



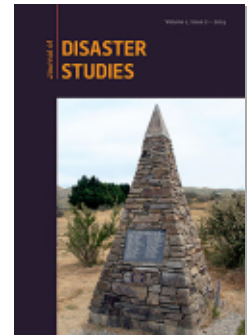
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The End of this World: Land Body Ecologies Podcast

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Journal of Disaster Studies, Volume 1, Number 2, 2024, pp. 264-278
(Article)

Published by University of Pennsylvania Press



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Transcript: *Land Body Ecologies* Podcast, Recorded and Produced by Invisible Flock Episode 3

*“The End of This World,” Sirges Sámi Reindeer Herding
Community, Sápmi*

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Abstract:

*Sámi people and the reindeer we have a sacred relationship,
it is because of the reindeer we are still here—and we are
still here, —Jenni Laiti*

Episode 3, “The End of This World,” journeys through Sápmi, from Jåhkâmáhkke to Vájsáluokta. Amid the sacred relationship between the Sámi people and the reindeer, a story of a reindeer corral carried out on top of a mountain features a journey of several losses: of beings, of entire landscapes, and of cultural practices. On Sámi territories, past, present, and future converge: historical and present-day colonial forces are highlighted as the environmental loss and trauma that inflicts their land is addressed. Expanding hydropower, aggressive forestry, temperature increases, glacier retreat, and neocolonial initiatives continue to affect the cultural, economic, spiritual, mental, and physical health of Sámi reindeer herders and their wider community. By questioning what we should take with us to the next world, “The End of This World” suggests the importance of collective grieving: the need to come together to elaborate and process experiences of collective trauma and loss.

Keywords: *climate change, solastalgia, sound, Sámi*

Resumen:

Los pueblos sámi y los renos tenemos una relación sagrada, es gracias a los renos que todavía estamos aquí—y todavía estamos aquí. —Jenni Laiti

*Journal of
Disaster Studies
Vol. 1, No. 2, 2024*

El Episodio 3, “El Fin de Este Mundo,” viaja a través de Sápmi, desde Jáhkkâmáhkke hasta Vájsáluokta. En medio de la relación sagrada entre el pueblo sámi y los renos, se presenta la historia de un corral de renos en la cima de una montaña, que refleja un viaje de varias pérdidas: de seres, de paisajes enteros y de prácticas culturales. En los territorios sámi, el pasado, el presente y el futuro convergen: se destacan las fuerzas coloniales históricas y contemporáneas, al mismo tiempo que se aborda la pérdida ambiental y el trauma que inflige a su tierra. La expansión de la energía hidroeléctrica, la silvicultura agresiva, el aumento de temperaturas, el retroceso de los glaciares y las iniciativas neocoloniales continúan impactando la salud cultural, económica, espiritual, mental y física de los pastores de renos sámi y de su comunidad más amplia. Al cuestionar qué debemos llevar con nosotros al siguiente mundo, El Fin de Este Mundo sugiere la importancia del duelo colectivo: la necesidad de unirnos para elaborar y procesar experiencias de trauma y pérdida colectiva.

Palabras clave: *cambio climático, solastalgia, sonido, sámi.*

초록

사미족과 순록은 신성한 관계를 맺고 있으며, 순록 덕분에 우리가 아직 이곳에 있고, 우리가 여전히 이곳에 있습니다.
—제니 라йти

에피소드 3, “이 세상의 끝”에서는 사미(Sápmi)를 거쳐 요코피케(Jáhkkâmáhkke)에서 바사루오크타(Vájsáluokta)까지의 여정이 펼쳐진다. 사미족과 순록의 신성한 관계 속에서 산 꼭대기에서 진행되는 순록 목장의 이야기는 존재, 전체적인 풍경, 문화적 관습 등 여러 가지 상실의 여정을 담고 있다.

사미족의 영토에서는 과거, 현재, 미래가 융합되어 과거와 현재의 식민 세력이 그들의 땅에 가한 환경적 손실과 트라우마를 다루면서 과거와 현재의 식민지 세력이 강조된다. 수력 발전의 확대, 공격적인 산림 벌채, 기온 상승, 빙하 후퇴, 신식민지 계획은 사미 순록 목축업자와 더 넓은 지역 사회의 문화적, 경제적, 정신적, 신체적 건강에 지속적인 영향을 미치고 있다. “이 세상의 끝”은 우리가 다음 세상으로 무엇을 가져가야 하는지 질문함으로써 집단적 애도의 중요성, 즉 집단적 트라우마와 상실의 경험을 정교화하고 그것을 통해 나아가기 위해 함께 모여야 할 필요성을 제시한다.

키워드: *기후 변화, 솔라스탈지어(solastalgia), 소리, 사미(Sámi)*

Introduction

For Indigenous peoples, climate change is one more catastrophic loss layered on top of decades of intergenerational traumas, whereby colonialism has forcibly uprooted them from their lands, families, and cultures (Datta 2020). In this transcript, two members of the Sámi community explain how they are experiencing multiple endings in the Arctic world and the physical and mental toll these ongoing disasters are having on human and more than human communities.

We compared it to a tragic accident when a very close family member dies which is very unexpected. And that is what we felt but it had to be even worse for the reindeer herders who were there on site and saw the thing and felt so powerless.

—Carl-Johan Usti

The End of This World journeys through Sápmi, from Jåhkåmåhkke to Vájsáluokta.¹ Amid the sacred relationship between the Sámi people and the reindeer, a story of corralling reindeer on top of a mountain features a journey of several losses: of beings, of entire landscapes, and of cultural practices.

In Sámi territories, past, present, and future converge: historical and present-day colonial forces in place are highlighted as the environmental loss and trauma that inflicts their land is addressed. It creates disaster for the human and more-than-human. This concatenation of long-term, deleterious processes and standard “disaster” incidents adds to critical disaster theory by ensuring that multiscale influences undermining peoples, their cultures, and their environments are seen as the disaster (Hewitt 1983; Lewis 1999; Wisner et al. 2004). Expanding hydropower, aggressive forestry, temperature rises, glacier retreat, and neocolonial initiatives continue to affect the cultural, economic, spiritual, mental, and physical health of Sámi reindeer herders and their wider community. Critical disaster theory and action can take on board these intersecting voices and influences to fully understand and express the “wholistic” baseline that has long been accepted as the root cause of “disaster” (Hewitt 1983; Lewis 1999; Wisner et al. 2004). By questioning what we should take with us to the next world, *The End of This World* suggests the importance of collective grieving: the need to come together in order to process experiences of collective trauma, loss, and disaster.

1. *Land Body Ecologies* is a six-episode podcast series sharing stories of solastalgia from land-dependent and Indigenous communities affected by environmental change. See <https://www.landbodyecologies.com/theendofthisworld>. Episode 3, “The End of This World,” 8 February 2022, <http://www.landbodyecologies.com/theendofthisworld>.

The following text is a direct transcription of a podcast—composed of live and unrehearsed dialogue. The choice to retain the original voice and rhythms of speech, including moments of repetition, hesitation, and silences, is deliberate and intends to capture the pauses and unfinished thoughts that are intrinsic to the informal retelling of lived experiences. The moving between tenses has been left unedited as the event exists in both past and future experience.

Transcript

CARL-JOHAN UTSI: Okay, today is the 19th of June 2022. We are in Jokkmokk. My name is Carl-Johan Utsi. I used to work as an active reindeer herder in Sirges Sámi reindeer herding community. And I also do photography and film and a lot of other things.

JENNI LAITI: Sámi people and the reindeer, we have a sacred relationship. We have a reciprocal relationship with each other and we have been here together since the last ice age. So, it is because of the reindeer we are still here, why we have been here and why we are still here. The reindeer have been feeding us, clothing us and it's a base for our culture and survival in the arctic conditions, in the Arctic world.

Bures! Mu namma lea Mihku Ilmar Jenni Unni Áile ja gulan Mihkuide ja Anárjohkii. Bures, Hello my name is Jenni Laiti and I just introduced myself in Sámi language and I told my name, but also that I belong to the family of Mihkuos and belong to the place called Anárjohka. The way we present ourselves, we also present where we belong. I think it's one of the most beautiful things in the world to belong somewhere, to be part of something.

(The recordist asks CJ “When did you decide to stop reindeer herding?”)

CJ: Yeah, that's a long story. Also, last year, two years ago, I decided, after a lot of thinking, of course, to stop, not stop, but you know, to have a lot less reindeer. I've been working as a reindeer herder for fifteen years actively. But in the end, I kind of think it's, I don't just think it's, it *is* too hard to work with reindeer in this situation with all this exploitation of nature and the combination of reindeer, in the combination of climate change, the warming temperature makes it really hard. During the wintertime, the snow freezes over, it turns into ice and things like that basically. And also the warming climate also makes all the different exploitations like aggressive forestry more hard to cope with and also hydropower. Like all the river systems here are very affected by hydropower dams and power stations.² That in combination with

2 For further reading, see Stockholm Environment Institute (2020).

climate change makes those existing exploitations, in this case rivers, much worse, because you get less ice on the rivers and very bad ice. Sometimes you cannot travel on the ice as you used to. Things like that.

Yeah, anyway, so now we're going across the great Lule River, one of the biggest rivers in Sweden that are exploited by hydropower and also creates a lot of electricity and was one of the first big major exploits, like river exploitations in Sweden. And it started in the, I'm not so good in years, but it started in the [19]30s. They needed the electricity for their mines further north of here. So they needed electricity for the mines . . . this is just a really good example of a broken system.

The European Union ministers of energy had a crisis meeting about the energy crisis in Europe. Meanwhile, they are letting the water just pass here because it's too much water. I mean, too much electricity here. I mean they fuck up this place and they cannot even use it in a good way.

They're huge industrial projects starting up here in the north, like two big sites where they're going to produce carbon-free, carbon dioxide-free steel.³ And that requires a lot of energy. Like *green* energy, I say green, but we call it gray, because they leave just gray shores behind.

JL: We have been the caretakers of the reindeer for many thousands of years. And we have been following the reindeer migration from the coast to the inland and then again to the coast, coast-land. And so [Sámi people] we have had this semi-nomadic lifestyle. We have been living together on these territories with the reindeer, but also other Arctic animals and more-than-human beings.

CJ: In late October, November, sometimes December but mostly November, we drive snowmobiles far in the western mountains of northern Sweden in the Våjsáluokta area, which is a big part of the Sirges reindeer herding community. And this time of year, you are dependent on snow and good ice. The ice should be on the small lakes and on the rivers and swamps and so on, so you can drive your snowmobile safely. The snow is not that important. But of course, it makes it easy to drive the snowmobile on the frozen ground.

And we are a couple of guys, between four to eight guys. And we have a little bit of help with the helicopter nowadays. To make things more efficient and more safe. It is a very hazardous time of year because of the darkness and remote area. We are very far from big roads and cities. And you're very dependent on yourself and on your friends. And it's difficult work to gather the reindeer in the difficult terrain. It's very rocky and of course, there are a lot

³ For examples of carbon dioxide-free steel production projects in the region, see Jernkontoret (2023) and H2 Green Steel (2022).

of creeks, rivers, and so on. Which makes it very difficult to work, you need to know what you're doing. And you need to be at your physical best to cope with the snowmobile in the terrain where it could be very different. As I said before, it could be rocky or it could be deep snow or sometimes it rains and it's stormy weather of course. And they [we] are a little bit stressed because you need to gather the reindeer before December starts because in December it's even more dark and much worse weather.

We also use reindeer herding dogs of course that sit behind you on the snowmobile and you use them when you need to push on the reindeer herd faster. And it's a good companion but all this combined makes it very hard to travel on the ground with the snowmobile. And what we have seen in the past ten to twenty years is that the snow comes much later and so does the ice on the small lakes and swamps. But the darkness and the weather is the same, kind of, so it makes it even harder because you cannot wait, as I said, until December, because then it's too dark, it's too short daylight time. And you need to have a couple of hours of daylight to gather the reindeer and start migrating them further east towards the corral.

JL: Right now you're in the Jokkmokk on the Arctic Circle located in so-called Sweden, but this is an Indigenous territory which belongs to the Sámi people called Sápmi. So we are right now in Sápmi and we just came down from the high mountains where we took part in reindeer slaughter and the place where we were it's Boalno mountain in Vájssaluokta area in Sirges Sámi reindeer herding community.

Right now it's autumn and it's raining. I'm really longing for the winter, for the winter time, snow and cold temperatures and the darkness. It's not so dark right now. It's not dark like in a snow-less place but in the heart of the winter there are a lot of different kinds of colors, but now you cannot see. For me now is a shape-shifting period.

CJ: So we're going to travel along this river, west. I say west, because this is the direction where the reindeer . . . [voice fades] . . . this is, of course, valleys, river valleys, and the reindeer, they want to stay in their valley, to their mountains, so they traveled along, like they always did, even before we started to domesticate them. Reindeer are considered semi-domesticated, but they are a lot more domesticated than moose and other wild animals. And also a big misconception here, I mean, all these misconceptions are there for a reason. So you know, the winner writes the history and all that. So these mountains where we will go in they're calling them like *Europe's last wilderness* and stuff like that. But that's not, that's never been true. Because as soon as the ice, inland ice, melted away, it was settled. The whole, all of these areas were settled by mostly Sámi.

Of course, you have, like Viking settlers and in the Swedish coastline here, east, you had Swedish settlements, but inland, it was Sámi land, and it's always been, like, as I said, thousands of years ago, it's always been people and you can see it on the archaeological traces and marks that this land was never like, wilderness, because wilderness is where there's no people at all.

But it was good for the Swedish government to call it wilderness because then it means it's there for the taking. So it of course served the purpose to call it like an uninhabited area and things like that, it was just part of the colonization. As late as 1920 my family on both my mother and father's side were forced to move here to this area from the farther north of Sweden, a kind of swamp area. They were forced to move because they closed the borders between Norway, Sweden, Finland. So with Norway, Norway became independent and the Sámi weren't allowed to travel across the borders freely as before, even though they always had been. So it became a problem for the Swedish and Norwegian governments that they were overpopulated in some areas. And in these areas, there were less Sámi populations. So they thought they could just move them around like pieces of chess. And so therefore, my relatives are spread across the mountain line on the Swedish side, all the way down to like mid-Sweden. And they were forced to move by the Swedish government, and the Norwegian, but mostly the Swedes. So therefore, I speak Northern Sámi dialect, even though we are in the Lule, Sámi land. And that's different. We have different clothing. And we also brought a different way of herding reindeer. So, it became, of course, a collision between different ways of reindeer herding, and Lule Sámi people were of course forced away from their places to make room for us. And yeah, you still have, I mean, that was as late as in 1920, 1925. So, you can see it and feel it still.

The thing is that you can argue against how they treated people. Not only that reindeer herders are the Sámi people, all the people living around this area, they were treated like dirt. Like, they, like we talked before, treated based on race biologist theories, that the Sámi people were not worth as much and therefore should not be compensated equally, or as little as possible. So that's the thing, that's the hard thing to swallow because also the Swedes are still taking advantage or they still, I mean, a lot of politicians can say, but it was not us doing that wrong. No, but if you still benefit from your forefathers', from your predecessors', misbehavior, you still owe us an apology. That's just me, and they have not given that apology. And an apology for that also needs to come with something to make amends. Like, just words, it's not enough. And that's what they're afraid of. Because if there's opening up for that kind of dialogue, or that kind of discussion, they don't know where it's going to end. So they are just keeping the lid on and hoping that we will disappear. And

unfortunately, they are on the winning side right now because climate change is doing their work for them.

JL: The description for diversity in Sámi is that you have to have all the different kinds of reindeer in your herd. And that is beautiful, a beautiful herd is where we have every kind of animal in your herd. And it also refers to the appreciation for diversity and the respect for it that every being has the right to be, but also that when you have a variation in your herd, you have a better possibility to survive. And I'm thinking about all the colors in nature too because we need all those colors. We need all the diversity of the colors in our lives so that we can try and we can survive. And I'm just right now in the mountain area where we are living, the colors are changing and vanishing. After many years our birch forest is dying because of one warm, which has been [pause] the forest has been impacted by a warm and because of the warmer climate, huge forest areas are dying right now. And like autumn is a really colorful time, we have all the colors, but in that forest, it's only black and shades of gray.

CJ: In Sweden we are divided into fifty-two reindeer herding communities, and within every reindeer community you have, in English, "winter groups." Like for example, me and my father and a few of my cousins, aunts, and uncles, and some other guys, is one winter group. And that's come from the Siida system originally, the reindeer community was divided into these winter groups on the Siida system. Like they were extended family. Yeah, the best group of people. Yeah, so this road was built for the hydropower structures.

So now we reach Porjus where I grew up and this is the heart of the hydropower expansion in Sweden. This was the first big hydropower station that we will pass. It's a very small village, it was maybe six to seven hundred in the 90s and I grew up in the 80s and 90s. But now it's down to two hundred. And it's like this [gestures]. This is a very typical northern paradox, that you have all the resources here but still it's a very poor area. And a lot of villages are dying, and you know it comes and goes, it was big, because the hydropower company was the first to say it's built as a cathedral and that tells a lot in that it looks like, it's built like, a cathedral with a big church with the cross . . .

So I could never live here again, because it felt, it feels so different from when I grew up. It was pretty good growing up here even if it was kind of a strange mixture of these people working at the hydropower company, and Sámi reindeer herding families.

A lot of things come together here, it's like a singularity for a lot of things, like the migration, the forced migration of us, with this expansive hydropower and aggressive forestry and like the mean temperature of 2°C degrees already and a lot of things. Like also this northern paradox I talk to

you about. A lot of things come together here in this area with my family, and with me and Jenni also.

In 2009, my father sat in a helicopter and he had a couple of guys on the ground. And it had been fairly good conditions to gather the herd of about 3,000 this year. Sometimes it's even more, but this year it was about 3,000 in the western mountains and they gather them to the corral. At Kutsjaure where we have a corral, where we gather this herd before we start migrating them to the main corral Suorva. So they have gathered this herd and it's about 90–95 percent of the herd that you should gather and the rest we take on later. But it's all the reindeer in one place in that group of Sirges reindeer herding community. And so, after the calf marking, we mark a few calves that we didn't catch during the summer calf markings, we tag them with plastic tags. And then we're supposed to go over the lake Kutsjaure as the gathered herd, and this sometimes—depending on how fast and depending on the weather—the lake freezes, and sometimes not. But this year, it has been frozen. And you need about ten centimeters of good ice to migrate the herd across the lake. And the reindeer are, of course, very good on feeling how safe the ice is. So if you just get them started, they travel over the lake by themselves basically, depending on if the ice is thick enough. But of course, the reindeer herding community has checked the ice thickness, of course, by driving and testing it with pikes. Access on the ice was good supposedly, and they decided to put the reindeer, after the corral, onto the lake. And slowly, slowly pushing them towards the shore on the other side. But the thing is also that the reindeer of course know their way, they have migrated many times. The old females, they have migrated that path for tens of years and those older individuals and as a collective herd they have migrated these paths for hundreds of years. So they know that they are supposed to go across and they want to go across because they also have this urge to go down to the forest area to the east during this time of year. Because they are creatures of habit and they know when it's time to move. But the difference with reindeer herding is that you of course want them to migrate in a group and not separately in smaller herds or groups for practicality and safety.

JL: Because right now, or actually for many hundreds years we have been experiencing the end of worlds, the end of our world many, many times because of colonialism and extractivism, logging, damming, really stupid race biology assimilation and now the global warming and climate crisis. So, when forest is logged that is the end of the world, when one river is dammed that is the end of the world for the ecosystem and now when the temperatures are rising four times higher than the average in the world right now here in the Arctic, so that is end of one world, end of the Arctic world. Our culture, and of course reindeer herding, is based on the Arctic world, the

cold temperatures, snow, ice, frost and when all these things, they are not only changing they're vanishing, so our world is vanishing too.

CJ: This day in November in this particular year, they also had a French documentarist⁴ with them and they have dropped him off many, many tens of kilometers further east of the lake to film when they cross the lake with the herd, and he was filming that particular migration that day. And all of a sudden, what you can see on his footage is that the whole herd just stops and tries to . . . starts to circulate in the middle of the lake, on the ice. The whole herd of 3,000 animals starts to slowly circulate.

JL: We experience and witness the end of the world as the melting glaciers and clear-cut ancient forests, but also everything we do in our relationship with the land, with reindeer, with the fish and birds and other more-than-human beings. And everything in our ecosystem is impacted by the ecological crisis and climate crisis. The snow and ice are vanishing and the reindeer herds are decreasing, the pike is taking over the lakes and river systems, the arctic char is vanishing from our lakes. This is all happening right now.

It's really stupid to think that technology would fix it or the green shift, which means green colonialism for us, that everything could be fixed by technical solutions, but those that are not solutions for us. The green shift would mean that there would be a new mine everywhere in our traditional territories.

How we Sámi people take care of the land—right now I think most of our time is going to protest this new green shift and new industrial projects, green and new colonialism, so I think every, every Sámi has some kind of project to protest against and something to protect for.

And yeah it's a thing that makes me angry too because we would have, we have lots of other things to do other than just to resist these stupid projects. We could just live our beautiful life together with the land but instead we just fight for it.

CJ: On the footage that French documentarists took, you can see that the whole herd suddenly just disappears and drops through the ice, the ice breaks under the herd at once, basically, and the whole herd just goes into the cold water, and panic erupts with the herd of course, and they start to go back to shore. And not even the reindeer herders of course, understand what happens at first, because it's a big cloud of, it's a big cloud from the, what do you call it? from the mouth, from the warm water. It's steam, just coming from this

⁴ This was Corto Fajal. See <https://www.svenskfilmdatabas.se/sv/item/?type=film&itemid=73346#plot-summary>.

lake, you can't see the herd at all, and the reindeer herders can't see it, and the helicopter can't see it. And they don't understand what they see, of course, but then the herd went through the ice and started to go back to shore, but the ice just breaks in front of them, which makes it harder to go back. And a lot of animals are trampled by the other animals from behind and drown in that water. Usually, herds go through the ice, they slowly make their way back and nobody's trampled. But this was such a special event, when the whole herd went through the ice. So, of course, a lot of panic erupts, even within those kinds of animals who are used to, to sometimes go through the ice, in smaller creeks or small lakes. So in the end, four hundred animals died in that accident.

And that's very tragic, of course, the event itself, for the reindeer, and for the reindeer herders who lost a lot of animals at once. And also very costly for the reindeer herding community because they had to take out all the animals from the lake and lift them with the helicopter through to the road and take them down to the city to bury them because we were not allowed to leave the dead reindeer up in the mountains. So it was extremely costly for the Sámi reindeer community and of course very sad for all the reindeer herders who lost their animals and so on. But the worst part was the long-term effects for the reindeer herders, particularly those who experienced it, because it is a very stressful and tragic moment, you feel that it's your fault, you feel it is many ways in your whole body and you get a lot of physical effects except for the mental effects of course, you get heart problems and high blood pressure and so on.

So all combined, you can divide it into different pieces like the, as I said, the event itself, the economical cost, and so on, and so on, but if you put it all together, it's one or a few individuals who are there and these, these kind of events, shorten their lives and creates effects for the whole families around them, that surrounds them.

We compared it to a tragic accident when a very close family member dies which is very unexpected. And that is what we felt but it had to be even worse for the reindeer herders who were there on site and saw the thing and felt so powerless.⁵ And you get a lot of problems afterwards, other reindeer owners who accuse them for making the wrong decisions and that's also a very heavy burden to bear because a lot of the herders at the site probably felt that some they made some mistakes, some misjudgement but as we see in

5 Here CJ describes a state of powerlessness encompassed by the term *solastalgia*. Coined by Glenn Albrecht, *solastalgia* describes distress caused by environmental change impacting on people while they are directly connected to their home environment, connected to feelings of powerlessness and homesickness while still at home.

the years to come that the weather conditions, extreme weather conditions are very uncertain and problematic because of the climate change, you get certain events that have never happened before. And, of course, you cannot blame one event, one certain event on the whole climate change. If you sum it up, if you sum it up together into one long list, you can see the tendencies and trends of more extreme events and more tragic problems that come along. And you can see it's by certain it's the climate change.

The reindeer herders on site, the community itself didn't receive any help by the authorities or similar and the only thing they got was problems from the authorities to cope with the dead reindeer. And nothing was even considered, nobody even considered giving them any mental aid or physical aid or trauma expertise or anything like that. Or even economical help. It was just one big problem that needed to be solved by the reindeer herders on site also.

JL: I experience the land as a collaborator as a partner, comrade, a mother, a family member, and something where I come from, something where I belong to, something to fight for. It's a home, it's a home, one I deeply love.

I think it's one of the most beautiful things in the world to belong somewhere, to be part of something.

The solutions for sustainability are totally something else. And it's in our relationship, how we are in a relationship with this world and with each other.

CJ: It's a combination of many things . . . oh it's a dead moose [points to a moose at the side of the road]. The main thing is still climate change. That's the demon that is haunting us and takes many different shapes. And in more direct ways and in more indirect ways. And I think that in indirect ways we don't, we don't understand all of them, because it's also happening so fast . . . this is going so super fast, that we don't even understand it, even we who live very close to the ground. I don't say close to the nature, but close to the like, the actual things . . . We can't hardly grasp it. Because it's from year to year, every year is something new that we haven't seen. And also, like, of course, it's very sad to see that all this traditional knowledge that has been built up like a huge Wikipedia for thousands of years, it's not anymore applicable to this new set of problems. That's so scary. Also, you're fumbling in the dark. And sometimes you fumble right, and you manage to survive that winter or that occurrence, that extreme thing. And then you get a new one, that you're dealt a new one like this winter when we were dealt sickness. So it's just like you know, these tarot cards that you have, but only with bad things that you're dealt. And, and you're never dealt a good card. Don't think that it can happen that you're dealt a good card. Like, some winter, you're not getting any cards at all, that's, that's a good thing.

The reindeer are suffering the most. I mean, you're human, you can handle your suffering with good things and bad things. You can handle it by having a good family to take care of you or you can handle it badly with alcohol or pills or money or something. But reindeer, they don't have anything. They just have this; they can just handle it by dying. And in the end you get sick of forcing this upon them. You get sick of torturing them. Like making them eat food that is not natural to them or forcing them to migrate far and wide or forcing them to suffer from starvation or from disease or drowning on bad ices and you know, grazing on areas that they're not used to. And you know, they are just lab rats for us trying to figure this thing out. In the end I can't. I cannot put them through it anymore . . . I mean, of course we have come a long way on talking about mental health, mental health issues, and things like that. But basically, I don't know one person feeling well.

JL: Yeah, how can you talk about something like that? That the end of the world is here. How can you describe all the feelings? What you are feeling? How can you, how can you talk about your thoughts when there are no clear thoughts? Because when you're thinking about for example, the Atlantic salmon, which is not coming back to the Deatnu River [any] longer, when you're thinking about it, and talking about, talking about it with someone who is familiar with the situation it's, there is so much going on that you cannot even communicate it. Like, for example, the salmon is the key species in Deatnu River but also in the Arctic Sea. And when it's impacted, it impacts the whole ecosystem, in the rivers, in the sea. And like, our minds are not constructed to understand really huge, big pictures. And just when I'm thinking about the salmon, how it is doing, I just start to go way beyond till I'm somewhere in the Pacific. And thinking about all the things that are happening in the oceans, everything that is happening in our river systems, in the communities and thinking about the future. How will they, how will we survive? And there is such a huge loss but also . . . uncertainty.

We don't, we know so little about all of this, all of what is happening, and we don't, we don't know what's going to happen next. And it frightens us. We get anxious, depressed, we're sad. I haven't heard if there is a word to describe the feeling when you lose your whole world.

The degradation that is happening to our land, it's impacting me. It's not only about my mourning or my grieving . . . but it's also . . . it's also a bodily experience because you feel if the reindeer are in stress, if the land is in stress because of the climate crisis, we feel the stress in our body. When the snow is melting and when it's raining in the middle of winter we can feel it all.

cj: For me personally when I decided to stop working with reindeer, it's like, when is reindeer herding still reindeer herding? When does it stop being

reindeer herding or just being some totally different form that is not reindeer herding? You know, so that's kind of the definition. So the government can always say, oh, but a mine that won't make any difference. They will still exist or they will still thrive. They will earn a lot of money working in that mine. So then you know they can all come up with all kinds of different reasons and all that, of course, it's just politics like different ideas and different people competing for the same thing and who is just the better one to make their case and often if you're, if you're a minority and . . . [stops talking]

JL: So, in this process of mourning, and letting go, I found an escape and exit which was given to me by my ancestors. And it is precisely the thing to create, craft and remake the world.

I am a traditional craft maker. So in my parents and my families, my father's family in many generations, and for me, being Sámi means to create and give a birth to new life to this world. Because that is the core in the life, it is the meaning in the life, to create and craft new life. It has always been and that's how my people have survived here because they have re- and de-made the world. Every single day they have been really creative. And if something didn't work, they made it in another way. So, for me to be creative and craft new realities is something to be Sámi, it's something to be Indigenous. And that's something that we have always had, that another kind of world we have been living. And when we craft or remake things or redesign this world, it shall be done in a beautiful way, in a beautiful manner. So that is what being Sámi for me means.

I am there somewhere thinking about creating another reality, because we have always done that and we always can do it if we just want to do it. Another world is possible, other realities are possible, if we just wish it to be, another, another kind of reality.

What shall we take with us to the next world? What, what should we pack with us? How should we pack these things? What things matter in the next world? How should we construct, build the other world? Or if we can do it, maybe in this other world, humans—we are not having such a significant role, I hope so, maybe we just like insects in this world. It will be so good that we will not rule the world at all. But anyways where to pack? How to travel, with who? What is the destination? Where to start? Which path to take? And when you are there in this other world? How are you . . . arriving there?

Jenni Laiti (1981) is a Sámi artist, Duojár (traditional Sámi craftswoman), Indigenous rights activist, and climate justice advocate. She is a link in the millennial crafting of Sámi *duodji* (traditional crafts) and Arctic Indigenous living. The love for their land, justice for all creation, and Indigenous futurism guide her at the end of the Arctic to build other worlds beyond.

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Ben Eaton is an artist and the technical director of Invisible Flock. He co-founded the studio and has been a creative and artistic lead on all of its output. His practice generally seeks to use technology in ways that allow critical capture or perception of the natural world around us to highlight stories and relations in the landscapes in which he works. He has a particular focus on sound.

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Further Reading

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