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we have divested from such knowledge and invest in other possibilities of being. Regenerative actions are grounded in balance, care, and recognizing responsibility to a people and a place that refuses the settler-colonial order of things. Arvin notes that, in line with scholar Avery Gordon, “regenerative refusals attempt to capture how Polynesians negotiate entanglements with the logic of possession through whiteness, with an eye toward effecting meaningful change” (23). Arvin’s goal is to call immediate attention to understanding the colonial histories that shape the lives of Native Hawaiians and Polynesians today to resist, refuse, and imagine a different future for Oceania and its diasporas.

Possessing Polynesians: The Science of Settler Colonial Whiteness in Hawaii and Oceania disrupts what is considered as colonial “common sense” notions and moves forward to redefine what comprises genealogy, heritage, race, and traditions. The work has real applications for academia as well as the Native Hawaiian community. Maile Arvin’s theorizations on “Indigenous space time” have implications to capture the complexity and nuance of locating an “elsewhere” beyond the violence of the settler state, while her call for regenerative refusals such as “loving blackness” continues traditions of Indigenous resistance (237). Arvin’s work is also unique in capturing the complicated entanglements of what a liberatory future means and, as it challenges ideologies of Hawaiians as a monolithic race, captures the complexities and divisions of what it means to be Kanaka Maoli.

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Sámi Media and Indigenous Agency in the Arctic North. By Coppélie Cocq and Thomas A. Dubois. University of Washington Press, 2020. 352 pages. \$95.00 cloth; \$30.00 paper.

Sámi Media and Indigenous Agency in the Arctic North balances a broad history of media activism with discussions of the ways traditional values and modes of learning underpin both the content and uses of media, with analyses ranging from 1980s filmmaking and audio recording to recent Twitter and YouTube activity. Coppélie Cocq and Thomas A. Dubois have produced a wide-ranging, significant study of Sámi media that will be of interest not only to students and scholars of Indigenous political movements, but also to Indigenous scholars of a number of arts, among them literature, theater, and music. Indigenous media studies have proliferated rapidly during the first two decades of the twenty-first century with the publication of many significant books, anthologies, and journal special issues. This scholarship includes, to name only a few, Faye Ginsberg with Lila Abu-Lughod and Brian Larkin in 2002, and Gabriela Famorano and Miranda Brady and John Kelly in 2017. Almost all examine media through a lens of Indigenous political debates. In regard to studies of Sápmi (the transnational community of Sámi) media creation and uses, Thomas Hilder’s *Sámi Musical Performance and the Politics of Indigeneity in Northern Europe* (2015)

primarily focuses on music and live performance, although it discusses a number of related events.

Sámi Media and Indigenous Agency in the Arctic North differs in approach in several ways. First, the authors move between broad issues and detailed creative work—discussions of political organizations and activism in tandem with analyses of specific, highly influential artistic work, mostly film and audio recording, and one multimodal print publication. Although the authors regard the nature of the medium to be central for analysis, especially in the digital era, they also emphasize how traditional values continue to inform media use and content. This may be the most important issue distinguishing this study apart: returning frequently to “inreach” and “outreach,” the authors stress the dual need to enable safe and open communication within the Sápmi community and the exigency to present Sámi concerns to Scandinavian society and the larger international community. Chapters examine how pioneering initiatives and successes laid the groundwork, how momentum builds and political movements intensify, but also become more fraught as pushback takes place, and how online digital media enable new ways of creating community dialogue and “new tracks.”

In one of the highly creative approaches to structuring the book, the authors have chosen Sámi words for “snow” as chapter headings. This not only models “learning from the land,” but also examines how stages of culture can be rethought. For instance, the earliest media initiatives are introduced as “Äppås” (fresh snow); Tjiekere, light, deep, dry snow pawed up by a reindeer, is used for some of the groundbreaking work of the 1980s and 1990s; a hardened trail with fresh snow on top, Doalli, signals the development of media strategies; and in the last chapter we arrive at “Fiehta,” the first occasion for grazing when snow is melting. Each word selected as a chapter title comes from a different Sámi language, hence, acknowledging communication diversity within Sápmi itself.

Chapter 1 explains key concepts with reference to the ways they are inflected in Sámi languages. For instance, *gulahallan* (communication) is described as “more a sense of a negotiated and then mutually shared understanding” (11) and this points both to the importance of community legitimation of the ways new technologies are used and to the orientation to “inreach” as well as “outreach.” Chapter 2 covers actions in the late 1970s (the Alta River protests in particular) and into the 1980s, actions that were innovative in their capacity to bring Indigenous issues to the attention of a broader Scandinavian public. Many of these events are discussed in other publications. They facilitated interaction with other Indigenous people globally, although in terms of media strategies Sámi were arguably the leaders. Chapter 3, Tjekere, is titled “The Recovery of Sámi Continuity” since the philosophies that were deeply embedded in Sámi traditions resurfaced in film, books and popular music of the 1980s and 1990s. The creative leadership of Nils Aslak Valkeapää is central to this reemergence, in his use of lexemes associated with the oral tradition of *joik*, his critique of colonial photographs, and the merger of sonic, visual, and verbal meanings.

Four prize-winning works, each of which attracted broad public attention, are discussed in detail: Nils Gaup’s film *Ofela (Pathfinder)*, Valkeapää’s visually enhanced poetry collection *Beaivi áhčážan*, Mari Boiné’s *Gula Gula* audiorecording, and Angelit’s

Dolla album. Although I am quite familiar with these important works, I learned much from the virtuosic analyses in this study, commentaries deeply informed by knowledge of Sámi language, beliefs, and oral traditions such as the *joik*. Chapter 4, *Sijvo* (“a good snow crust able to support skis, reindeer, or other animals”) describes the building of momentum that followed these innovative early works, again featuring Boine and Gaup’s work alongside that of five younger artists. The chapter describes the merging of artistic work, environmental issues and controversies in the early twenty-first century. Chapters 5 (“Rahte,” the path from which others have gone) and 6 (“Sállat,” new tracks) take us into the internet world, where social media and various vehicles for communicating have become of central importance. These chapters return to debates about inreach and outreach.

Central to the ethnographic research for this book are the ways in which social media is not divorced from, but a continuation of, other in-person forms of dialogue, and the complex issues of knowing, or not-knowing, who will read your posting. SameNet, an early networking initiative that strengthened community ties among Sámi themselves, offers a significant case study of such issues as how racism can be safely addressed, since it was used only by Sámi with transparency about the identity of those online. Chapter 7 (“Ruovddietjarvva,” thick-crust snow) examines the turn to Instagram and Twitter for activist purposes, such as anti-mining protests, and also examines the use of digital media in Sámi language instruction. A short conclusion considers some of the links between the earlier and later media initiatives, as well as connections to other sites of Indigenous activism such as Idle No More in Canada (mentioned various times in the book) and Standing Rock in the United States.

This book covers an enormous amount of media territory, spanning different decades and different technologies. Although I am not suggesting that it do more, it might have been helpful to acknowledge media that are not discussed. Beyond Valkeapää, there is very little about print, for instance, in spite of Sámi publishing companies such as Davvi Girji, nor are theater productions given much discussion, or music producers such as Vuellie. The ways in which audiorecording can recast well-known songs also might be considered. While the film analyses were each insightful, I would appreciate more attention to the soundtracks. Links among Indigenous activists and to international organizations are accurately laid out. These too would merit more detailed consideration, perhaps in another book.

These matters do not detract from the authors’ accomplishments in this important book. It celebrates many creative initiatives that captured the public imagination, often while offering complex rewrites of colonial history. It demonstrates how different media variably enable or constrain public communication about issues of concern and activist organizing. It breaks all illusions about “tradition” as static by demonstrating how valued traditions underpin contemporary innovation. And it addresses the tension between Indigenous-only conversations and broader outreach.

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