BAIKI

THE INTERNATIONAL SÁMI JOURNAL

Issue #30 Summer 2008

Elle-Hánsa/Keviselie/Hans Ragnar Mathisen, "*Geadgegovat / Rock Carvings*"

OUR WAYS OF KNOWING

*• **Oscar Kawagley:** Western vs Native Ways of Knowing • **Tångiaq Pearl Johnson:** Whispers Across the Ice • **Tim Frandy:** The Wild Reindeer at Áhkobákti • Photos and Memories from the Manitoba Reunion in Kautokeino, plus a Sami architecture fanzine from **Joar Nango** and much, much more*

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Báiki: the International Sámi Journal
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Thanks to Birte Horn-Hansen, Clay Kark and Elaine Rasmus.

WHO ARE THE SÁMI AND WHAT IS BÁIKI?

THE BÁIKI LOGO

MAP OF THE SÁMI AREA TODAY

Source: *The Saami: People of the Sun and the Wind,* Ajtte Swedish Mountain and Saami Museum, Jokkmokk.

The *Báiki* logo was designed by faith fjeld, *Báiki*'s founding editor and publisher, using pictographs from Sámi Drums. The reindeer symbolizes subsistence, the *lavvus* [Sámi dwellings] symbolize the extended family, the mountain behind symbolizes spirituality, and the *njalla* [storage shed] symbolizes traditional knowledge kept for future generations.

The "Sámi" [sah-mee] — also spelled "Saami" or "Sami" — are the Indigenous People of Norway, Sweden, Finland and the Russian Kola Peninsula. The Sámi area in the North is called "Sápmi" [sahp-mee], and in the South "Åarjel Saemieh" [war-yel sah-mee-eh]. The nine Sámi languages are related to the Samoyedic, Uralic and Altaic language groups. There are about 80,000 Sámi People living in the Nordic countries. It is estimated that there may also be at least 30,000 people living in North America who have Sámi ancestry. Some are the descendants of the reindeer herders who came to Alaska and Canada in the late 1800s and early 1900s, and some are the descendants of Sámi immigrants who settled in the Midwest, the Upper Michigan Peninsula, the Pacific Northwest and parts of Canada during the same period.

The Sámi refer to their spiritual belief system as "the Nature Religion." Sámi society has traditionally been organized into *siidas* or *samebys* — semi-nomadic extended families who hunt, fish, farm and harvest together according to Nature's subsistence cycles. This worldview and way of life is still a part of Sámi society wherever possible.

The history of Sápmi and Åarjel Saemieh parallels that of the world's other Indigenous Peoples. Colonization and genocide began in the Middle Ages after contact with European missionaries. Sami areas were divided by national borders. and Sámi children were removed from their families and placed in boarding schools where they were taught to think and act like the colonizers. Conversion by the church and assimilation by the state set the stage for the abuse of the Sami natural resources.

"Báiki" [bye-h'kee] is the nomadic reindeer-herding society's word for the cultural identity that survives when people move from one place to another. *Báiki: the International Sámi Journal* grew out of the search for Sámi connections world wide by people in North America. After its appearance in 1991 the Sámi presence in North America was finally acknowledged.

Today the Sámi are incorporating new technologies in the revival of their languages, the *yoik,* and other traditional arts, and the Sami are in the forefront of the worldwide post-colonial renaissance of Indigenous voice and vision. Moreover, having their own parliaments in Norway, Sweden and Finland, the Sámi relationship with their former colonizers is improving as well.

BÁIKI EDITORIAL PAGE

ANGAYUQAQ OSCAR KAWAGLEY: WESTERN VS NATIVE WAYS OF KNOWING

"A human being who lives in and from the countryside is an important part of it. He must adapt himself to Nature, and as a rule, Nature has forced him to do so. The law is simple. He who doesn't adapt, doesn't survive"

— Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, *Greetings from Lapland*

This is the second in a series of teachings by North American Native Elders. Angayuqaq Oscar Kawagley (Yupiaq), is a distinguished professor of education at the University of Alaska, Fairbanks. He was educated in the ways of his People by his grandmother Matilda (Kinavin) Oscar, who also encouraged him to obtain a western education. He is the author of A Yupiaq Worldview: A Pathway to Ecology and Spirit, *published by Waveland Press, from which the following excerpt is reprinted with his permission. It should be mentioned that Angayuqaq's aunt, Martha Oscar, was the wife of Clemet Sara, a Saami reindeer herder who, as a boy, left Norway for Alaska on the* Manitoba *with his parents and siblings in 1898.*

Native people have traditionally acquired their knowledge of the world around them through direct experience in the natural environment. The particulars come to be understood in relation to the whole and the so-called laws are continually tested in the context of everyday survival. For a Native student, the typical classroom-based disciplinary approach to the teaching of Western science can present an impediment to learning. It focuses on compartments of knowledge without regard to how the compartments relate to one another or to the surrounding universe.

Another potential interference to learning for the Native student is the domineering, manipulative aspect of Western science and technology which is often contradictory to the Natives' view of who they are and what their place in the world is. Native people have learned to live in harmony with the earth for millennia by developing a complex integration of cultural values, traditions, spirituality and an economic base tied to the land. They have not supplanted natural plants and animals and they have acknowledged Nature's supremacy through its natural forces and processes. They have acknowledged that Nature is dynamic and, concomitantly, that people and cultures must be also.

Western thought differs from Native thought in its notion of competency. In Western terms, competency is based on predetermined ideas of what a person should know in a certain body of knowledge, which is then measured indirectly through various forms of tests. Such an approach does not address whether that person is really capable of putting the knowledge into practice. In the traditional Native sense, competency had an unequivocal relationship to survival or extinction. You either had it or you didn't and survival was the ultimate indicator.

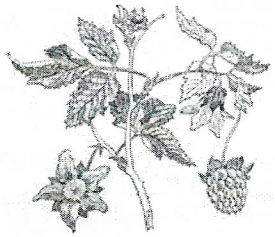
One of the interests of the Western corporate world has been the natural resources found in the Arctic. In their desire to exploit and extract these resources, they have overwhelmed and displaced the people indigenous to the land. From a scientific isolationist perspective, the Native people are considered transmutable physical elements of the environment — objects that can be removed to a new village site where they often become human animals in a cultural zoo. Already there are several villages where affluent outsiders can fly in to view the Natives in their "natural" habitant, a demeaning practice to the people on display.

In the past, Native people tended to view formal education as a hindrance to their traditional ways, but they have begun to look at it in a different light. They are seeking to gain control of their formal education and give it a direction to accomplish the goals they set for it, strengthening their own culture while embracing Western science as a second force that can help them maintain themselves with as much self-reliance and self-sufficiency as possible. Having always had to thrive in a tough environment, they know they can make it easier and less harsh, first as humans, secondly as scientists, with a carefully developed technology supported by an attuned educational system.

I have observed and taught in rural and urban classrooms in which science was taught from textbooks using the scientific method and age-tested science experiments. My own undergraduate science education was derived from textbooks, laboratory manuals, and learning through the scientific method. These teaching and learning processes did not, however, take advantage of the students' environment, or the environment's ecological processes. Nor did they prepare the students to recognize the creative force flowing in and around them at all times. The removal of the mystical force from scientific processes has rendered a society which places primary credence and faith on the rational faculties of human beings. Such a society no longer honors and reveres Nature, but often misuses, abuses and disrespects it. Without the ability to integrate the human, natural and spiritual worlds, science education risks contributing to the decay of the physical environment, with a concomitant diminishment of the resources on which society depends.

A significant difference between Western scientific and Native worldviews is apparent. Western science is formulated to study and analyze objectively learned facts to predict and assert control over the forces of Nature, while the Native worldview is oriented toward the synthesis of information gathered from interaction with the natural and spiritual worlds so as to accommodate and live in harmony with natural principles. Native reciprocity with the natural and spiritual realms implies communication which perhaps must be re-learned by the Native even as it is now being learned by Western scientists.

SAAMI CONNECTIONS



KODIAK SALMONBERRY OBSERVATIONS

It takes time and thought to notice things in Nature. I enjoy learning about what plants might do well in Kodiak's climate. Did you know that Kodiak is the second largest island in the Pacific?

Last year we had a very cold winter. It killed the salmonberry bushes in Kodiak. New shoots came up from root last spring but they won't produce fruit until next year. This is Nature's way of giving us bigger and more plentiful berries. I also noticed that when I pruned my raspberries the berries were more plentiful and bigger the following year.

Lois Stover
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Editor's note: *Salmonberries are called "luopmanet" [cloudberries] in Sápmi. The people on Kodiak Island harvest 17 kinds of berries and salmonberries are collected in the largest quantities. Lois Stover (Sami/Yup'ik) is a master gardener who grows cabbage, turnips, cailiflower, beets, Swiss chard, potatoes and onions from seedlings that she starts in her greenhouse on Kodiak Island. Her vegetables are enriched with her household compost and watered with melted roof snow that she collects in barrels. Lois also makes healing salves from the local plants.*

STRANGE NO MORE

Thank you so much for this publication! Every issue is a revelation. My Saami birth mother died when I was an infant. Her brother and his non-Saami wife adopted me. They divorced and I was raised in a polyglot American society with no connection to the Saami and I did not know I was adopted until age eighteen.

I was always the odd one. Odd views and ideas, odd ways of doing and knowing things. In my early forties I met Sonja from Finland. She was very curious about me and asked lots of questions about my worldview, how I related to life, and about my dreams. One day she looked at me and said, "You're Saami!" She told me a little about the Saami, but at the time I could not find much information. Then last year I found *Báiki*. For the first time in my 61 years I have a sense of kinship on this earth. Thanks to *Báiki*, I no longer feel like a "stranger in a strange land."

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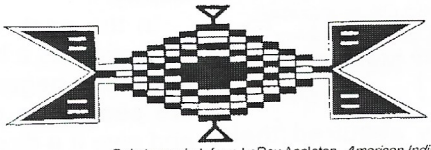

Dakota symbol: from LeRoy Appleton, *American Indian Design & Decoration*

FORT SNELLING AND LITTLE CROW'S WAR

The current issue of *Báiki* is fantastic. The articles by Tom Goldtooth, Elina Helander and Bård Berg were all great. You do a great job of tying Sami issues to worldwide Indigenous issues. I thought you might be interested in this letter I sent to the *Minneapolis Star Tribune* in response to an article. It's the first time I'm aware of that they printed the words "genocide" and "concentration camp" in reference to the so-called "Sioux uprising of 1862" [ed: Little Crow's War]. This is remarkable, as they usually side with the war makers. We'll see if they choose to print my letter.

Kurt Seaberg
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Editor's note: *Thanks, Kurt.* Here is an excerpt from "Fort Snelling on the Agenda," by Jeffrey Kolnick, *Minneapolis Star-Tribune*, February 16, 2008, followed by an excerpt from Kurt's response:

"I believe it is time to reconsider the place of Fort Snelling as a historic landmark. For most Anglo Minnesotans it represents, in the words of the Minnesota Historical Society, the story of the development of the U.S. Northwest. Surrounded today by freeways and a large urban population, Fort Snelling was once a lonely symbol of American ambition in the wilderness. For the Dakota people it represents the coercive power that forced them from their ancestral homeland, and the actual location of a concentration camp where many died in the harsh winter of 1862-63. This site of genocide sits on sacred land that represents the Source of Creation. The Minnesota Historical Society might want to portray Fort Snelling as having once been an outpost of development, but this only reveals ignorance, shortsightedness and racism. The decisions we make about Fort Snelling in this 150th anniversary year are consequential for the historic site. The genocide of the Dakota people is part of a larger story of violence and ethnic cleansing common to every state in the union. Fort Snelling is a golden opportunity for Minnesota to take a leadership role in dealing with the legacy of the genocide of Indigenous peoples."

Kurt's response: It's encouraging to see the long-suppressed stories of our past finally coming to light. As with any personal trauma this is a vital first step on the path to recovery. The "history" I was taught in school was always about conquering, and "historic landmarks" like Fort Snelling tended to be military outposts. This emphasized a hostile attitude towards the land and its inhabitants (the U.S. military still refers to areas outside its control as "Indian country").

To heal ourselves and transform this attitude we must redefine who we are and what our relationship with the land should be. Native people have always regarded the land and the Creation as sacred, which is why their removal by people who regarded these things as resources to be plundered was inevitable.

New generations of Americans need not remain enslaved to the old, hostile ways of thinking, however. When we discover that we are the land and the land is us, and when we realize that the earth and all its children are sacred, then we can begin the process of becoming "native" to this place. I look forward to the day when we all, regardless of our ethnicity, refer to ourselves as "Native Americans."

SAAMI SPIRIT

Thank you for the beautiful new issue #29 of *Báiki*. I can remember in the 1980s and 1990s when I looked for signs of the Sami, I couldn't find anything about what happened to the people, their way of life, their spirituality and whether connections with descendants in North America were known.

One day in San Francisco my son Itzolin and I were milling around Galeria de la Raza and from a public radio station came the sound of your voice speaking about these very things. I was so excited I could hardly contain myself. When you announced the contact information Itzolin quickly got out a pen and wrote it down. That is one of my

SAAMI CONNECTIONS

many heartfelt memories of him, as only his writing, art and spirit remain on this earth.

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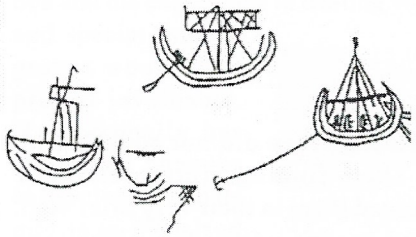

IRISH — SAAMI BRONZE AGE TIES

There seems to be some commonality between the early Saami and the early Irish. Rock carvings and drawings discovered by Tim Bayliss-Smith and Inga-Marie Mulk at Padjelanta in the Sarek Mountains in western Sweden point to the strong possibility that the Saami may have been the teachers of my Irish ancestors. The pictures there include various figures - reindeer, and human-like forms but the boats are the most striking feature.

Long before these petroglyphs were made, it is said that a large Irish tribal family emigrated to Scandinavia around 1800 BC and lived with the inhabitants there for at least three generations to learn clairvoyance, healing traditions and the yoik. They returned to their island 150 years later, utterly changed by the experience and by intermarrying among their hosts and teachers. The original island was situated about halfway between present-day Ireland and Iceland.

They used their new skills to rid the country of invaders, but their enlightened leadership was tragically interrupted by a great cataclysm in 1159 BC that destroyed all the coastal communities around the north Atlantic. Glaciers retreated and oceans came up higher and higher to eventually cover a huge stretch of lowlands that were formerly tundra. Those areas are now under the ocean waters. This event erased most cultural histories prior to that time as there were almost no survivors. I wonder if Saami mythic stories also speak of this same event. Perhaps that is the land that the Saami sailing ships in the rock carvings of Laponia were connecting with.

As with the Saami, in my own culture of Ireland, the spirits of the dead journey out to sea in special boats heading toward an island off to the west.

You can read about the Padjelanta site at: haldjas.folklore.ee/folklore/vol11/sami.htm.

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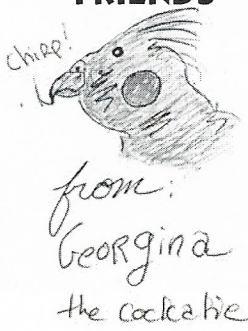
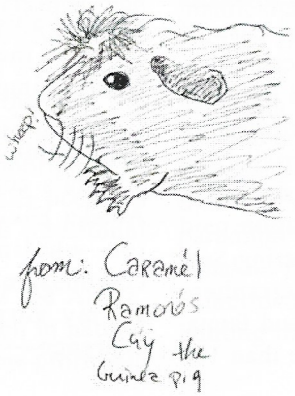
Editor's note: *Michael Billingsley is a consultant for the Irish Spiritual Heritage Association, which documents, catalogs and attempts to preserve non-archaeological places of spiritual importance from the Irish past. Thanks to Margareta Lindskog for connecting us!*

A CHIRP AND A WHEEP FROM KIM'S COLORFUL FRIENDS



Báiki continues to go strong. I can hardly believe it's gone from a page-sized pamphlet to an actual magazine. My cockatiel Georgina is watching with some interest as I write this. I know that in her ancestral homeland there are many Dreamtime tales of cockatoos and other parrots, as well as other Indigenous animals that are unique to Australia.I also have a guinea pig named Caramél Ramonés Cúy; Ramonés is the name of my sponsor child with Down Syndrome in Ecuador.



I am of Ukrainian, mixed European, Black and Crow Indian heritage. My mother who passed away three years ago was mainly Ukrainian and mixed European — I don't think she had Sami in her.

Do the Sami have bird folklore, songs, tales and so on? Many cultures do, since birds fly so high, seemingly up to the heavens to speak to God himself. And in India the Hill Mynah is still considered to be sacred for its ability to mimic the human voice.

Kimberley Renée Oliver
Vancouver, British Columbia
Canada

Editor's note: *To answer your question about bird folklore I opened* Time is a Ship That Never Casts Anchor, *the little book of Sami proverbs edited by Harald Gaski, and found a Sami proverb about birds — and multi-culturalism too, I think. Here's the proverb:*

THE PTARMIGAN IS MULTICOLORED BUT THE WORLD IS EVEN MORE COLORFUL

*Here's the explanation: "The Sami have always liked colors. Therefore we have those colorful jackets and gowns (*gakti*) and when others complain about the winter arctic darkness, the Sami derive joy from the deep and intense shades of winter. The ptarmigan has always had a special place in the hearts of the Sami, because it is soft and good, warm and loving. In countless yoiks a woman's beauty is likened to the round forms of a mountain ptarmigan."*

"Saami Connections" provides our readers with a place to share their stories, comments and news. We welcome your emails and letters and reserve the right to edit them. Email <faithfjeld@alaska.net.>

WHISPERS ACROSS THE ICE: the Life and Death of the Arctic

by Tångiaq Pearl Johnson
with faith fjeld
photograph of Clarence Waghiyi by John Waghiyi, Jr.

My name is Tångiaq and I speak for the polar bear, the Arctic fox, the whale and all the creatures in the Arctic whose voices cannot be heard.

I am Inupiat from the Fish River tribe on the Seward Peninsula. My people have lived in this region forever and we are a part of the landscape. Our food is still harvested seasonally and our clothing still comes from sea and land mammals. My family taught me to respect the land, all living things and to revere our Heavenly Father, the Creator of our People.

Our lives have been influenced by reindeer. My grandmother owned a herd at the turn of the last century and a Saami herder married into my family. I grew up wearing reindeer fawnskin outerwear, boots made of reindeer fur fashioned in the Saami style, and eating reindeer meat as well as our traditional diet.

We call our way of knowing and living *nalunitavut* ["nah-loo-ni-ta-voot"]. This ancient spiritually-based educational system has been handed down to learn and to teach the social disciplines and the survival and spiritual skills that are necessary to live in the Arctic. It is not written but it is taught by example, orally, using dance, storytelling, body and facial movements, and it is expressed through artistic drawings. *Nalunitavut* has been tested by time and proven by our survival. Because of it, we became masters of our environment.

THE HARRIMAN EXPEDITION OF 1899

In 1899 an expedition visited the coast of western Alaska at a time when we, the Inupiat, were caught in the crosshairs of colonization and our environment was on the cusp of devastating change. A team of 126 scientists, writers, artists and crew members was assembled and financed by E. H. Harriman to study the changes that were coming to western Alaska. Harriman was a wealthy American industrialist and railroad tycoon from New York. His ship was described in the press as "a floating university." The expedition paid short visits to a few of the villages along the Bering Sea. Although the expedition's artists and photographers produced more than 5000 images of our flora and fauna, and the scientists returned to the U.S. with more than 100 trunks filled with "artifacts," they did not consult with any Inupiat leaders. Their findings interpreted *our* conditions as *they* perceived them in their very brief visit.

Then, one hundred years after the Harriman Expedition of 1899, an opportunity presented itself that might have produced more accurate data.

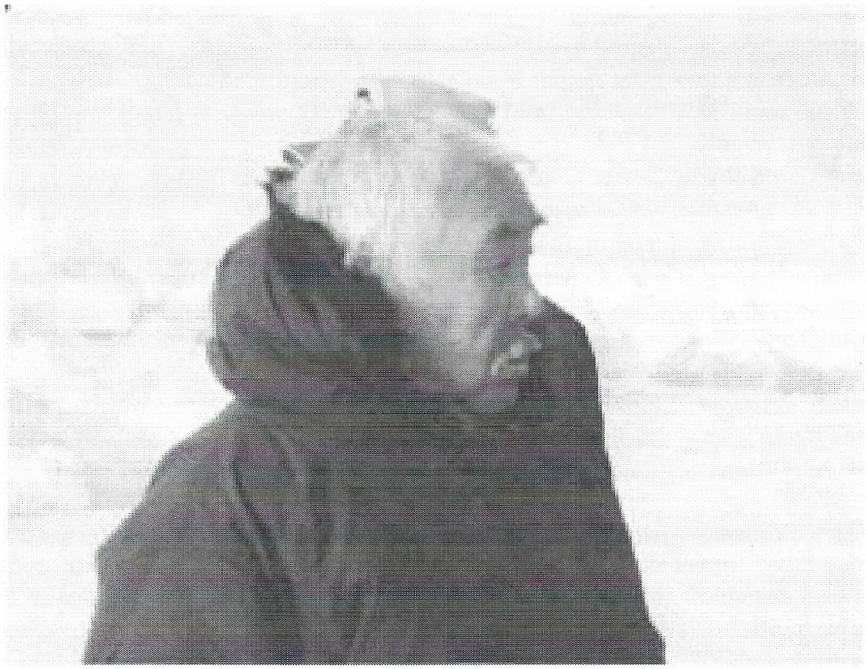
THE HARRIMAN EXPEDITION REENACTMENT OF 2001

In 2001, I was working as Chief of Interpretation at the Bering Land Bridge National Preserve headquarters in Nome. In May of that year, the Park Superintendent told us that a major scientific expedition would be coming to Alaska to reenact the Harriman Expedition of 1899 and that our office would be involved because the ship would be stopping in Nome. We were told that, using the data from the first expedition as a benchmark, the scientists would be reviewing the environmental records and studying the current conditions.

I suggested to the superintendent that Clarence Waghiyi, the grandson of reindeer herders and a highly respected Bering Sea whaling captain, should join the expedition because I knew that Clarence would be a valuable contributing member of the Bering Sea segment. Clarence Waghiyi comes from Savoonga, a village on St. Lawrence Island in the Bering Sea. All his life he has been consistently monitoring the environment — the movement of sea mammals and wildlife, the sea ice conditions, the wind and the tide. He has also been keeping abreast of the changing political climate and its effect on the harvesting of game. Clarence has seen first hand the impact that pollution has had on western Alaska. At the time, because of his expertise, he was serving on the Eskimo Walrus Commission which represents all of Alaska's coastal walrus hunting communities, and the Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission which represents ten whaling villages. He still serves on these commissions to this day and he is still an active hunter. To my surprise, the superintendent — who knew Clarence — dismissed my suggestion.

"Why is the knowledge of Arctic Peoples ignored by scientists who would rather buy our ivory carvings than work with us?"

Clarence Waghiyi's intimate knowledge of the Bering Sea and his experience in dealing with government agencies and special interest groups would have proved invaluable. He personally has witnessed changes to the climate and its effects on the island and marine waters. Had he been part of the expedition he could have educated the scientists, and because of his connections, it would have been easy for him to establish a working partnership between them, the Whaling Commission and the Walrus Commission as well as the Reindeer Herders' Association. Wouldn't this have added substance to their research?



As it turned out, the reenactment expedition spent just a few days in our area — again without Inupiat input. Was that sufficient time in which to make their determinations and projections about the Arctic environment?

NALUNITAVUT

Why is the knowledge of Arctic Peoples ignored by scientists who would rather buy our ivory carvings than work with us? If *nalunitavut* had guided and enriched either or both of these expeditions, the participants would have learned a new and deeper level of caring for the environment, but this was not the case. By failing to involve us, both Harriman Expeditions missed the opportunity to experience the synergy that would have naturally occurred had science and technology interacted with traditional ecological knowledge.

We hunter-gatherers are the caretakers of the Arctic, placed in a land that was once pristine and rich in natural resources. When the outside world realized how profitable these resources could be, our land and waters were plundered for whales, walrus, seals, salmon, gold, oil, and timber. Now our environment is polluted, our livelihood is threatened, and we not only live with federal and state hunting and fishing regulations but also with international regulations that limit the harvest of sea mammals.

We love our beautiful land. We harvest our foods and medicines according to the seasons and we endure the most severe weather on the planet under conditions that daily endanger our lives. We are the hunters but we are also the hunted.

Our link to the natural world is expressed in our everyday objects. Even today our tools and survival gear, our sleds, skin boats, ulus and harpoons are made by hand. We continue to embellish our parkas, boots and ulus with stylish drawings and carvings of the game we hunt.

Our songs and dances express our love of Nature. The movements and sounds of birds, seals and walrus are imitated, hunts are described, stories and events are recalled and retold. This is our way of learning and teaching as well as keeping healthy and strong. *Nalunitavut* in all of its manifestations has kept us alive from one generation to the next so that we have always been able to take care of ourselves without outside assistance — until there was a paradigm shift.

Over one hundred years ago our natural prey was at stake because of the mass slaughter of whales, seals and walrus that had started with the whalers. In 1847 there was a paradigm shift in the focus of the industrialized nations. Whalers from Russia, the United States and other nations came to the Bering Sea and the Chukchi Sea and began hunting the natural prey of the Inupiat. Until it stopped in

(**JOHNSON** *continued on page 10)*

THE WILD REINDEER AT ÁHKOBÁKTI AND OTHER NOAIDI TALES

lithograph: Hans Ragnar Mathisen, Bálvalusgeadgi/ Sacrificial Stone

by Tim Frandy

In 1918, Isak Saba, the Sámi editor, writer and politician, recorded the following story. It's called "Gottit Áhkobávttis," or "The Wild Reindeer on Grandmother Cliff." Áhkobákti is an ancient offering place in the Njávdán Fjord:

There once was a *noaidi* at Njávdán who would hunt wild reindeer on Áhkobákti whenever he needed one. When he shot a reindeer he would always put the antlers into the antler cache on the mountain as an offering. When the *noaidi* was about to die, he said to his son, "Whenever you need game, you can go up to Áhkobákti. Just make sure you offer the antlers near the spot where I have always done so." After that the *noaidi* died.

Time passed. One day the *noiadi's* son decided to go up to Áhkobákti to see if he could get some wild reindeer for himself. Way up at the top of the summit he saw some reindeer and he shot one. He noticed that the others didn't run away as wild reindeer do, but instead, they drew closer. Then the boy shot another wild reindeer. The reindeer came still closer. They weren't even afraid. He also shot a third reindeer. By then the other wild reindeer had become so tame that they walked right up to him and gathered around him. Then he went crazy. He didn't take care of the reindeer and he neglected to offer the antlers. Next he drew a big cross right on the side of the cliff at Áhkobákti.

Now there were three other *noaidis* who lived nearby in Sállan. They also went up to Áhkobákti to hunt. But when they saw the cross on the cliff, they all turned to stone. The three stones are still there to this day. They are called the Noaidi Stones. Since then there haven't been any more wild reindeer on Áhkobákti. But the antler cache is still there and the cross can still be seen on the cliff.

Like other tales of this period which pit Christian Sámis and the practitioners of the Sámi indigenous Nature Religion in open competition, "Gottit Áhkobávttis" illustrates the landscape of hybridity which permeates late 19th and early 20th century life in Sápmi. Central to this tale is the relationship between the *noaidi* and the wild reindeer, whose lives and fates are conjoined and inseparable. They both live and die together in a fragile system of harmonic reciprocity that sustains life. The son's "crazy" behavior is linked directly to the upsetting of this

balance. The tale's ending only *masquerades* as a successful triumph of Christianity when the son destroys all that once supported him and his father. The three *noaidis*' turning to stone at the sight of the cross is not an admission of their weaker powers so much as it is a dramatization of the historical fact that the *noaidis*, like the wild reindeer, were disappearing. In the end, this story offers more questions than answers; specifically, why would one commit atrocities towards an effective religious worldview that sustains one's family and community?

Yet this is not simply a condemnation of the vast power of colonial era violence against Sámi people. The tale dramatizes the period of religious shift in Sápmi and the changing ecological world. The parallel between the *noaidi* and the wild reindeer is no sheer coincidence.

In another *noaidi* tale, "Bora-noaidi hávdádit," or "Burying the Murderous *Noaidi*," when the body of a powerful deceased *bora-noaidi* is brought to a churchyard to be buried, he is pulled by a wild reindeer buck and the person who accompanies his body is pulled by an ordinary draught reindeer. The *bora-noaidi* keeps waking up and sitting in his coffin — untamed even in death — and the wild buck pulls him off into a pine forest — away from his companion.

Even when not associated directly with reindeer, *noaidi* tales often turn to themes of negotiation between wildness and domestication. Some *noaidis* are pulled in their sledges behind tamed wolves. Others have domesticated bears, which they called "lambs of the wilderness," who lived near the *siidas*, never disturbing the families or their reindeer.

In a different example of failed domestication, a famous and powerful *noaidi*, Garen-Ovla, loses the ability to control his *noaidi-gázzi*, his spirit helpers, who kill all his best draught reindeer and leave him hanging upside down in a bush.

As the numbers of *noaidi* and wild reindeer decline under the aggressive force of the Christian colonizers, and increased taxation leads to more intensive herding, the *noaidi* tales begin to exhibit new uses of ancient metaphors, which increasingly reflect frontierism and the taming of the wilderness. These colonial-era tales depict Christian attempts to subdue the Nature Religion and the resistance against these attempts. In one of them, "Olmmái ja Sieidi," or "The Man and the Sacred Stone" a practitioner of the Nature Religion takes a young Sámi fishing with him:

Once there was an old man who was very lucky when he fished from a certain lake. One day he took along a young man who had heard that the old man made offerings to a *sieidi*. When they got to the lake, they put out their net and caught a lot of fish.

When evening came, they started to cook the fish. When the stew began to boil, the old man secretly took some fish fat out of the pot. After the two had finished eating, they went to bed, but both the young man and the old man stayed awake without the other one knowing.

When the old man thought that his friend was asleep, he crept out to his boat and rowed down the river. When he got to the lake, he went to a round white *sieidi*-stone, which he rubbed with the fish fat. Then he got back in his boat, returned to the camp and went to sleep.

The young man, who was still awake, sneaked out to the boat, rowed down the river, took the *sieidi*, put it into the boat, and rowed out to the middle of the lake. There he threw it into the water. He, too, returned to the camp and went to sleep. When he got up in the morning, he went outside and saw that the *sieidi* was back in its place.

That day the two went fishing again, but this time they didn't catch as many fish — just enough for a meal — with just a little fish fat which the old man saved in a small container. The young man went to bed, but he knew that the old man had to go to make another offering to the *sieidi*. After the old man returned, the young man rowed down the river to the *sieidi* and again put it in the boat. This time he took roots and tied a large stone to the *sieidi*, rowed to the center of the lake, threw out the *sieidi*, went back to the camp and slept. In the morning he went outside and saw that the *sieidi* was once again back in its place. He was amazed, but he didn't say anything.

That day when they went fishing, they didn't catch anything even though they saw a lot of fish when they threw out their net. So the young man said, "Maybe your god is too weak."

Then the old man knew that the *sieidi* had been tampered with. He became so angry at the young man that he tried to kill him but the young man ran for his life. So the old man stayed by himself with his net, his boat, and the *sieidi*. After that he caught so many fish that he had to throw some back.

In this critique of Christian arrogance, the young man believes he has duped the old man and that his *sieidi* is ineffective. Ironically, both men must have felt themselves victorious at the story's end. The storyteller highlights the inability to foster effective discourse between the two worldviews. The clandestine actions of the young man shut down communication. In this tale violence triumphs over discourse.

Although in some regions *noaidi* tales continued to focus on a community's external threats, as *noaidis* were persecuted many *noaidi* tales began to illustrate the anxiety of having malevolent *noaidis* within a community. Here is one example of these. Again it involves fishing:

One summer a fisherman was netting for fish. When he came to the shore he dragged in some fish, cut them up and put them into a pot. The cook was in the barn and she was a *noaidi*. The fisherman ordered her to come to his *goahti* immediately to make a fire and cook him fish stew. But the cook said, "I don't have time. I have a ton of work here in the barn! The straw must be threshed and the grain must be winnowed." The fisherman said, "You need to cook food now, and hurry!" When the fisherman said that, the cook got mad and said, "Bring your fish here to me then!"

(**FRANDY** *continued overleaf*)

(FRANDY continued from page 11)

So the fisherman carried the pot to the barn. The cook set the pot on top of a pile of straw and very soon the stew began to boil. The fisherman said, "You're going to burn down the barn!" But the stew pot sitting on the straw was boiling without fire. The fisherman was amazed. "How could the stew boil without fire?" he asked. The cook said, "Maybe it's because you're in such a hurry to eat, it's your burning desire that boils your fish."

The secretive role of this *noaidi* makes her powerful and subversive, as she undermines the fisherman's claim of authority. For him, however, the cook's hidden powers are a frightful discovery. She is the threat from within, and her wildness is a threat to the shaky foundations of the colonial society's economic, social, religious, and cultural institutions.

Wildness and domesticity, though seemingly age-old themes in *noaidi* tales, assume new meanings in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The writings of Johan Turi, the famous Sámi author and *noaidi* offer a valuable insider's perspective on *noaidivuohta*. Turi's stories about *noaidis* often feature himself or an acquaintance, and healing is generally the tale's principal focus. He offers a unique and sometimes comic perspective into a *noaidi's* occupation. He criticizes his clients for nagging and for not having good sense, and he remembers specific sums of money they owe him. In one story he complains of having to doctor people "just to get rid of them." After he is asked to sleep by the wall in the *goahti* of a sick man, he grumbles about sleeping behind "an old ugly woman." Even when Turi's *noaidi* arts prove successful, he still complains that in spite of the patient's recovery, his payment "wasn't even a whole crown."

In Turi's world, *noaidis* "meet the devil at the crossroads," or they kneel on an upside-down Bible and swear against God. In Turi's mind those who get help from a *noaidi* can no longer be a Christian. From a post-colonial perspective, it's difficult to understand why so many of Turi's supernatural encounters end abruptly with the invocation of a Christian prayer which promises to empower all Christian Sámis against the "diabolical skills" of the *noaidis*. Even so, Turi understands the *noaidi's* work to be the stabilizing of chaotic outside forces and he, too, is trying to tame the destructive powers that threaten his community.

Though Turi says that knowing the Lord's Prayer in three tongues will prevent spirits from attacking you, so will being brave, walking through three fires, carrying quicksilver in a feather, or possessing beaver testicles — and innocence alone can protect some.

Turi also distinguishes his own type of *noaidi* arts from the *noaidi* arts used to harm people. He not so much condemns the old *noaidi* magic as he accepts Christianity, a testament to his ability to function in a pluralistic community and integrate new knowledge into his worldview. Turi rejects the dichotomous and exclusionary approach, knowing that might does not make right, and that one religion need not simply replace the other. This elegant reality is something the son in "Gottit Áhkobávttis" and the young man in "Olmmái ja Sieidi" cannot understand. That which first appears to be Turi's submission to a colonial mindset proves instead to be a domestication of these forces for one's own means and ends. At the center of Turi's own world as a *noaidi* remains the motif of domestication for the good of the community: subduing spirits, taming wolves, controlling thieves, and harnessing Christianity.

Tim Frandy is a Ph.D. candidate in Scandinavian Studies and Folklore at the University of Wisconsin—Madison. His research focuses on ecology and belief in the Nordic countries and the Upper Midwest, ranging from Finnish American poaching traditions to the relationship of noaidis and wolves in Sápmi. This article is part of a larger project, involving the translation and compilation of *noaidi* tales.

(JOHNSON continued from page 7)

1910, the whalers nearly brought to extinction the bowhead whales and the lifestyle of the northern Indigenous Peoples. It was in the late 1800s that the Reindeer Project, funded by the United States Congress, asked Sámi herders from Sápmi to come to Alaska to teach reindeer husbandry to stave off the starvation of the Inupiat and Yup'ik Peoples. The synergistic relationship that developed should serve as the model to save the Arctic today. If we all worked together then we can all work together now.

We, the Inupiat, have always had cooperative relationships with other Arctic Peoples despite the great distances that divide us. The similarities in language, lifestyle and physical appearance that cross the Arctic from northern Alaska and northern Canada to Greenland give evidence to this fact. The spirit of giving, sharing and cooperation has always been the key to survival in the Arctic.

In response to the global warming situation, research has not involved the Peoples of the North. We are the critical component in understanding the effects of oil and mineral development and reassessing hazardous waste disposal. We have lived with the pollution. Survival of the fragile and threatened ecosystem of the Arctic must be placed above politics, development and the racial biases that exist today. All it takes is one oil spill.

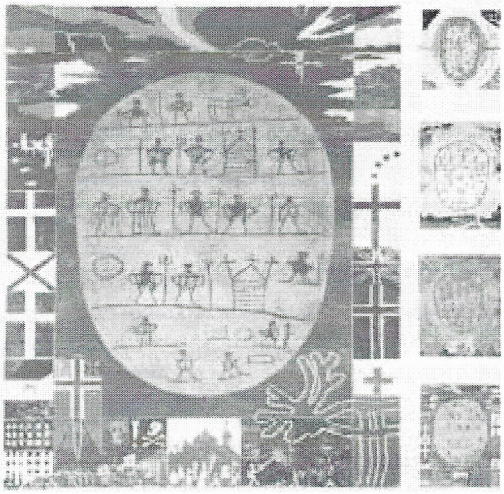
Tângiaq Pearl Johnson was born in White Mountain, Alaska and lives in Nome. She thanks John Waghiyi, Jr., Rep. Charles O. Degnan, Maggie Kowchee, Anuqsraaq MJ. Litchard, and Frances Wright for their input.

Pearl has lectured at the State University of New York — Buffalo, and has organized the Alaska Chukotka Economic Summit and written articles for the National Park Service, the Western Arctic Caribou Herd Working Group and Good Morning America.

ABOUT THE COVER

ELLE-HÁNSA / KEVISELIE HANS RAGNAR MATHISEN

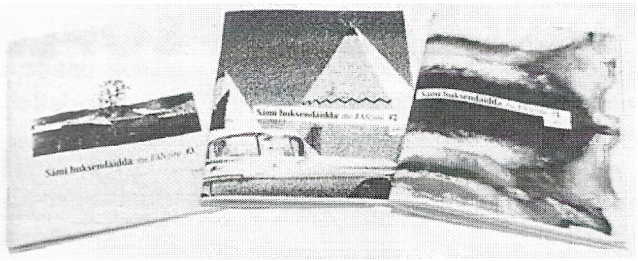
Geadgegovat" ("Rock Carvings") is part of a series of woodcuts done in 1994 by the artist Elle Hánsa / Keviselie / Hans Ragnar Mathisen based on the Sami Drum.



The Drum series was included in his recent exhibit "Grafikk og akvareller 1973 - 2008" this spring at the Galleri Brevik in Tromsø, Norway. The composite of the Drum images shown above was used for the exhibit poster.

ABOUT THE CENTERFOLD

JOAR NANGO



On the following two pages you will see the first of a series of "fanzines" featuring Sámi architecture. Joar Nango, the artist, is a 29 year old Norwegian Sámi. At the moment he is living and working in Berlin. This winter he graduated with an MA in architecture from the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU) in Trondheim. As part of his diploma work concerning Sámi architecture Joar wrote, edited, and published a small fanzine called *Sámi Huksendáidda.* So far, the 'zine has released three issues.

The first issue, *Sámi huksendáidda: Fanzine #1 For Beginners*, is an overview of traditional Sámi architecture and contemporary Sámi architecture in its current state.

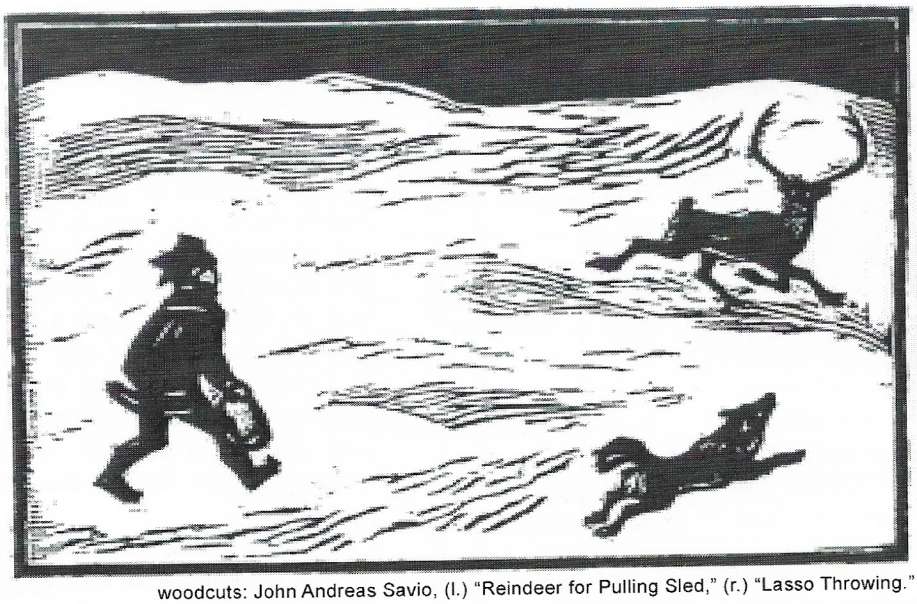
The 2nd issue, *Sámi huksendáidda: Fanzine #2 Goes To America*, is a comparative study between the architecture of the Mi'kmaw people of eastern Canada and the Sámi people.

In the 3rd issue, *Sámi huksendáidda: Fanzine #3 Does Reality,* a number of studies and projects by Joar Nango are presented. Among these projects are a week-long workshop in Kirkenes that explored Arctic identity and the art of building with snow, fire and ice, a small sleeping cabin in Birtavarre, and an artist's residence in Lásságammi, Skibotn.

The 4th issue, which will investigate modern nomadic living, is currently under construction.

For this issue of *Báiki,* Joar has translated excerpts from *Sámi huksendáidda: The Fanzine #1.* We will be publishing excerpts from Joar's 'zines in the centerfold of our next three issues. We are very grateful to him and excited about his innovative work. If you are interested in purchasing the 'zines, or are just generally interested in the theme of Sámi architecture, please feel free to contact Joar at <joarnango@gmail.com>.

THE SÁMI
INDIGENOUS PEOPLE OF NORTHERN EUROPE



woodcuts: John Andreas Savio, (l.) "Reindeer for Pulling Sled," (r.) "Lasso Throwing."

Editor's note: *This article first appeared in* Báiki *Issue #21, spring 2000. We reprint it here as a brief summary of Sami history for our new subscribers. In recent issues of* Báiki *we have published detailed reports and updates on the activities of the Sámi Council and the Sámi participation in the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues. These developments occured after this piece was written.*

by Rauna Kuokkanen, Ph.D.

The Sámi are the Indigenous people of Sápmi (sometimes called "Samiland" in English) an area that spans central Norway and Sweden through northern Finland to the Kola Peninsula of Russia. A rough estimate of the Sámi population is between 75,000 to 100,000, with 45,000 in Norway.

When the last Ice Age neared its end about 10,000 years ago the first inhabitants settled in Sápmi. These people earned their living from hunting and gathering and fishing. Approximately 4000 years ago the inhabitants in the southern part of what is present-day Finland gradually changed their livelihood from hunting and fishing to agriculture while the people in the north maintained their traditional way of life. This separation of ways of life led to the separation of languages into Sami and Finnic (which are related to Estonian, Karelian and the other Balto-Finnic languages).

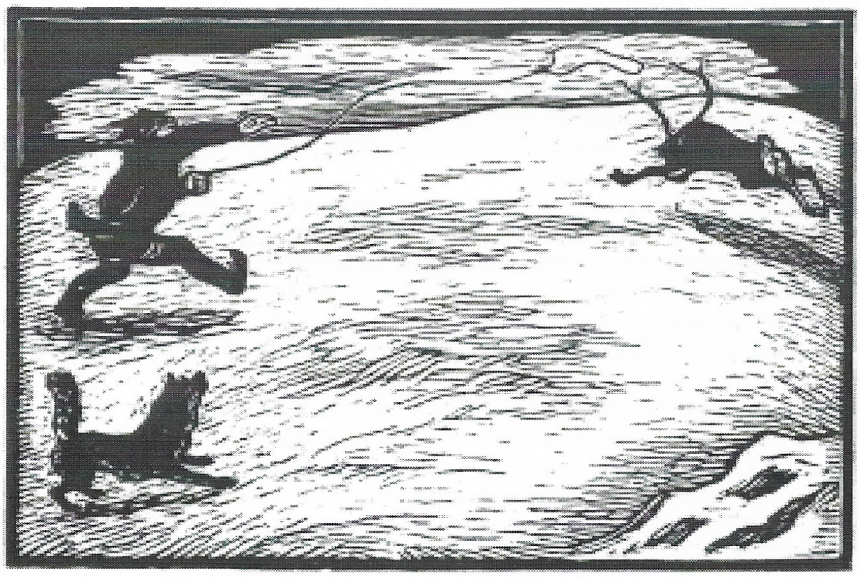
THE REINDEER PEOPLE

Until the 16th century, hunting wild deer was one of the most important forms of livelihood for the Sámi. But from then on, some started to domesticate large herds of the wild deer which led to highly organized forms of reindeer herding. Reindeer herding became a way of life for some Sámi families, a central element being the annual migration with the reindeer between different grazing lands.

Although the Sámi have been referred to as "The Reindeer People," herding has never been a livelihood for all the Sámi. Today reindeer herding is a main source of livelihood for only 10% of the population.

Historically Sámi society was organized locally by the extended-family system called the siida. Each siida had its own tribunal to look after such matters as hunting and fishing disputes and disputes between two siidas about a certain territory. The siida system was the early model for Sámi self-determination which was, however, completely ignored by the colonizing states.

During the early Middle Ages, the surrounding kingdoms became interested in the land and natural resources of Sápmi which included fur, ore, fish and meat. The kingdoms of Sweden-Finland, Denmark-Norway and Novgorod imposed taxation on the Sámi and encouraged the settlement of the north by outsiders in order to claim rights to the land. This was a way to make the Sámi subjects of the surrounding kingdoms. There was strong competition between the kingdoms over the taxation of the Sámi and consequently over their territories. Some of the areas such as Inari were taxed by several kingdoms at once, which naturally caused problems for the Sámi.



DIVISION BY WARS AND BOUNDARIES

Due to the competition, Sápmi became a war zone during the 12th and 13th centuries. The consequences of the wars were severe: the Sámi were used as allies and taken under the protection of different kingdoms, the ultimate goal being to deny the independence of the Sámi. By the end of the 13th century Denmark and Novgorod had divided the Sámi area by a mutual treaty and in 1751 in the Treaty of Stromstad, Norway and Sweden imposed the first foreign boundary on Sápmi.

An appendix to this treaty called the Lapp Codicil guaranteed the Sámi freedom of movement across the border for hunting and reindeer herding purposes. But a Sámi was no longer able to own land, and grazing and hunting rights on the other side of the border were limited and later abolished.

COLONIZATION BY THE CHURCH AND THE STATE

As elsewhere, missionary work was the central means of the colonization of the Sámi. The first churches in Sápmi were built in the 11th century and Christianity gradually eroded the Nature religion of the Sámi by banning shamanistic ceremonies, executing the noiades (the shamans), burning and destroying the Sámi drums and banning the Sámi way of singing and communicating called yoiking, which the missionaries considered to be "a call to the devil."

From the 1800s onwards, harsh assimilatory policies toward the Sámi were established in the Nordic countries. This was done in the name of education and social welfare. According to the governments, the need for education and social welfare could be fulfilled only through learning the majority language of the country. In Norway, for instance, teachers were paid a bonus if they succeeded in teaching Norwegian to the Sámi. In 1902 a law was passed by which land could only be owned by a citizen who knew and used Norwegian. Similar policies were put into practice in Sweden and Finland.

The policies of assimilation changed slightly in the 1930s due to the fledgling Sámi rights movement. Assimilation continued, however, in the form of education and Sámi children were sent to boarding schools where their own culture was trivialized and scorned and where, in most cases, they were not allowed to speak their own language.

SÁMI RIGHTS AND SELF-DETERMINATION

The second wave of the Sámi rights movement took place in the 1960s and 70s, which reflected the spirit of other social movements throughout the world. Among other things, this movement led to the establishment of Sámi parliaments, first in Finland in 1973, then in Norway in 1989 and then in Sweden in 1993.

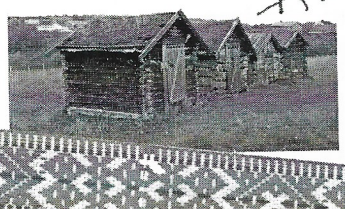
In 1992, Sámi language acts in both Norway and Finland gave the Sámi the right to use their mother tongue when dealing with the governments, however, particularly in Finland, there has

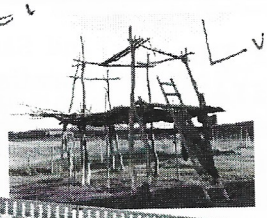
(**KUOKKANEN** *continued on page 16)*

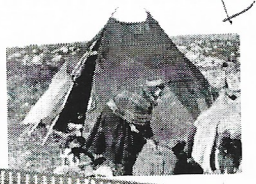
THE SÀMI BUILDING TRADITION: A COMPLEX PICTURE

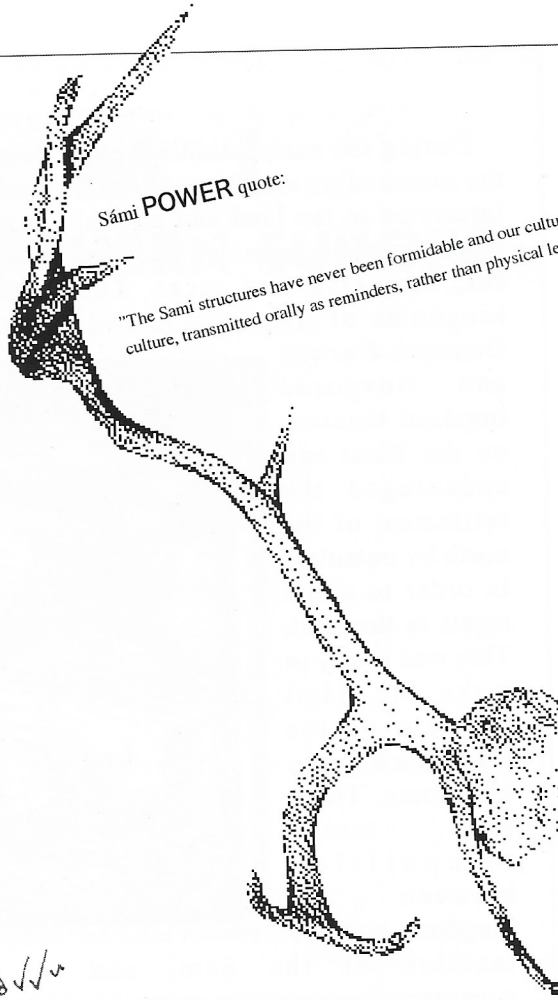
Sápmi stretches throughout a landscape with big topographical and climatic diversities. The differences in the Sámi building traditions follow these variations, being formed by both the landscape and the local resources. This fact makes it difficult to speak about a unified Sámi building tradition as a whole. In a Sámi-Norwegian context, there is an over-emphasis placed on the reindeer herders from "indre Finnmark" and their building methods. The reason for this is that the Sámi settlements have been (and still are) in a majority in these regions. Here, it is easier to detect the traces of continuation of both building traditions and way of life. Buildings that are directly connected to the reindeer herders way of life, especially the Lávvu, the Luovvi and the Áiti, are then left standing as frequently used symbols of the true and genuine Sámi way of building. The problem is that this often overshadows the differentiations that exist within the Sámi building-tradition, and therefore, the differences between north and south, the coast and mainland are easily neglected and forgotten. Last but not least, it also blurs the fact that our building tradition has, along with the other regional building traditions of northern Europe, been changed and influenced from the outside throughout the ages.

A more fruitful way of putting it might be to describe the Sámi building tradition as a way of thinking. It is easy to spot a tradition of "Sámi attitude", one that brings forth a pragmatic, composite and complex vernacular architecture often bearing the quintessential elements of recycling and spontaneous use of materials such as; local wood, plastic and fiber cloths, folded-out oil barrels, cardboard, isolation-foam, etc. and whatever else might be available on-site. This demonstrates a specific Sámi ability to adapt and improvise according to context, surrounding and landscape. From an architectural point of view it might therefore be just as interesting to focus on the Sámi art of building from a more regional perspective. Instead of letting an ethnical viewpoint simplify the picture and define the Sámi building tradition as a whole, it is more useful to focus on the Sámi way of thinking, where the unified Sámi building tradition is recognized by a sensitive relation to the landscape and the specific ecological, spiritual and historical criteria's provided by the site itself.









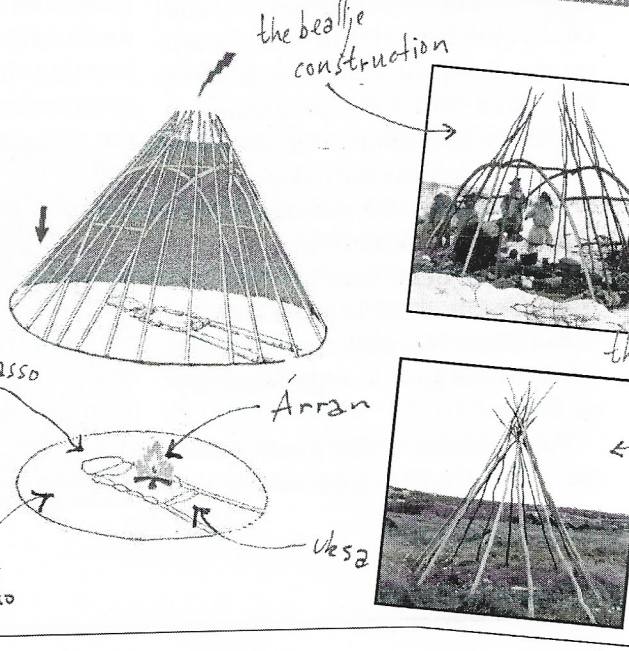
sámi ar

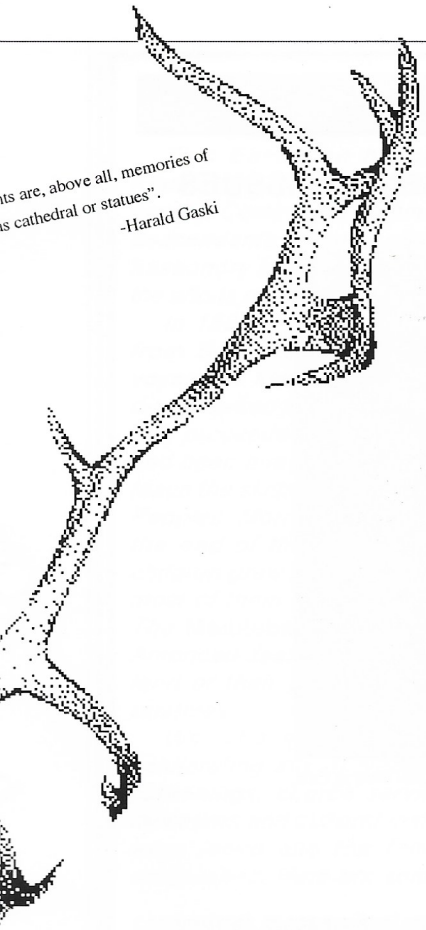
LÀVVU

Originally there were two different types of constructions for the Lávvu (traditional Sámi tent). The interlocking of three Caggis with each other at the top is known as the easier variation of the two.

The more advanced variation is the Beallje construction, more commonly known as "Bealljegoahti". This simple and ingenious construction was steady and also easy to demount and bring along in the "Raide". Traditionally the Lávvu had two entrances: one domestic door, and another, more spiritual opening facing north. This doorway was placed behind the Boasso (the kitchen area located posterior to the fireplace, Árran), and it was through this doorway that the sacred bear meat was brought in. The tradition with Boasso as a kitchen is still in use amongst sámis today. It is a simple and practical way of organizing the interior movement-patterns within the lávvu and it creates a place where you can store things that you would prefer not to step on. The circular plan was divided into social partitions, in which the family's social hierarchy defined where you were supposed to sit. The inner spaces (closest to Boasso) were the most respected ones.

Today the Lávvu is not as strongly tied to reindeer herding. Nowadays, it is more so used in outdoor life and tourism, although, in a new and modern design, with light materials and simple ways of mounting it, it is normal to see it used in many different contexts.





...ts are, above all, memories of
...s cathedral or statues".
-Harald Gaski

...itecture

by: Joar Nango

SÁMI INSTITUTIONAL ARCHITECTURE

Architecture is a formal expression of a culture's collective identity, both in an historical and contemporary sense. It defines people, cultures and nations, and plays an important part in a society's definition of itself and its identity, not only from a contemporary perspective, but also in terms of their future development and what they want to become.

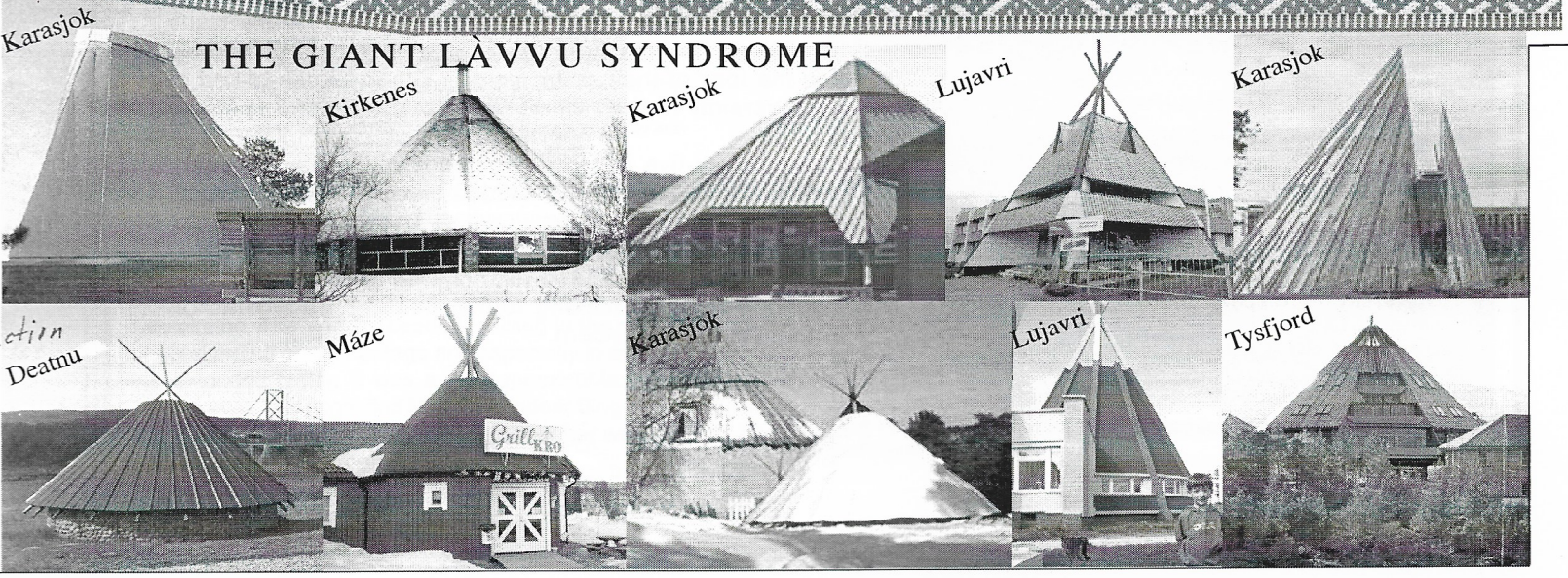
Identity is not a static value and its dynamic change follows the pace and rhythm of the global modernisation process of today. This is also the case for Aboriginal and Sámi people. The contemporary architecture found in Sápmi today can therefore be said to be a "collective-identity-indicator", one that expresses our modern Sámi culture to the outside world. It is the ultimate visualisation of our societies historical development and evolution. The development of "Sápmi" as a modern society and nation has been rapidly accelerating during the past thirty years, with the building of Sámi institutions and accompanying buildings alike. These buildings that I speak of are strategically placed and positioned in signicant locations throughout the Sápmi region. This network forms a patchwork of interwoven visual representations of the sámi society and our contemporary Sámi culture. It is the position and function of them (rather than the creators of them) which qualify these buildings to be seen as "contemporary sámi architecture". There is not a single institutional building that has been drawn or designed by Sámis.

In numerous of these buildings design, the architects have appropriated visual and formal elements, models, and patterns found in traditional Sámi architecture. They are then re-introduced as metaphores or symbols and incorporated into the modern architecture. The "re-interpration of the ancient culture" can be applied by using various methods. Some architects utilize the ancient concept-of-space (f.ex. the circular floor plan of the Lávvu, with its mundane and sacred areas) while others choose to focus more on the formal attributes; form, colour, materiality, etc. A good example of this phenomenon would be the "giant Lávvu", in which the conical shape of the sámi tent is blown up and represented as a strong visual element in a modern technological construction. In this case it is the shape and the strong symbol effect of the lávvu that defines this building as being "Sámi architecture". It becomes obvious that the building is designed and drawn by architects who stand outside of the Sámi culture, with a limited knowledge of our contemporary society and what it contains.

It is sometimes difficult to say if these buildings are portraying a correct "Sámi –ness" or not. Although there have been good attempts to try and connect the traditional sámi culture with the needs of a modern contemporary Sámi community, they all too often come off looking like desperate attempts to position themselves as strictly "Sámi", and therefore, as something distinctively different than the norwegian architecture that we are surrounded by. And it is here where many of the problems lie. Often times when a "Norwegian architect" attempts to incorporate a specific sámi expression to their architectural design, the emphasis is placed on elements that differ between the two cultures. Things that the two cultures share are automatically referred to as "Norwegian" rather than "Sámi", which then unfortunately forces the idea of "Sámi-ness" to become limited and transforms it into something exotic.

The Sámi society is now "walking its own path" towards the future, and the architecture is devoloping as a natural part of this process. In the situation that we are in today there is a limited amount of expertise on the field of contemporary Sámi architecture. To avoid an overly-simplistic architecture that is unable to picture the true complexity of a vivid and strong sami society, it is important that the development of sámi architecture tries to take place within the sámi community itself, and remain critical towards "un-site specific western" architecture. It is absolutely necessary for our culture to achieve an architectural balance between site-specific traditions and sustainable modernity.

THE GIANT LÀVVU SYNDROME



(**KUOKKANEN** *continued from page 13)*

been a lack of funding. The authorities are not expected to know the language and communication is carried out with the help of translators. In Sweden the Sámi language is only officially recognized as one of the country's minority languages.

Since World War II the demands of the modern welfare state have resulted in the increased exploitation of resources in Sápmi. Mining, forestry, hydroelectric power plants as well as tourism have put a growing pressure on reindeer herding lands while also diminishing other possibilities for the Sámi to make a living. These developments have created opposition among the Sámi who have formed various organizations.

A Sámi Conference was held in 1953 and three years later the Nordic Sámi Council was established as a cooperative body of Sámi organizations. In 1993, when the Russian Sámi joined, the name was changed to the Sámi Council.

Today the Sámi Parliaments of Norway, Sweden and Finland are working together to form a new joint body called the Sámi Parliamentary Assembly which will look after many of the Sámi issues in Sápmi as well as internationally. This includes the UN and other forums for Indigenous Peoples.*

Sami scholar Rauna Kuokkanen, Ph.D, is a frequent contributor to Báiki. *Her most recent book,* Reshaping the University: Responsibility, Indigenous Epistemes, and the Logic of the Gift *is reviewed on page 20 of this issue.*

* *See adjacent column this page.*

BÁIKI REPORT

UN PERMANENT FORUM ON INDIGENOUS ISSUES

(l.- r.) Ruthanne Cecil with UNPFII Saami delegates Olav Mathis Eira, Ande Somby, and Thomas Juuso in New York

by Ruthanne Cecil

The United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII) was formed in 2004 to advise the United Nations on the rights and concerns of the 370 million Indigenous Peoples still living in their land-based cultures throughout the world.

Each year the UNPFII has a two-week session in New York to hear from the Indigenous delegates and pass recommendations on to the General Assembly of the UN for action. This year the topic was Climate Change, and there were 3200 delegates from among the Indigenous Peoples of the world. It was an historic event, and statements were serious, and action-oriented.

As a Saami-American descendant, I attended as an observer and supporter. I was very impressed with the event and the level of work occurring. People from island nations and coastal areas talked about the erosion of their shorelines due to higher seas, the rising level of storm surges, and the threat of inundation. People from the Arctic spoke of changes in migration patterns, forage, hunting seasons, and the quality of ice and snow that can make trails dangerous. Masai herders from Africa shared photos of intense drought and the loss of their cattle herds. Other people talked of the rapid conversion of their rainforests to plantations to make biofuels.

There were twenty-five Saami delegates from Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Russia. The group included elected representatives and other officials, and the Saami media. The Saami delegates welcomed me; we took photos and got into conversations, but they mostly kept busy with their work. I felt honored to be there with so many Indigenous Peoples making formal hearing statements on such important issues of concern.

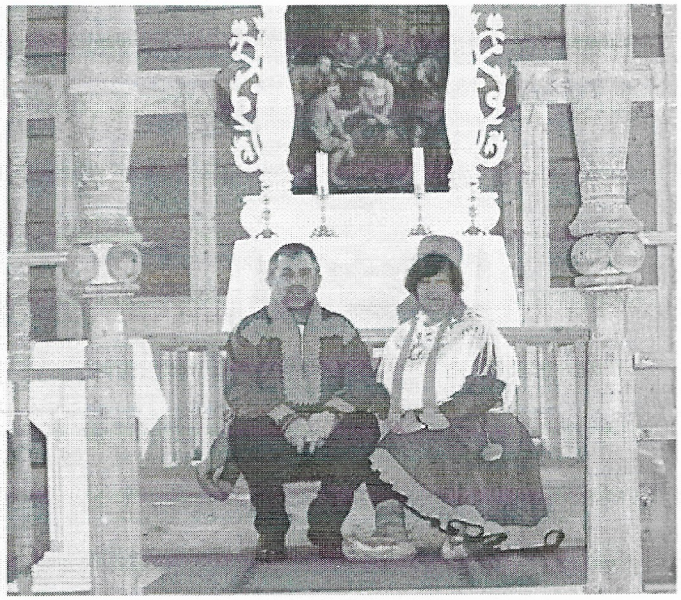
PHOTOS AND MEMORIES FROM THE *MANITOBA* REUNION 2008

This Easter an historic family reunion took place in Kautokeino and Karasjok, Norway and in the Sami villages nearby. Coming to the family reunion were the North American descendants of the herding families who introduced reindeer husbandry to Alaska. Thanks to the elders of those families, and the efforts of Báiki, *this story is finally being told.*

In 1898 a group of 137 herders and their children sailed from Bossekop, Norway on the steamship Manitoba. *The voyage is known as the* Manitoba *Expedition. The families disembarked in New York, crossed the U.S. by train to Seattle and proceeded north on two other steamships. The herders had been hired by the U.S. government to come to Alaska to teach the skills of reindeer husbandry to the Inupiaq and Yup'ik Peoples. More than 80 of the herders stayed on in Alaska at the end of their two-year contracts. In many cases their children grew up and married into Alaska Native families and most of them lost contact with their families back in Sápmi. The* Manitoba *Reunion was an opportunity for the North American descendants of the* Manitoba *Expedition to visit the land of their ancestors and reconnect with their long-lost relatives.*

We who attended the reunion were treated to an exhilarating mix of weddings, banquets, yoik concerts, film screenings, church services, reindeer races, and visits to museums and cultural institutions. We are so grateful for this experience and the family connections that have been established. Here are some of our memories. — faith fjeld

The wedding dinner of Aslak Tore Eire and Eli Anne Karina Guttorm in Karasjok.



Sam and Christina Hagerman at the church in Karasjok.

[l - r] Peter Blair, Mathis Mahtisen Gaup, Mimi de Leon and Mary Blair at the Kautokeino Culture House.

CHRISTINA MARIE NILLUKA HAGERMAN, Ft. Collins, Colorado: (*Christina is the descendant of Mathis Ivar Klementsen Nilluka and Berit Persdatter Siri.*) Here is a poem I have written about the reunion. My husband and I will be returning. We have been contacted by fourteen families in Finland who want to see us.

From the time that I was little I heard about a place
With wooded river valleys and a shining mountain lake.
A land of snow that sparkles as the flakes drift to the ground
Where words are gently spoken and there's family all around.

A place where generations have herded, fished, and played;
Passing on the wisdom to gather and to pray.
I heard about this village for years and years it seems.
So I finally came to see it; to put a face into my dreams.

My first steps, with excitement, met familiar eyes.
I wasn't meeting strangers, I was linking family ties.
The warmth of honest caring was a treasure I could see,
Fulfilling what was missing all these years inside of me.

A sense of true belonging has finally come my way.
And wondrous new emotions are in my heart to stay.
I can't explain the timing but it is clear to see,
I may have planned the visit but Karasjok called me.

PETER BLAIR, Washington, DC: (*Peter is the descendant of Nils Bals and Ellen Marie Rist.*) Our adventure was pretty remarkable, especially for those of us who knew next to nothing about our heritage. What a wonderful opportunity it was for my wife Trudi, my daughter Mary and me to meet many relatives and friends in Kautokeino. The visit succeeded in filling in the many gaps in our understanding of our heritage and especially in connecting us with our extended family. It was a most memorable visit that we will never forget. You might find Mary's Reindeer Blog of interest, which you can see via a link near the bottom of her web page at http://www.columbia.edu/~meb2127/.

(**REUNION** *continued overleaf)*

PHOTOS AND MEMORIES FROM THE *MANITOBA* REUNION 2008

Front row [l - r] Mary Blair, Mimi Bahl De Leon, faith fjeld, Lois Stover, Tiny Jack, Marita Snodgrass; center row [l-r] Cherie Biddle and Elaine Brown; barely visible in the back [l-r] Nathan Muus, Margie Brown and June McAtee.

[l - r] Margie Brown, June McAtee and Brita Inga Klemetsen at the Kautokeino Museum.

[l - r] Johan Per Buljo, Linda Samuelsen, Elaine Brown, Edward Brown and Marita Snodgrass at the traditional reindeer *bidus* banquet in Kautokeino.

MIMI BAHL DE LEON, Port Angeles, Washington: (*Mimi is a descendant of Nils Bals and Ellen Marie Rist.*) I was not raised knowing about my family and I did not grow up hearing family stories. I would ask, "What are we?" and I'd be told, "We're this and we're that, and we're a wee bit 'Lapp'." (Back then I did not know that "Lapp" was a bad word.) In my parents' house there were family photos hanging in the hall and I think that passing by them day to day had an impact on me. I do believe that God puts this in our hearts. When I was going to college one of my professors encouraged me to purchase *Sami, Reindeer and Gold in Alaska: The Emigration of Saami from Norway to Alaska* by Ørnulv Vorren. When I opened the book I saw photos of my father and my grandparents. I couldn't believe what I was seeing and I couldn't hold back my emotion. I was upset that we hadn't heard about the book, but I now thank Dr. Vorren for writing it. This book was the beginning of the discovery of our Sami ancestry. Now I choose to focus on what we have rather than what we've lost. I am very proud of my Sami roots and I know my Dad is proud of his roots too. Now I have many aunts, uncles and grandparents. I have learned that in the Sami culture everybody is related...well, nearly everybody...

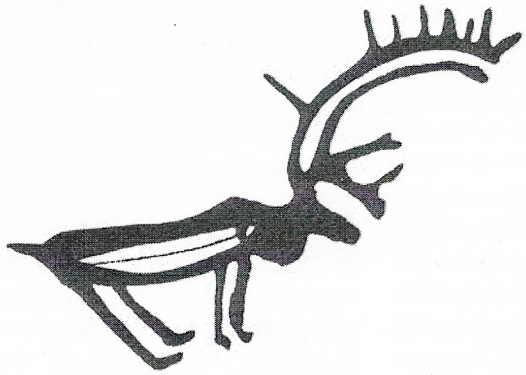
JUNE McATEE, Anchorage, Alaska: (*June and her sister Margie Brown are the descendants of Nils Persen Sara and Inger Marie Mortensdatter. They are also Yup'ik and Norwegian.*) We had a great time getting acquainted with our relatives at Kautokeino, Máze and Avzzi. The architecture of the Sami Parliament building in Karasjok was very dramatic. We found the different approaches that the Sami and the Alaska Natives took in regard to the self-determination issues interesting in that both Indigenous groups live within a dominant national society. The Sami approach to governance, with representation in both the Sami Parliament and the Norwegian National Parliament, contrasts with the approach to Indigenous self-governance in the U.S., which is predicated on the one-to-one relationship of the tribes to the national government, established by the signing of treaties. Although warfare with Indigenous people did not occur in Alaska, the precedent of government to government relationships established at the federal level was extended to Alaska Natives.

MARITA (SARA) SNODGRASS, Anchorage, Alaska: (*Marita is the descendant of Nils Persen Sara and Inger Marie Mortensdatter. She is also Yup'ik*): I feel a very strong connection to my Sami family in Norway. The highlight of the visit was reuniting with them and visiting Avzzi and Lahpoluppal where my grandparents came from. There were so many things to do! They showed us the two Johs. Kalvemo videos about the Alaska Sami, and Johan Mathis Turi, Ellen Inga Hætta, Anders Oskal and others from the International Center for Reindeer Husbandry welcomed us with a dinner. There was also a tour of the Kautokeino Museum where Alf-Isak Keskitalo told us about Sami history and did a very good job of explaining things. There were more lunches and dinners including a *bidus,* the traditional Sami reindeer banquet, at the Kautokeino Culture House. Easter Sunday we attended the Lutheran church service in Kautokeino. The minister, dressed in clerical vestments, conducted the service in Norwegian. His assistant, wearing *gakti*, translated it into *samigiella*. The minister also said the Lord's Prayer and gave the blessing in English and we appreciated that very much. The next day we attended another church service in Máze. It was good to see family members again and to meet new ones. Some relatives had come from as far away as Oslo just for the reunion.

PHOTOS AND MEMORIES FROM THE *MANITOBA* REUNION 2008

NATHAN MUUS, Oakland, California: (*Nathan is co-editor of* Báiki *and the author of the Alaska Reindeer Project Chronology at* www.baiki.org*).* For me, this journey to Finnmark was the unfolding of many dreams, and I thank our hosts and the organizers of this trip. Having worked with *Báiki* for years, I met longtime friends and personal heroes from this connection. I made new friends, met family and participated firsthand in the Sami culture that we often idealize and love — albeit from a North American viewpoint. I was amazed that everyone is somehow related. I found out that I am related to Johan Klemet Mathisen Hætta, who was part of the group of Sami reindeer herders who worked in Greenland with the Inuit. My cousin Jorin Finsaas-Muus is involved in reindeer herding in Snåsa, in the South Sami area. Jorin is married to Ole Frank Hætta, Johan Klemet's son. In Kautokeino I stayed with my relative Julie Hætta Eira and her husband Nils Mahtte Eira and their family. Julie showed me our relatives in the *Kautokeino Slektebok*. She is an Associate Director of the *Samediggi* (the Norwegian Sami Parliament). I also stayed a few days with Tore Bongo in Alta. Both Tore and Julie were involved in ČSV, the Sami cultural reawakening movement of the late 1970s and early 1980s. ČSV inspired the environmental activism that has furthered Sami self-determination.

LOIS STOVER, Kodiak, Alaska: *(Lois is the descendant of Nils Persen Sara and Inger Marie Mortensdatter on her grandmother Ellen Sara's side, and Mathis Andersen Spein and Gunhild Andersdatter Eira on her grandfather Per Spein's side. She is also Yup'ik*). I had a wonderful time seeing all our relatives and being so wonderfully accepted. We greatly appreciated all the dinners and lunches and special things they did for us. I have hopes of being there next year. My grandson looks great in his *gakti*.



Thanks to Ellen Inga Hætta, Johan Per Buljo, Olav Mathis Eira, the International Center for Reindeer Husbandry and the friends and relatives who put us up in their homes and worked so hard to make this event a beautiful and unforgettable experience. Thanks to Philip Burgess, Nathan Muus, Trudi Blair and Christina Hagerman who took these pictures and shared them with us.

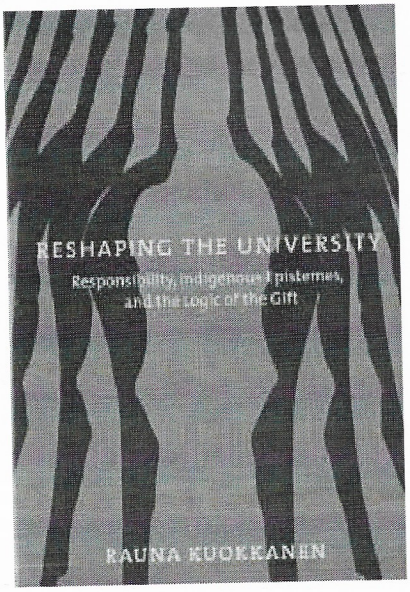
For more information about the Manitoba *Expedition and the introduction of reindeer husbandry to Alaska please visit: www.baiki.org or email:<faithfjeld@alaska.net> or <saamibaiki@netzero.net>.*

Nathan Muus and Julie Eira at Alfred's Restaurant in Kautokeino.

[l - r] Lois Stover, Anders Oskal and Ellen Inga Hætta at the International Center for Reindeer Husbandry.

[l - r] Kristina Eira, Grete Alise Nilima Monsen and Olav Mathis Eira at the Monsen home in Alta. Kristina and Olav Mathis are on their way to the Karasjok wedding of their nephew Tore Eira to Eli Anne Guttorm prior to attending the *Manitoba* Reunion in Kautokeino.

BÁIKI BOOK REVIEWS



Reshaping the University: Responsibility, Indigenous Epistemes, and the Logic of the Gift. **Rauna Kuokkanen. Vancouver, British Columbia: UBC Press, 2007. 164 pages.**

Rauna Kuokkanen is a philosopher whose thinking is meant to transform the world, at least the academic world. As a Sámi student in Canada and as a professor at Sámi University College, Kuokkanen has had the profound personal experience of being an Indigenous scholar in the academy. In her introduction she writes: "It became apparent to me that Indigenous discourses are allowed to exist in the university, but only in marginal spaces or within clearly defined parameters established by the dominant discourse, which is grounded in certain assumptions, values, conceptions of knowledge, and views of the world."

In her experience, universities may pay token honors to the Indigenous Peoples whose places they occupy on the land, but they leave it to a handful of Indigenous students in the halls of academe to negotiate the negative margins of Western ways of knowing, or epistemes. By extension, the place of traditional ways of knowing within the university mirrors the places of Indigenous ways of being within the modern nation-state.

In this painstakingly researched and thoroughly analyzed assessment of how to "reshape the university," Kuokkanen declares that universities cannot be inclusive unless they are able to embrace Indigenous worldviews. Furthermore, she argues that in order to include Native ways of knowing, a genuine understanding of a gift economy is in order.

Unlike Western economic models, whose bottom lines are profit and progress, Native ways of being rely upon the gift, whose assumptions lie in reciprocity and exchange and the urge to maintain harmony in a chaotic world. "[O]ne does not give primarily in order to receive but rather in order to ensure the balance of the world on which the well-being of the entire social order is contingent," she writes. "Thanks are given in the form of gifts to the land's guardians, who sustain human beings; but the gifts are also given for continued goodwill. According to this worldview, human beings are only one aspect of the creation; that is why their view of the world is marked by a clear sense of responsibility toward other aspects with which the socio-cosmic order is shared and inhabited."

The gift as known and practiced among Native Peoples everywhere implies a responsibility to the rest of creation, a kind of Indigenous land ethic, if you will. The gift is relational and depends on the intimate relationships among beings. However, most universities function to produce and reproduce knowledge, typically in service to the state, which emphasizes economies rather than relationships. Thus, any university whose reason for being is to support notions of progress — and to be in the black — cannot by definition readily incorporate ideas of reciprocity and exchange without fundamentally altering the ways they operate.

Kuokkanen is fierce and unflinching in her arguments, and her documentation and bibliography are flawless and her ideas are powerful. When she speaks of her own experience and uses her own homescape of the Deatnu River to articulate the paradox of an Indigenous scholar, she is even poetic and compelling: "To varying degrees, I am both an insider and an outsider to all of the discourses employed in this book — Sámi, Indigenous, and western. It is at the confluence of these various shifting streams — discourses and intellectual conventions—— that I seek to locate myself. In that place, I am both curious and vigilant."

However, the bulk of the book is written in denser, more scholarly prose, and assumes the reader's esoteric knowledge of many academic ideas, such as "epistemes" and "duality." Although Kuokkanen is painstaking in defining new terms, even those definitions are so sophisticated as to be moot. Her writing is as inscrutable to the average reader as western institutions are to Indigenous ways of knowing. It is dense and dry and not very tasty, as in this concluding paragraph to the book:

"The gift, then, does not oppose reason; it goes beyond reason and opens it up for its hopefully less arrogant future. The fight, then, does not pose a threat to the foundations of the university but rather offers a possibility. Only by assuming and recognizing its responsibilities, however, can the guest-master — the academy — ultimately become, instead of a hostage to its own logic of imperial rationalism and colonial dualism, an *hôte* that may also receive."

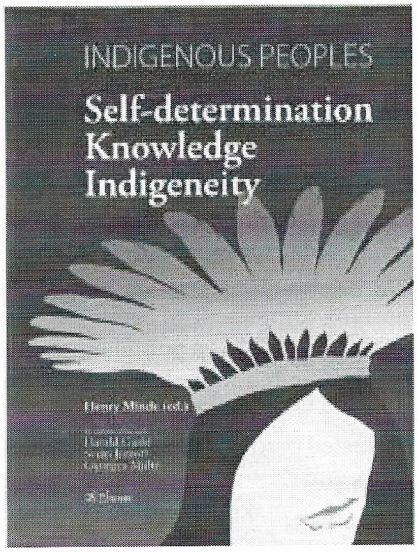
While Kuokkanen is clear about the difficulties negotiating between the critical intimacy of personal knowledge and the objectivity of scholarly distance, her ideas would benefit by the kinds of mythic poetry and hospitable oratory that characterize Indigenous discourse, rather than the unapproachable

BÁIKI BOOK REVIEWS

discourses of postmodern malaise. I wonder what this 164-page treatise intended for an academic audience might sound like as a 10-page essay or an hour-long talk intended for the world at large — or even a series of lessons on how the gift operates in a postmodern world. After all, wouldn't the whole world benefit from hearkening to the "logic of the gift" and not just the universities?

— reviewed by Kati Dana, Ph.D.

Kathleen Osgood Dana teaches and works with the University of the Arctic, a consortium of international schools with a mandate to provide education "In the North, For the North, By the North." (visit www.uarctic.org)



***Indigenous Peoples: Self-Determination, Knowledge, Indigeneity.* Henry Minde (ed.) in collaboration with Harald Gaski, Svein Jentoft, and Georges Midré. University of Chicago: Eburon Press, 2007. 383 pages.**

In September of 2007 the United Nations General Assembly, after years of negotiations, approved the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples by a large majority (143 in favor, 11 abstentions, 4 including the United States against). Certainly a cause for celebration, but as Henry Minde, editor of the book under review, points out, these principles must be "transformed into policies" in the countries where the ca. 370 million Indigenous peoples worldwide live. Moreover, the process of globalization has gathered steam in recent years and has brought many setbacks to these same peoples. The challenge is to see that the promise of globalization translates to the local level and that is one of the main focuses of *Indigenous Peoples*.

The book has an excellent introduction that not only previews the nineteen essays that follow but is also a fine summary of recent Indigenous research with a bibliography of twenty-six items produced over the past ten years or so. The book is divided into three main sections, each focusing on subject matter central to the implementation of the Declaration and on key articles from the forty-six of the Rights Declaration. Part I takes up the issue of Indigenous movements and their opponents: "The continued focus of indigenous peoples' concerns and interests globally and the role of the international indigenous movement." At the head of this section are Articles 1, 3 and 9 dealing with rights, self-determination and membership in an indigenous community. Part II begins with Article 26 dealing with the right to lands, territories and resources with the essays targeting self-determination, social justice and natural resource management. The essays of Part III deal with the politics of knowledge with Articles 31 and 33 on cultural heritage and identity at the head: "The importance of Indigenous knowledge, research and education as being inherent to the empowerment of Indigenous peoples."

Eight of the nineteen essays involve Sami issues directly or indirectly; limitations of space prevent a more thorough critique of the remaining articles. In "The Destination and the Journey: Indigenous Peoples and the United Nations from the 1960s through 1985," Henry Minde wonders how and why the development of the Declaration came to be taken up at the UN and how the demand for a declaration led to new ways of framing Indigenous-state relations. He shows too how the term "indigenous peoples" in the UN was primarily connected to self-determination and land rights.

Jukka Nyyssönen's essay "Between the Global Movement and National Politics: Sami Identity Politics in Finland from the 1970s to the early 1990s" considers the global rights discourse of the Indigenous movement and how it played out in Finland where the first Sami parliament was established in 1973. This had the effect of blunting Sami land rights claims as did the assertion of the equality of all members of Finnish society.

The essay "Is There a Special Justification for Indigenous Rights?" by by Jarle Weigård compares the rights of indigenous groups to other minority groups and asks whether there is theoretical justification to legitimate such a differentiation. The benevolent view of justice is based on Indigenous groups having been more suppressed than other minorities, whereas the entitlement conception of justice states that everyone be given what they are entitled to.Weigård suggests that a combination of the two complementary conceptions "can best capture the specificity of indigenous peoples' circumstances."

Georges Midré discusses equality of opportunity and distributive equality in his essay "Distribution, Recognition, and Poverty: Experiences from Guatemala and Norway." The former is more common outside of Scandinavia and the latter more common in Norway. In spite of this, the consequences for the indigenous minorities in the two countries share the similarity that policies are not based on recognition of the cultures of the indigenous peoples.

Lina Gaski in "Sami Identity as a Discursive Formation: Essentialism and Ambivalence" shows how an ever changing narrative of the Sami political elite helps construct Sami identity by creating Sami-Norwegian dichotomies. A problem arises outside of core Sami areas where the ethnic boundary between

(**BÁIKI REVIEWS** *continued on page 25)*

BÁIKI FILM REVIEW

BREAKING THE SILENCE

THE KAUTOKEINO REBELLION

NILS GAUP AS PATHFINDER

Editor's note: *When Norway colonized Sápmi many destructive assimilation policies were introduced. These included the enforcement of oppressive rules, the commercialization of goods and services, and the introduction and sale of alcohol. In1852, after years of subjugation and against the backdrop of a religious reform movement, thirty five young reindeer herders staged a riot against the Norwegian colonizers. The confrontation took place in Kautokeino, the trading center for the herders. The group targetted the police chief, the Lutheran minister and the owner of the liquor store. Other Sami seized and eventually beheaded two of the defiant herders and caused others in the group to be imprisoned. The rebellion is one of the few violent responses to forced assimilation by the ordinarily peaceful Sami. After the rebellion even stronger assimilation policies continued in Norway until the 1970s.*

Twenty years ago the Sámi film director Nils Gaup rose on the horizon as one of the leading storytellers of Scandinavia with his first film *Ofelaš* [*Pathfinder*]. *Pathfinder* was the world's first full-length film written and performed in an Indigenous language and setting. Since then many films have followed its lead.

Kautokeino Opprøret 1852 [*Kautokeino Rebellion 1852*] is the theme and title of Gaup's latest film, a movie that premiered at the International Film Festival in Tromsø this year. The festival director presented the film as "Norway's most important film ever — a film of reconciliation." In making this film, Gaup unveils a virtually unknown side of Sámi — Norwegian history. In fact until now, stories about the Kautokeino Rebellion have been controlled by Scandinavians who sought to define the Sámi as an inferior primitive race. The Sámi involved in the rebellion have been portrayed as crazy, confused, and vengeful — inspired by "anti-clerical attitudes."

Nils Gaup is aware that he broke the Sámi silence by coming out with this film. He grew up with lively storytellers, but stories about the Kautokeino Rebellion were taboo. As a child, this secretiveness sparked his curiosity. Now, by telling the story of the Kautokeino Rebellion in his own way, he has once again set the standard for reclaiming our stories as Indigenous People.

In the wake of the film's release, the Norwegian public has gained a new perspective on the rebellion as well as the historical context around the Sámi struggle for land and water rights today. "The film is a political torch; it gives us a chance to see that Norway is built on the suppression of the Sámi culture," a high school teacher said in an interview in *Nordlys* after watching the film.

Because it is an important component of Sámi tradition to ask permission first, Nils Gaup called a public meeting in Kautokeino in 1997. At this meeting he stated his intention to make this film and requested the permission of the descendants and other interested parties. He was immediately embraced by the community and received much support from Kautokeino during the process of making the film. Nils Gaup is himself a direct descendant of Elen Skum, the young mother who is the lead character in the film. The audience witnesses the unfolding of events through her eyes as she relates her story to her son. Her opening voice-over states: "I want to tell you why it happened so that you can understand and remember, and so you can tell it when I'm no longer here." Explaining why the rebellion happened becomes the focus of the film.

Through Elen's eyes, Gaup tells the story from a financially-compromised reindeer herding family's point of view. Elen's strong drive clearly shows her need to continue daily life according to Sámi tradition. Sorrow is aroused when communities disintegrate due to alcoholism. Women lose their partners and children lose their fathers while the merchant Ruth, owner of the liquor store, becomes increasingly wealthy on the Sámi's misfortune. The feeling of loss is overwhelming and causes frustration and aggression.

BÁIKI FILM REVIEW

When the men manage to turn away from alcohol with the help of Læstadius, a charismatic preacher, Ruth does all he can to get the religiously-awakened Sámi to return to drinking. He brings a two-faced minister named Stockfleth to town who beats the Sámi and emprisons the men for months without cause while at the same time enforcing Sámi attendance at church. All the while Stockfleth lives in Ruth's home. After years of such oppression, lawless imprisonment, abuse, and the threat of losing their herds — and thus their livelihood — a desperate group of young reindeer Sámi stage a rebellion, killing Ruth and the sheriff who tries to protect him.

In reality the young herders who staged the rebellion had 200 or less reindeer. Compare this to author Johan Turi's grandfather who owned 5000 reindeer at the same time, according to *Muittalus Samid Birra* [*Turi's Book of Lapland*]. Turi's father was one of the men who lead the Sámi who stopped the rebellion. Turi writes that his father often spoke proudly about this at home. Turi calls the rebellion "The Kautokeino Error" and believes that the reason for the conflict was "an increasing religious fog."

We find a viewpoint similar in contemporary journalist Anders Giæver's commentary in the Norwegian tabloid *VG*. Like Turi, he sees the Sámi who stopped the rebellion as the real heros of the story, who were not interested in living under something akin to the Sharia body of Islamic religious laws. "Taliban on the Tundra" is the title of Giæver's article. He finds Gaup's film "the most exciting and entertaining defense for fundamentalism and terrorism in a long time" and compares Gaup's filmmaking with that of John Ford who created the myth about "The Wild West." Giæver claims that Gaup with his two films is building up a similar collection of myths around the fight between good and evil in Sápmi but with a smart and heavy-hitting turn. It is the Indians — or better said, the Sámi — who first are the victims and then become the heros, while the sheriffs, settlers, cowboys and ministers become the new villains.

Nils Gaup has insight into the world's past and present polarizations from a different perspective than either Turi or Giæver. From Gaup's point of view the conflict in Kautokeino was first about livelihood and then about religion — a sequence occurs often, he says, when the mistreatment that the poor are subjected to by the rich makes the poor people strike back, often by the means of religion. Gaup wants to show what happens when people are driven into a situation of powerlessness, as it was with the Sámi in 1852, and as it is today with the Palestinians, with the Iraqis, and indeed with the young men involved in the Taliban. The increasing polarization in the world today is indirectly addressed in this film, mirrored by a similar polarization that was present 156 years ago. Gaup shows how the church and the state target people's faith and will. "If people are not in control over their own lives they will answer with irrational actions," he says. He does not want to designate heroes, nor is it his intent to create a myth out of a tragic story.

There was a strong Sámi presence supporting the successful opening of *Kautokeino Rebellion 1852* that right now is bringing hope for healing and reconciliation from the perspective of the strong Sámi foremother Elen. Mari Boine composed the music for the film. Her song, "Elen's Theme," finishes the film softly.

Throughout the production empathy is focused on those Sámi who have been targets of the excessive needs and greed of the oppressive Scandinavian majority. Even as the film closes with the beheading of Mons Somby and Aslak Hætta, it also ends with Elen's encouragement to her son: "They left us but the hope didn't leave and hope never dies. You, too, have hope. Strengthen it and take care of it."

— reviewed by Kari Synnøve Morset

photograph of Nils Gaup by Nathan Muus

Kari Synnøve Morset is a graduate student at the University of Wisconsin — Madison. This review was presented at the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study (SASS) conference in Fairbanks, Alaska, March 13, 2008. It is published here with her permission.

a Genealogy Column by Donna Matson

OUR GATEWAY ANCESTORS

DNA

Three little letters, holding such profound secrets. At last we have the scientific means with which to identify our ancestry – the genealogist's ultimate dream. In 1987, population geneticists discovered that all people alive on the planet today trace their maternal lineage back to one female who lived in Africa between 150,000 and 170,000 years ago. They dubbed her "Mitochondrial Eve." "Y-chromosomal Adam" is the name the researchers gave to the male who is the common patrilineal ancestor of all living humans. Because of the nature of DNA, Eve goes much further back than Adam.

Each of us carries DNA that is a combination of genes passed from both our mother and our father, giving us traits that range from eye color and height to athletic ability and disease susceptibility. The combination maps our ancestry. The one exception is the Y-chromosome, which is passed directly from father to son.

Our DNA is passed, unchanged, from generation to generation unless a mutation, a random usually harmless change, occurs. The mutation is known as a marker and it acts as a beacon and can be mapped.

Mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA), which traces one's mother's deep ancestry, is very stable and mutates at a predictable rate. This makes it possible to judge when distant populations originally diverged. For example, if a group of people splits up, some going east and some going west, the mtDNA mutations found in the east but not the west likely originated after the group split up. By counting the mutations and factoring in the rate at which they would have occurred, it's possible to figure out when the family tree branched off.

Male Y-chromosome DNA (Y-DNA) is less stable. It traces the movements of a male's ancestors in a similar way, but it does not go as far back as mtDNA.

Scientists categorize both mtDNA and Y-DNA into "haplogroups," based on their similarities and differences. In a way they're like blood types, identifiable at the molecular level. MtDNA and Y-DNA have different haplogroup designations, meaning they are coded with different letters of the alphabet.

There are many genealogical DNA testing kits and programs on the market, but the majority of the people I know who have had their DNA tested have gone through the *National Geographic's* Genographic Project. They receive periodic, confidential updates by e-mail as more peoples' origins are entered into their global database. I know several people of Finnish descent who have had their genealogical DNA done through the Genographic Project with very interesting results; they've discovered that they have Saami ancestry.

I'll call my female friend Annika and my male friend Juho. Annika has gotten her mtDNA tested, which goes into her mother's ancestry. Juho has had his paternal, or his Y-DNA, tested. Juho only has his father's results.

Annika received the following update on her mtDNA, which indeed comes out of Africa and goes up through the Middle East with some branches heading into Asia and others going northwest into the Nordic countries. Annika's gateway ancestors came from Lappajärvi, Finland, and her branch on the family tree puts her into haplogroup U5. According to the Genographic Project:

"*We finally arrive at your own clan, a group of individuals who descend from a woman in the U branch of the tree. Her descendents, and the most recent common ancestor for all U5 individuals, broke off from the rest of the group and headed north into Scandinavia. U5 is quite restricted in its variation to Scandinavia and particularly to Finland. This is likely the result of the significant geographical, linguistic, and cultural isolation of the Finnish populations, which would have restricted geographic distribution of this subgroup and kept it genetically isolated. The Saami...have the U5 lineage at a very high frequency of around 50 percent, indicating that it may have been introduced during their movements into these northern territories.*"

Juho's father's family hailed from the Tornio Valley between Finland and Sweden. This is what he learned of his ancestry from the Genographic Project:

"*One of the men in a group of Eurasian clan peoples who traveled north through the Pamir Knot region gave rise to the LLY22G marker, which defines your lineage, haplogroup N. Today his descendants effectively trace a migration of Uralic-speaking peoples during the last several thousand years. This lineage has dispersed throughout the generations and is now found in southern parts of Scandinavia as well as northeastern Eurasia.*

"*The Saami, an indigenous people of northern Sweden, Norway, Finland, and Russia, traditionally supported themselves with hunting and fishing, their movement dictated by the reindeer herds. Today, your ancestors are found in northern parts of Scandinavia, particularly in northern Finland as well as Siberia east of the Altai Mountains, and in northeastern Europe. Many Russians are members of haplogroup N, as are the reindeer-herding Saami [Samoyed] people of northern Scandinavia and Russia.*"

In future columns I will report further updates on Annika's or Juho's ancestry, and discuss the remarkable results of other people of Nordic descent, including the very latest information on Saami genealogical DNA. I would like to hear from Nordic people who have had their DNA done.

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Sami and Norwegians is blurred; she concludes that the discourse about territory represents a dilemma that occurs in the Sami endeavor to create nationhood. How should nationhood be constructed without essentializing or compromising the underlying assumptions about what constitutes the culture of an ethnic group.

In Vigdis Stordahl's "Nation Building Through Knowledge Building: The Discourse of Sami Higher Education and Research in Norway" she points out how the Sami in Norway struggled to attain positions in academia so as to be able to create knowledge about themselves. Higher education and research were not only an individual privilege but an integral element of self-determination and nation-building. The knowledge produced must be recognized for its scholarly merits as well.

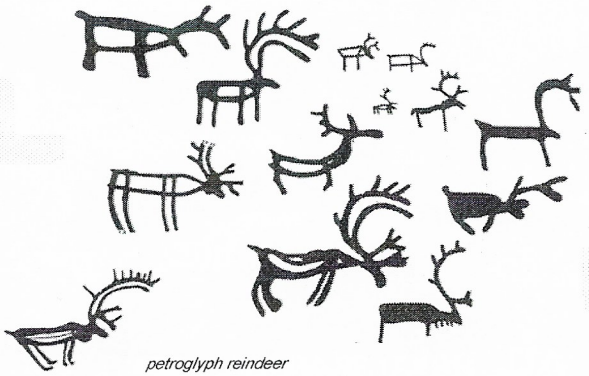
Rauna Kuokkanen analyzes critically the status of Sami higher education and research in her "Sami Higher Education and Research: Toward Building a Vision for Future." She argues for a distinct, collective vision based on transforming and decolonizing Indigenous societies, which in turn would advance Sami intellectual self-determination.

In "Yoik – Sami Music in a Global World" Harald Gaski considers the impact of globalization on Indigenous peoples' artistic forms of expression, in particular on Sami yoik. He discusses such issues as the uniqueness of a particular Indigenous tradition vs. the fusion of different music genres and how matters of copyright and preservation of traditional expressions become more complex in cases of mixture of Indigenous peoples' traditions.

All of the essays address globalization in one form or another and all have extensive bibliographies with many of the cited works in English.

— reviewed by John Weinstock, Ph.D.

John Weinstock is a professor at the University of Texas — Austin. He is a specialist in Sami Culture and Civilization, and in the promotion of Scandinavian Studies in North America.



petroglyph reindeer

IN SÁPMI

HEIDI NILIMA MONSEN, POWERLIFTER

by faith fjeld

Heidi Nilima Monsen is pulling two cars with a rope and she is wearing a tiara with her warm-up suit. She calls this "training in my tiara." She adds, "I can pull *three* cars if I have to." Heidi is a champion powerlifter and she is officially the eighth strongest woman in Europe.

Until four years ago, powerlifting was a farmer's sport for men only, she told me. When women started their own competition Heidi began to work out in a gym. "I'm a very competitive person," she says. I had to ask her: "So are men afraid of you now?" "A little," she laughed.

Powerlifting events include "The Yoke Race" (shouldering a 440-pound yoke — see photo below), "The Farmer's Walk" (running with 154-pound weights in each hand), "Atlas Stones" (lifting 260-pound rocks onto an overhead platform), and "The Truck Pull" (pulling a six-ton truck up a hill).

Heidi is a "Finnmark mix." She is half Sami and part Norwegian, Swedish and Finnish. She lives in Alta, Norway where she works as a sports writer for *Finnmark Dagblad.* Recently she has also taken up acting. You can see her as the sinister mustachioed body guard in *Kill Buljo*, an irreverant and controversial take-off on James Bond flicks. For this she wears a derby instead of a tiara. Visit www.heidimonsen.com.

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