



The Poetics of Climate Change: Emotions, Politics, and Aspirations Towards the Future

Sofia Jannok- The Voice of Resistance

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Master Thesis in Cultural Encounters

Roskilde University

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April, 2020

Resumé:

Klimaændringers poetik: følelser, politik og ønsker for fremtiden.

Sofia Jannok- modstandens stemme.

Specialets kontekst er klimaforandringer og Indigenous modstandsbevægelser. Forskningen tager afsæt i idéen om klimaforandringer som et kolonialt *déjà vu* for Indigenous grupper (Whyte, 2016). Specialet undersøger udvalgt videomateriale fra den svenske Sámi musikkunstner Sofia Jannok, som situeres som en subjekt i 'contact zone' (Pratt, 1992). Gennem Ahmeds værk *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (2004) undersøger specialet den smerte, vrede og forulempelse, som udtrykkes i Sofia Jannoks videoer som respons på den svenske stats politik og mineselskabers tilstedeværelse i Sápmi. Forskningen diskuterer også følelsers politiske transformationspotentiale ved at analysere, hvordan håb, aktivisme og ønsker for fremtiden artikuleres i videomaterialet. Endelig forbinder specialet klimaforandringer med Aileens (2015) begreb 'possessive logics', som kaster lys på hvidhedens ontologi, og argumenterer for anvendelsen af Sámi ontologier som alternativer til profitskabes logikker. Specialets metodologiske tilgang er multimodal kritisk diskursanalyse (Machin and Mayr, 2012).

Keywords: klimaforandringer; Indigenous; kolonialisme; Sámi music; Sofia Jannok; smerte; vrede; forulempelse; modstandsfortællinger; transformation; Sámi ontologi; Sverige.

Indigenous arts and Indigenous songs are often born from pain. While we take you through the journey, please start fighting for mother earth together with us.

Gula gula (Listen listen).

This song is reminding us that the earth is our mother.

If we harm her, we harm ourselves

The ancestors came through my dreams and told me to bring this further to the audience.

And hopefully due to climate change, the ones in power will listen

(Personal notes, taken during the concert of Mari Boine, November 2019, Helsinki)

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1. Introduction

The poetics of climate change- I have decided on such a title thinking of how to bridge an emergency state we are living in and hope that I find in the resistance movements that urge for transformation. For my thesis, I will take the fact of emergency as given- and instead demonstrate how climate change is a result of human-caused activities and how it reproduces histories of inequality. For me, the urgency of the situation lies not only in the massive storms and raging fires across different parts of the world but also in rapidly changing nature patterns and disruptions of people's livelihoods. And yet, despite its rather grim setting, this thesis is mostly about hope and possibilities of transformation. To find that, I turn to Sámi ontology and resistance and I will closely analyse three videos of a Swedish Sámi artist Sofia Jannok. In the selected video material, Sofia Jannok caters to her vulnerability and emotions to address questions of historical injustice, to demonstrate how climate change is caused by economic policies, and to challenge dominant discourses. The past injustices cannot be undone. And yet, I approach Sofia Jannok as a voice of resistance, who also shares examples of solidarity, political action and a non-commodified relationship with nature.

Previous scholars have written about the significance of music, performances and festivals in the Sámi cultural revival (Angell 2009; Fagerheim, 2014; Hilder, 2012, 2017; Kraft, 2015, Ramnarine, 2017). Along my thesis, I will draw on the aforementioned body of knowledge. However, my thesis aims to explore how pain, anger, and allusions to injury, articulated in Jannok's videos, signify that climate change is an ongoing struggle for the Sámi, and how Sweden's policies facilitate cultural discrimination and exploitation of the land. I will approach Jannok as a subject who articulates a counter-discourse and urges for a different kind of future. I take the point of departure in Whyte's (2016) argument that for the Indigenous people climate change is a colonial *déjà vu*. Hence, drawing on earlier produced scholarship, my thesis contributes to the body of knowledge by linking emotions, politics and climate change.

To facilitate my analysis, I will draw on Sara Ahmed's *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (2004). In her work Ahmed (2004) illustrates how emotions and politics are tied together, and how analysing pain can lead to understanding how bodies of individuals or communities came to be injured in the first place. With this in mind, I will try to understand what injuries are present for the Sámi and how they signify the political situation between Sweden and its Indigenous

population. I will frame my case study within Pratt's (1992) contact zone, taking into account the history of settler colonialism, and situate Jannok's articulation as a resistance that happens in spaces of unequal power relations. Furthermore, I will draw on Moreton- Robinson Aileen's (2015) term 'possessive logics' and Ahmed's (2004) hope and wonder to demonstrate how Jannok is envisioning a different future, that could be an alternative to capital-driven mentality.

Lastly, in order to understand the meanings, that circulate in the selected media material, and to bridge between the visual and linguistic representation I will use David Machin and Andrea Mayr's book *How to Do Critical Discourse Analysis: A Multimodal Introduction* (2012). I will do a Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis to show what strategies Jannok is using in order to facilitate her argument. In the sections to come, I will elaborate on each of the aforementioned theories once it is relevant.

Before writing the thesis, I knew very little, if hardly anything, about the Sámi, hence, led by curiosity I wanted to explore the absence of my knowledge and learn more about the situation of the Sámi. Moreover, the relationship between humans and nature has always been intrinsic in my upbringing, thus the current climate situation is not only a concern for me, but it also pains me to think that the irresponsible human action has done so much harm, perhaps irreversibly. So on the one hand, I entered the world of the unknown, on the other hand- in some aspects I felt very much at home while exploring it. As I wanted to situate myself better within the context that I was familiarizing with, in November 2019 I spent a week in Finland- first, I attended a concert of Mari Boine in Helsinki, and then spent four days in the North of Lapland. And even though I do not intend to use the experience of this short trip for my thesis directly, spending a couple of days in Finnish Sápmi and meeting local people, sharing stories, observing the landscape had left a big impression on me.

I feel grateful to have had the possibility to attend a concert of Mari Boine, whose both musical and personal journey is in a sense an embodiment of Sámi history, and to have witnessed an indescribable beauty of Northern Lapland. Never-ending rows of trees, covered in snow, frozen lakes and roaring rivers, reindeers strolling around, small villages scattered, Sámi flags on some of the houses. I visited *SIIDA*- The Sámi Museum and Nature Centre; and *Sajos*- The Sámi Cultural Centre, that are both located in Inari, Northern Lapland. As I was staying in Ivalo, a little town 38 kilometres away from Inari, and the bus connection was inconvenient, I hitchhiked in the mornings to get to Inari. The weather was fierce and the freezing temperatures

were biting but I got lifts from the locals quickly. During one of the trips, as I was conversing with the elderly man in the passenger seat, I figured out that his friend, who was driving, was a Skolt Sámi- he was eager on telling me more about his culture. Despite not having a full language in common, and mixing English, Danish, Swedish, Finnish and German, I still got to know about the Sámi church in Inari, the island sacred for the Sámi in the middle of Inari lake, the recent ban on tourists, who used to come with motorboats and traverse through it, I learned to say gii-tu (thanks in Sámi), and while I was still absorbing the joy of this experience, the driver pulled over by the shore of the Inari lake. He and his friend both started pointing to the lake, further on the horizon and even on the cloudy and misty day, I could spot a little island with some trees on. Can you see it? You mean the one that looks like a triangle? Yes, that is the sacred island for the Sámi people. Wow. I was still staring, couldn't believe my luck when the driver turned to me and started singing. He felt happy. His friend explained to me- that was a song about lake Inari, in Sámi.

Gii-tu.

1.1 Climate Change and Indigenous People

In the next section, I will introduce a broader context of climate change and its effect on Indigenous people and provide examples of how climate change is perceived among the reindeer herding Sámi in Sweden. Then I will introduce how the Sámi resistance, articulated in the media material of Sofia Jannok, exemplifies a broader phenomenon of global Indigenous resistance movements.

I take my point of departure in the arguments of Kyle Powys Whyte (2016), who discusses how climate injustice is paired with colonialism and capitalist economies and is referring to climate change as a colonial *déjà vu*. His article mainly focuses on the North American context, illustrating his arguments with examples of few Indigenous groups in the Great Lake region, however, I find the core arguments relevant to a more generalised situation of climate change and Indigenous people.

Whyte (2016) claims that for many Indigenous people, the concept of societies that have to adapt to environmental change is not new. Many groups have long traditions of adapting to seasonal and inter-annual change, where people and activities are organised according to what plants and animals need to be harvested, monitored, stored or honoured. Hence 'anthropogenic'

environmental change is not a new idea in principle as Indigenous cultures had as well interfered with nature, “working directly with ecosystems, whether through seasonal burning, strategic planting or tapping a maple tree” (Whyte, 2016, p.90).

However, the current climate change is happening not due to anthropogenic influence of cultivating landscapes in a seasonal round but due to the massive amounts of burning fossil fuels that are caused through carbon-intensive economic activities. Moreover, the policies of capitalist economies result in deforestation, polluting water, clearing of land for large-scale agriculture and urbanization, as a result disrupting the environment on such a scale that many ecosystems are altered in ways unrecognisable to Indigenous people, rendering their knowledge and lifestyles unable to adapt. Many plants, animals and habitats are simply destroyed and various locations are unreachable to Indigenous people. Whyte (2016) also illustrates how, within U.S. context, boarding schools, language policies, history of forced removal from the land are examples of how settler colonialism historically have aimed at weakening the self-determination of Indigenous people and destroyed the ecological conditions that are vital for their identity and survival. As I will show in the later sections of my thesis, the history of settler colonialism in Northern Scandinavia and its effects on the Sámi share many similarities to the ones that Whyte (2016) exemplifies within the U.S. context. Also, I approach the contemporary struggles of the Sámi as an ongoing issue that has roots in the history of Scandinavian settler colonialism.

The effects of climate change are felt worldwide. For example, on the Pacific coast of North America, many Tribal nations harvest salmon for economic and cultural purposes, and the warming waters and receding glaciers affect fish habitats (Bennet et al, 2014 as cited in Whyte, 2016,p.93). Sea level rise is pushing people living in the Village of Kivalina in Alaska, the Isle de St Charles in the Gulf of Mexico and the Carteret Atoll in Papua New Guinea to relocate (Maldonado et al, as cited in Whyte, 2016, p.93). The Loita Maasai Peoples in Africa have difficulties performing their ritual ceremonies as droughts are affecting rain conditions (Saitabu, 2011, as cited in Whyte, 2016, p. 93). Many Indigenous women and girls are subjected to greater sexual violence, abuse and trafficking as work camps for oil and gas extraction bring male contractors (Sweet, 2014, as cited in Whyte, 2016, p. 93). The Arctic regions are warming at a rate of almost twice the global average, most pronounced changes occurring during winter and spring (Solomon, 2007, as cited in Furberg et al, 2011). The

northern part of Sweden contains only a small area above the Arctic circle, however, the Sámi living in the subarctic region are strongly influenced by climate change.

To connect Whyte's (2016) arguments to the case study of my thesis, I will draw on the research by Maria Furberg, Birgitta Evengård and Maria Nilsson (2011) which illustrates how climate change is affecting the Sámi reindeer herders and how it challenges their traditional lifestyles.

Furberg et al (2011) had conducted in-depth interviews with 14 Swedish Sámi reindeer herders and the results from the study revealed that climate change is another stressor in their daily life and that the reindeer herders are facing the limits of resilience. The interviewees felt that the seasons have been disturbed in a manner they do not recognise: the autumns are longer, wetter and warmer, the waters freeze over much later, winters feel much warmer, spring comes early and suddenly, and summers are unpredictable (Furberg et al, 2011). Weather changes affect the migration of the reindeer- both reindeer and herders must cross frozen bodies of water to access winter grazing land, the fluctuating temperatures in the winter might lead to good pasturage becoming locked, unstable spring might have a very negative impact on a sensitive calving period, and changing weather patterns in the summer are difficult to adapt. Moreover, the reindeer herders described how there is more outside pressure and restrictions that affect their livelihoods. The grazing lands are continuously shrinking, as the exploitation of hydropower, forest roads, logging operations, tourist resorts, etc. render the lands useless for reindeer herding. Migration over land is becoming difficult or impossible, as larger water resources do not freeze or the ice is too thin, or tree-hanging lichen, which is an important source of pasturage for reindeer, has disappeared due to forestry. Hence, the herders have to transport the reindeer by truck, adding additional high costs to their daily life. Another aspect, occurring in the interviews, was the loss of traditional skills and knowledge, as many unable to survive financially choose to work in other industries and the fear that inability to adapt to rapidly changing weather, together with other factors, will make reindeer herding disappear from the Sámi culture (Furberg et al, 2011).

Whyte (2016) argues that Indigenous people are very vulnerable to climate change. Firstly, some Indigenous people are more dependent on ecosystems for the livelihood and hence the environmental impact on them. Secondly, various groups of Indigenous people endure legacies of colonialism ranging from poverty to marginalisation, as a result placing them into the

category of people less resilient to climate change due to their socio-economic conditions. For instance, lack of employment and poor infrastructure (building roads, transportation options) will not protect the communities well from the impacts of climate change such as the rise of sea level and severe droughts. As I will argue throughout my thesis, the Sámi in Sweden are both strongly affected by climate change but also politically marginalised, as the state often tries to dismiss their demands.

To conclude, Whyte (2016) argues that current climate change is an ongoing cycle of 250 years old history when the anthropogenic climate change had been catalysed by colonialism, industrialisation, and capitalism. Indigenous people are very vulnerable to climate change, as their livelihoods depend on nature-based activities. The results from the study by Furberg et al (2011) support Whyte's (2016) arguments, showing how the livelihoods of Sámi reindeer herders in Sweden are affected by both disturbances in weather conditions and continuous exploitation of grazing lands. In the sections to come, I will also demonstrate how the Sámi among other things had been affected by settler colonialism, hence for them the current climate change is also a colonial *déjà vu*.

1.2 Indigenous Resistance Movements

As I have shown in the earlier section, I approach climate change as a global phenomenon, that is a political and economic issue and has its roots in the history of colonialism and capitalism. However, in the last decade, the world has witnessed increasing solidarity among various Indigenous groups that resist current attempts to use their land for economic profit. In the next section, I will provide two examples, where Sofia Jannok herself is present, and include the media's role in shaping global connections and articulating resistance.

In 2013, a series of protests called Gállok took place in Sweden that occurred as a response when a British mining company initiated exploratory drillings for iron ore in Gállok, which is a reindeer herding area in Sweden. 'Camp Gállok' was set up in July 2013 by locals and activists, as the first digging was about to begin and was occupied until the end of September 2013, when the mining company finished the exploratory period (Lindgren & Cocq, 2017). Along with the events on-site, which included occupations, demonstrations and art installations, social media platforms such as Twitter, YouTube, and Facebook had been used

extensively to communicate about the resistance movement. No national media covered the event until August, the Indigenous perspective was largely marginalized, hence the channels of social media gave the activists and protesters a possibility to articulate their concerns and inform the public, and further develop relationships with other Indigenous and environmental movements (Lindgren & Cocq, 2017). Ties to other Indigenous groups were also visible during the events in Gállok. In the short documentary *The Gállok Rebellion*, which captures the events of the protests, a Maori woman is performing a ceremony to keep Gállok safe for the future (kolonierna, 2014, 24:48/31:50).

The Standing Rock protests (aka #NoDAPL)¹ in North Dakota, United States, took place between April 2016 and late February 2017. The protests emerged against a planned pipeline that would transport oil just north of Standing Rock Sioux Tribe reservation's boundaries and under Missouri River (Johnson & Kraft, 2018). In late September and early October of 2016 out of 3000 people who were gathered at camps, most of them were local Dakota or belonged to other Native American tribes, however, the participants also included groups from South America, Canada, Australia and Sápmi (Johnson & Kraft, 2018).

Some of the connections forged during the protests lasted also after Standing Rock. Standing Rock front liners visited Sápmi in the summer of 2017, and met with friends from Sápmi at a conference in Alta in June, at the Riddu Riđđu festival in July, and at the events in the winter in Oslo, including the Nobel Peace Prize Forum Oslo 2017, 'Across Dividing Lines', that addressed Indigenous rights within social justice and environmental protection. (Johnson & Kraft, 2018).

Johnson and Kraft (2018) argue that a new generation of Indigenous environmental protection movements offer an example of global indigeneity, where "locally specific objects and actions gain relevance outside of their site-specific locations and contexts, as belonging to a broader *we* and *our*, and- vice versa- how globalizing idioms are anchored in the local *we*; for example, with the slogan "water is life/water is sacred", anchored in a particular river and the threat of a particular pipeline, and simultaneously, to water in general and life as such" (Johnson & Kraft, 2018, p.505).

¹ Short for No Dakota Access Pipeline. DAPL is a project of Energy Transfer Partners.

The role of digital and social media is important in forging the movements of global indigeneity. During the Standing Rock protests, pictures from the welcoming ceremony for three Sámi women later appeared in the news in Sápmi, in their Facebook pages, and even in the TV series about Sofia Jannok, *Verden rundt med Sofia Jannok* (Around the world with Sofia Jannok), shown on Swedish and Norwegian television in 2016. A Facebook group “North American Sami Searvi”, with 1473 members, showed a full version of the entire event, which precipitated an emotional exchange between some of the members (Johnson & Kraft, 2018, p.510, 511). Hence, the examples above illustrate, how global connections are expressed through its boundaries to locality and how cyber communication and mediascape is one of the mediums to express solidarity.

I have decided to analyze the video material of Sofia Jannok that I can access on YouTube, hence I find the above-mentioned context relevant to show how Jannok is a part of a wider global phenomenon when various media platforms become spaces where Indigenous people can express their voices and forge transnational ties. Lindgren & Cocq (2017) in their study show how digital platforms have been used to rebuild and revitalize Indigenous cultures, and how unable to resist globalization, the Indigenous people have appropriated new media in ways that support their claims.

2. Research Questions

In the section to come, I will present the research questions that will allow me to link emotions, politics and climate change. Earlier scholars have analyzed the significance of music festivals and performances for Sámi cultural and political revival and sovereignty. Angell (2009) writes about the Davvi Šuvva festival that took place in 1979 and discusses how vocal and musical expressions played an important role in political mobilizing and strengthening of Sámi identity. Hilder (2017) argues that over the last decades, a Sámi music scene has flourished with the emergence of festivals, record labels, educational programs, and claims that arts and music contribute to and transform wider Sámi political debates.

Since music has been significant in Sámi cultural revival, in my thesis I have decided to analyze how Sofia Jannok, as an Indigenous musician, appeals to pain, anger, and injury to challenge the dominant discourses and to share aspirations towards the future. I will be scrutinizing three

of her videos: the TED Talk *Our Rights to Earth and Freedom* (2012) and videos *This is my land* (2016) and *We are still here* (2016). My overall research question is as follows:

What meanings do emotions, articulated in the selected material of Sofia Jannok, carry, and how is Jannok challenging dominant discourses and share her aspirations towards the future?

The sub-questions:

- 1) How do pain, anger, and allusions to injury (Ahmed 2004), articulated in the selected video material, signify that climate change is a political and economic issue?
- 2) How do cultural politics of emotion (Ahmed 2004) offer possibilities for transformation?
- 3) How does Sámi ontology, present in the selected material of Sofia Jannok, offer an alternative to ‘possessive logics’ (Aileen 2015) in the context of climate change?

3. Methodology and Analytical Choices

In this section, I will account for the choices that I made to facilitate my argument and talk about my position from which I approach the material I am working with.

Throughout my thesis, I am using the terms discourse and counter-discourse. By discourse, I mean it in Foucauldian sense, which is concerned with the production of knowledge embedded in “social practices and questions of power” (Hall, 1997, p. 42). Foucault was mainly interested in relations of power, not meaning, as for him knowledge and power were interlinked, as in certain historical moments some people have more power to speak about some subjects than others. “Discourse <...>provide(s) <...> a way of representing the knowledge about- a particular topic at a particular historical moment...” (Hall, 1992, as cited in Hall, 1997, p. 44). Hall (1997) emphasises that for Foucault discourse, representation, knowledge, ‘truth’ is radically historicized and culturally specific, hence the meaning of things is true within a certain historical and social context. Discourse not only ‘allows’ certain ways to talk about a topic, defining acceptable rules, it also ‘rules out’ or restricts other ways of talking about the subject, constructing other kinds of knowledge concerning the subject and conducting

ourselves ‘against’ the discourse. For Foucault, “nothing has any meaning outside of discourse” (Foucault, 1972, as cited in Hall, 1997, p.45).

In my case study, the dominant discourse is represented by the Swedish nation-state and its contemporary rhetoric and it reiterates the historical representations of the Sámi. I use the term dominant in relation to hegemony, which is understood as a ruling class’s exercise of power by consent and its ability to convince other classes that their domination is at everyone’s interest. Domination is exerted by subtle and inclusive power over the economy, education, media. In the imperial history, the colonized subjects often outnumbered the occupying force, but their self-determination was suppressed by the notion that the Euro-centric values were greater, often couched in terms of social order, stability, and progress (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 2000, p. 116).

As I will show in the later section of my thesis, historically the Sámi have been constructed as inferior, and until the end of World War II, Sweden’s policy was aimed at promoting Sweden’s homogeneity through the policy of eugenics and advocacy of progress (Mattson, 2014). The contemporary state discourse that I refer to is concerned with the dispute over the land rights and the hesitance to ratify Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention (International Labor Organization, 1996) and I approach climate change as a result of political agendas and economic practices, that undermine Indigenous rights (Whyte, 2016). In the videos *This is my land* (2016) and *We are still here* (2016) the state discourse is articulated in the audio excerpts from the court case and represented by the lawyer Hans Forsell.

To understand what I mean by counter-discourse, I refer to Foucault’s idea that power should be approached as a ‘net-like organization’, where everyone- the oppressors and the oppressed- is caught up in this circulation and power relations permeate every level of the society. (Foucault, 1980, as cited in Hall, 1997, p. 50). Power is not only negative, as in meant to control and restrain, it is also productive- it produces forms of knowledge, discourse, resistance. The subject position is also produced within discourse and is specific to social and historical contexts as a subject has to place herself/himself within a certain position that discourse produces, as an example, class, gender, ethnicity, etc (Hall 1997).

With this in mind, I approach Sofia Jannok as a subject who articulates a counter-discourse to the state policies and is situated within the larger context of the resistance movements of

Indigenous people. As I am framing my thesis within the topic of climate change, I will link Foucauldian discourse with theories of Ahmed (2004) and Aileen (2015) and show how catering to emotions can uncover how unequal power relations contribute to causing injury and facilitate profit-based practices and how understanding that can lead to aspirations towards and transformations of the future.

To understand what strategies Jannok is using to articulate a counter-discourse, I will use the tools provided by Machin and Mayr in *How to Do Critical Discourse Analysis (2012)*. I will analyze what visual and lexical choices Jannok is using to convey her message that climate change is caused by policies supported by Sweden as a nation-state. I have chosen to work with Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis, as it allows me to discover what ideology is highlighted and what things are left un-represented by analyzing how “language, image and other modes of communication, such as toys, monuments, films, sounds, etc. combine to make meaning” (Machin and Mayr, 2012, p. 1).

MCDA combines Critical Discourse Analysis and semiotics, allowing to analyze the texts and the visual material together. Critical Discourse Analysis aims at uncovering what ideologies are present in the text, and the common view among the authors who perform CDA is that language is a social construction that both “shapes and is shaped by society” and the interest of CDA lies in understanding “how power relations are exercised and negotiated in discourse” (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997, as cited in Machin and Mayr, 2012, p. 4). The term ‘critical’ is central here, as CDA approaches linguistic choices in trying to understand how and why these choices convey certain ideologies, hence often “denaturalizing the language to reveal the kinds of ideas, absences and taken-for-granted assumptions in texts” (Machin and Mayr, 2012, p. 5).

To understand what I mean by semiotics, I refer to Stuart Hall (1997), who describes semiotics as the “science of signs” and argues that the basic idea behind the semiotic approach is that signs can work as language does- they both have arbitrary nature and carry cultural meaning (Hall, 1997, p. 6, 36). For Hall (1997) meaning is central in the concept of representation as it is the link between concepts and language that allows us to refer to either the ‘real’ objects in the world, people or events, feelings, or imaginary worlds of fictional objects, people and events (Hall, 1997, p. 17). The use of the word language here is not restricted to language skills only but includes a collection of sounds, signs, symbols, images, musical notes, objects, body

language and feelings, and the ability to ‘translate’ what ‘you say’ into ‘what I understand’ (Hall, 1997).

Kress and van Leeuwen coined ‘Multimodal analysis’, that provided an analyst with a number of concepts and tools that allow understanding how features and elements of images work together, as images are used to say things that we cannot say in language (Machin and Mayr, 2012, p. 8). Hence MCDA is combining the tools used in Critical Discourse Analysis and semiotics and is interested in how the meanings found in images, photographs, diagrams, and graphics correlate with the meanings found in the linguistic choices. Machin and Mayr (2012) provide tools that allow to identify and to reveal what message is the author trying to convey by using linguistic and visual strategy. Common with Critical Discourse Analysis, it is also central in MCDA to be critical to ‘denaturalize’ what might appear as taken-for-granted representations on other modes of communication, and MCDA also views other modes of communication as a social construction, that both “shapes and is shaped by society” (Machin and Mayr, 2012, p. 10). The approach that Machin and Mayr (2012) employ in their book mainly draws on the works of Gunter Kress, Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak and Theo van Leeuwen. Machin and Mayr (2012) themselves emphasize that their book is meant to provide a toolkit for analyzing visual and linguistic choices, however, they do not account for how those texts might be received by the audience or make any conclusions for the intentions of the authors (Machin and Mayr, 2012, p. 10). I will, however, try to interpret the meanings I find in different modalities, situating my case study within the history of Scandinavian settler colonialism and the contemporary context of climate change. In the analysis, I will not elaborate on the concepts that Machin and Mayr (2012) discuss in their book, but provide the reference for the terms instead.

I have decided to work with MCDA as in the videos that I selected there are different types of modalities, hence I can understand how they facilitate one another. In the TED Talk *Our Rights to Earth and Freedom* (2012) there is a combination of articulated speech, photographs, the soundscape of joik, and Jannok’s own appearance and posture while delivering the speech. The videos *This is my land* (2016) and *We are still here* (2016) combine soundscapes, audio excerpts from the court case, song lyrics, visual choices, Jannok’s own positioning and in *This is my land* (2016) there are also clips from the people’s demonstrations in Paris that took place around COP21 in December 2015. It is beyond the scope of the thesis to analyze all the modalities that are present in the selected video, hence in the analysis, I will account for which

choices I made to answer my research questions. Since I can neither read Sámi nor Swedish, I have chosen to work with the material that is available in English.

Throughout my thesis, I use the term Sámi in a broad sense, without accounting for the multiplicities within the group and I refer to Jannok as a representative of the Sámi community. In the analysis, I do account for the problematics that such generalization entails and how such an approach might silence other Sámi voices. However, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to account for all the internal variation, thus I have chosen to stick with the generalization, despite the problematics it carries. I do analyze Jannok as a subject who articulates how state policies are contributing to climate change and marginalization of the Sámi, thus my main focus is to show how she does that, and not to go in-depth with the discussions among the Sámi.

This leads to my position as a researcher and how it affects the way I work with the material. Anna-Lill Drugge (2016), in discussions about the ethical issues concerning the Sámi research, has pointed out that research questions should take the point of departure from Sámi perspectives, values, and needs (Porsanger, 2008, Juutilainen & Heikkilä, 2016, as cited in Drugge (ed.), 2016). Also, the researcher needs to confront the historical injustices and understand that it is the Indigenous community that has the power to decide which data is used and how (Drugge, 2016, p. 15). The discussions that Drugge (2016) is addressing are more concerned with the researchers who conduct a field study, however, I find many points relevant to my position as well. I do situate my thesis in the historical context of Scandinavian settler colonialism and see how that history manifests in contemporary settings. In addition to that, I have chosen to work with the material that I find online, meaning that its purpose is to be visible, as with the onset of my thesis, I did not feel comfortable to conduct a field work. I began this thesis with hardly having any prior knowledge about the Sámi, and I aimed to gather as many sources as possible to familiarize myself with the topic and facilitate my argument. However, this has also had an impact in how I conduct the analysis, as it resembles a traditional approach of understanding the dynamics between how the dichotomy of ‘us’ and ‘them’ is produced, and I have chosen a rather classical example of the representation of Indigenous identity. Aileen (2015), looking at the Australian, Canadian and the United States context, critiques such approach referring to Chris Andersen, who argues that “it is our density rather than our difference from Western disciplines that should be integral to Indigenous studies” (Aileen, 2015, p. xv). Understanding density would signify the shift to move beyond the positions of cultural difference. Density for Aileen (2015) means to include the complexity of

positions that the Indigenous have in their lives as mothers, daughters, healers, teachers, performers, and professors- all those existences that are outside the Orientalist discourses. Olsen (2016) is also urging to move beyond the dichotomy and look for more complex dimensions, as the terms “Indigenous” and “Western” cannot be defined in exclusive terms: “In many Indigenous settings, as it is in Norway with the Sámi, it is not always easy to distinguish between Indigenous (Sámi) and non-Indigenous (Norwegian)” (Olsen, 2016, p. 31). However, in my approach I have not accounted for those positions, hence my analysis is limited in its ability to understand the density and multiplicities of indigeneity. On the other hand, Jannok herself is using a strategy of making a clear distinction between ‘us the Sámi’ and ‘you Sweden’, so in a sense I am leaning into the discourse that is already there. Moreover, I do position myself as a scholar of Western tradition, hence it would be difficult for me, perhaps impossible, at this point in my academic knowledge to approach a topic outside that knowledge, as for now those are the only tools I have to situate myself and others in the world.

Secondly, choosing to work with online material and not doing the field work, has hindered me from hearing different voices, and left me pondering about the questions of power and access to publicity that Jannok has. I will elaborate in more detail about the power structures within the Sámi community in the analysis but at this point I will add that even though I am in favor of her arguments, I also have to be critical and account for problematics. Olsen (2016) has called it the hermeneutic of suspicion: “you need to face a statement with a question of who is talking, representing whom and for the benefit of whom” (Olsen, 2016, p. 35).

Lastly, I am not searching for objectivity in this topic. I do approach it as a process of decolonization, and I do not see how I could be neutral, when I know the history of Scandinavian colonialism and consequences of climate change that the Sámi are facing. I do, however, try to take critical distance as it enables me to show respect for various voices that could be silenced if I am not aware of the complexities that the topic entails. Historian of religion Lori G. Beaman (2004) as cited in Olsen (2016) states that: “Every piece of research, no matter where it is located, carries with it a story of a researcher’s commitment to a particular vision of the world and how it should work” (Beaman, 2004, as cited in Olsen, 2016, p. 40). With this in mind, I do hope that this thesis contributes to a transformed vision of the world.

4. Background Information

In the next section I will provide a general overview of the Sámi population and history, then make it more specific concerning Swedish policies and provide a separate section on Sámi cultural revival.

4.1 General Overview

The Sámi are Europe's only recognized Indigenous people, whose traditional land traverses Arctic regions of present-day Norway, Sweden, Finland and the Russian Kola Peninsula (Hilder, 2012). The regions of Sápmi are often referring to as Finnmark in Norway, Norrbotten in Sweden, Lapland in Finland, and the Kola Peninsula in Russia (Ruokonen and Eldridge, 2017). Various sources provide a different estimation of the population number of the Sámi. Furberg et al (2011) claim that around a hundred thousand Sámi is living in these four countries, while Ruokonen and Eldridge (2017) claim that today approximately fifty-two thousand people identify themselves as Sámi. The National Sámi Information center in Sweden claims that the population of Sámi is approximately seventy thousand (National Sámi Information Center, 2005). As I will show in the section to come, there is no concrete census on the number of the Sámi population, as historically some Sámi people have assimilated into the majority population, and the Scandinavian countries have different policies of who is considered as Sámi. For my thesis, I have decided not to focus on the Sámi who live in the Russian Kola Peninsula, as Sofia Jannok is a Swedish Sámi musician, hence, I will provide a broad overview of the Scandinavian context.

According to the Swedish National Sámi Information Center (2005) around forty thousand live in Norway, twenty thousand live in Sweden, six thousand in Finland, and two thousand in Russia. Almost in total ten thousand are involved in reindeer husbandry, and in Sweden about two thousand five hundred Swedish Sámi are reindeer herders.

Ruokonen and Eldridge (2017) provide a brief, broad overview of Sámi history, focusing mostly on the challenges that they had to face once the settlers started to move north, the processes of assimilation, and revival of Sámi culture. I will be drawing on the article, however,

in this section, I will exclude the short history of Sámi cultural revival beginning in 1950s as I will elaborate on it in the separate section.

In prehistoric times, Sámi were nomadic people and participated in hunting, trapping, salmon fishing and whaling. Colonization of the Sámi began as early as 800 A.D. in the form of taxation and plundering of Sámi villages by chiefs living on the coast of present-day Norway (Kuokanen, 2003, as cited in Ruokonen and Eldridge, 2017). Since medieval times, Sámi organized themselves into villages, known as *siidas*, several of which could be located near a major waterway.

Reindeer herding and sedentary agriculture had become their main occupation during the past half-millennium, as wild animals were increasingly depleted (Anderson, 2010, as cited in Ruokonen and Eldridge, 2017). Reindeer husbandry involved bringing the herds to the treeless mountain regions during the summer. Many Sámi were also fishermen and lived permanently along the Arctic coast, others were hunters and had a small farming land in forested areas.

Settlers moving north and establishing farms also functioned as a way to claim ownership over the territory and from the 1300s to 1600s several wars erupted between the Nordic kingdoms and the czar state of Novgorod. Attempts to convert the Sámi people to Christianity was another form of intervention in Sápmi (Kuokkanen, 2003, as cited in Ruokonen and Eldridge, 2017). During the seventeenth-century Norway², Sweden, and Russia competed over their dominance in Sápmi, and the Sámi paid taxes in the forms of furs, fish, reindeer meat, clothing, and tools; at times to all the three states.

The current national borders were established from the mid-eighteenth century onwards and had interfered with nomadic reindeer herding. As a result, some of the Sámi assimilated into the majority population, working in agriculture and producing such things as milk, butter, wool, grain, potatoes. Ruokonen and Eldridge (2017) claim that in the nineteenth-century education was used to reinforce control over the Sámi and both Norway and Sweden implemented laws that prohibited using the Sámi language at school and home. Finland's assimilation policies

² Until 1814 Denmark and Norway were a dual monarchy, the Dano-Norwegian Realm, also known as the Oldenburg Monarchy

were not as direct, the use of the Sámi language was not forbidden. The results of general discourse about the Sámi and school systems are similar to those of other Indigenous people: low self-esteem, alienation from one's cultural background, difficulties of adapting in society, whether one's own or dominant culture (Kuokkanen, 2003 as cited in Ruokonen and Eldridge, 2017).

The broad overview that I provided supports Whyte's (2016) arguments, that similar to how the settler colonialism in the U.S. has aimed at weakening the self-determination of the Indigenous people, Scandinavian policies have as well tried to undermine the Sámi cultural identity and interfered with their lifestyle by imposing taxes, closing borders, and policies that aimed to assimilate the Sámi into the majority populations.

4.2 Swedish's Historical Context

Since Sofia Jannok is from the Swedish Sápmi, in the following section I will shortly introduce the process of Sweden's nation-building in relation to its Sámi minority. I will draw on Mattson (2014), who provides a thorough overview of the development of "lappology" science and discusses how Sweden's homogeneity needs to be approached through understanding the interrelations between "lappology", the Swedish state, and Swedish nationhood.

Sweden³ was one of the earliest countries to construct a homogenously imagined nation, and the presence of the Sámi, earlier called with derogatory term Lapps⁴, was significant in defining Sweden's racial identity (Mattson, 2014). Lapps were the medium through which Swedish scientists crafted their country as cosmopolitan and European. The category of Lapps had been a puzzle for Swedish scientists, who tried to define the nation, and in different periods the Lapp category shifted according to contemporary methodological innovations that distinguished Lapp from Swede. "In different historical periods, defining the Lapp was a means to secure Lapland against claims from rival powers, a defense of Swedish Europeanness, a justification

³ The Swedish Empire of the seventeenth century incorporated portions of today's Poland, Germany, Estonia, Latvia, Norway, Denmark, Russia; colonial toeholds in Ghana, Togo and United states, and until 1812, Finland was integral to the Swedish realm (Mattson, 2014).

⁴The Lapp category, which carries a derogatory meaning attached to it, was replaced in 1980s by Sámi/Saami, however, in this section I will use the categories as they appear in the original article by Mattson (2014).

for colonization of the region; and finally the foil against which to imagine a homogenous population of ethnic Swedes” (Mattson, 2014, p. 322). It is not my intention to provide a detailed history of Lapps classification, however, several facts are the key to understand the development of the relationship between Sámi and Sweden as a current nation-state.

The scientific knowledge about Lapps was produced during various periods: the Reformation, the Enlightenment, the nineteenth-century disciplining of the social sciences and formation of nation-states, the twentieth-century wars, and the human rights era beginning in the 1980s (Mattson, 2014). The earliest references to Lapps, that appear in the twelfth to thirteen-century court records, categorize them according to their livelihood rather than linguistic or cultural characteristics, where they appear as hunter-fishers whose nomadic lifestyles posed challenges to taxation. Hence, Swedish kings introduced a system through which created tax collectors had to collect taxes from their own Lapps. Taxes were paid in various forms, such as fur trapping, wild reindeer products, fishing, and coins (Mattson, 2014). Later, in the post-reformation state, the church and its clergy became the center to institute direct tax collection. During the sixteenth-century, Sweden waged wars and established an empire encircling the Baltic sea and colonial footholds on three continents. During that time, Gustav I and his son Karl IX claim Lapps as subjects and proclaimed “King of the Lapps in the Northlands” (, Kvist, 1992, as cited in Mattson, 2014, p.327). It is not totally clear when and why reindeer pastoralism occurred, however, it largely replaced hunting-gathering practices by the sixteenth-century. In this period, the transition to large-scale herding took place, as the crown bailiffs actively prevented seasonal occupations, promoted mass reindeer herding, and did not allow the Swedes to settle in Lapp lands. Hence the iconic feature of Lappishness- the reindeer herding- is a result of the state’s intervention in nomadic practices (Wallerström 2000, as cited in Mattson, 2014, p. 327). Subsequently, the designed caste of Lapps was taken over by defining a Lapp according to his/her occupation, which was further reinforced from 1762 onwards, as the state could define who a Lapp was/was not by, for example, removing Sámi from their land if they lost their reindeer, or by taxing ethnic Sámi fisherfolk on the Norwegian coast as Finns (Kvist, 1992 as cited in Mattson, 2014, p. 337). In addition to that, converting to Christianity gained the status (and tax categorization) of ordinary Swedes, which permitted to own land. As a result, until 2010, when Sámi was recognized as a minority language in Sweden, only the reindeer herders were directly recognized by the Swedish state as Sámi (Mattson, 2014, p. 328).

During the second half of the nineteenth-century, once an open territory Lapland was divided according to the nation-states. This had an effect on seasonal reindeer migrations, thus, many Sámi were forced to take single national citizenship. Upon closing a Russian-Finnish border with Norway in 1852, many Sámi from the Norwegian region had to register as Swedish, to be able to continue using their land in Finland. When Sweden closed the border to Russia-Finland in 1889, many herders took Swedish citizenship to be able to access pastures there (Mattson, 2014). In the same period, many Swedish farmers settled in Lapland, increasing proximity between the two cultures.

Closer connection resulted in legal and scientific measures to distinguish Swedishness from Lappishness. “The illusion that all Sámi in Sweden were reindeer pastoralists could not be upheld anymore. When the authorities could not change the reality, they changed the definitions”, a historian summarizes these legal changes (Lundmark, 2007, as cited in Mattson, 2014, p.337). Hence, the late-nineteenth-century parliamentary acts forbade individual Lapps to own land and transferred that right to the communal village organizations, which could only be joined by reindeer herders. This confirmed that Lappishness was a collective trait, while Swedishness an individual (Mattson, 2014). As a result, those who fished, farmed, or worked for wages instead of engaging in reindeer business lost their rights. Since the women received their rights through their fathers or husbands, a Lapp woman, upon marrying a Swede, would lose her Lapp categorization (Kvist, 1992, as cited in Mattson, 2014, p.337). Slowly a new separation of Lapps from Swedes was established, embedded in laws, education, and police.

From 1913 Sweden held a policy “a Lapp shall remain a Lapp”, and forbade Lapps to settle, they had to work in reindeer herding, and intermarriage with Swedes was officially forbidden. In 1916, a Swedish political scientist Rudolf Kjellén published his influential work *The State as a Living Form*, where he presented Lapps as a threat to Sweden’s homogeneity (the health of the nation was defined by its homogeneity), and posed them as separate and inferior genetic race (Mattson, 2014, p. 338). His work was widely influential in continental political thought, especially in Germany.

The first state institute for race biology was in Sweden, not Nazi Germany or Jim Crow United States. *Statens Institut för Rasbiologi* (SIR) was established in 1922, under the leadership of Herman Lundborg, who had earlier established the Swedish Society for Race Hygiene to promote “the contributions made by Swedes within the fields of anthropology, race-biology,

genetics and eugenics” (Mattson, 2014, p. 338). SIR’s primary objective was to collect the information about the Sámi, which was published in two volumes in 1932 and 1941 (Mattson, 2014, p. 338). In 1938 the formal institutionalization of “lappology” began with the establishment of the Lapp Department at the Nordic Museum in Stockholm. The timing and practices reflected the desire to collect the knowledge about the Lapps, when humanities, social sciences, and life sciences were firming up (Abbot, 2001, as cited in Mattson, 2014, p.326). In addition to that, “lappology” became a field where many scientists could try out their new techniques that later became adopted in human sciences, including ethnography, race biology, and national genetics.

The institutionalization of “lappology” was short-lived, the end of World War II destroyed the credibility of race biology and the political movements that followed catered to the growth of Sámi self-consciousness. The term Lapp was classified as derogatory, and the word Sámi began to replace it. “Lappology” no longer exists since the 1980s, and the Sámi have two official categories in Sweden: the official one that administrates the reindeer herding rights, and the cultural understanding of Sámi as a minority group. By 1982 the Nordic Museums’ Lapp Department was renamed the Sámi Collection. In 1989 Norway had inaugurated Sámi Parliament, followed by Sweden (1993), Finland (1996), and Russia (2010) (Mattson, 2014, p. 326). In 1998 Sweden apologized to the Sámi for the past wrongdoing and in year 2000 recognized Sámi as a national minority language, which granted the right to Sámi language education to some children of non-reindeer-herders. However, only in 2011 did Sweden reaffirm reindeer grazing rights, and there is still ongoing dispute about Sámi land rights, regardless of the call by International Labor Organization’s Convention No. 169 (Mattson, 2014, p. 340). To this day (March, 2020), Sweden has not ratified The Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention (International Labor Organization, 1996). Moreover, in January 2017, the Sámi parliament, comprised of members from Norway, Sweden, and Finland, had come to a unified Nordic agreement on Indigenous Sámi rights and culture. The convention defines the identity criteria, that allows people to vote in the Sámi parliaments, based on the model applied in Norway (Staalesen, 2017). However, the Convention has not yet been ratified neither by

5“anyone, who considers herself or himself as a Sami and 1) has Sami as native language or 2) has a parent, a grandparent or a grand grandparent who has had Sami as native language, or 3) has a parent who is or was enrolled in the Sami Parliament census” (Staalesen, 2017).

Finland, nor Sweden. Still, the historical verdict of January 2020 in the Swedish Supreme Court has given the Sámi village Girjas exclusive rights to administrate hunting and fishing rights in the area- the state may not issue licences anymore and the village does not need the state's approval (Bye, 2020).

4.3 Sámi Cultural Revival

During the post-World War II era, the Sámi began to place themselves within the wider global Indigenous community and a Sámi movement has emerged as a response to political and cultural suppression, intending to revive culture and to achieve political and cultural self-determination. The Sámi began imagining the transnational Sápmi community, traversing Arctic regions of Norway, Sweden, Finland, and the Russian Kola Peninsula (Hilder, 2012).

Sámi musical performance has been vital to the revival of Sámi culture. Joik has emerged as a Sámi national song in the late 1960s and it has become a tool to communicate and articulate the Sámi indigeneity. Traditionally joik has been performed as a vocal practice without any accompaniment. Performers stress that joik has an existential quality, it 'exists' in its own terms, as it may be circular, with no definite beginning or end, and the performer might change that once the joik is performed (Fagerheim, 2014). Joik contains few lyrics, sparsely included between phrases of chanting on syllables and 'sound-lyrics' (Fagerheim, 2014). Joik is also a way of bringing life to places, animals and other aspects of the environment, as well as a form of storytelling (Hilder, 2012). The processes of Christianization and cultural assimilation have resulted in the disappearance of joik from many areas, as it was associated with the former shamanic practices and a strong marker of the Sámi identity. During the Sámi cultural revival, using joik has highlighted the history of cultural dispossession, and it has become "a vehicle to resist state assimilation policies, land dispossession, and border creation; assisting the revival of language, identity and nature-based ontology" (Hilder, 2012, p.163, 164).

In the 1970s and 1980s, the Sámi music was marked by a conflict of tradition performance of joik and new influences (Lethola, 2015, as cited in Ruokonen and Eldridge, 2017, p.10). The 1960s had created "a boarding house generation"- Sámi who spent a great deal of their youth in the boarding schools, usually from the age of seven, at times hundred kilometers away from their families. As a result, many musicians did not grow up learning the joik tradition. Hence since the Sámi musical revival, there began a trend to developed modern joik, incorporating

joik into popular music and performing it on stage with instrumental accompaniment. Reframing a ‘traditional’ joik into modern popular music has been controversial, as joik often had a negative connotation in its past, thus to use it in another context was also a way to “liberate the genre from the negative connotations of its past, in effect restoring it to a position of acknowledged importance in Saami culture” (Jones-Bamman, 1993, as cited in Fagerheim, 2014, p. 66).

4.4 Significant Musicians in Sámi Cultural Revival- Nils-Aslak Valkeapää and Mari Boine

Sámi music has changed from “participatory forms to a stage art” in the 1970s, as Sámi cultural renaissance began (Lethola, 2002, as cited in Diamond, 2007). Together with literature and visual art, the shift was triggered by the Alta Conflict of 1979 and 1980, which centered on resisting the damming of Alta River which flooded the communities and changed the patterns of reindeer migration (Diamond, 2007).

As the context of my thesis is climate change, in the following section I will introduce two significant Sámi artists, whose works promote environmental thinking. I have chosen not to analyze their music and to focus on Sofia Jannok, who is a younger generation, but whose music has been influenced by and is in a similar tradition of Nils-Aslak Valkeapää and Mari Boine.

Nils-Aslak Valkeapää (1943-2001) was the most famous Finnish- Sámi multimedia artist and political activist of his generation. He played an extraordinary role in fostering joik revival and shifting joik’s performance patterns. Ramnarine (2017) provides a brief list of his achievements, including establishing a recording company *Indigenous Records*, an award of Nordic Prize for Literature in 1991 for his *Beaivi, Áhčážan* (The Sun, My Father), the jury’s special prize in European Radio Competition Prix Italia in 1993 for *Goase Dušše* (The Bird Symphony). He was also invited to perform joik at the opening ceremony of the Olympic Winter Games 1994 in Norway.

In his music, Valkeapää used joik together with electronic, symphonic, or popular textures. In the 1970s and 1980s, there was a conflict in Sámi music between the traditional performance of joik and new influences, hence Valkeapää's figure is essential in the history of the modernization of the Sámi music. Valkeapää's influence is apparent in Sámi popular music, festivals, choral projects, school music education, contemporary Sámi literature and film and establishment of a contemporary Sámi theatre group and a publishing house DAT. His play *The Frost-haired and the Dream Seer* was first staged in 2007, and its main idea is to promote "that humans are a small part of nature, life, and the universe" (Ramnarine, 2017, p.7).

Valkeapää was a leading artistic and political figure, who tried to achieve recognition for Sámi Indigenous identity, already before the Sámi gained their Indigenous status in 1975 (Ramnarine, 2017).

Mari Boine (b. 1956) is a Norwegian- Sámi artist from a village in the Norwegian high north, who grew up in a strict Læstadian⁶ home, and knew little about the Sámi history and culture beyond the limits of her family. Growing up Sámi was her first language, however, in her later years, she spoke Norwegian with the first husband (who also spoke Sámi as the first language) and with her firstborn son. Today she is a leading Sámi artist who has contributed to healing and rebuilding of Sámi identity and lost traditions and repositioning stigmatized symbols and practices (Kraft, 2015).

Kraft (2015) recalls how Boine's life story has been retold many times, to exemplify a broader context of Norwegian assimilation politics that left Boine and many other children of the 1950s and 1960s with little knowledge of their Sámi culture and social stigma around it. Boine's family were unusually strict Læstadians, whose world was dominated by the Bible and doomsday. The artist reflects that this heritage stayed with her for a long time and she has spent much of her life trying to overcome it (Kraft, 2015). During the Alta conflict in 1979 and 1980, Boine, in her early twenties, was not among the protesters, as according to her biography she was "at this point a bashful young woman, full of shame, doubt, and unresolved tensions. Boine has in interviews spoken of her shame with respect to anything Sámi, and of wanting to get away from it all, even the language" (Tonstad 2012; Amundsen, NRK Radio 2003, as cited in Kraft, 2015, p. 237).

⁶ Læstadianism is a conservative Lutheran revival movement

However, changes in the political environment made Boine to reconsider her roots, and encouraged her to begin joiking, a practice which her family had never accepted. “You have now sold yourself to the devil”- she was told by her father (NN 2005 as cited in Kraft, 2015, p.237). The death of her parents had left her grieving but also “with some sort of freedom; I feel that after they died, I felt closer to them than before. We become part of nature when we die, according to shamanism, so we have very good communication now. I walk in nature and talk to my dead parents” (Amunndsen 2003 as cited in Kraft, 2015, p.237).

By 2020, Boine had produced 13 albums, played hundreds of concerts, participated in Sámi and other festivals worldwide, and received several prestigious awards, including the honorary award of the Sámi Council in 1992 and the Nordic Council Music Prize in 2003. In 2005 Boine was one of ten candidates for “most important Norwegian of the century”, and in 2012 she became a *statstipendiat*- an artist with a permanent national funding (Kraft, 2015).

In her music, Boine bridges the past with the present, bringing neoshamanism rituals and attributes such as drums, historically used by the noaidi- Sámi religious specialist, and using joik as a medium, as “ a source of wisdom, a connection to the past, a trance technique used for (shamanic) traveling, and even a trance-like state” (Kraft, 2015, p. 241).

Connection to nature is essential in Boine’s music, and for her, a relationship between joik and music traditions among other Indigenous people are embedded in the nature-based ontology. Her song texts also articulate the connection between other Indigenous people and have repeated references to nature, elements such as the sun, water, mountains, animals, and birds. Kraft (2015) notes how some of Boine’s songs refer to markers of indigeneity such as environmentalism, the notion of nature people, and a holistic worldview. In one of the songs, *Gula Gula*, Boine calls for solidarity and responsibility towards the environment: “again they want to remind you, that the earth is our mother. If we take her life we die with her” (Boine *Gula Gula* as cited in Kraft, 2015, p. 244). Kraft (2015) concludes that Boine’s songs, performances, and interviews articulate her indigeneity with references to nature, to Mother Earth, and to environmentalism.

Having provided a historical and cultural overview of the Sámi, I will now move onto the theoretical section and the analysis.

5. Theoretical Section

In the following section, I will introduce my theoretical background. My main theoretical argument will be based on Ahmed (2004) and Aileen (2015), while I use Pratt (1992) to situate Sofia Jannok as a subject in the contact zone.

5.1 Contact Zone

I approach my material as an outcome that results from the contact between the Indigenous Sámi and Sweden as a nation-state. The Sámi culture has been under the influence of Scandinavian settler colonialism and state policies that aimed to undermine their cultural identity. Hence, I analyse this encounter as a phenomenon that happens in a contact zone. Pratt (1992) refers to contact zones as spaces where different cultures meet and interact with each other, often they are defined by highly asymmetrical power relations, such as domination and subjugation, in cases such as slavery, colonialism, or the aftermaths of those conditions that are spread across the globe today (Pratt, 1992, p. 6).

For Pratt (1992) contact zones are spaces of primarily colonial encounters, where historically and geographically separated groups come into contact and establish ongoing relationships with each other. The use of the word ‘contact’ is designed to illustrate how subjects, both the coloniser and the colonised, are constituted in and by their relations to each other. It aims at looking at those relations in terms of interaction, copresence, instead of creating binary oppositions of the coloniser and the colonised, however, still acknowledging the most often occurring asymmetrical relations of power (Pratt, 1992, p. 7).

As subjugated subjects are often not able to determine what comes from the dominant culture, however, they can determine of how much and what elements of the dominating imposed culture are they going to absorb and establish their meaning to it. Pratt (1992) refers to this process as transculturation, which, she argues, is the phenomenon of the contact zone (Pratt, 1992, p. 6). As I have shown in the section about the connections between various environmental Indigenous movements, using social media to create solidary and articulate resistance could be seen as a process of transculturation. Indigenous groups are unable to

influence the flow of globalization that affects their livelihoods, however, they can determinate how to use the tools of globalization for their benefits.

5.2 Cultural Politics of Emotion

In the following section, I will introduce Ahmed's (2004) arguments about the cultural politics of emotion. I will begin by discussing how historically emotionality was presented as inferior to reason, then I will discuss pain and politics, and lastly will argue how politics of emotion offer possibilities for transformation.

5.2.1 Hierarchy Between Emotions and Reason

Drawing on several examples from British National Front, which advocates anti-immigration policies by calling Britain a 'soft touch', where others are trying to 'get into' to have a life with 'easy comforts', Ahmed (2004) explores how being soft is associated with being too emotional, and that there is an implicit demand for the nation to be less easily moved, to be 'hard', or 'tough' (Ahmed, 2004, p.1). Ahmed (2004) articulates how emotionality is defined as weakness, as it tends to be shaped by others. Emotions have been viewed as 'beneath' the faculties of thought and reason, as "to be emotional is to have one's judgement affected: it is to be reactive rather than active, dependant rather than autonomous" (Ahmed, 2004, p. 3). Ahmed (2004) claims that emotions are often associated with women, who are represented as 'closer' to nature, and less capable to transcend the body through thought, will and judgement. In the evolutionary thinking, emotions have been understood as a sign of pre-history, or as a sign of how the primitive still exists in the present. Darwin's model suggests that emotions "can hardly be understood, except on the belief that man once existed in a much lower and animal-like condition" (Darwin, 1904, as cited in Ahmed, 2004, p.3). Hence, emotions are not only 'beneath' but 'behind' the man/human, it is a sign of a more primitive time, the fear of 'being soft' signifies both the risk of becoming feminine and also 'less white', as becoming soft and emotional "would involve moving backwards in time, such that one would come to resemble a more primitive form of social life" (Ahmed, 2004, p. 3).

However, Ahmed argues that the hierarchy between thought/reason gets displaced into the hierarchy of emotions: some emotions are perceived as signs of cultivation, whilst others remain 'lower' and signify weakness. Within contemporary culture, emotions might be

represented as good or even better than thought, as long as they are represented as a form of intelligence. Moreover, evolutionary thinking has been narrated as the ability to control emotions, or to feel ‘appropriate’ emotions at different times and places (Elias, 1978, as cited in Ahmed, 2004, p.3). For Ahmed (2004) the interest lies in analysing how ‘being emotional’ is perceived as a characteristic of some bodies and not others, and how attending to emotions might show us that all actions are reactions, as what we do is shaped by the contact we have with others. In the analysis, I will demonstrate how Jannok is challenging the notion of inferior emotionality.

5.2.2 Pain and Politics

Ahmed (2004) analysis how the image of landmines in the Christian Aid Letter is used to evoke pain in public discourse. “Landmines are causing pain and suffering all around the world”- such an utterance not only speaks a certain truth, but its reading also involves understanding that landmines are effects of histories of war, and the word ‘landmines’ evokes that history, suffering, and injustice (Ahmed, 2004, p. 20). Such an image shows that the language of pain operates through signs, that convey histories that articulate injuries caused to certain bodies. Hall (1997) also claims one needs to speak the ‘same language’, to understand and translate the meaning that is attributed to certain objects. In the analysis, I will do a MCDA to understand how pain, caused to the Sámi, is represented through different visual and linguistic choices.

For Ahmed (2004) the focal question in situating the experience of pain is not only how pain is determined, but rather what the feeling of pain does. Through the sensation of pain, we come to understand our skin as a bodily surface (Prosser, 1998, as cited in Ahmed, 2004, p.24); and the sensation of pain helps us to understand the relationship between external and internal, distinguish inside from outside, and mark boundaries between us and others.

In my thesis, I am focusing on the concept of pain that is caused due to the history of settler colonialism and the current climate change rather than the sensation of physical pain which might be felt upon stubbing one’s toe on the table. In the examples by Furberg et al (2011) that I have outlined earlier, I refer to Hall’s (1997) and Ahmed’s (2004) ideas on translation and interpret the Sámi reindeer herders facing the limits of resilience as a painful experience, even

though the article did not explicitly mention the word pain in discussing the experiences of reindeer herders.

Ahmed (2004) suggests approaching emotions as social and cultural practices, as emotions create the effect of the boundaries that allows us to distinguish an inside and an outside in the first place. "So emotions are not simply something 'I' or 'we' have. Rather, it is through emotions, or how we respond to objects and others, that surfaces or boundaries are made: the 'I' and the 'we' are shaped by, and even take the shape of, contact with others." (Ahmed, 2004, p. 10). Approaching emotions as a form of cultural politics or world-making, and not as a private matter, allows us to see how power shapes the surfaces of bodies (or communities) and marks boundaries, and allows us to question how subjects become invested in particular structures.

To approach emotions as a form of cultural politics, Ahmed (2004) cautiously suggests that to respond to other's pain ethically requires to be "open to being affected by that which one cannot know or feel" (Ahmed, 2004, p. 30). To act upon something one does not and cannot know, involves an ethics of pain- one is moved by what does not belong to me. On the contrary, if one only acts upon assumption that it is possible to 'know' and 'feel' other's pain, then pain becomes appropriated and might be transformed into one's sadness. For Ahmed (2004), to avoid 'flattening' out of the differences in pain experience, or turning sociality of pain into another form of universalism, it is essential to approach pain to its association with 'injury', and link experiences of injury from an external object with the experiences of feeling injured by others.

Pain in politics has been seen as problematic by some scholars. Wendy Brown claims that in subaltern politics the wound has been fetishized, and the wound comes to stand for identity itself when subaltern subjects become invested in it (Brown, 1995, as cited in Ahmed, 2004, p.32). The political claims turn into claims of injury against something or someone (society, the state, the middle class, men, etc) as a reaction or negation (ibid.). For Brown, basing politics on such reactions is inadequate, as reactions make it impossible to take action. Brown argues how over-investment in the wound becomes problematic as it comes into conflict with the need to give up these investments.

On the one hand, Ahmed (2004) agrees that linking the wound with the identity is problematic, as its fetishism cuts the wound off from a history of ‘getting injured’ and turns it into something that simply ‘is’, rather than looking into how it happened in time and space. On the other hand, Ahmed (2004) argues that attending to injury in politics requires to understand the mechanisms of power and to account for different ways in which ‘wounds’ enter politics. As Carl Gutiérrez-Jones argues, the critique of injury has to recognise that different forms of injury happened due to an uneven and antagonistic history (Carl Gutiérrez-Jones, 2001, as cited in Ahmed, 2004, p.33). In my thesis, I do approach injury in a way that Ahmed (2004) argues here, situating it within the context of colonial history and climate change.

As a response to Brown’s critique, Ahmed (2004) claims that ‘to forget’ the wound or the history as a scene where the injury happened, would mean to repeat the violence or injury. Ahmed (2004) suggests that our task might be to ‘remember’ how the surfaces of bodies (including the bodies of communities) came to be wounded in the first place and to rethink the relationship between the past and the present, without leaning onto conservation of the past. “In order to break the seal of the past, in order to move away from attachments that are hurtful, we must bring them into the realm of political action. <...>The past is living rather than dead; the past lives in the very wounds that remain open in the present” (Ahmed, 2004, p. 33). As I have discussed in the earlier section, Whyte (2016) demonstrates how climate change is a colonial *déjà Vu* for the Indigenous people, hence it supports the claims of Ahmed (2004) that the past is rather living than dead, and, as I will argue in the analysis, for the Sámi the wounds are still open, they are pushed to their limits, both due to climate change and state policies. The injustice comes in a different form, however, it still reproduces unequal power relations.

Ahmed (2004) moves further to the damage done to the skin of the community, looking into the examples of *Bringing Them Home* report, where the testimonies of the Stolen Generation of Australia convey how a generation of Indigenous children was taken away from their families and communities and sent to boarding schools, often in a violent manner. “Pain is not simply an effect of a history of harm; it is the *bodily life of that history*” (Ahmed, 2004, p. 34, italics in the original). The violence inflicted upon the individual bodies of Indigenous Australians, was also violence upon a community, which was torn apart, whose bonds with their loved ones were severed. As Kai Erikson suggests, collective trauma involves “a blow to the basic tissues of social life that damages the bonds attaching people together” (Erikson, 1995, as cited in Ahmed, 2004, p. 34). *Bringing Them Home* consists of those individual stories

of the pain of separation, the hurt, the bereavement and loss from which the recovery is difficult. Even though Sweden had a different policy of assimilation comparing to Australia, the stories of the members of the Sámi community as well carry pain, hurt, separation. The movie *Sami Blood (2016)* tells a story about a teenage girl from a reindeer herding family, who in the 1930s experiences racism, bullying, and discrimination, and runs away from her family to become a teacher. Due to the policies “a Lapp Shall Remain a Lapp” she was not allowed to study, so she hides her Sámi identity, and cuts all the connections to it to be able to pass as a Swede and to gain an education. Only after the death of her sister, now an old woman she is able to revisit both the community in Northern Sweden, but also her life (Kernell, 2016). A life story of Mari Boine is also a testimony of how wounds were created by discourses that rendered the Sámi culture shameful and inferior, and how it affected her personal life and relationship with her parents.

However, how such stories are heard within politics is a troubling matter. Within the Australian context, the document *Bringing Them Home* emphasises the recovering and healing from the trauma, rather than forgetting the traumas of the past, which are defined as both ‘personal’ and ‘national’. Still, the politics and narratives of reconciliation often focus on the Indigenous Australians fitting into the white nation or community, when they share their stories of injustice, the white readers are allowed to disappear from this history, having no part in what was done. Ahmed (2004) warns against the process of appropriation when the non-Indigenous Australians respond to the testimonies of the Stolen Generation by claiming their pain to be a national pain. To heal the wounds of the Indigenous Australians is to seal the skin of the nation. However, Ahmed (2004) argues that to take one’s pain as our own involves violence: “our task instead is *to learn how to hear what is impossible*. <...> Non-Indigenous readers do need to take it personally (we are part of this history), but in such a way that the testimony is not taken away from others, as if it were about our feelings, or our ability to feel the feelings of others” (Ahmed, 2004, p. 35, italics in the original). Hence, Ahmed (2004) proposes that the politics of pain should not be based on the idea of reconciliation, but rather on learning to live with the impossibility of reconciliation, or learning to live with each other, and yet to understand that we and our histories are not as one.

5.2.3 Politics of Emotion and Possibilities for Transformation

For Ahmed (2004) the politics of emotion are also spaces for transformation. During the concert that I attended in Helsinki, 2019, Mari Boine shared how Indigenous arts and songs are often born from pain and how pain was part of her journey of forty years, from being a young woman ashamed of her culture to becoming a proud Indigenous woman whom nobody can put down (personal notes taken during the concert, Helsinki, November 2019).

However, as I have shown earlier, Ahmed (2004) discusses how historically emotionality has been perceived as inferior to reason and today discourses and subject positions also matter in whose emotions are considered as legitimate and whose not.

As an example, Greta Thunberg's speech at the United Nations has received criticism based not on the content of her speech but based on her age, referring to the Asperger syndrome and commenting on the angry way that the speech was delivered. A Fox News guest Michael Knowles, of the Daily Wire- American right-wing and conservative news portal- claimed that if the climate movement would be led by a scientist, it would matter, but Thunberg is not a scientist, she is a "mentally ill Swedish child who is being exploit" (Washington Post, 2019). An American conservative commentator Dinesh D'Souza commented that "Children — notably Nordic white girls with braids and red cheeks — were often used in Nazi propaganda" (D'Souza, 2019, as cited in Zraick, 2019). Others similarly criticized her speech. Sebastian Gorka, who formerly worked at the White House under President Trump, said that Thunberg's remarks were "disturbingly redolent of a victim of a Maoist 're-education' camp" (Gorka, 2019, as cited in Zraick, 2019). Laura Ingraham, the Fox News host, referred to Thunberg's speech as a climate change hysteria (Zraick, 2019). Pia Kjærsgaard from a Danish People's Party commented being tired of this angry child (jeg bliver bare så træt af det belærende vrede barn, my translation), and referred to an earlier article where she calls Thunberg a girl with serious diagnosis (Dalgas, 2019). Hence, the criticism of Thunberg in the examples above is based on Thunberg's position and expressed emotionality in her speech and not the content of it.

This examples supports Ahmed's (2004) claim that it is not surprising that in the histories of imperialism and capitalism, speaking against a certain truth can be dismissed due to someone's gender, position, or expressed emotionality. Foucault claims that discourse also restricts other ways of talking about a certain subject. Hence, Thunberg's speech, that criticised capitalist-

driven economy and mentality, meets a lot of resistance. I relate this example to my thesis, as Jannok expresses how the Sámi voices are often dismissed in political decision making

However, Ahmed (2004) claims that constructing politics of emotion as emotional and hostile, expands the idea of the hierarchy between emotions and reason/thought, and the subjects it translates into: thoughts and reason are identified with the masculine and Western subject, while emotions are mostly identified with femininity and racial others. However, to respond to such critique by dismissing the emotionality of feminism would lead to accepting the opposition between emotions and thoughts and the subordination of femininity as well as feminism. Instead, Ahmed (2004) suggests considering the form of politics where emotions work as a tool to contest social norms, and where feminism involves an emotional response to the world. “Emotions are what moves us, and how we are moved involves interpretations of sensations and feelings not only in the sense that we interpret what we feel, but also in that what we feel might be dependent on past interpretations that are not necessarily made by us, but that come before us” (Ahmed, 2004, p. 171).

Moreover, it is not only pain that urges us to move into feminism, as the response to pain requires anger as well, an interpretation that renders this pain as wrong, as an outrage and urges for something to be done about it. Brown has critiqued the intimacy between pain and anger, arguing that such form of politics can only ‘react’ and not ‘act’ (Brown, 1995, as cited in Ahmed, 2004, p.174). However, Ahmed (2004) disagrees claiming that politics of action without reaction is not possible, as such a possibility would rely on the erasure of histories that come before the subject. Feminist politics is often a form of political and emotional response to what it is against, then that what it is against cannot be exterior to feminism. “If anger is a form of ‘against-ness’, then it is precisely about the impossibility of moving beyond the history of injuries to a pure or innocent position” (ibid). However, anger does not mean that it demands revenge, it is more about the reading of what one is against. Audre Lorde uses anger as a response to injustice, as a vision for the future, as a translation of pain into knowledge, as a power for transformation. “My response to racism is anger. <...>Anger expressed and translated into action in the service of our vision and our future is a liberating and strengthening act of clarification... Anger is loaded with information and energy” (Lorde, 1984, as cited in Ahmed, 2004, p.175). Anger is not only about the past, but also about the future, where being against something is also about being for something, something that still has to be articulated or created. Hence silencing anger would also be turning away from the aspiration towards the

future (ibid.). Connections are important between the object of anger and broader structures or patterns. “Anger against objects or events, directed against this or that, moves feminism into a bigger critique of ‘what is’, as a critique that loses an object, and opens itself up to possibilities that cannot be simply located or found in the present” (Ahmed, 2004, p. 176).

Even though in feminism that to which it is against is irreducible, feminist politics cannot be reduced only to that ‘against-ness’, as it is also ‘for’ something. Ahmed shares how for her, feminism was never a stand of negation: “it has never been reducible to the feelings of pain, anger, or rage, which have nevertheless, at times, given my politics a sense of urgency” (Ahmed, 2004, p. 179). For her, feminism is more invested in joy, care, wonder, and aspirations towards a transformed future. Drawing on ideas of Descartes and Wittgenstein, Ahmed illustrates how wonder allows us to recognise that what is considered ordinary becomes extraordinary when it stops being taken for granted. Wonder invites to see the world ‘as if’ for the first time, and Ahmed (2004) suggests that it allows us to see the surfaces and structures of the world *as made*, rather than taken for granted as simply ‘already there’. “Wonder is about learning to see the world as something that does not have to be, and as something that came to be, over time, and with work. As such, wonder involves learning” (Ahmed, 2004, p. 180). It is through wonder that questions are asked, pain and anger come to life, as it allows us to feel what is wrong, what is not necessary, and that what can be made can also be unmade. Wonder evokes the hope for transformation.

Aspirations towards the future are essential in feminist politics- given that feminism comes as a critique of the ways in which the world has already taken shape, hence the hope for the future is to avoid repeating past injustices. Hope is needed in politics and is crucial to the act of protest. Hope allows us to feel that what is wrong is not inevitable and articulation of anger without hope might lead to despair and sense tiredness, related to the ‘inevitability’ to reproduce something that one is against. Ahmed (2004) also urges for understanding that hope for a transformed future is related to the action in the present, and its imperfect translation of the past.

5.3 Scrutinizing Whiteness Through The Logics of Possession

In the last part of my theoretical section, I will introduce Aileen's (2015) ideas on how the concept of "possessive logics" is embedded in the ontology of whiteness. I find her ideas relevant to the topic of climate change, as the logics of capital function through the practice of ownership. As I have argued with Whyte (2016) the current climate change is caused due to capital based economical structures, and in this section, I will try to uncover how these structures reflect the ontology of whiteness. In the analysis, I will not scrutinize how "possessive logics" manifest in the video material but use this concept for the discussion of how alternative ways of relating to nature are expressed in Jannok's articulation.

The onset of imperialism began to construct the world order, by taking possession of other people, their lands, and resources. This process has also developed racial stratification that spread globally, and between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries major social, legal, political, economic changes took place. "These changes centred upon the rise of 'possessive individualism', that is, upon an increasing consciousness of the distinctiveness of each self-owning human entity as the primary social and political value" (Aileen, 2015, p. 49). The mechanisms of a nation-state, especially law, regulated private ownership of property, and by the late 1700s, people could legally own land, sell their labour, and enter into other contractual agreements that were formed through their relationship between capital and the state. "A new white property-owning subject emerged in history and possessiveness became embedded in everyday discourse" (Aileen, 2015, p. 49). It became an aim to expand yourself through property, which began and ended with possession of one's body. That belief meant that one is able to control one's being, ideas, mind, feelings, body; or possess something that is beyond the subject. Within law possession referred to occupying territories by territorial domination, owning property or wealth. Aileen (2015) discusses how scholars scrutinizing whiteness have approached it as a structural location of privilege, however, for her the interest lies in understanding the 'possessive logics' at the ontological level, where the proprietary rights are part of the normative behaviour. Hence, for the subject to think "this is mine" requires an internalised understanding that this is a rule of a normative interaction.

Aileen (2015) argues that for the subject to possess, one has to impose his/her will onto the thing that is understood as lacking will, hence it is allowed to make the thing as his/her own. In my thesis, I approach climate change as a result of the capital-based ontology, which sees the nature as an inanimate object. Aileen (2015) argues that the nation functions as a white possession, as the feeling of belonging is tied to ownership, the logic of capital and citizenship.

However, such logic and structures that support it are in themselves discriminatory for the Indigenous people, as broadly speaking, Indigenous rights are collective rights based on the ownership of the land, and not on the logics of capital (Aileen, 2015, p. 54).

Aileen (2015) uses the concept ‘possessive logics’ to “denote a mode of rationalization, <...>, that is underpinned by an excessive desire to invest in reproducing and reaffirming the nation-state’s ownership, control, and domination” (Aileen, 2015, p. xii). Hence white ‘possessive logics’ operate within discourses, circulate meanings about the ownership of the nation, and have become part of a common-sense knowledge and decision making policies. Aileen (2015) claims that the logics of white possession is linked with the disavowal of Indigenous sovereignty both materially and discursively, as white sovereignty has been formed through dispossession, slavery, and migration.

I will use the term ‘possessive logics’ to make a distinction between the Indigenous and the Western ontologies, however, I do not argue that the Sámi are outside the capitalist system and do not have any property or aspirations towards ownership. Even one of the most traditional occupations of the Sámi functions through capital-based system, as the herders own the reindeer. I do, however, find Aileen’s (2015) term ‘possessive logics’ relevant in the discussions of political decisions and climate change, and will use her arguments in the final discussions of the analysis.

6. Analysis

In the sections to come, first I will shortly introduce Sofia Jannok, and later by answering the sub-questions I will try to answer my overall research question: **What meanings do emotions, articulated in the selected material of Sofia Jannok, carry, and how is Jannok challenging dominant discourses and share her aspirations towards the future?**

I have decided to divide my analysis according to the sub-questions rather than videos, thus I will only discuss the relevant points of the video in each section, instead of analyzing the whole video at once. This choice correlates with the way my research sub-questions are organized.

The first section of the analysis will be based on Ahmed (2004) and try to answer two of the sub-questions: **How do pain, anger, and allusions to injury (Ahmed 2004), articulated in the selected video material, signify that climate change is a political and economic issue? How do cultural politics of emotion (Ahmed 2004) offer possibilities for transformation?**

I will begin by analysing pain, anger, and allusions to injury that I find in the TED Talk *Our Rights to Earth and Freedom* (2012), and the videos *This is my land* (2016) and *We are still here* (2016). By performing a MCDA, I will analyze what strategies Jannok is using to demonstrate that climate change is caused by political and economic practices and to challenge the Swedish state discourse. Then I will approach the politics of emotion as possibilities for transformation and doing a MCDA show how such politics are articulated in the selected videos.

In next section, I will try to answer my third sub-question: **How does Sámi ontology, present in the selected material of Sofia Jannok, offer an alternative to ‘possessive logics’ (Aileen 2015) in the context of climate change?**

Drawing on the insights that I gain during the analysis, I will show how the Sámi ontology is present in the selected video material and, referring to Aileen (2015), examine how some of the notions from Sámi ontology could be approached as an alternative to the ‘possessive logics’.

In the last section, I will be critical to the analyzed material and reflect upon the problematics that arise in Jannok’s strategy.

6.1 Introduction to Sofia Jannok

Sofia Jannok (b. 1982) is known for promoting ecological and political messages in her performances. She has combined jazz, popular music, and joik and has toured performing in Nordic countries, China, and India. She sings in Sámi, Swedish and English. Twice she won a Sámi Grand Prix annual competition that takes place in Kautokeimo, Norway- once in 2001 as part of a duo, and again in 2003 as a solo performer (Ramnarine 2017).

In academic literature, Ramnarine (2017) examined how Jannok is drawing on the legacies of earlier Sámi musicians and is addressing ecological concerns in her music. Otherwise, Jannok has mostly been visible on different kinds of media- her videos and performance can be found on YouTube, she has played a part in the TV series *Midnight Sun* (2015), and her life was documented in a series *The World's Sofia Jannok* by a Swedish national broadcaster STV (Rehlin, 2017). I was limited by my inability to speak either Sámi or Swedish, thus I have searched for the interviews with Jannok that are published in English and in several of them she is presented as a decolonial voice, a voice for justice, an expression of Indigenous views (Blomqvist, 2016; Johnson-Groh, 2017; Rehlin, 2017).

Jannok has released four albums- *White/Čeaskat* (2007), *Áššogáttis (By the Embers)* (2009), *Áhpi (Wide as Oceans)* (2013), and *ORDA – This is my land* (2016) (Jannok, 2020). Her latest album conveys a strong political message, and explores the struggles between the Sámi culture and Sweden as a nation-state, by inserting the excerpts from a hearing in a court case between the Sámi reindeer herding community Girjas and the Swedish state, which was won by Girjas (Bye, 2020). In one of the interviews, Jannok has explained why she has moved from singing primarily in Sámi to singing mainly in English: “It is more direct rhetoric. I have moved away from writing more poetically—I’ve always been critical in my songs but allowed art to be art, giving the listener a chance to interpret it in their own way. Now, on my latest album, I don’t want to do this, I want to be as direct as possible. <..>I also want to say “This is my land,” because the focus is always on something other than the fact that this is Indigenous land” (Jannok as cited in Blomqvist, 2016). Two of the videos that I will analyze- *This is my land (2016)* and *We are still here (2016)* are from Jannok’s latest album *ORDRA (2016)*, and together with the TED Talk they will be taken from the YouTube channel.

Having provided a more general overview of Jannok’s music, I will now move onto the analysis of the selected material.

6.2 Pain, Anger and Allusions to Injury

In the following section, I will be answering the first sub-question: **How do pain, anger, and allusions to injury (Ahmed 2004), articulated in the selected video material, signify that climate change is a political and economic issue?**

Scrutinizing Pain in the TED Talk *Our Rights to Earth and Freedom* (2012)

I will begin by examining the significance of pain in the TED Talk *Our Rights to Earth and Freedom* (2012), that took place in Mumbai, India, in 2011. The video begins by Jannok entering the stage, dressed in traditional Sámi clothing, and performing the joik. Then she explains the meaning of joik and begins her speech, which is accompanied by changing photographs in the background. She ends her speech by performing joik and saying thank you, both in Sámi and English.

In the analysis, I will first scrutinize what meanings pain carries (Ahmed, 2004) and how Jannok's argument is facilitated by linguistic choices and photographs in the background. At the end of this section, I will analyse how Jannok is performing her emotionality and challenges the dominant discourse of superior thought/reason.

After the performance of joik, Jannok shares how she was moved by the film *Avatar* (2009). She quickly describes the plot: "It is about the human race in the future where they have destroyed mother earth <...>. A big mining company finds valuable resources on a paradise planet full of life. But the company shows no mercy. The natives have to be moved or destroyed. When I saw this movie, I cried throughout the whole story, because it was so familiar. To me, it was like a painful documentary of a present life, my life" (TEDx Talks, 2012).

In her talk, Jannok explicitly states that a plot of *Avatar* (2009) is a painful documentary of her life, hence the movie evokes tears in her. Drawing on Ahmed (2004) I will analyze how the pain and tears that Jannok expresses convey ongoing histories of violence. Ahmed (2004) argues that pain is both an internal and external perception, as it is felt internally but its source lies in the external world. For Jannok to feel that the movie *Avatar* (2009) is a painful documentary of her own life, does not mean that the movie is the source of her pain. In order to facilitate my argument, I will elaborate on Ahmed (2004), where she scrutinizes the relationship between objects and emotions, and turns to Descartes, who argues that objects do not evoke diverse emotions due to their diverse nature, but rather due to diverse ways in which objects may harm or help us (Descartes, 1985, as cited in Ahmed, 2004, p.5). Hence the feelings arise not due to the nature of objects, but because of the nature of relationship, we have with objects. Ahmed (2004) elaborates that if emotions are shaped by the contact with objects, then

in order to attribute an object as being ‘good’ or ‘bad’, the process of reading and evaluation is significant, as contact involves the subject, as well as histories, that come before the subject. The objects can both have a material existence, or be imagined, as a memory of something that triggers the feeling. One might feel pain when remembering this or that, or upon remembering this or that, one might attribute what is remembered as being painful.

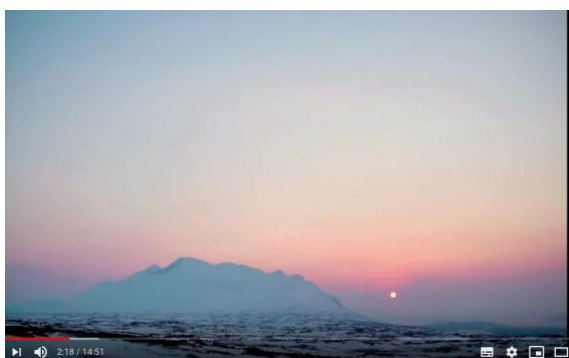
For Jannok, the pain that is caused by seeing a movie triggers a wound that is open in the present and that needs to be attended to understand how it happened in time and space (Ahmed, 2004). Further in her talk, she claims that “the colonization started for about 400 years ago and what is worse, it still has not stopped, <...>people have come and started to come, they put up flags, they drew borders, right across our land, they cut down hectares of woods, they drowned our home with water, they dug big wounds in the mountains, they forced us to move to make room for others, they showed no respect neither to nature nor to the people living there” (TEDx Talks, 2012). The events, mentioned in the quote, I read as the beginning of Scandinavian settler colonialism and the establishment of Scandinavian nation-states that took place during the second half of the nineteenth-century (Mattson, 2014). Jannok’s claim supports the arguments of Whyte (2016) that climate change is the colonial *déjà vu*, as she claims ‘(colonization) still has not stopped’ and refers to the presence of mining companies as a repetition of a colonial history. “Some big companies, driven by people whose goal is money invade our home, force us to move or simply get rid of us. Whether you eliminate people by actually killing them or by killing the conditions for life in freedom, it pretty much makes the same harm” (TEDx Talks, 2012).

Ahmed (2004) argues that in order not to link the wound with the identity, it is essential to understand that pain is linked to injury and how subjects are invested in particular structures. Ahmed (2004) suggests that our task is to remember how did bodies (surfaces of communities) came to be wounded in the first place. Thus, Jannok’s pain is caused by witnessing the destruction of the land and she is articulating that counter-discourse in both her lexical and visual choices.

The overlexicalization of the oppositions “we” (the Sámi) and “they” signifies the desire to make a clear distinction between the Sámi as an Indigenous group and the policies that take place in their area that are driven by others (overlexicalization, structural oppositions, pronoun versus noun: the ‘us’ and ‘them’ division, Machin & Mayr, 2012, p.37, 39, 84). The ‘injury’ is

attributed to ‘them’ as she refers to ‘some big companies, driven by people whose goal is money’, ‘a mining company’, ‘they will dig’ as a collective body, using words such as ‘invade’, ‘forces to move’, ‘gets rid of us’, ‘killing’, ‘harm’, ‘stole the mountains’, ‘destroy’. Placing people in a group makes them more ‘homogenized’, as if they are meant to look/act like one another, creating an impression that has a negative connotation (individualization versus collectivization Machin & Mayr, 2012, p.80). Machin and Mayr (2012) discuss how ‘representational strategies’ are choices that allow to place some people into a certain discourse and connote a set of ideas that are not necessarily overly stated (representational strategies Machin & Mayr, 2012, p.77). Jannok makes a division between ‘us’ and ‘them’ and such a strategy supports Ahmed’s (2004) claim that emotions create the effect of the boundaries that allows us to distinguish between an inside and an outside. Jannok, by trying to explain the nature of her pain, throughout her speech draws boundaries between the Sámi and Sweden as a nation-state, as her pain is caused by state-supported policies. Jannok is trying to emphasise how mining companies are destroying the livelihoods of the Sámi. Thus Jannok distinguishes an inside and an outside by marking the boundaries between people who cause pain and people who feel pain.

Visual semiotic choices also contribute to making a distinction between ‘us’ and ‘them’ and to produce a counter-discourse that illustrates that Jannok’s pain is caused by anthropogenic climate change. The first photograph of the landscape appears after she introduces herself: “My name is Sofia Jannok and I am from that land”- the photograph shows an empty land with the snow-covered mountain, and the sun in the horizon (Figure 1) (TEDx Talks, 2012).



(Figure 1)

The colours of the photograph evoke the feeling of peacefulness, tranquillity, harmony. Jannok, situating herself with the land, pointing at the photograph, conveys the idea of the Sámi living peacefully with nature. In her speech she says: “We are also called as people of wind and the sun”(TEDx Talks, 2012). Further in her speech a photograph of children, dressed in traditional

Sámi clothes and playing in nature, and a photograph of her grandfather, standing with two reindeer in nature, appear in the context when Jannok talks about the Sámi population and personal stories about her family (Figure 2). Contrary to the representation of ‘them’, the depiction of the Sámi is individualised by telling stories about her grandfather, mother, father, giving examples of the livelihoods of the Sámi, referring to ‘our home’, ‘my friend’s reindeer society’ (TEDx Talks, 2012).



(Figure 2)

The photographs contribute to the more personalized and humanized depiction of the Sámi. The potent cultural symbols such as traditional Sámi clothing and representation of reindeer herding are meant to foreground the idea of the maintenance of traditional lifestyle. The photograph of children playing, appearing once Jannok begins talking about the Sámi population, could potentially signify innocence and playfulness of the Sámi (salience Machin and Mayr, 2012, p. 54).

The peaceful depiction of the Sámi is contrasted with the experience of pain Jannok shares when she saw *Avatar* (2009)- “it hit me like an arrow towards my chest” (TEDx Talks, 2012). The metaphor of Jannok’s pain as a psychical injury supports Ahmed’s (2004) argument that ‘pain is the bodily life of history’. It is through the sensation in her body, which is a response to the movie, that Jannok feels the pain. However, reading and interpreting such sensations may be tied to the past history of readings, “in the sense that the process of *recognition* (of this feeling, or that feeling) is bound up with what we *already know*” (Ahmed, 2004, p. 25, italics in the original). Jannok recognises the plot of the movie- ‘the company shows no mercy. The natives have to be moved’ and for her, that story is what she already knows- ‘it was so familiar’.

Jannok tells about her friend- “with tears in his eye corner, he was devastated, now they are coming”- and the photograph of the mining-affected area appears on the screen (figure 3). Similar to Jannok’s pain, her friend’s pain is affected by memories, it is tied to the past history of readings when the mining companies establish themselves in Sápmi. The mining companies are still only coming but the pain is felt already now.



(Figure 3)

In the photographs, there are no explicitly portrayed agents, who could be identified as leaving such traces on the environment, as in the lexical choices where Jannok continuously uses the words ‘people’, ‘they’, ‘some companies’ (exclusion Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 102). However, such photographs contrast with earlier shown photographs of untouched nature, children and Jannok’s grandfather. In the photograph of a dead reindeer again there are no people or any agents. However, throughout her speech Jannok is implying that her pain is caused by the mining companies that destroy the landscape, hence affecting the reindeer grazing areas and resulting in the death of the reindeer.

Earlier in the speech, Jannok refers to ‘wounds in the mountains’, and I would read the photograph of the land affected by the mining as potentially representing the wound in the mountain. The connotations that the ‘wounds in the mountains’ carry could convey the message that mountains can also feel pain, the wounds had been made by someone. Mountains are personified by attributing pain, and Jannok is continuing the tradition of other famous Sámi musicians such as Nils-Aslak Valkeapää and Mari Boine, who talk about the pain caused to mother earth and the environment. Later in the analysis, I will discuss in more detail how the Sámi ontology is present in Jannok’s videos.

In the previous paragraphs, I have shown what strategies Jannok is using in her speech and accompanying photographs to convey a message that her pain is caused due to the exploitation of land in Sápmi that facilitates climate change. In the last paragraph, I will argue that Jannok is linking emotions and music to perform her vulnerability.

During the performance of joik, Jannok sometimes closes her eyes, moves her arms up and down (Figure 4). I perceive her performance as gentle, emotionally charged, vulnerable, yet grounded and confident. I find that her gaze and pose while engaging in a traditional Sámi vocal practice, is intended to foreground peacefulness and vulnerability (gaze, pose Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 70, 74). Joik is a marker of Sámi indigeneity and is a way of bringing life to places. Despite Jannok's aim to tell about the exploitation of Sápmi, I could read her performance as a way to demonstrate how the Sámi are resisting state policies by nurturing their Indigenous practices. In her speech, she claims: "scientists also call us moribund. <...>Moribund? Come on! To me, we are very alive and I'd like to keep it that way"(TEDx Talks, 2012).



(Figure 4)

Ahmed (2004) claims that in a dominant discourse emotionality is defined as inferior to intelligence and how in evolutionary thinking emotions have been perceived as a sign of a more primitive time, as to be emotional means to be affected, to be reactive. Ahmed (2004) analysed how to be emotional is to be 'less white' and I have discussed in the theoretical section with Mattson (2014) how the category of Lapps was a mean by which Sweden defined its superiority. Thus, from the dominant discourse point of view, Jannok's inferiority is twofold-

one related to her emotionality as a woman, and another with her position as an Indigenous person. In a contact zone, Jannok is unable to determine what comes from the dominant discourse, however instead of leaning into these dominant discourses and suppressing her indigeneity and emotionality, she connects Sámi music performance and her emotionality to convey a message about how human-caused climate change is affecting the Indigenous people. Jannok dismisses the notion that emotionality is inferior and demonstrates that an emotional internal reaction, such as pain or tears, is connected to the external world, namely the destruction of the landscape, caused by mining companies and Swedish government policies.

Anger and Allusions to Injury in the videos *This is my land* (2016) and *We are still here* (2016)

In the following paragraphs, I will analyse how anger and injury are articulated in the videos *This is my land* (2016) and *We are still here* (2016) and how the videos exemplify that climate change is tied with the history of colonialism.

The video *This is my land* (2016) combines audio excerpts from the court case, lyrics of the song, video images of the landscape and Jannok, clips from the Indigenous people's demonstrations (2015), and soundscapes of joik. I will examine some of these modalities in the next paragraphs.

The video begins with the audio excerpt from the State Attorney's intervention during the hearing of the court case between the Sámi reindeer herding community Girjas and the Swedish state. While we hear the voice of the attorney, in the video Jannok is cutting the branch of the tree to make the pole for the Sámi flag⁷ (SOFIA JANNOK, 2016b). While the Attorney claims that "the State is of the opinion that it is of utmost importance to define what is meant by the term Sámi" and questions the Sámi claims to administrate hunting, fishing and reindeer herding rights in the area, the main focus in the video is on the flag and the landscape (SOFIA JANNOK, 2016b; figure 8 COURT 150602:2). I would argue that the focus on the flag and the landscape is meant to strengthen the claim by Jannok that the land is known as Sápmi and to

⁷ The common flag was adopted in 1986. The circle design represents the symbols of sun and moon, the sun is red and the moon is blue. The four colors- red, blue, green and yellow- were taken from the traditional colors used in Sámi clothing (National Sami Information Center, 2005).

dispute the court’s argument that tries to dismiss the legality of such claim. At 0:55 the landscape becomes visible through the transparency of the flag and such overlapping has an effect of merging the idea of transnational Sápmi and its relationship with the land (salience Machin and Mayr, 2012, p. 54). I use the description of the setting as the context in which I will facilitate the analysis.

For this section of the analysis, I take the point of departure in the argument that to translate what meanings do textual and visual choices carry, it is necessary to understand how pain and injury can be evoked by different articulations (Ahmed, 2004). I will begin by analysing the clips from the demonstrations to show how anger could be translated as a sign that conveys histories of violence and then relate it to the context of climate change.

The Indigenous people’s demonstrations in Paris took place around COP21 in December 2015 (figures 5, 6, 7).



(figure 5)



(figure 6,7)

I translate the slogans such as ‘respect Indigenous peoples rights’, ‘leave it in the ground’, ‘for a climate of peace’, ‘stop colonialism’ as expressions of anger, as the Indigenous rights are

undermined in different parts of the world. Since I cannot hear the original articulations of the clips, I translate the image of Jannok's body language (figure 6, 7) as portraying anger and demand. Jannok is raising and clenching her fist, mouth open, possibly articulating a slogan (poses Machin and Mayr, 2012, p.74). Ahmed (2004) claims that a response to pain requires anger, as it interprets this pain as wrong, as an outrage. I would also argue that anger itself could be seen as a sign, that conveys histories of injuries caused to certain bodies (bodies of communities). Similar to Ahmed's (2004) example about the landmines, the anger, visible in the clips requires to understand that anger is an effect of histories of colonialism and current climate change. As I have exemplified with Greta Thunberg, speaking against an established 'truths' can be rendered as illegitimate, as, according to Ahmed (2004), the cultural politics of emotion are neatly tied with the gendered histories of imperialism and capitalism. Hence, the audio excerpts from the court case at the beginning of the video function as a reminder that the Sámi are struggling to have their rights recognized in Sweden and anger is a response to the 'truth' articulated in the discourse by Sweden as a nation-state. However, Foucault claims that power is not only restrictive, it also produces resistance and counter-discourse (Hall, 1997). Thus, the anger and demand, visible in the clips, is a bodily shape of 'against-ness' (Ahmed, 2004), a resistance to the dominant discourse, an impossibility to move beyond the history of injury, as structurally climate change is tied to settler colonialism.

In the next paragraphs, I will analyse how the signs of injury are articulated in the lexical and visual choices of the video *This is my land* (2016).

Lexical choices such as 'my land', 'my country', 'I'd be', 'I'd take', 'my pride, my freedom', 'my home' are in opposition to the constant use of 'you', which I interpret as the Swedish nation-state, as the song could be seen as a response to the court case. The injury is attached to the pronoun 'you' - 'if you want to ruin it all with big wounds in the mountains', 'if you open up your eyes you'll find someone is lying I've always been here' (SOFIA JANNOK, 2016b; figure 8 THIS IS MY LAND sápmi). The dichotomy between 'I' and 'you' structures the opposing views build up around the Sámi and Sweden as a nation-state (ideological squaring Van Dijk, 1998, as cited in Machin and Mayr, 2012p. 40). Ideological squaring means that the participants are not necessarily overtly labelled as 'good' or 'bad' but that such distinction is implied through structuring concepts. Throughout the video, there is no image or concrete naming that illustrates who is the 'you' that the song refers to, neither the image that would show the injury, wound, pain (exclusion Machin and Mayr, 2012 p. 102). Hence, the message

of the video is not explicitly stated, is it implied through different signs. To read the video as alluding to injury, requires to understand that the language of pain operates through signs (Ahmed, 2004).

The word ‘wounds’ evokes suffering and pain, but to translate what do the ‘wounds in the mountains’ signify requires understanding how the mountains became injured in the first place (Ahmed 2004). One of the possible readings could be the establishment of mining companies, as drilling changes the surrounding environment, hence, facilitates climate change. The anger, that I analysed in the clips from the demonstrations in Paris, is possibly also a reaction to the wounds being constantly caused to the mountains, that could also be read as the wounds to the Sámi community. As I discussed referring to Furberg et al (2011), the experiences of reindeer herders facing climate change could be interpreted as painful. In addition to that, I would argue that the lie Jannok articulates in the text of the song, is referring to the state discourse that questions the rights of the Sámi.

On the one hand, the video *This is my land (2016)* could be analysed a response to the court case, as from the beginning it is structured around the state discourse and the counter-discourse. Jannok, walking around the mountains with the Sámi flag throughout the entire video, could be analysed as an attempt to dismiss the state discourse by claiming ‘This is my land’. On the other hand, by scrutinizing anger and ‘wounds in the mountains’ as different articulations of pain, I have shown how for the Sámi the injury is facilitated by state policies, that undermine their rights and establish mining companies. Hence I think that the video is representing a larger structural injustice, tied to Indigenous rights and climate change.

In the next paragraphs, I will analyse how in the video *We are still here (2016)* the allusions to injury signify the historical injustice. The video is the collaboration between Sofia Jannok and Anders Sunna, a Swedish Sámi artist whose several works explicitly address Swedish colonialism and abuse of the Sámi people (Heith, 2015). Sunna was also part of the protest movements at the events of Gallók 2013 and made artwork that supported the protests (Heith, 2015). The first thing of the video is the audio excerpt from the court case and while the attorney’s voice is present, Jannok and Sunna enter the setting of the video, which takes place in the woods, the reindeer are walking in the background. Jannok and Sunna wrap a transparent film between two trees, which later becomes the space where Sunna makes his artwork. I will elaborate more on the artwork in the sections once it is relevant to be detailed. Jannok is

constantly coming in and out of the frame, and the process of making the artwork is documented in the video, however, Sunna's face is never visible. In some parts, Jannok is dressed in traditional clothing and performs joik.

In this part of the analysis, I will examine the lyrics and some parts of the artwork of Sunna, and in the next part of the analysis, I will scrutinize other modalities, but I will introduce them when it is relevant.

In the video *We are still here (2016)* there is no direct mentioning of pain or other emotions, however, I 'translate' the allusions to injury and violence as signs that articulate the pain caused to the Sámi community. 'Kill the bison', 'dig out the reindeer's land', 'blood on greedy hands', 'burn the tipi down', '100 years back in the USA killed my sisters, cut their breasts away', 'In Peru my brothers always stayed shot down at home', 'steal our mother' - such lexical choices of the lyrics in *We are still here (2016)* produce a straightforward narrative of violence inflicted onto the Sámi through the history of colonialism and situates the Sámi within the broader context of the struggles of the Indigenous people (figure 8, WE ARE STILL HERE mii leat dás ain). The referential strategies, visible in the lexical choices, are similar as in the examples analysed earlier, as there is no explicit agent mentioned among the lexical choices. Machin and Mayr (2012) claim that often such choices result in portraying something as natural and inevitable, something that should not be questioned (suppression Machin and Mayr, 2012 p. 85). I would add that the text of *We are still here (2016)* follows the same strategy, where Jannok makes her statements as facts, that do not necessarily need a reference, as the meaning of facts is most often not questioned.

As discussed in the theoretical section, pain in politics has been seen as problematic, as over-investment in the wound might make the wound fetishized. On the one hand, the lyrics of *We are still here (2016)* might link the Sámi identity with the wound- if the Sámi are represented through allusions to injury, then it becomes difficult to give up these investments, and the injury, pain, violence, colonialism might come to stand for Sámi identity itself. On the other hand, Ahmed (2004) urges that the reading of injury requires attending to it as something that happened in time and space. Thus the references to the histories of other Indigenous people ('100 years back in the USA', 'in Peru') demonstrate that injuries were created in the context of colonialism and to dismiss that by criticising investments in injury would mean to forget how mechanisms of power shape bodies of individuals and communities. For the Sámi, to

forget the history of ‘getting injured’ would also mean to repeat the violence, as their struggles for the land rights today and effects of climate change are neatly tied with the legacies of colonial policies.

I will now turn to the artwork by Sunna, which has several parts, but in this part of the analysis I will focus on how Sunna’s visual choices are conveying the message of historical injustice, and in the later section, I will show how drawing on the resistance of the Sámi and the history of political activism could work as a strategy of empowerment.

THIS IS MY LAND sápmi

This is my land, this is my country and if I'd be the queen you'd see that I'd take everyone by hand and sing it so it's out there that we'll paint this land blue, yellow, red and green If you say that this girl's not welcome in this country, if she must leave because her face is brown Well, then I'd say you go first 'cause frankly this is my land and here we live in peace, I'll teach you how This is my pride, this is my freedom, this is the air that I breathe and you'll find no kings, no queens, here everybody's equal - men, women and all who are in between This is my home, this is my heaven, this is the earth where I belong and if you want to ruin it all with big wounds in the mountains then you're not worthy of listening to this song This is my land, this is my country, these lakes, rivers, hills and woods If you open up your eyes you'll find someone is lying I've always been here, welcome to my hoods

COURT 150602:1

"Det är viktigt att här redan inledningsvis konstatera att: Staten har inte diskriminerat samerna."

"Frågan är då vad etnicitet är för någonting, om man nu säger att samer är en etnisk grupp. Och då visar det sig att begreppet etnicitet är mycket omdiskuterat."

"Den etniska aspekten har inte varit relevant i ett historiskt perspektiv, då man skilde mellan nomader, alltså lappar, och bofasta."

"[...] Hela det arkeologiska material som samebyn öberopat i målet saknar betydelse för tvisten."

"Staten bestrider i allt fall att samer i nämnvärd omfattning uppehållit sig på området [...] före omkring år 1600."

Utdrag ur sakframställan av statens advokat Hans Forsell i rättegången mellan Girjas sameby - från vilken Sofia Jannok's farmor var - och svenska staten. Gällivare tingsrätt, juni 2015.

"From the onset on, it is of importance to state that:

The Sámi have not been subjected to discrimination by the State."

"The question then is what is meant by the concept of ethnicity, if it is to be claimed that the Sámi is an ethnic group.

And then it becomes clear that

ethnicity as a concept is a highly debated one."

"The ethnic aspect has been of no relevance from a historic point of view, when a distinction was made between nomads, in other words Lapps, and settlers."

"[...] The entire archaeological evidence put forward by the Sámi reindeer herding community is of no relevance to the case in question."

"The State consistently disputes the claim that the Sámi have been present in the area on a large scale basis [...] before the 17th century."

Excerpts from the State Attorney Hans Forsell's intervention during the hearing in the court case between the Sámi reindeer herding community Girjas - from whence Sofia Jannok's grandmother came - and the Swedish State. Gällivare Lapland District Court, June, 2015

WE ARE STILL HERE

mii leat dás ain

Kill the bison, dig out the reindeer's land Gold and iron, blood on greedy hands Drown the lávvu, burn the tipi down We raise new ones, survivors we are now We are still here, we are still here We are still here, we are still here 100 years back in the USA Killed my sisters, cut their breasts away In Peru my brothers always stayed Shot down at home, but this was yesterday We are still here, we are still here We are still here, we are still here Steal our mother, thieves are not to blame That's when laws are written by the same We are still here, we are still here We are still here, we are still here

TREE LINE orda

Wide as oceans, wide as sea Watch emotions climbing trees Gazing north west, where's my home Maybe it's for the best I go alone Narrow city streets, narrow lights Should I trust my feet, should I not Tomorrow's run has begun Live before you're done, live for the sun Double faces, double soul Double landscapes, double home Life on tree lines takes a lot One foot is inside, one is not

How to live this life, how to choose What is day and night, what is true Soon to be tired of walking far Did I just hear a bird, or was it my heart

COURT 150602:2

"Statens inställning är också att samebyns påstående om att

samer bedrivit renskötsel, jagat och fiskat på området under mycket lång tid saknar betydelse i målet. För uppkomst av urminnes hävd krävs en tidsperiod om cirka 90 år. Eventuellt brukande under längre tid saknar rättslig betydelse."

"Eftersom det påstås att det har betydelse att samer har utfört detta brukande så har det enligt vår upplåtning väldigt stor betydelse vad som menas med samer och hur pass väldefinierat det begreppet är. Och det är det här materialet avsett att belysa."

Utdrag ur sakframställan av statens advokat Hans Forsell i rättegången mellan Girjas sameby - från vilken Sofia Jannok's farmor var - och svenska staten. Gällivare tingsrätt, juni 2015.

"The State is of the opinion that the claim put forward by the Sámi reindeer herding community with regards to their long tradition of being engaged in reindeer husbandry, hunting and fishing in the area is of irrelevance to the case. In order to be eligible to claim immemorial prescription, said claim has to be based on a 90 years long use of an area. Any additional use for a longer period of time is of irrelevance to the legality of the claim."

"Because of the claim that it is of importance that the Sámi have been using this area, the State is of the opinion that it is of utmost importance to define what is meant by the term Sámi, and how specific such a definition really is.

This is what the following material is meant to do."

Excerpts from the State Attorney Hans Forsell's intervention during the hearing in the court case between the Sámi reindeer herding community Girjas - from whence Sofia Jannok's grandmother came - and the Swedish State. Gällivare Lapland District Court, June, 2015

SNOW GROUSE ii leat ivdni mus

Like a snow grouse I fly though they want me to die Oaidnemeahtumis eallit muohttagis guhkkín eret gávpogis Vaikko in aidno, de mon jávdnon in leat goassege váilon li leat ivdni mus Ale binnit mu dan dihte bivdit dus Jus in geahtčal mon in leat šat De in luovos beasa Heaitte guldalit maid dat muitalit Sii leat roggan duolvasis Fállet juohkehažžii eunet ruohtasiid vaikko eai heive vuohkkasit Eadni dadjá, várrogaččat: Gal mii birget, nieiddažan Nu guhká suolna lea vuhto luodda ain

(figure 8; Sofia Jannok, 2016c)

The video begins with the audio excerpt from the court case that dismisses the historical colonialism of the Swedish state and questions the Sámi presence in the area. While the excerpt from the court case states that “The State consistently disputes the claim that the Sámi have been present in the area on a large scale basis [...] before the 17th century” (figure 8 COURT 150602: 1), Sunna writes ‘YOU HAVE NOT BEEN IN THE AREA!’ which I could translate as him repeating the argument of the court case, although I have no concrete reference points of what does ‘YOU’ stand for (figure 9).



(figure 9)

However, as analyzed earlier, Jannok uses the distinction between ‘us the Sámi’ and ‘you- the Swedish state’ to articulate a counter-discourse, and attribute injury to the ‘you’, hence I read Sunna’s statement in the same context as earlier discussed strategies. In addition to that, the excerpt from the court case states that “The Sámi have not been subjected to discrimination by the State” and later in the video Sunna writes ‘LAPP’ ten times, which I understand as a reference to the Swedish policy of ‘a Lapp shall remain a Lapp’ (figure 9)(SOFIA JANNOK, 2016a; Mattson, 2014). Hence, evoking historical discrimination policies, such as ‘a Lapp shall remain a Lapp’, is a way to bring evidence that the court’s argument that the Sámi have not been discriminated by the state is false. I read the two Sunna’s statements ‘YOU HAVE NOT BEEN IN AREA!’ and ‘LAPP LAPP LAPP LAPP LAPP LAPP (etc.)’ as aiming at conveying the same message, as they both are written in big capital letters and in red. I interpret this as a visual shouting, demonstrating how the Sámi have been undermined and discriminated both historically, but also currently in relation to climate change. In one of the interviews, asked about the experience of racism that is shown in the TV series *Midnight Sun* (2015), Jannok responds: “It’s very true. <...> We get called bloody Lapps. I went to a Sami school as a young child and started at a Swedish school when I was 13. My classmates didn’t know anything

about Sami people so I had to explain. Then, the prejudices emerged. Someone said ‘How can you be a Sami, they are all dark-skinned.’ Strange, I thought, as you could see I was blonde. But there were far worse prejudices than that” (Jannok, as cited in Rehlin, 2017). Thus Sunna’s artwork is exposing the state discourse that tries to deny its policies and effects it has on the lives of the Sámi. Interestingly, in the process of making an artwork, there is also a separation between painting from the front on the transparent frame and writing on the back of the frame. Possibly, such a choice could signify two different discourses- one representing the Swedish state and the other the Sámi voices. Both texts of ‘YOU HAVE NOT BEEN IN THE AREA!’ and ‘LAPP LAPP LAPP <...>’ appear without any other visual images in the art installation itself or the presence of the reindeer in the back. The lack of potent cultural symbols or any other references could be seen as a strategy to depict Swedish policies as lacking grounds for their arguments to claim the land and dismiss the demands of the Sámi people (saliency Machin and Mayr, 2012, p. 54).

To sum up, I think that alluding to the policy of “a Lapp shall remain a Lapp” and drawing on historically inflicted injuries in the lyrics of *We are still here (2016)* and placing them against the audio excerpts is meant to work as a reminder that the current state policies are a continuation of violence. As a result, the wounds of the Sámi remain open not due to the inability to move away from the hurtful attachments to the past but because the state still inflicts pain in different ways, such as denying Swedish discrimination policies.

6.3 Possibilities for transformation

In the previous section, I have analysed how pain, anger, and injury signify that the legacies of colonialism continue inflicting violence on the Sámi community. However, Ahmed (2004) urges to approach the politics of emotion not only as a critique of certain structures but also to realize that understanding that being against something is also about being for something, something that has to be created or articulated still. Hence in this section, I will answer the second sub-question of my thesis: **How do cultural politics of emotion (Ahmed 2004) offer possibilities for transformation?**

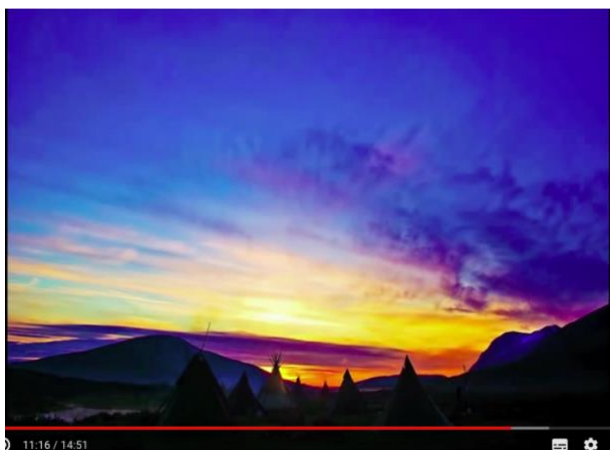
I will look into how resistance and activism are connected to the politics of emotion and how they are articulated in the selected material. I have chosen to divide this section into two parts,

first analysing the TED Talk *Our Rights to Earth and Freedom* (2012), and then the videos *This is my land* (2016) and *We are still here* (2016).

Aspirations Towards the Future in *Our Rights to Earth and Freedom* (2012)

Towards the end of the TED Talk, Jannok raises some questions that signify her frustration about the Swedish government policies: “Why on earth, is it that the issue of the Indigenous people in the same land, is under investigation for the last twenty years or more?<...> when will the government start respecting us?” (TEDx Talks, 2012).

In those questions, I read her frustration as a reaction to the contemporary situation of the Sámi, and her reference to Sweden’s unwillingness to ratify the International Labor Organization’s Convention No. 169 (International Labor Organization, 1996). Similar to Audre Lorde, that I exemplified in the theoretical section, who responds to racism with anger and translates her anger into action for the better future, Jannok is also able to read her emotions as a response to something that she is against and to turn that ‘against-ness’ into the possibility of change (Ahmed, 2004). “I don’t want my children to read about me in the museum. <...> So I’ve decided to try making a difference. I’ve started a foundation, which carries the name of my home tundra- Árvas” (TEDx Talks, 2012). When she exclaims that, the photograph of the Sámi tents and colorful horizon comes to the screen (figure 10).



(figure 10)

In the photograph, the Sámi tents are foregrounded, however, the salient feature is the colors of the sky- “I dream of the world where the earth is as beautiful as nature can be” (TEDx Talks, 2012). As I have shown in the theoretical section, Ahmed (2004) suggests how wonder, hope,

and aspirations towards the future are essential in politics. To hope and dream for a different world requires to understand the current dissatisfaction and act in the present. Jannok's dream of the better world and the photograph of the Sámi tents and colorful horizon is a contrast to the photographs of mining and dead reindeer that she has shown in her speech earlier. Machin and Mayr (2012) analyse how potent cultural symbols, size, colour, and focus are salient features in the images, which aim at conveying a certain discourse (salience Machin and Mayr, 2012, p. 54). The tents in the photograph appear similar in size, and they seem to be the same size as the mountains in the background. I could read this as a symbol for an equal relationship, between the people and with the land. "I dream of the world, where Sámi people, and all our sisters and brothers all around the world, are free and independent" (TEDx Talks, 2012). Hence, drawing on Machin and Mayr (2012) I would argue that with the lexical and visual choices Jannok is trying to promote a discourse of respectful relationship with nature, equality, and respect for Indigenous rights.

Resistance and Activism in *This is my land* (2016) and *We are still here* (2016)

I have shown in the earlier section of the analysis, how the videos *This is my land* (2016) and *We are still here* (2016) demonstrate that anger and injury are tied to climate change and history of colonialism. Having the previous analysis in mind, in this section I will analyse how reading what one is against or understanding how bodies came to be injured in the first place, allows to translate pain into knowledge and turn it into action (Ahmed, 2004).

The lyrics of *This is my land* (2016) comment on the state immigration policies and offer possibilities for a peaceful co-presence: "If you say that this girl's not welcome in this country if she must leave because her face is brown well, then I'd say you go first 'cause frankly this is my land and here we live in peace, I'll teach you how", "this is my freedom, <...> and you'll find no kings, no queens, here everybody's equal- men, women and all who are in-between" (SOFIA JANNOK, 2016b; figure 8). By understanding what she is against, Jannok envisions another kind of future. Her 'against-ness' is concerned with Swedish policies, and by understanding that the world is made over time and that what can be made can also be unmade, she is enabled to create an articulation that turns her 'against-ness' into 'for something' (Ahmed, 2004). Jannok's 'for something' envisions equality and peaceful co-presence- 'we live in peace', 'everybody's equal', 'you'll find no kings, no queens'. In addition to that, Ahmed (2004) claims that through wonder we can ask how pain and anger come to life, and as

I analysed in the previous section, in the video *This is my land* (2016), for the Sámi pain and anger are effects of the ongoing state policies. However, Jannok understands that this pain is not necessary, and places herself as an authority that points to a different future: ‘I’d say you go first’, ‘here we live in peace, I’ll teach you how’ (figure 8) (modals and authority Machin and Mayr, 2012, p. 189, 190). Jannok’s confidence to place herself as authority might be enabled by wondering, by learning how the world came to be through histories of colonialism and capitalism, by resisting state discourses, and by hoping for a better future. Her hope is tied to the ability to read anger and pain as responses to injustices, as a result, she is confident to exclaim: ‘you go first ‘cause frankly this is my land’.

In the next paragraphs, I will analyse how the artwork of Sunna in the video *We are still here* (2016) evokes resistance in two sets of images (figure 11).



(figure 11)

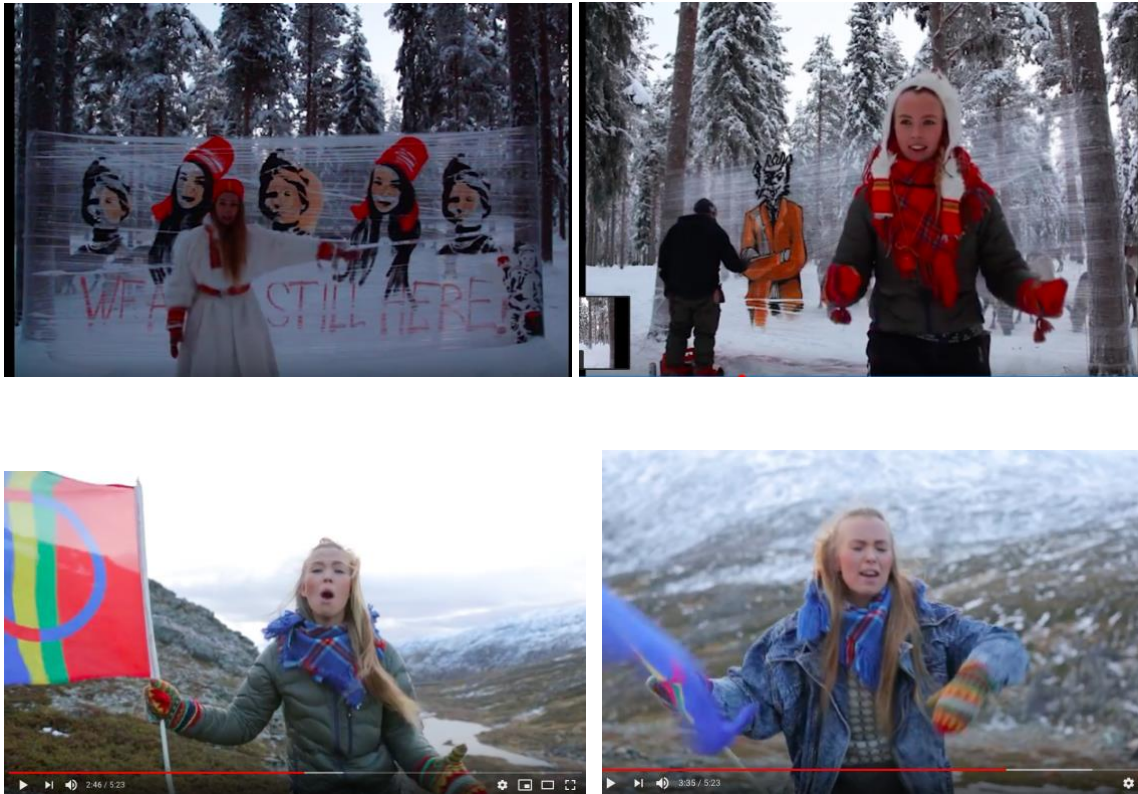
One portrays a wolf, dressed in a blazer and having a crown on the head, which I interpret as a symbol of a Swedish state, and the reindeer, dressed in traditional Sámi clothing. The reindeer, which I read as a representative of the Sámi, holds a cord trying to catch the wolf. Therefore, the reindeer is depicted as an active agent, that not only resists the domination of the state but with the cord in his hand, it tries to ‘catch the Swedish state’, as in to uncover the state discourses that dismiss Sámi claims for the land rights.

In another image, painted by Sunna, the faces of two women I read as references to the Sámi activism. One of the faces refers to Sámi activist Elsa Laula Renberg (1877-1931), who in 1904 published a manifesto concerned about the conditions of the Sámi, then called Lapps, met with the Swedish prince to discuss the situation of the Sámi and was one of the initiators of the first

transnational Sámi meeting in Trondheim in 1917 on February 6, which from 1993 has become a national Sámi People's Day (Heith, 2018). Another face, painted by Sunna, I identify as Jannok herself, and placing them two together could signify the wish to put the focus on the continuity of activism, which is a response to unjust state policies.

Evoking activism in the two images, critiques Brown's idea that political claims based on injury make politics inadequate, as reactions make it impossible to take action (Brown, 1995, as cited in Ahmed, 2004). Ahmed (2004) claims that politics of action without reaction is not possible, as taking action requires a process of translation, to understand the connection between emotions and broader structures. The activism portrayed in the artwork of Sunna is a response to both the audio excerpts from the court case and Sweden's policy of "a Lapp shall remain a Lapp". Action and reaction are intertwined, as I have analysed earlier, to challenge the state policies of discrimination, one needs to understand how the injury has happened in time and space, one needs to render this pain as wrong, as not necessary, one needs to transform pain into political action. The artwork could also be understood in relation to the lyrics of the song, that makes a distinction between the past brutalities and the contemporary resistance. When referring to the past, the lyrics use the past tense 'in the USA killed my sisters', 'stayed shot down', whereas the present calls for the future where past injuries will not be repeated, saying 'this was yesterday', 'we raise new ones, survivors we are now' (figure 8). The text in the artwork 'WE ARE STILL HERE', written in red and capital letters, shows the determination to resist, to continue fighting, to hope for a better future. However, to actively create a different future requires to translate the past, and to understand what structures are causing pain to the Sámi in the first place.

Jannok's pose and body language in the videos are also supporting the claim that action and reaction facilitate each other. In the video *This is my land* (2016) Jannok is constantly moving, walking in the different areas of Sápmi, carrying a flag in her hands. In *We are still here* (2016) she is walking in and out the frame, active movement is constant in both videos (figure 12).



(figure 12)

Her body language signifies strength, confidence, emotions- possibly anger, joy, pride, and she is clearly stating her position and marking boundaries (gaze, pose Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 70, 74). Hence, Jannok is drawing on her femininity and emotionality, to demonstrate how through emotions we come to understand and interpret the way we are in the world. Ahmed (2004) suggests catering to emotions in politics, to use emotions for contesting social norms. Jannok's depiction as both actively engaged in political resistance and emotionality vulnerable challenges the dominant discourse, which critiques feminism as being too emotional. Moreover, Van Dijk, 2000, as cited in Machin and Mayr, 2012, exemplified how ethnic minorities are mostly described as active when they do something bad, whereas they are represented as passive when things are done for or against them (Van Dijk, 2000, as cited in Machin and Mayr, 2012, p. 105). However, Jannok overturns various dominant representations by positioning herself as an Indigenous person, as an emotional woman, as a confident activist.

6.4 Sámi Ontologies and Relationship with the Land- An Alternative for 'Possessive Logics'?

As I have demonstrated in the previous sections, scrutinizing pain and anger as responses to the state policies, allows us to understand how for the Sámi the policies that facilitate climate change continue the legacies of colonialism.

For Aileen (2015), however, the interest lies in understanding how the action to acquire possession is a reflection of an internalized understanding that one has a right to own something. I link her term ‘possessive logics’ with the context of climate change, as I approach climate change as a result of an interplay between the ontology that stresses the significance of expansion, progress, economic growth, and economical and political structures that facilitate the embodiment of such ontology. By understanding how the logic of possession is embedded in the structures that privilege whiteness and patriarchy, Aileen (2015) is illustrating that the idea of possession is another way to understand how whiteness functions in a rather unmarked, normative way. Having those discussions in mind, I, therefore, ask- how can a relationship with nature be de-capitalized? This leads me to another of my research sub-question- **How does Sámi ontology, present in the selected material of Sofia Jannok, offer an alternative to ‘possessive logics’ (Aileen 2015) in the context of climate change?**

I suggest that to find an alternative one possibility is to turn to Indigenous ontologies. Thus I will look into how Sofia Jannok is narrating her belonging to the land, which possibly offers a more sustainable stance between humans and nature. I do not argue that we, the Western subjects, should adapt the Indigenous ontologies as our own, however, I do argue that there needs to be a different way of making political decisions, that include Indigenous voices much more seriously than they do now.

In the TED Talk, Jannok draws on the intergenerational knowledge, passed from her grandfather to her mother, and from her parents to her: “<...> we borrow our home from earth, we can’t own it, we don’t possess it <...>. Because when we go, our children will need a home, and their children yet to come will need a home” (TEDx Talks, 2012). As I have analysed in the earlier section, when talking about belonging Jannok continuously repeats the word ‘land’, and that belonging in her talk manifests both in the descriptions of natural surroundings and its presumed use and/or ownership. Angell (2009) claims that historically the sense of ownership existed, but was based on collectivity and the organization of *siida* (a Sámi village), which was divided upon the available space per need, and although the certain disputes were common over grazing and hunting areas, these existed between groups, not individuals (Svensson, 1976,

as cited in Angell, 2009, p. 69). Hence, Jannok's emphasis on 'borrow', 'can't own it, 'don't possess it' offers an alternative to what Aileen (2015) has called 'possessive individualism', which promoted the idea of self- expansion through the acquisition of capital. The different relationship with the land had played a major role in the onset of the conflict between the Scandinavian settler societies and the Sámi people: the former understood it "to be property, capable of being bought and sold (or possessed as a result of conquest),<...>, on the other hand, it is seen as something which is fundamental to the self-definition of a people as a distinct culture- in Saami terms one does not possess the land, one is part of it" (DuBois, 1992, as cited in Angell, 2009, p. 70). Since the survival of the Indigenous people and traditional livelihoods is based on the relationship with their environment, the Arctic and sub-Arctic peoples are dependent on harsh climate and sparse flora and fauna and in a sense this dependency requires a careful and respectful relationship with nature. "Sami culture is a specialty, a way of surviving in the Arctic climate, a part of this environment. Our philosophy is based on living in such a way that we are constantly in harmony with Nature. We have to show respect for mountains and climate, thunder, wind, fog, sun and rain" (Valkeapää, 1983, as cited in Angell, 2009, p. 70). In the current climate emergency, now also the urban populations whose livelihoods are not directly dependent on nature started to realize how disruptions in nature impact our daily lives and have consequences for everyone. However, the Indigenous people have begun feeling the impact of climate change much earlier, and artists such as Mari Boine and Nils Aslak Valkeapää already since the 1990s urged to take the situation seriously (Ramnarine, 2009). So Jannok is continuing the legacy of those artists and I believe that turning away from 'possessing the land' and coming closer to the idea of 'borrowing the land' might have an impact on how political decisions could be made and how we conduct ourselves in our habits.

Angell (2009) discusses how Sámi behaviour towards the land is also linked to their recognition of 'spirit' in all things, that must be equally respected, hence not making a differentiation between animate and inanimate objects. The 'spirit' could be living in people, animals, natural phenomena, and some could be perceived as allies and some as unpredictable and/dangerous (Bäckman 1983; Collinder, 1949 as cited in Angell, 2009, p. 71) Jannok also situates herself as part of the environment, in her lexical choices referring to 'respect of mother earth', 'this is my land, this is my country, these lakes, rivers, hills and woods', 'steal our mother' (SOFIA JANNOK, 2016a, SOFIA JANNOK, 2016b, TEDx Talks, 2012, figure 8). The presence of joik in the TED Talk and in her videos could also signify an embodiment of Sámi ontology, as joik could refer to individuals, places, animals, and other aspects of the environment (Hilder, 2012).

I have discussed earlier in the analysis, how the visual images in the TED Talk support Jannok's lexical choices, as nature and an implied peaceful relationship between the Sámi and the land are the dominant aspects in her speech. In *This is my land (2016)* and *We are still here (2016)*, landscape and reindeer are the main visual image, both foregrounded and backgrounded in various distances of proximity, and, referring to Machin and Mayr (2012) I would argue that its intention is to emphasise how nature has the power, and not the people. Therefore, Jannok is representing nature-based ontology in singing joik, in the lexical and visual choices of the videos, and it could be a reminder to approach nature not as something external, that could only be used for resources, but to rethink of how we are all dependent on the balance in nature cycles.

It is significant for me to note, that I am not advocating for the Western subject to internalize the nature-based ontology. That would be unethical from the Indigenous point of view, as it would lead to the appropriation of the Indigenous beliefs- my point is that we need to listen to the stories and claims of Indigenous people, but not make it as our own, as it would have the silencing effect of Indigenous voices. Ahmed (2004) has warned against appropriating Indigenous stories as our own, in the desire to feel united as a group. Ahmed (2004) pointed out, within the Australian context, that within the nation-state it is impossible to think that we might understand the pain of the Indigenous, when are histories are not the same. To respond to someone's pain requires an ethic of pain- to be moved by what does not belong to me. I would elaborate on Ahmed's (2004) argument stating that to listen to the demands of the Sámi, also requires to understand that our vulnerabilities related to climate change are different. Yes, it does affect everyone but in different degrees, and we can learn from and be moved by the Sámi ontology but it does not belong to us. Turning the Indigenous beliefs into the form of universalism might have a silencing effect, as their voices might be lost among others.

Moreover, being Indigenous is not something one decides to be. Junka-Aikio (2016) has discussed how in Finland there is an ongoing debate concerning the 'non-status' Sámi who want to gain the Indigenous status, regardless of the 'real' Sámi disagreeing with the expansion of the definition, as becoming Indigenous is not only about "self-identification but also group identification, and therefore a person who wants to 'become' a Sámi cannot simply declare herself so- she needs to be recognized as such by the community she claims herself part of" (Junka-Aikio, 2016, p. 215). I do think that in the contemporary Western world there is a new-age trend now to 'go back to the ancestors and roots' through the rise of interest in spirituality,

hence I want to be critical to these aspirations, as the Western subjects become the focus again and not the Indigenous.

However, I still think that we can approach the Sámi relationship to nature as a space for learning, and especially when it comes to political decision making. We could all re-think of how we go about in our daily lives and habits, that could do less harm to nature, however, I approach climate change as a political and structural issue, hence if the Sámi ontology, that stresses to ‘borrow the land’ and not the Western ‘possessive logics’ would have more saying in decision making, then the nature resources would be treated in a less exploitive manner and slow down the processes of climate change. I do not approach the alternative to ‘possessive logics’ in a utopian way, meaning that over the short time we could stop living in the capital based structures and stop climate change- as Whyte (2016) argued, current situation is the result of the policies that are in place for several hundred years. Also, by advocating for Sámi ontologies I want to be clear that do not approach Sámi as living outside the capitalist system. Heith (2015) has shown that displaying Sáminess through the ideas of a traditional lifestyle, confirms prevailing stereotypes that the Sámi “don’t live in houses like other Swedes, but in tents in the mountains” (Heith, 2015, p. 72). However, I think that both Aileen (2015) and Jannok share a point, that Western logics, that exported capitalism globally, are based on the idea of economy and profit. I think that these discourses have to be challenged in order to implement different policies.

6.5 Reflections on Representing a Unified Sámi Image

In the previous section of the analysis, I have shown how pain, anger, and allusions to injury signify a broader structural injustice, and how colonialism and climate change is an ongoing source of pain for the Sámi people. According to Ahmed (2004) collectivity is also performed through attributing emotions, as the bodies of the communities are shaped by coming into contact with others, and the violence that is inflicted on the bodies of the individuals is also the violence upon a community. In this section, I would like to discuss how Jannok uses emotions to make a distinction between ‘us’ and ‘them’ and what possible problematics such a strategy carries. In addition to that, I will look into how placing herself into a homogenous Sámi group that is associated with reindeer herding only, she reproduces stereotypical ideas about and hierarchies within the Sámi groups.

By attributing pain, injury and resistance to the Sámi community, and violence, discrimination, the establishment of mining companies to Sweden as a nation-state, Jannok makes signifies a clear desire to make a distinction between ‘us’ Sámi and ‘them’ Swedish. Heith (2015) has analysed how other Sámi artists, Katarina Pirak Sikku and Anders Sunna namely, in their exhibitions, have attributed sorrow, pain, anger, frustration as a collective Sámi identity that evolved due to racial discrimination and colonialism and also made a distinction between ‘us’ and ‘them’- Sámi and Sweden as nation-state. I have analyzed earlier, how such strategy aims to challenge the dominant discourse of Sweden’s democracy and equality and to provide a counter-narrative to the historically produced discourse of Sámi inferiority. However, I would like to account for several possible problematics that a division between ‘us’ and ‘them’ carries.

Firstly, Pratt’s (1992) term transculturation is meant to illustrate that in contact zones cultures influence each other, despite the asymmetrical power relations. For Pratt (1992), to think of a cultural encounter as a phenomenon of transculturation is also aimed to avoid reproducing the dynamics of possession and innocence (Pratt, 1992, p. 6). However, as I have shown in the earlier sections of the analysis, in the videos Jannok is positioning the Sámi as the innocent and Sweden as the perpetrator, hence reproducing the dynamics of possession and innocence, which Pratt (1992) has warned against. In addition to that, such positioning excludes the idea of cultural hybridity, which stresses interdependence and mutual construction of the colonizer/colonized identities (Bhabha, 1994, as cited in Ashcroft et al, 2000). For Bhabha, the term hybridity is used to show how cultural identity emerges in contradictory and ambivalent spaces and is meant to challenge the idea of cultural purity. Thus, Jannok is making a strong criticism towards the economic policies of Sweden and exemplifies how climate change is partially a result of capital based structures, however, she does not account for that the same structures allow her to articulate the counter-discourse. As I have shown in the section on climate change and Indigenous resistance movements, Johnson and Kraft (2018) have analyzed how social media was used in sharing information and forging transnational ties during the Standing Rock protests 2016-2017, and Lindgren and Cocq (2017) have shown how during the anti-mining protests in Gallók 2013 the social media platforms were used to articulate the counter-discourses and facilitate minority self- representation. Similarly, Jannok is criticizing the process of globalization, however, she is using tools such as social media and international traveling to convey her message to larger audiences. On the other hand, Indigenous communities have appropriated social media to suit their agenda (Srinivasan, 2006, as cited in Lindgren and Cocq, 2017 p. 134), and such a process could be seen as Pratt’s (1992)

transculturation since Jannok is using media platforms to make the voices of the Sámi more visible.

Secondly, Jannok's counter-discourse represents the Sámi with the stereotypical understanding of their identity- with traditional clothing and reindeer herding. Heith (2015) has discussed that such a distinction could reproduce ethnic stereotyping and the positions of center and periphery. However, Heith (2015) has also shown that the question of agency and gain is important in evaluating the implications of ethnic stereotyping: "There is a difference between the Othering of Sámi people characteristic of colonialism on the one hand, and the use of ethnic symbols in Sámi cultural mobilization on the other (Heith 2012, 2013, as cited in Heith, 2015). Thus, Jannok is using the traditional ideas of Sámi in order to challenge the discourse about the traditional Sámi being inferior to modern life. Here she is exercising her agency by producing autoethnographic representations, which Pratt (1992) argues are the ways in which the colonized subjects can respond to the metropolitan representations. As I have shown in the historical section the construction of the Sámi (Lapp) inferiority had been used to promote the discourse of Sweden's modernity and purity, and I find Jannok's strategy to use traditional attributes as a way to reinvert that discourse and take pride in what used to be deemed as inferior.

Thirdly, the problematics of linking the Sámi identity with reindeer herding only are twofold. Firstly, as Mattson (2014) has shown, the reindeer pastoralism is the product of contact with the Swedish state, and by late-nineteenth century the category of Lapps was defined by occupation. Until 2000, when Sweden recognized Sámi as a minority language, only the reindeer herders were considered Sámi. Hence, Jannok representing Sámi through the lens of reindeer herding only is promoting the category that has been created by the policies of settler colonialism.

Secondly, by presenting the Sámi through reindeer herding, Jannok dismisses the voices of the other Sámi, and by envisioning the world where 'everyone is equal' she excludes the opinions that are contrary to her, hence making 'universal equality' impossible. As an example, during the Gállok events in 2013, different opinions arose in relation to the establishment of the new iron ore mine. Some of the 3000 inhabitants of Jokkmokk saw the mine as a positive investment as job opportunities could revitalize the town, while the others were against the mining and the destruction of the land (Aljazeera, 2019). However, even within the Sámi groups the

hierarchies that dispute the belonging to the group became present as well. One of the participants of the anti-mining movement exclaimed: “I also realized that Sami discriminate among themselves - some believe that only those who own reindeer may call themselves "Sami"” (Aljazeera, 2019). Hence, Jannok’s aspirations towards the future and dreaming of equality do not reflect the opinions of other people and their critique towards the hierarchy of the reindeer herding Sámi.

I also want to be critical to my own choice to approach Jannok as a representative of the Sámi, their aspirations, and ontology on behalf of the group. Even though I find similarities with other musicians such as Mari Boine and Nils Aslak Valkeapää, it is important to realize that having too much emphasis on the dichotomy between the Western and the Indigenous might shadow the multiplicities that appear within the group of the Indigenous. Greg Johnson, looking at the examples in Hawaii, where different Native groups claim to be representing the true tradition, states that focusing on “one voice above the crowd- the true, normative voice of tradition- has a profound silencing effect” (Johnson, 2008, as cited in Olsen, 2016, p. 34). Olsen (2008), drawing on various discussions about research ethics, argues that it is important to distinguish between some members of the group, and the Voice of the group, as what one text says does not necessarily mean that the local group or community would say. He quotes Bruce Lincoln: “those, who sustain this idealized image of culture do so, inter alia, by mistaking the dominant fraction (sex, age, group, class and/or caste) of a given group for the group or “culture” itself. At the same time, they mistake the ideological positions favoured and propagated by the dominant fraction for those of the group as a whole” (Lincoln, 2012, as cited in Olsen, 2016, p. 34). Thus, my choice to analyse Jannok as a representative of the Sámi produces a one sided-narrative and reproduces hierarchies within the Sámi community.

On the other hand, I understand that Jannok is trying to produce a counter-discourse and show resistance and that trying to include different Sámi voices, might make it difficult, if not impossible, to get the message across and challenge the state policies. Junka-Aikio (2016) has shown how the Sámi research and the Sámi political movement, that began in the 1960s and 1970s, cantered on juxtapositions between the Indigenous and dominant populations, and the sense of conflict and difference was emphasized (Lehtola 2005, Lehtola in Junka-Aikio 2011, Lehtola and Lämsmä 2012, as cited in Junka-Aikio, 2016). I think that Jannok is drawing on this approach, as the Sámi continue to struggle and the urgency of climate change is more present than ever.

Lastly, I would be careful to focus too much on the criticism of Jannok's strategy, as I intend to understand how pain carries histories of violence. Thus, regardless of the discussions of hybridity and transculturation in post-colonial studies, I think that catering too much to those alternative ways of articulating identity, could function as silencing the narrative of Jannok, whose pain, as an Indigenous person, still needs to be heard and recognized.

7. Conclusion

This thesis has examined how the language of pain operates through signs and how to 'translate' them requires to understand the histories of violence. I have analysed how the lexical and visual choices of Sofia Jannok in the TED Talk *Our Rights to Earth and Freedom* (2012) facilitate her argument that mining companies are causing pain to the Sámi. The videos *This is my land* (2016) and *We are still here* (2016) challenge the dominant state discourse by portraying anger as a response to pain and by making references to colonialism and Sweden's discrimination policies.

Through her articulations, Jannok challenges various dominant discourses by catering her emotionality, celebrating her femininity and indigeneity, and by evoking activism and resistance. The aspirations towards the future are tied to the politics of emotion. I have shown in the analysis, that in the videos *This is my land* (2016) and *We are still here* (2016) the injury happens as an outcome of the antagonistic power structures. Hence, Jannok demonstrates how understanding what one is 'against' enables her to act now for a different future. In the selected video material, Jannok dreams of the world of equality, peaceful co-presence, respect to Indigenous rights, non-exploitive relationship with the land.

Climate change is facilitated by political and economic practices, that are embedded in 'possessive logics'. Jannok's representation of Sámi ontology offers an alternative to the desire to own and expand and instead invites 'to borrow'. This thesis has advocated that the Sámi need to have a stronger voice in political decision making that would challenge the profit-based logics.

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