah Sámesijdda where she also serves as a deputy member of the board. In 2013 she was a candidate for the political party Min Geaidnu (MG) in the Saami Parliament elections in Sweden.

May-Britt Öhman

Ph.D. (History of Science and Technology), Forest Sámi of the Julevädno – Lule River – valley.

Member of board of the Sámi association Silbonah Samesijdda, of UPPSAM (Association for Sámi related studies in Uppsala), member of board of the National Association of Swedish Saami (SSR), deputy member of the Swedish Sámi Parliament since elections of 2013.

Since 2009, research fellow at the Centre for Gender Research at Uppsala University. Research "Situating perspectives on the hydropower exploitation in Sapmi:

Swedish technological expansion in the 20th century and its impact on the indigenous population” projects (PostDoc Swedish Research Council 2009-2010); “DAM-MED: Security, Risk and Resilience around the Dams of Sub-Arctica” (Swedish Research Council 2010-2012); “Rivers, Resistance, Resilience: Sustainable Futures in Sápmi and other Indigenous Peoples’ Territories (FORMAS 2013-2016).”

Abstract

The information in this article was presented at the RE-Mindings Symposium, by Lilian Mikaelsson. The symposium presentation was further developed into an article through collaboration with May-Britt Öhman and the editors of this symposium report. The presentation was also made at NAISA, Native American and Indigenous Studies Association Annual Meeting in Saskatoon, June 13-15, 2013, at the session Decolonizing Sápmi: Archeology, Food Security, and Struggles against Mining and Militarization, organized by May-Britt Öhman. Lilian Mikaelsson demonstrated how the Swedish Nation-State has used the North, and lands of the Indigenous Saami, as a testing ground for military purposes.

Although terms and compensation have been negotiated between Saami reindeer herders and the Swedish military, the Saami have not been treated as other citizens of the Swedish Nation-State. These problems have further increased when foreign armies have leased the land for training and weapon testing. At the heart of the problem of the North – Sápmi/Sábme – is the way that it is viewed from the eyes of the Nation-State, which does not pay particular interest to the actual conditions under which the Saami operate or the culture by which they live. The information which is not otherwise referenced in this article is provided by Lilian Mikaelsson.

The Land as a Testing Range

The Vidsel Test Range, also known as *RFN – Robotförsöksplats Norrland (Robot Testing Ground Norrland/North)*,¹ was established during the 1950s on land primarily used by three Saami villages – Udtja, Turopon and Luokta Mavas. The testing grounds also coincide with Udtja Nature Reserve, an area extending over 15,000 square kilometers. The government agency *Administration for Defense Material* (Försvarets Materielverk, FMV) is responsible for the activities of RFN. The main purpose has been to execute military weapon tests but was initially also



Lilian Mikaelsson making a speech in Luleå during a manifestation by OFOG [Anti-war organization practicing civil disobedience] at International Action Camp 2011 as a reaction to NATO's participation in military training on Swedish territory. Private collection.



*Monument donated in the 1960s to Vidsele Village in which the Vidsele base and its personnel from Linköping [Air Force] and Trollhättan [SAAB] settled.
Photo by Lilian Mikaelsson.*



Sunset at Naustajávri (Nausta lake). Photo by May-Britt Öhman.

planned for the construction of the first Swedish atomic bomb.

There is some literature available on the impacts of the Vidsel Test Range – RFN – on the communities that were forced to relocate and on the impacts on the communities that are still around. However there has been no major investigation in these matters. It is sort of a hidden history that mainly only the people that are related to this place know about.² So far no research has been made in regard to the environmental impacts on the lands and waters.³

Back in the 1950s, Saami Rights were practically non-existent – some concerns and privileges were honored but were confined to specific traditional vocations like reindeer herding. Once the Swedish State had decided to establish RFN, the process to empty the area of its people began. The populace did not receive support from *Sámiid Riikasearvi* (SSR), the national reindeer herders' organization – all were left to negotiate conditions on their own with the State.

From a Saami perspective, little consultation or dialogue had existed between the State and the inhabitants affected by these decisions. The village Nausta was emptied, bearing resemblance to what has in history been labeled as *forced relocation*. Udtja village, where the herders lived, managed to stay. As the reindeer herders of Udtja depended on these pasture lands, the State made some adjustments to allow for the village to maintain their livelihood. For example, when the testing was carried out, herders and families had to temporarily abandon their homes and land; in return, the military refrained from exercises in May and June, when the reindeer calves are born, and also during the hunting seasons in autumn and winter.

This agreement with Udtja on the part of the State has resulted in several observers considering the establishment of RFN as not having had major negative impacts on the livelihood or reindeer herding of Udtja village. A seemingly reciprocal relationship of giving-and-taking has developed over the years between the military and the Saami inhabitants, so as to minimize disturbance for all concerned. Herders receive economic compensation whenever the testing hinders their work; at times herders receive helicopter assistance for searching areas to ensure that the herd is outside the designated point of shooting.

Since the late 20th century and up to the present date, RFN operations have changed. Operations have expanded to include training grounds for foreign armies as well as companies for testing weapons. The land is advertised on their website as an area with unique conditions optimal for military exercises:

- 24 hours of daylight during summer and 24 hours of darkness during winter,
- Geography and climate resembling parts of the world where war is currently being waged
- It is uninhabited land.

Here we are presented with the relationship of the Swedish State towards the people living in the North – a people of no importance. Udtja Nature Reserve and its surrounding populace are regarded as an uncivilized periphery, existing only by its means of serving the center – the Nation-State of Sweden.

Since 2004 the war exercises have included armies such as the NATO Response Force, the U.S. Air Force and the British Air Force along with weapon manufac-

turers such as Alenia Aeronautica and SAAB. There have also been co-exercises between the Swedish military, European armies and NATO countries. According to figures from FMV, the activities of foreign customers have increased by over six hundred percent in recent years. That is an immense amount of activity.

Sweden finally recognized the Saami as an Indigenous People in 1977.⁴ According to the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), adopted by the UN General Assembly in 2007, Indigenous Peoples have special rights.⁵ These rights relate, in particular, to self-determination, as well as land rights to areas traditionally belonging to Indigenous Peoples. The implications of these rights, and of relevance for our discussion about RFN and its Saami inhabitants, are that:

- Military activities shall not take place in the lands or territories of Indigenous Peoples, unless justified by a relevant public interest or otherwise *freely agreed with or requested by* the Indigenous Peoples concerned.
- States shall, prior to the use of territories for military activities, undertake effective consultations with the Indigenous Peoples concerned through appropriate procedures and, in particular, through their representative institutions.

Therefore, it has not been sufficient to simply inform the concerned Saami villages about the activities of RFN; negotiations should have been conducted between



*View from Naustapuoda, the Nausta mountain, lakes and waters within the closed area.
Private collection.*



Forest Sami hut at Udtja Village. Photo by May-Britt Öhman.



The Udtja village. The houses are maintained by their owners who have access to their houses freely only in June and September, as no military activities is then allowed due to reindeer herding activities (calving in June, marking and slaughter in September. The rest of the year the owners need to call in to make sure no military training is planned, no more than a day in advance. It is very difficult to plan for staying in the area as the military training has precedence and all inhabitants have to adapt to this. Photo by May-Britt Öhman.



Locked gates at the entrance of the FMV test field – Nausta and Udtja – entrance only available to members of the Sami communities and thus owners of house that remain within the area. Photo by May-Britt Öhman.



House in the evacuated Nausta village. The houses have been remodeled and are now used as guest houses at different training sessions. Photo by May-Britt Öhman.

FMV and the Saami Parliament. On the other hand, the Saami Parliament, along with SSR since the 1950s, has failed to give this issue the attention it requires.

Furthermore, whatever reciprocal relationship previously honored between the military and the Saami at RFN can no longer be said to exist at the beginning of the 21st century. In 2007 a local newspaper interviewed Saami herders from Tuorpon Saami Sijdda, who reported that military aircrafts had flown several times over the herds. Several female reindeer were pregnant and, as the airplane repeatedly passed overhead and in close vicinity to the dwelling ground of the herd, the reindeer panicked. In the chaos, reindeer were trampled and wounded by each others' horns, which resulted in spontaneous abortions of calves. Several more reindeer had to be put to death once it was all over (NorrbottensKuriren 2007-05-28). The agreement between the Swedish State and the Saami community had been broken, which had resulted in damage and losses for the Saami that economic compensation cannot restore.

It is not only the rights of local inhabitants, but the nature itself that has been affected by the presence of RFN. The RFN test range area at Udtja contains many lakes, and both the Lule and Pite rivers are downstream from these lakes and receive their waters from them. As of yet there have been no official investigations in regards to if, and how, toxic materials or heavy metals are present in the water as a result of RFN's activities in the area. However, what is known is that the area is repeatedly subjected to the shooting of rockets and other projectiles. As much as RFN may have altered or damaged the environment surrounding Udtja, one of the ironies is that the surrounding environment's old-growth, biologically balanced forests would probably not have been preserved unless the test range had not prevented further industrial exploitations.

Notes

¹ Cf. website of Vidsel Test Range [Accessed Aug. 10, 2013].

² Cf. Sommarström, Bo. "Udtja - reindeer pastoralism within a missile range." In *Saami cultural research in Sweden 1990 /compiled and edited by Roger Kvist*. 1991, p. 5 ; Sommarström, Bo & Westman Kuhmunen, Anna. *Udtja: en etnologisk dokumentation av en skogssameby*. Åjtte, Jokkmokk, 1997 ; Andersson, Olle. "Ett nytt hot mot samerna [A new threat to the Sami]." In *Samefolkets Egen Tidning*. 1959:8, p. 59-60 ; "Robotskjutfältet [Robot shooting range]." In *Samefolkets Egen Tidning*. 1960:2, p. 12.

³ See article by Eva-Lotta Thunqvist in this publication.

⁴ The Swedish Parliament, Riksdagen, stated in 1977 that the Sami have a specific position as an Indigenous People in Sweden. For details, see Gov. Proposition 1976/77:80, bet. 1976/77:KrU43 s. 4, rskr. 1976/77:289.

⁵ <http://social.un.org/index/IndigenousPeoples/DeclarationontheRightsofIndigenousPeoples.aspx>.



Lilian Mikaelsson at the RE:Mindings Symposium. Photo by Tor Lundberg Tuorda.



*Fia Kaddik in her "mixed" Sámi dress.
Photo by Fia Kaddik.*



*Cecilia Persson performing at RE-Mindings.
Photo by Tor Lundberg Tuorda.*



Liselotte Wajstedt at RE-Mindings. Photo by Tor Lundberg Tuorda.



Marie Persson and Fia Kaddik leaving the University Main Hall after a day of discussions at RE-Mindings. Photo by Tor Lundberg Tuorda.



*Marie Persson and Hiroshi Maruyama.
Photo by Tor Lundberg Tuorda.*



Photos from the RE-Mindings Symposium. From upper left: 1. Fia Kaddik, 2. In front: Gunilla Larsson and Johan Gärdebo. 3. Sámi duodji by Susanna Nordqvist. 4. Kim TallBear and Åsa Virdi Kroik. 5. Markus Nyström. 6. Hiroshi Maruyama. 7. Gudrun Lindi. 8. Janna Carlessen, Kaori Arai and Jorunn Nilsson. Photos by M-B Öhman and no 5 by Tor Lundberg Tuorda.

Appendix

Abstracts of Presentations at the RE-Mindings Symposium

Below are biographies and abstracts from presentations that were made during the RE-Mindings symposium, but not developed into full articles within this report.

Janna Carlessen

Bio: Alumnus, Stockholm University. Finalized my undergraduate degree in Japanese at the Stockholm University spring 2012. I have also studied for a year at the Tohoku University, Sendai, Japan. Interpreter for Japanese, English and Swedish at the Symposium.

Fia Kaddik

My name is Fia Kaddik and I own FIAK FOTO. I am a Sami woman at my peak, my parents are from two sides of the Sami culture. I live in Jokkmokk in the north of Sweden, within the Laponia World Heritage area. I have two grown children, a partner and two dogs. I am a woman of nature, living close to nature and its animals. I grew up with the Sami culture, the Sami handicraft and the reindeer.

I have been taking photographs ever since I was a child and the camera is with me everywhere I go. I shoot the life that the Sami live today, without romanticizing the Sami culture. My pictures are characterized by an authenticity with no enhancements. I want to convey the message that contemporary Sami culture is alive and well. The reindeer is the power, the strength and the backbone of our culture.

Presentations/Performances at the Symposium: Opening Yoik, Closing Yoik and Performance at Symposium Dinner; Presentation: Laponia- Living Sámi Culture

Hadi Lile

Bio: Researcher at Department of Criminology and Sociology of Law at University of Oslo. Hadi Lile finished his Ph.D. in December 2011 at the Law Faculty, University of Oslo. His main research question was to find out if children in Nor-

way learn what they are supposed to according to international law, especially the Convention on the Rights of the Child article 29 (1). The Ph.D. was based on sociology of law. Hadi has worked for Gáldu as and written several articles on Sámi and indigenous peoples human rights.

Symposium presentation: What Is Important and Not So Important Knowledge about the Sámi People?

Abstract

My research question for my Ph.D. was to find out if children learn what they are supposed to according to international law. First I had to find out what they should learn – what was important. Only after that could I move on to finding out if children actually learn what they are supposed to. The first part of my Ph.D. was thus very much based on legal jurisprudence. I will in this presentation present to you my main conclusions on what children should learn about the Sámi People according to international law. I will also say something about what they actually learn and if that is “important” (relevant) in relation to international law.

Gudrun Eliissä Eriksen Lindi

Bio: SNF-Sámi NissonForum – Sami Women’s Forum. Works with local & international projects, and as office manager in Sami Women’s Forum, and with local development and culture industry issues, and as a translator in northern Sami and Norwegian, Been an activist in Sami women’s movement since 1988, because gender issues are important for the development of the Sami society. Received the Norwegian Sami Parliament’s Gender Equality Award in 2004. Bachelor of Arts degree (cand.mag.), University of Tromsø 1986. In 2012 attending courses at Arts & Business, Oslo, learning how cultural actors meet industry. Live in my home village Kárášjohka, Norwegian part of Sápmi, with family.

Symposium presentation: Position or Opposition? The Organizational Work of Sami Women

Jorunn Nilsson

Bio: As a student of Japanese I am attending this symposium in the role of interpreter. I am currently studying for my Master's degree at the Department of Oriental Languages at Stockholm University. As an undergraduate student I also spent two years in Japan, at Kyoto University and at Nanzan University in Nagoya, studying Japanese, Linguistics and Translation. My Bachelor's thesis dealt with translating women's dialogue in childrens' literature. (If you are interested in receiving help with translation or interpretation, please feel free to contact me at jorunn.nilsson@hotmail.com.) Participated as interpreter for Japanese, English and Swedish at the Symposium.

Carl-Gösta Ojala

Bio: Carl-Gösta Ojala is a researcher in archaeology at the Department of Archaeology and Ancient History at Uppsala University. In 2009, he finished his doctoral dissertation in archaeology "Sámi Prehistories – the politics of archaeology and identity in northernmost Europe." He is currently working on a project, financed by the Swedish Research Council, investigating the representations of the northern landscapes and the early history of the northern peoples in Northern Fennoscandia and northernmost Russia and Siberia. Symposium presentation: Archaeology, Power and Heritage in Sápmi

Abstract of presentation:

In this short presentation, I would like to address some of the challenges that an archaeologist working in Northern Fennoscandia and Sápmi might face, concerning for instance the history of archaeological investigations and the interrelations with water power and other exploitations of the river systems, and the representations of history and prehistory in the northern areas. Current debates about the cultural rights of the indigenous Sámi population and the management of archaeological sites and remains challenge traditional concepts and practices in archaeology. It is important to recognize the power dimensions involved in the mapping of the landscapes and the writing of (pre)history, and to critically discuss the ethics and politics of archaeological investigations and cultural heritage management. After all, what is archaeology, and what is an archaeologist?

Cecilia Persson

Bio: Artist, scriptwriter and project leader, lately from Åarjelhsaemien Theater in Mo I Rana/Norway with a Masters degree in drama-theater-film from the University of Umeå. Symposium Performances/Presentations: Opening Yoik, Closing Yoik and Performance at Symposim Dinner; Performance/Presentation: Traditional Cultural and Spiritual Expressions within Modern Sámi Stage Art/Feature film: Glimpses of performances from my career.

Opening and closing yoik, performance at dinner Oct 11th and presentation/performance Oct 11th.

Abstract

After a deep and overwhelming change from shamanistic to Christian concept of believing and perception of the world, there was no longer a natural place for old spiritual traditions in Sámi society. Some of the old cultural expressions were converted into Christian shape, but many others disappeared from main consciousness and daily practices.

In the 1970-ies there was a wave of cultural and political awakening in Sàpmi. Young and well educated Sámis claimed their old traditions and was looking for new arenas for modern expressions for old pre-Christian traditions. Theater and feature film was a natural part of the modern popular culture and a lot of professional and semi-professional Sámi artists, directors, actors and scriptwriters was started theater groups and produced films with the old spiritual tradition as a, more or less conscious topic. The Sámi theater group Dàlvadis was one of the first and more successful of these groups.

With a vast experience as an actor and scriptwriter on the Sámi theater stage, Cecilia Persson makes an analyze of at least 2 of the most successful performances from the repertoire of Dàlvadis, with a backdrop of the small leftovers from a great shamanistic complex, which have survived a compact colonialistic market place that have been dominating the Sámi space for at least 350 years.

Eva-Lotta Päiviö

Bio: Eva-Lotta Päiviö is post-doc researcher at the Department of Economic History at Stockholm University and she is currently involved in a research project called “Generation Change within Sami Reindeer Herding Enterprises in Sweden from about 1930 to the present.” Eva-Lotta has a Ph.D. in agronomy and has previously worked as a researcher at the Department of Agrarian History at the Swedish Agricultural University. Her dissertation from 2008 is titled “Defining and Measuring the New Role of Agriculture in the Agricultural Landscape.”

Symposium presentation: Reflections on an Inside-Perspective Based on Experiences from the Research Project *Generational Change within Sami Reindeer Herding Enterprises in Sweden from about 1930 to the Present*.

Abstract

The aim of the project “Generational change in Sami reindeer herding businesses in Sweden from around 1930 to the present times” is to find out more about strategies governing generational transfer within Sami reindeer herding families. The project is divided into three parts where the first part deals with transfer of material values; the second part deals with transfer of immaterial values, such as knowledge and traditions, and the third part deals with how gender is reflected in these processes. The methods used are semi-structured interviews with active and retired members of Sami reindeer herding families and archival studies of previously taped interviews with reindeer herders.

My interest in doing Sami-related research primarily stems from my own experiences; being Sami and having reindeer herders in the family. This workshop contribution aims at sharing and discussing some of my own reflections from having an inside perspective when doing research on a minority group. In the current research project a couple of topics have been identified in regards to this and the first topic deals with how one's own preconceived notions or subjectivity reflects and manifests in the research process. Subjectivity is of course a very broad topic relevant for all researchers and I want to share some specific thoughts on this based on my own work. One important question is for example how the respondents are to be chosen. Choosing persons that are already familiar to the researcher and his/her work may create a more relaxed and open interview situation but can at the same time be negative as a too close relationship can bias the interpretation of the respondent's story. The question of what is an objective analysis is naturally present

in all research work but is none the less interesting to discuss in more detail.

Another topic deals with the respondents and whether or not they should be anonymous in the study. Here some researchers argue that respondents should be allowed to “own” their stories and that they therefore have a right to keep their real identities if they wish to do so. This is a very relevant discussion in indigenous related research since you have a growing attention on the decolonization and empowerment perspectives of the work. Based on ethical considerations many researchers however go to length to unidentify their respondents; not only changing their names but also other characteristics that may reveal too much about their identity. This approach implies both benefits and disadvantages for the researcher as well as for the respondents and I will try to analyze both aspects further and relate both the pros and cons to my own research.

Kristina Sehlin MacNeil

I am a doctoral student at Vaartoe – Centre for Sami Research (CeSam). I started my position on September 1 2012. My Ph.D. project is part of the Industrial Doctoral School for Research and Innovation (IDS) and has the National Association of Swedish Sami (SSR) as a mentor organisation. The project has an international comparative dimension and half of the study is to be carried out in Australia in collaboration with the University of South Australia in Adelaide.

The overall aim of my thesis is to identify and analyse how Indigenous groups or communities in Sweden and Australia communicate and resolve disputes that arise between their groups and the dominant societies. The results will be analysed and compared with the intention to uncover similarities and differences. The overarching questions will concern the choice of dispute resolution methods in these Indigenous communities as well as relationships between dispute resolution and social sustainability.

The project’s objective is to, through the use of decolonizing methodologies, illuminate knowledge of communication and dispute resolution within Indigenous communities and to highlight strategies for conflict resolution that can promote social sustainability. In this way, the project should contribute to the further development of alternative dispute resolution methods.

[Presentation cancelled due to illness]

Margaretha Uttjek

Bio: Senior lecturer, Ph.D., Department of social work, Umeå university. Umeå Sámi association; Ammarnäs Sámi Association; SNF – Sámi Nisson Forum. International Institute for Qualitative Methodology, University of Alberta, Canada; EPS Worldlink, EPS Inc. 1625 Maisonneuve Ouest, Suite 305, Montreal, Canada, H3H 2N4.

Research Work and Interests: Aboriginal/Indigenous research and ethics. Qualitative research; qualitative and quantitative methodologies as complement to each other. Everyday life experiences of living with chronic skin diseases; quality of life; quality of health; social aspects of consequences of skin diseases; coping; stigmatization.

Clinical Work and Interests: Expertise in social work including psychosocial treatment and support, regarding child/youth as well as elderly people. Social Insurance issues.

Teaching Areas: Violence and threat against sámi women and children, indigenous research ethics. Qualitative Research Methods; Qualitative and Quantitative Methodologies as complement to each other; Quality of Life, Coping and Stigmatization in living with psoriasis in everyday life; Social Science and Work.

Symposium presentation: Preventive Efforts against Violence which Sámi Women and Children may be Subjected To.

Abstract

Preventive efforts against gendered violence are urgent and a global issue and lack of such efforts are social problems. From a theoretical power perspective, the woman is the man's inferior in the society. In addition, from this perspective Sámi's, women and men, are the majority people's inferior. Thus, Sámi women are two folded inferior. This inferiority is considered as a consequence of the historical, colonial development, and thus gender equality may have another meaning among indigenous people than non-indigenous people. Nordic welfare policy may have contributed to welfare among Sámis. However, this policy is stated not to consider the Sámis as one people. After UN:s critic regarding absence of actions to stop violence against Sámi women, the Swedish government has adopted a plan regarding men's violence against women. This plan is about special needs which women in minority groups may have. However, Sámi women's rights as being indigenous are not considered.

A project in 2008, which was initiated by the Swedish Sámi parliament, showed that there were needs for special efforts in Sámi society for women who may

have been subjected to violence, and that this support should be offered by Sámis since they are familiar to the women's culture. Furthermore, the project showed that Sámi women do not turn to Swedish authorities for support in the first place, if they are subjected to violence.

However, research on what such violence may look like, its extent and its impact on health are scarce, as well as what kind of efforts may be needed in order to prevent this kind of violence.

The point of departure in this current project is findings from that project in 2008, aiming at investigate extent and face of violence which Sámi women and children may be subjected to, and to suggest preventive efforts against such violence, and preventing ill-health, if any, in the future.

Keywords: *children, family, gender, indigenous, Sámi, violence.*

Åsa Virði Kroik

Bio: Ph.D. candidate, History of Religion, the Department of Theology. I grew up with reindeer-herding in a small village in northern Sweden. In school I studied music and continued my career working with various things while continuing writing poetry, lyrics, articles and so on. After studies in the university at Stockholm for the Saami professor Louise Bäckman. I held contact with the university while writing and editing books, and working with Saami related issues in Norway and Sweden. I started as a graduate student in September 2010 working with a project about attitudes to gievrie (the traditional Saami drum) during 300 years in the area of Frostviken/Namdalen in Sweden/Norway. This includes analyzing the discussions about the recently found gievrie in Røyrvik which objectify the traditional thoughts among some Saami that do not correspond with the Norwegian laws. Looking back in the history this attitude can be traced and explained.

Symposium presentation: Tjåhkere – a Sámi Holy Mountain or a Creation of Colonial Fantasies?: Reflections on How to Work with Decolonizing Aspects within the Field of History of Religion

Abstract

In Nord-Trøndelag, on the Norwegian side of Sápmi, the mountain Tjåhkere is located. The non-Sámi inhabitants in the area still have a mythology among them that tells of Sámi killing their elders – those who were not strong enough to join

the rest of their family for the annual journey to the coasts. Such elders were pushed them from the rock of this mountain. With the help of historical sources and from a decolonizing indigenous feminist perspective this paper analyses why this mythology, which also includes stories of Sámi cannibalism and other religious sacrifices, has come to life and remains vital today.

Liselotte Wajstedt

Bio: Liselotte is an artist and filmmaker, born 1973 in Kiruna, Sweden. She has now returned to Kiruna (from early 2013) after having over twenty years in Stockholm, the capital of Sweden. Many of her movies are based in her samish background. Liselotte now works fulltime as a filmmaker. She has an education in painting and arts from different schools in Sweden: Project programme in free Art at Royal institute of art as well as animation and experimental filmmaking with special emphasis on documentary storytelling and scriptwriting; Bachelor of Arts in Expression in Convergent Media, 2010 at Gotland University.

Symposium presentation: 'Kiruna – Space Road' and Other Adventures: Glimpses From My Filmmaking and Artistry

Abstract

I will show glimpses from my production and talk about their background. The movie that I am currently finalizing, "Kiruna-Space Road" is related to the mining industry in my hometown and how this growing mine hole will make my old childhood surroundings disappear, as the whole of the town will have to be moved. See further description below.

Kiruna – Space Road is a documentary film project in collaboration with Little-big Productions, Filmpool Nord, SVT and SFI. *Kiruna – Space Road* is also an art project. I have made a huge modell that can be exhibited together with some animated short films or pictures.

The first exhibition I participate in is at Umeå Bildmuseem KIRUNATOPIA 20 Juni – 28 Okt 2012. See the link: <http://www.bildmuseet.umu.se/utstallning-ar/2012/kirunatopia/>

Director, edit, script: Liselotte Wajstedt. Producer: Anna G Magúsdóttir LittleBig Production. In co-production with: Filmpool Nord, Sirel Peensaar och Sveriges Television AB, Eva Sandelin. With support of: Svenska Filminstitutet Tove Torbiörnsson.

SVENSKA [In Swedish]

Mitt Kiruna ska rivas och jämnas med marken. När jag först hörde att Kiruna skulle flytta blev jag rädd. När jag sen förstod att det var "mina" områden som skulle rivas först fick jag panik. Vad skulle då hända med mina minnen? Vad minns jag egentligen?

Filmen handlar om mina barndomskvarter som ska försvinna och bli ett hål... den vetenskapen väckte en slags panik i mig och många frågor: Vad kan jag bevara? Vad ska man bevara? I det stora hela handlar filmen om staden som jag minns den från min tid där, mellan 1973 då jag föddes och 1991 då jag flyttade därifrån. Det handlar om att förstå hur staden är konstruerad kring den stora gruvan, som ruvar intill oss och staden som ett slags monument över vår existens. Filmen handlar också om att försonas med sitt förflutna och det handlar i grund och botten om en förlorad trygghet och vad trygghet egentligen är.

ENGLISH

"Kiruna – Space Road" 2013 (52"). The region of Kiruna has been inhabited by Sámi for at least 6000 years. Its modern history starts with the iron mine a century ago. Today, the city of Kiruna has to move, the ore beneath has been excavated, the city threatens to collapse into the underground. Kiruna is a Swedification of the Sámi name *Giron*, meaning the bird Ptarmigan, as the two mountains Luossavaara and Kiirunavaara – before they were blasted away – looked like two Giron talking to each other. To me this relocation is a traumatic event. The house I grew up in will disappear. My childhood memory places will be gone into the underground. With my childhood friends I recall the past and ask them how their daily lives are today. We were the children who grew up in the 1970- 80s in the mining Kiruna, a city with pride and trust in the future. Our fathers worked in the state-owned mine. We incubated in the mine, Kiruna was a great and safe monument to our existence. We were taught that without the mine, Kiruna would never have existed and neither would we. This movie is a tribute to memories, mine and others, and our present. It is also a film about reconciliation, with one self, and one's past. Finally it is a film about lost safety and the question about what security/safety/comfort actually is about.

Call for Participation and Presentations

RE: Mindings

Co-Constituting Indigenous/Academic/Artistic Knowledges and Understandings of Land-, Water-, Body-, and Lab-scapes

Uppsala Second Supradisciplinary
Feminist TechnoScience Symposium

October 10-12, 2012, Uppsala University

UPPSAM

*For indigenous peoples, place, land, sovereignty, and memory matter.*¹

This symposium departs from the recognition that the field of indigenous studies, in the Swedish context in general – and in relation to Sápmi and Sámi in particular – in comparison to recent developments in Norway, the US, Canada and Australia is still surprisingly under-theorized.

The conference aims at establishing a network between leading scholars in the field, supradisciplinary collaboration partners, and to develop our capability in our understanding of modern state – indigenous peoples relationships in regard to Land-, Water-, Body-, and Lab-scapes.

The production of technological modern identities has rested in part on dispossessing indigenous peoples from their traditional lands and thus their land- and waterrelated identities.

However, it is not only resource transfers from indigenous to settler populations that has both supported and been enabled by colonization. Technoscientific language and imagery also shapes and reflects power relations that favor the modern nation state, and de-favor indigenous rights to traditional lands – and waterscapes. Therefore within this symposium, we depart from the understanding that technoscientific knowledge production needs to be decolonized, that is

democratized and made less hierarchical in order to enable indigenous peoples' continuance, healing and regeneration. The current situation in Sweden is highly problematic, as it contributes to the creation of epistemological contexts which support a continued and even increased colonial exploitation of Sámi traditional territories.

In Sápmi there is an increased number of mining concessions given to foreign corporations, expanding mining areas of already established mines, ongoing and planned wind power park establishments, expanding military tests and training areas and an increase of military activities. All these activities affect the livelihoods of the Sámi and other local inhabitants in terms of relationship to the land- and waterscapes in general, but also in terms of direct impacts on water quality including risk for toxic contaminations. At the same time, we see that the majority of research projects on Sámi related issues are being pursued by non-Sámi scholars, while at the same time there are Sámi who are academic scholars, but who do not find it beneficial – or rather detrimental – to self-identify as Sámi within the current Swedish academic context. Departing from these points, the ultimate aim and focus of the symposium is to provide a platform for a comparative and critical analysis of the Swedish situation in regard to Norway, the U.S., Canada, Japan and Australia, and thereby to further the theoretical development.

Questions to be addressed at the symposium:

- How can we understand and critically analyze the modern nation state – indigenous peoples relationships, in Sweden and elsewhere and what are the prospects for change in these relationships?
- What contributions can be made departing from feminist technoscience and gender research?
- How can supradisciplinary collaborations and methodologies be of use?
- What identity formations can be developed through different modes of expression and supradisciplinary collaborations?
- How can/should academic research be developed in regard to indigenous studies and an increased participation of indigenous scholars/scientists?

- What are the prospects for embodied research strategies and self-identifications as indigenous/non-indigenous as well as hybrid identities?
- Departing from a focus on waterscapes, and watery riverine identities, how can perceptions and understandings of these relationships be developed?

SYMPOSIUM ORGANIZATION

The symposium is organized by Dr. May-Britt Öhman, Centre for Gender Research, Uppsala University departing from the research project DAMMED: Security, Risk and Resilience around the Dams of Sub-Arctica (VR, 2010-2012) in collaboration with the symposium participants, and in collaboration with *UPPSAM*, the Association for Sámi Related Studies in Uppsala [Föreningen för samiskrelaterad forskning i Uppsala], the symposium is linked to the ongoing interdisciplinary research program **Mind and Nature**, funded by the faculty of Arts at Uppsala University and is also a SALT (Forum for Advanced Studies of Arts, Language and Theology) sponsored event.

METHODOLOGY OF THE SYMPOSIUM

We wish to stimulate a creative conversation where each presenter's contribution will receive encouragement and support for being further developed. We also wish to have discussions where each participant can feel free to contribute from his/her own perspective – according to a supradisciplinary methodology. The reference to supradisciplinarity not only expresses the inclusion of and collaboration between different academic disciplines, but also addresses the desire to blur the boundaries between academic and other knowledge production, recognizing that knowledge produced outside of academia should be equally considered and criticized as academic knowledge production. Presentations that depart from Sámi/indigenous traditional or untraditional knowledges and methodologies are most welcome.

For each presentation one or two discussants will be assigned with the specific task to present their reflections on the presentation, in terms of how did this specific talk/presentation inspire me, what will I bring with me, what are my suggestions from my specific point of view? The discussants are also asked to, after the symposium, send in comments in written and/or as photo/film, departing from their own reflections as well as if they have had any new thoughts coming up. These comments will be part of the published symposium report.

PARTICIPATION AND PRESENTATION

This symposium is open to all interested persons to participate, i.e. students on all levels are welcome (student, master student, Ph.D. student) as well as scholars from any field. Persons currently not active within academia are most welcome. In particular, Sámi and other indigenous people, whether inside academia or outside, are much welcome to participate.

However, there is a limited space for presentations available, so if you wish to present something please send in your registration form as soon as possible to get the confirmation if your presentation can be accepted within the program. The symposium can accept up to 40 participants in total. If there is a risk of too many participants, those that offer their contribution as chair and/or discussant will be prioritized.

SYMPOSIUM FEE

The fee for participants with an annual income greater than SEK 300,000/year or if the participation is financed through an organization/institution is SEK 1,000.

The fee for participants with an annual income less than SEK 300,000/year is SEK 400. The fee includes coffee/fika, lunches as well as reception 10th and dinner 11th.

Discount for discussants and chairs.

If you agree to sign up as discussant and/or chair, please state this in the registration form. The fee for participants with an annual income greater than SEK 300,000/year or if the participation is financed through an organization/institution is then SEK 400. The fee for participants with an annual income less than SEK 300,000/year is then SEK 100.

Payment instructions:

Payment should be made at the time of registration, and latest by October 1st. If payment is done later, please bring a copy of the payment slip to the symposium.

REGISTRATION AND CONTACT

Please fill out the registration form (available on www.gender.uu.se) and send in as soon as possible and latest by October 1st (2012)

Questions can be addressed to DAMMED@gender.uu.se, or to any of these persons within the organization committee: Eva-Lotta Päiviö (eva.lotta-paivio@ekohist.su.se); Agneta Silversparf (silversparf@gmail.com); Annika Idenfors (Annika.idenfors@pol.umu.se), May-Britt Öhman (may-britt.ohman@gender.uu.se)

Notes

¹ Byrd, Jodi A. (2011). *The transit of empire: indigenous critiques of colonialism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Symposium Program 10-12 October 2012

Centre for Gender Research, Uppsala University

In collaboration with UPPSAM (The network/association for Sámi related research in Uppsala) and Silbonah Samesijdda, Hugo Valentin Centre and the Department of Theology- History of Religions.

Financed by Vetenskapsrådet, SALT, Mind and Nature Node

RE: Mindings: Co-Constituting Indigenous/Academic/Artistic Knowledges and Understandings of Land-, Water-, Body-, and Lab-scapes: Uppsala Second Supradisciplinary Feminist TechnoScience Symposium

Symposium October 10-12, 2012, Uppsala University

Venue: All sessions will be held at the University Main Building, Room IV
For lunch, reception and dinner, see specified venue.

Venues – see map on [<http://goo.gl/maps/6s94B>]

Wednesday October 10

12.30-13.00 Registration

13.00-13.30 Welcome and introduction

Opening yoiking by Fia Kaddik and Cecilia Persson

Opening welcomes by Eva-Lotta Päiviö UPPSAM, Leena Huss, Hugo Valentin Centre, May-Britt Öhman, Centre for Gender Research and Silbonah Samesijdda, Åsa Virdi Kroik, History of Religion, Department of Theology.

13.30-15.00 Session 1 (Open to the public)

Chair: Eva-Lotta Päiviö

(13.30-14.15) Dr. *Hadi Lile*, Faculty of Law, University of Oslo; “Perspectives from the inside - What is important and not so important knowledge about the Sámi people?”

Discussant: C-G Ojala and Kimberly TallBear

(14.15-15.00) *Åsa Virði Kroik*, Ph.D. candidate, History of Religion, the Department of Theology: “Tjåhkere – a Sámi holy mountain or a creation of colonial fantasies?: Reflections on how to work with decolonizing aspects within the field of history of religion

Discussants: Cecilia Persson and Mattias Gardell

15.00-15.30 Break

15.30-17.00 Session 2

Chair: Åsa Virði Kroik

Discussants: Leena Huss, Margaretha Uttjek

(15.30-16.30) **Film:** “Japan as seen by an Ainu” (24 min.)

Ms. *Kaori Arai*, Department of Sociology, Rikkyo University, Tokyo, Japan: “The Ainu Community starts telling self history – A local history of Nibutani from Kaizawa Tadashi’s perspective”;

Kaori Arai/Minako Sakato – Some words on the importance to collaborate encourage mentor between indigenous Ph.D. students/non-indigenous scholars.

Discussant: Leena Huss

(16.30-17.00) Professor *Hiroshi Maruyama*, Muroran Institute of Technology,

Muroran, Hokkaido, Japan: “Research for and with local residents and indigenous people over the dam constructions in Japan”

Discussant: Margaretha Uttjek

18.30 -21.30 Reception and cultural event, at the Centre for Gender Research, Engelska Parken, Thunbergsvägen 3H, Plan 1 (Humanistiskt Centrum)

Toastmasters/Responsible for keeping it together:
(*May-Britt Öhman/Agneta Silversparf/Annika Idenfors*)

(Ca 19.15) Ms *Fia Kaddik*, FIAK Foto, “Yoik, photo exhibition and story telling – living along the Lule River, Norrbotten, Sweden” (30 min)

Thursday October 11

09.30-10.00 Coffee

10.00-12.00 **Session 4**

Chair: Marte Spangen

Discussants: Hadi Lile, Sigrid Stångberg, Gunilla Larsson

Relay presentations with posters/photo exhibition/video (12 minutes in total calculated per presentation + 4 min questions and 25 minutes general discussion at the end)

1. Ms. *Marie Persson* – About Rönnbäck Nickel Mining Project - an ongoing struggle for future generations along the Ume River, Västerbotten, Sweden
2. Mr. *Tor Lundberg*, Photographer, JulevSámega and Facebook group “No mines in Jokkmokk” – What local people? The struggle against mining industry in Jokkmokk

3. Dr. *Eva-Lotta Thunqvist*, Center for Health and Buildings, Royal Institute of Technology: “Perspectives on supradisciplinary research methodologies: Investigating Bombshells contaminations of the waters of the Lule River Catchment area”

4. Ms *Lilian Mikaelsson*, Silbonah Same Sijdda, Udtja skogssamby; Rödingsträskgruppen

“When the land became a testing range”

5. Ms. *Agneta Silversparf*, Silbonah Samesijdda and editor of Silbonah Medlemsnytt, “Presentation of the Sámi association Silbonah Samesijdda and some words on the work with the Sámi geneaology research presented in the Silbonah Samesijdda Member Newsletter”

6. Dr. *Vladislava Vladimirova*, Research fellow at Uppsala Centre for Russian and Euroasian Studies and at the Department of Cultural Anthropology and Ethnology, Uppsala University

“Indigenous Life-Styles in the European North: How the Russian Sami experience Post-Soviet Legislation”

Time for general discussion – 25 minutes

12.00-14.00 Lunch Alma, University Main building

14.00-15.45 **Session 5. Thursday seminar (Open to the Public)**
(*University Main Building, IV*)

Chair: May-Britt Öhman

Discussants: Eva-Lotta Thunqvist, Stefan Mikaelsson

14.00-15.30 Dr. *Kimberly TallBear*, Assistant Professor of Science, Technology, and Environmental Policy, Department of Environmental Science, Policy, and Management (ESPM), Division of Society and Environment, University of California, Berkeley, US: “Con-

stituting Knowledge across Cultures of Expertise and Tradition:
Indigenous Bio-scientists"

15.30-16.00 Refreshments

16.00- 17.30 **Session 6**

Chair: Hiroshi Maruyama

Discussants: Eva J: son Lönn, Åsa Viridi Kroik, Hiroshi Maruyama

(16.00-16.30) Ms *Cecilia Persson*, South Sámi artist, actor, yoiker:

"Traditional cultural and spiritual expressions within modern
Sámi stage art"

(16.30-17.00) Dr. *Eva-Lotta Päiviö*, Department of Economic History, Stockholm University:

"Reflections on an inside-perspective based on experiences from
the research project Generational Change within Sami Reindeer
Herding Enterprises in Sweden from about 1930 to the present"

(17.00-17.30) Ms *Gudrun Lindi*, Sámi Nisson Forum (Sámi Women's Forum),
editor of Sámi Nisson Forum - Gabba Karasjok, Norway,

"Position or opposition? The organizational work of Sami women"

19.15 Dinner at Norrlands Nation

Performances by Cecilia Persson and Fia Kaddik – and (improvised)
performances by participants

Friday October 12

09.30-10.00 Coffee

10.00-12.00 Session 9

Chair: Margaretha Uttjek

Discussants: Marte Spangen

10.00-10.45 Ms *Frances Wyld*, Ph.D. candidate, lecturer and program director, David Unaipon College of Indigenous Education and Research (DUCIER), University of South Australia and Dr. *May-Britt Öhman*, Center for Gender Research, Uppsala University

‘Lands of fire and ice; embodiment as Indigenous in a colonised hemisphere’: Sharing Experiences from Australian Aboriginal and Swedish Sámi scholarly collaborations.

Frances Wyld

“Researching and engaging with the critical mass of Indigenous Scholarship: Examples from the University of South Australia”

11.00-12.00 Discussants: Tor Lundberg, Fia Kaddik, and Eva J: son Lönn

Dr. *Carl-Gösta Ojala*, Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, Uppsala University: “Archaeology, power and heritage in Sápmi”

Dr. *Gunilla Larsson*, Revita Archaeology and History/ Dept. of Archaeology and Ancient History, Uppsala University. “Traces of the history that was never written: Archaeological remains of Sámi history”

Dr. *Jorge Calbucura*, Assistant Professor, Department of Social Work Mid Sweden University, Östersund, Sweden “The decolonisation of knowledge and being indigenous people in Chile”

12.00-14.00 Lunch Alma, University Main building

14.00-14.45 Session 10 (Open to the public)

Chair: Charlotte Hyltén-Cavallius

Discussant: Marie Persson, Johan Gärdebo

- 14.00-14.40 *Liselotte Wajstedt*, Sámi artist and film maker
‘Kiruna – Space Road’ and other adventures: Glimpses from my
film making and artistry (Open to the public)

14.45-15.30 Session 11

Chair: Charlotte Hyltén-Cavallius

Discussants: Åsa Virdi Kroik, Eva-Lotta Päiviö, Eva-Lotta Thunqvist

Dr. Margareta Uttjek, Senior lecturer, Ph.D., Department of social work, Umeå university

“Preventive efforts against violence which Sámi women and children may be subjected to”

Dr. Eva J: son Lönn, Ph.D, assistant professor, affiliated to Centre for Sami Research (CeSam) – Vaartoe, Umeå University

“Integrating indigenous knowledge in natural resource management - lessons learned from co-management of small game hunting in Ammarnäs”

Mr. Stefan Mikaelsson, President of the Sámi Parliament General Assembly, Sweden:

“Perspectives on natural resources and the possibilities to self governance within Sámi territories”

- 15.30-16.00 Coffee break

16.00– 17.00 Session 11

Chair: May-Britt Öhman/C-G Ojala

Panel Discussion with presenters and audience

Perspectives, insights, old and new directions

- 17.00.-17.15 Chair: *May-Britt Öhman* and the other organisers
Closing of the symposium - yoiking by *Fia Kaddik*
and *Cecilia Persson*
- 19.00 Dinner/mingle - for our final discussions
in a relaxed environment
-

Presentation of Organizing Institutes/ Departments/Associations and Funders

Centre for Gender Research

(www.gender.uu.se) at Engelska Parken, Thunbergsvägen 3H, Uppsala University

The Centre for Gender Research is a dynamic and productive research environment where transgressive encounters between cultural, social and biological understandings of sex and gender has become a characteristic. In 2006 the Centre as appointed as a Centre of Gender Excellence (Swedish Research Council).

Researchers at the Centre for Gender Research have their background in various disciplines in the faculties of the humanities, social sciences, and natural sciences. Together we represent a great variety of competences and areas of specializations. Research conducted at the Centre for Gender Research can be divided into six currently strong profile areas: Body/Embodiment, Cultural Studies, Education, Masculinities, HumAnimal Studies and Physics. We also run the excellence programme GenNa: Nature/Culture and Transgressive Encounters

We provide a broad educational base with courses in both English and Swedish. In addition to Master's programmes, we give free-standing courses on both basic and advanced level. For English speaking students we offer courses on advanced level.

Through trans-disciplinary efforts, events, and conversations, the Centre for Gender Research transgresses traditional organizational and knowledge boundaries and offers a unique and vibrant university wide meeting place for scholars and students in gender research.

In 2012, the Centre celebrated 30 years as an independent unit with the Uppsala University.

The project "DAMMED: Security, Risk and Resilience around the Dams of Sub-Arctica" is the point of department of this symposium. DAMMED is financed by the Swedish Research Council, 2010-2012, and involves 4 universities (Uppsala, Umeå, KTH, and Luleå University of Technology)

"Hydropower is often promoted as an environmentally friendly and renewable energy resource in the current debates on climate change. Yet, it is since long established that this energy source indeed has negative impacts on the (local) envi-

ronment and local inhabitants. At the same time it is an ageing technology, which currently confronts climate change with the result that it is a carrier of number of threats against human security and sustainable development. The overall aim of this supradisciplinary and gender research project is to analyze the sociotechnical aspects of security, safety and risk in regard to large dams through the integrated lenses of four scientific disciplines: history of science and technology; political science; gender, technology and organization and land and water resource management. Drawing primarily on qualitative research and a collaborative approach with local and regional stakeholders in the north of Sweden as well as national authorities and organizations, the project aim to search for fundamental disjunctures between generic concerns and the possibility to form an adaptive capacity to manage risk, ensure human security and sustainable development”

Silbonah Samesijdda

<http://www.silbonah.se/>

The official name of the association is Rödingsträsk Intresseförening - The association of Rödingsträsk – was established in November 1997. The aim was to work with investigating the history of Rödingsträsk, an old forest Sámi village within the Norrbotten County, Sápmi The association focuses on Sámi genealogy work and general work in regard to Sámi culture – language, duodji, getting together - with specific focus on the area and the descendants of Rödingsträsk. A member’s newsletter edited by the President Agneta Silversparf is distributed with four numbers per year.

UPPSAM – The Association for Sámi Related Research in Uppsala

<http://www.valentin.uu.se/forskning/Forskargrupperonatverk/uppsam/>

Founded as a network in 2009, and as an association in 2011, UPPSAM assembles researchers from all disciplines working with Sámi related research, and who are somehow related to Uppsala University and/or the Swedish University of Agricultural sciences (SLU) in Uppsala.

The network/association has an email-list to keep in touch, where events and call for papers are announced. We get together for lunches about twice per semester. In 2011 we arranged our first symposium, from which a symposium report with popular scientific articles from the presenters was published. "Uppsala mitt I Sápmi" – "Uppsala in the midst of Sápmi." The report all but one articles are in Swedish, has a translation of the preface into English is available via the link: <http://www.slu.se/Global/externwebben/centrumbildningar-projekt/centrum-for-biologisk-mangfald/Dokument/publikationer-cbm/cbm-skriftserie/skrift55.pdf>

Hugo Valentin Centre

<http://www.valentin.uu.se/>

The Hugo Valentin Centre is an inter-disciplinary forum at Uppsala University with research as its prime task. Research is carried out within two prioritized areas: on the one hand cultural and social phenomena and processes of change related to the ethnic dimension in human life, on the other hand the Holocaust and other cases of genocide and severe crimes against human rights. To these subject fields belong minority studies and Holocaust and genocide studies as well as related and adjacent subjects where the Centre has a marked specialisation: Holocaust history, massive violence, discrimination, multilingualism, migration and integration. Conditions in the Nordic countries and in the Balkans have a special position, and culture, language, history and religion are natural points of departure for the Centre's work.

The Hugo Valentin Centre was established at Uppsala University's Faculty of Arts in November 2009 through a merging of two previous units, the *Centre for Multiethnic Research* and *The Uppsala Programme for Holocaust and Genocide Studies*. The new unit started its work under the new name on 1 January 2010.

History of Religion, Faculty of Theology, Uppsala University

http://www.teol.uu.se/Research/Research_Disciplines/History_of_Religions/

The History of Religions is a historical-philosophical discipline which at Uppsala University is coordinated at the Faculty of Theology. As a research discipline the history of religions covers all of the religious traditions of the world, in all places of the globe, in all times and relation to all other human communication and social dynamics. Dependent on the specific formulation of the problem historians of religion share theoretical and methodological starting points with researchers within adjacent disciplines such as linguistics, literary history, history of ideas, post-procedural archaeology, anthropology, sociology, psychology, political science, art history, gender studies, philosophy of law, media studies, area studies (such as Latin America, Africa, East Asia) and disciplines which focus individual religious fields (such as Islamology, Judaism and Buddhism studies).

Within the discipline there are two, sometimes concurrent, main lines of enquiry: firstly the history of religions as a text oriented philological discipline and secondly the history of religions as an anthropological discipline where the religious person rather than the religious documents are in focus. These approaches are united in three common starting points: For the first a certain measure of distance where researcher and research object are usually distanced in terms of time, space, philosophical tradition and social context. For the second an idea critical perspective, if not necessarily in the Marxist sense, from which religion can be seen as changeable social constructions produced by the history people themselves have created. It should be mentioned that this does not deny the possibility of divine existence, but rather marks the boundaries of the academic study of religion. The History of Religions is therefore, thirdly, a non-normative discipline which does not express opinions on what is or should be the case, but rather evaluates the construction of various taken for granted normative dictums and understandings.

Within the Faculty of Theology the discipline is restricted to the study of non-Christian religions. To the extent that Christianity is included in the research field this involves traditions which veer from the mainstream (from Gnosticism to liberation theology), the meeting of religions (historical, local and global) or specialised studies such as theological constructions of gender or race. As a research discipline at Uppsala University the history of religions is naturally marked by the respective research interests and competency of the participating researchers, which can be found in our research programme.

SALT; Forum for Advanced Studies in Arts, Language and Theology (funder)

www.salt.engelskaparken.uu.se/about_salt/

The aims of SALT are:

- Stimulate cross-disciplinary collaboration within the English Park by organising and supporting seminars, lectures, courses, workshops, etc. in which contents and forms of research are debated and further developed
 - Be grounded in the needs and initiatives of the departments on campus
 - Have a strong international profile
 - Create good preconditions for researchers and research groups to generate increased external funding
-

Vetenskapsrådet, Swedish Research Council

www.vr.se

The Swedish Research Council is an authority within the Ministry of Education and Research. The council's remit include:

- allocating funds for research
- identifying research areas for strategic investment in consultation with other research funding agencies
- working on analysis, assessment and strategic matters in connection with research and research funding from a national and international perspective
- promoting communication between researchers and different academic areas, and between researchers and society otherwise

- promoting multi- and interdisciplinary research
 - making research results accessible and making sure they reach the areas of society where they can be useful, for example within education, healthcare and within trade and industry
 - advising the government on research-political matters
 - striving for increased national and international collaboration and benefit within the research community
 - promoting gender perspectives in research
 - having overarching responsibility for matters relating to ethical requirements in research
 - working for equality between men and women in the research community
 - increasing understanding of the importance of basic research to society
-

Mind and Nature Node, Faculty of Arts, Uppsala University (funder)

<http://www.histfilfak.uu.se/mind-nature/>

We are seven departments that collaborate across disciplines in Mind & Nature; Department of Archival Science, Library & Information Science, and Museum & Heritage Studies (ALM), Department of Archaeology & Ancient History, Centre for Gender Research, Department of Art History, Department of History of Science and ideas, The Hugo Valentin Centre and Department of Cultural Anthropology and Ethnology.

We study the relationships between individuals, society & the environment in the form of spatial and temporal analyses. The aim is to understand and explain the interaction between humans and the environment in history and today.

Our research spans over three main themes:

- The tension between the agency, political and legal systems & environmental change
- The interplay between perceptions and visual representations of the relationship between man and nature & natural resource management
- How art, public debate, media contributes to shape debates on environmental issues, social justice & sustainable development

The research node consists of researchers and master students from different disciplines within the humanities. We work in research projects that span across four continents with cross-disciplinary studies of different temporal scales.

UPPSALA MULTIETHNIC PAPERS

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1. *Multiethnic Research at the Faculty of Arts, Uppsala University*. 1984.
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