

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-Britt”¹³

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 yoik 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 Carnavalesque

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.

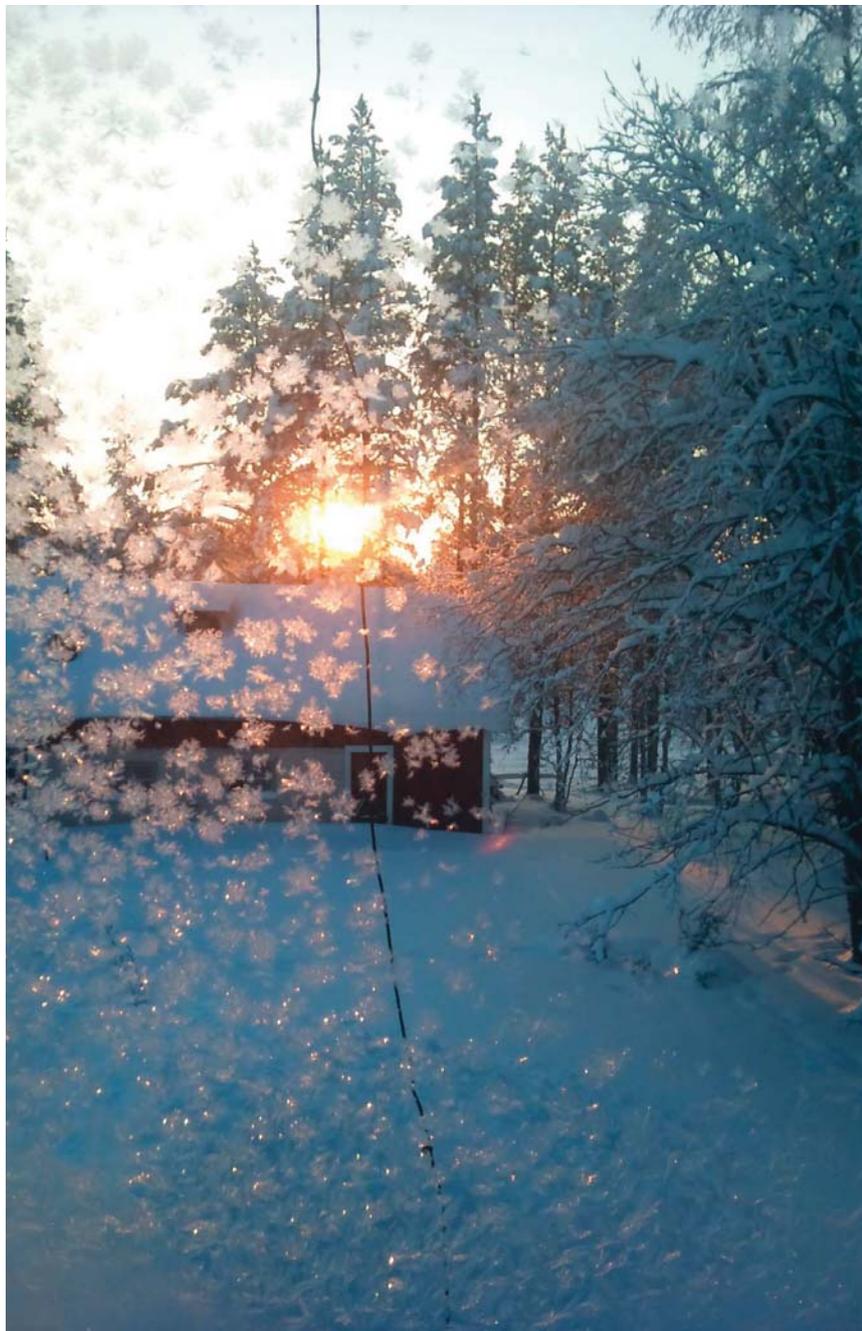
⁸ NAISA, Native American and Indigenous Studies Association – Sacramento, California, May 19-21, 2011.

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 [Muittalussamibirra]*, 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.