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Adjusting the Lens

Indigenous Activism, Colonial Legacies, and Photographic Heritage

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Introduction

Coloniality, Indigeneity, and Photography

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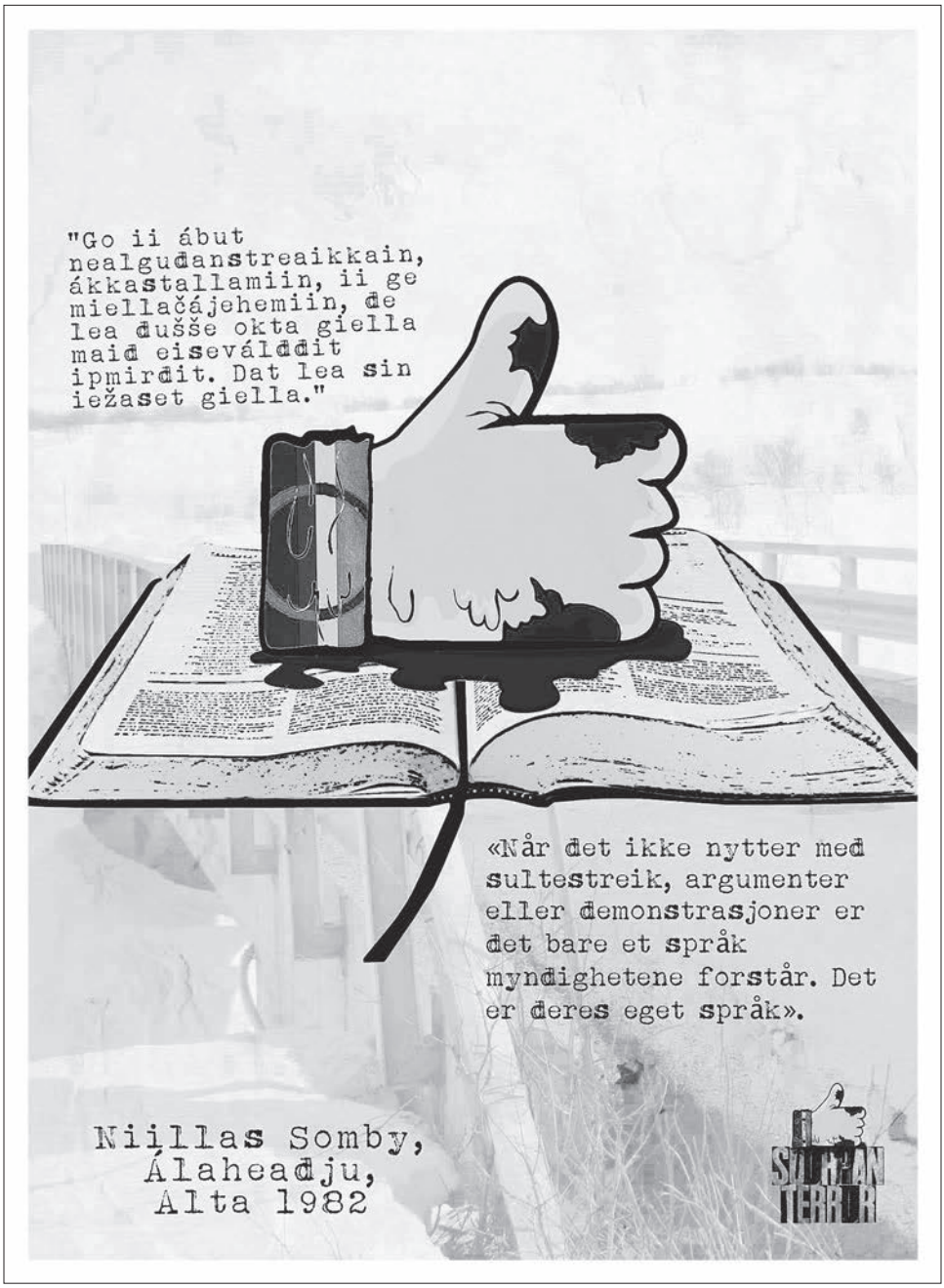
In September 2019, the Sámi art-activist group Suohpanterror published a statement in the form of a poster on their Facebook page (Figure I.1). The poster features a bleeding, bodiless hand placed on the pages of an open book. Drawn with broad, black contour lines, the graphic bears a strong likeness to Facebook's own "Like" icon. But the hand's tight fist alludes to protest, as if it's hitting the table. Cuffed by a part of the Sámi flag, the hand rests in a pool of blood. Moreover, it seems to be in the process of disintegrating or melting against the backdrop of a washed-out photograph of a snowy landscape with a bridge looming in the foreground. It's not easy to decipher this complex visual constellation, but the poster's textual framing, a quote in both Sámi and Norwegian, helps: "When hunger strikes, arguments, or demonstrations fail, there is only one language the authorities understand. It is their own language." As the poster states, these words were uttered in 1982 by the Sámi activist Niillas Somby in Alta, northern Norway.

Events in Alta in 1982 have a particular significance for the Sámi, the Indigenous peoples of Norway, Sweden, Finland, and northwest Russia. The historical context is as follows. Due to the requirements of reconstruction after the Second World War, the Norwegian state started to build large dams in Sámi areas. Campaigns against dam construction started in the 1960s, and the largest and most well-known was the more than ten-year conflict to protect the Álttá-Guovdageaidnu River system, which raged from 1968 to 1982. The threat of environmental destruction was, of course, a motivator, but for the Sámi the immediate concern was having a right to say how their own areas were used. The Supreme Court's final decision in 1982 established the legality of the project,

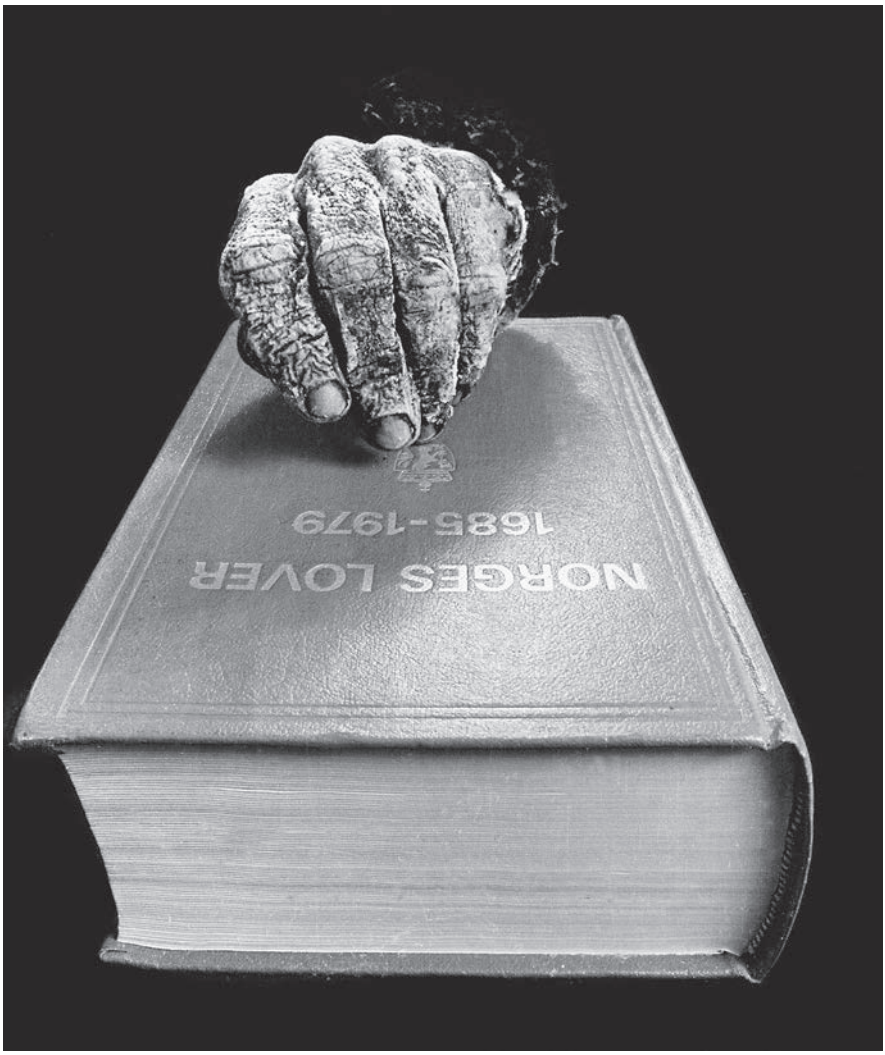


▲ **FIGURE I.1** Suohpanterror's front-page Facebook poster, #notterrorist, published September 19, 2019.

► **FIGURE I.2** Harry Johansen, *Den berømte armen* (the famous arm), black-and-white photograph, 1982. This photo features the hand that Sámi activist Niillas Somby lost during the campaign to sabotage dam construction in the Áltá-Guovdageaidnu river system.

and the protests took a dramatic turn. Sámi activists attempted to blow up a bridge leading into the construction area. The sabotage failed, and one of the activists, Niillas Somby, lost an eye and a hand (Lehtola 2004, 70–77).

These events were the political backdrop to Suohpanterror's poster. They also led to the creation of another visual reference: a black-and-white photograph by the Sámi artist Harry Johansen (Figure I.2). This image, produced in 1982, shortly after the sabotage attempts, depicts a frozen hand lying on a voluminous copy of the Norwegian Code of Laws. The hand and book were photographed against a stark, black background, which adds a sense of monumentality to the scene.



The hand represented is Somby's own, the one he lost in the blast. Johansen, who is Somby's cousin, tells the story behind the image:

> Much has happened in this case, but in August 1982, Niillas is home in Sirma. He has kept his torn off arm, it lies in the freezer, wrapped in a black plastic bag, and we get the idea of photographing it the way it is. The arm looks like a plastic arm, and I do not get any feeling of it once having been a real arm. A black carpet is stretched across the kitchen table. We find a volume of the Norwegian Code of Law, using a desk lamp as lightening and take the picture. What happens after with the arm is unknown to me. But the image is there as evidence of a sacrifice. (Johansen 2013)

The effect is that of a sacrificial monument, with the hand of death clinging to a tombstone-like law book. Suohpanterror's poster, in contrast, paying homage to both past and contemporary activism, presents a hand that has risen to new life, still bleeding. The red blood has even made its mark on, or contaminated, the pages of the book. The scene no longer has the air of a grave memorial, born out of a time of disillusionment and defeat. Featuring fresh blood, a raised thumb, and the support of the Sámi flag, the hand has a new vitality.

Harry Johansen's photograph and Suohpanterror's appropriation of it are examples of how photography is being used in Indigenous cultural and political activism in many places around the world. Although Suohpanterror in this case made use of a late twentieth-century photograph produced by a fellow Sámi artist, the group also, like many Indigenous artists and activists around the world, incorporates colonial images in its visual activism. Photographs are used to point to various forms of injustice and abuse by majority societies and to give voice to struggles for Indigenous rights – for example, in relation to natural resources and land. Moreover, photographs are employed to advocate for space for Indigenous cultural heritage, identity, and language and in calls for recognition, sovereignty, integrity, and self-determination.

This volume explores the role of Indigenous photography in the past and present. It brings to light and discusses colonial photographs in multiple and dispersed archives, museums, and institutions in relation to their context, distribution, circulation, and uses through time and space. Thus, it also explores how this photographic legacy is being handled and activated in new ways in contemporary society – as exemplified by Suohpanterror's and Harry Johansen's work. Today, there is a growing academic, political, and economic interest in geographical areas inhabited by Indigenous peoples, not least the Arctic, where Suohpanterror and Harry Johansen live and work. Much of the interest in these marginal topographies is connected to climate change, natural resources, and

tourism. But it also reflects a renewed awareness of the peoples who live in them. The significant role of photography, both in historical processes involving Indigenous peoples and in contemporary practices of negotiating the past, is now an emergent field of research.

Adjusting the Lens answers the need for a study of the intersection of photography and indigeneity in a transnational and comparative perspective. The pertinence of such an approach is underlined by how Indigenous peoples today increasingly associate with one another on a global basis (Thomas 1999, 11). While many of the contributions to the field so far have centred on First Nations peoples in the Americas, Australia, and non-Western societies, this volume aims to broaden the field by including the Indigenous peoples of northern Europe. Not only do the Sámi peoples, for example, consider themselves integral to the international Indigenous community, according to the Sámi historian Veli-Pekka Lehtola (2004, 78), they early on sought "cooperation with other peoples struggling with similar problems." The Sámi also took an active part in the global political mobilization of Indigenous peoples, initiated in the mid-1970s, which led to the establishment of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples in 1975 (Lehtola 2004). Notably, Niillas Somby, whose hand is represented in the activist photography discussed above, fled to Canada after being sentenced to prison in Norway. Not granted political asylum by the Canadian authorities, he sought refuge in an Indigenous American community for two years. This collaborative spirit is not exceptional. Over the last fifty years, there has been a continuous and increasing process of cultural exchange and political cooperation between Sámi and other First Nation peoples.

This volume presents new research on colonial and decolonial photographic practices connected to a range of Indigenous communities in northern and Arctic areas in Europe, the United States, Canada, and Australia. It was born, in many ways, out of the encounters and conversations that took place during the conference "Negotiating History: Photography in Sámi Culture" held in Tromsø, Norway, in 2017. The conference brought together Indigenous and non-Indigenous photography scholars who addressed colonial and decolonial strategies in photographic practices. Indigenous populations – Sámi peoples in the Nordic countries, Inuit in Greenland and Canada, First Nations and Native Americans in the Canadian Northwest and the American Midwest, and Indigenous Australian peoples – are geographically located in different corners of the world. Nevertheless, the conference papers brought attention to the way they are strongly interconnected, both historically and politically. They have been subjected to the multiple agendas of colonialism's photographic culture, and their photographs have travelled, transnationally, out into a globalized context.

The notion of colonialism is thus important for Indigenous self-understanding. In the Sámi context, for example, Veli-Pekka Lehtola (2015, 24) shows that the Sámi movement from the 1960s onwards "adopted the concepts of colonialism and imperialism from left-wing discourse, as well as from North American human-rights movements and fourth world politics." The anticolonial discourse that he refers to was later echoed in late 1980s and 1990s academic discussions on colonial (including Indigenous) photography. The studies that followed were inspired by postcolonial theory with a critical focus on the formation and effects of colonialism in different parts of the world. However, as several Indigenous scholars have argued, the term *postcolonial* is difficult, because it implies that colonialism is a matter of the past and that decolonization has already taken place (Trees 1993; Heiss 2003; Tuhiwai Smith 1999; Kovach 2009, 2010). "We live in a colonial world," Ramón Grosfoguel (2011, 15) states, "and we need to break from the narrow ways of thinking about colonial relations, in order to accomplish the unfinished and incomplete 20th century dream of decolonization." Indigenous peoples still experience contemporary colonialism, as Celeste Pedri-Spade (2017, 1) notes. Thus, many Indigenous scholars are part of the so-called decolonial turn, born out of, yet at the same time critical of, postcolonial criticism.

In this light, decolonization is more myth than reality. This myth obscures the continuities between colonial pasts and the colonial present; it obscures coloniality today. This invisibility – evident in the persistence of ignorance and lack of recognition of still-existing colonial structures – affects Indigenous peoples around the world. They have been subjected to settler colonialism, a particular form of colonialism that, as Nicholas Thomas (1991, 10) points out, differs from colonialism based in "trade, the exploitation of native labour and natural resources." Settler colonialism in the Americas, New Zealand, Australia, Southern Africa, and parts of northern Europe and Asia involved colonizers settling, often in large numbers, on Indigenous peoples' land. Accordingly, dispossession of land, culture, and autonomy is at the core of settler-Indigenous relations in the present as well as in the past. When settler colonies became nation-states, colonial relations persisted. Indigenous populations became marginalized minorities among dominant settlers.

The contributors to this volume recognize that colonialism is still an ongoing process within the settler societies in question. Ignorance and repression not only apply to the past but also to the contemporary situation, which is still coloured by persistent colonial relations and structures that are not universally recognized. Building on the last few decades of photography studies, we recognize and trace how photography has been integral to the maintenance of colonial power. First, postcolonial and decolonial criticism from around the globe has

challenged the dominant aesthetic focus on works by canonized European or American photographers and incessant discussions on the specificities of the photographic medium itself. The field has expanded to include other histories, topographies, images, and actors. Second, we pay closer attention to the power dynamics of photography, particularly in the colonial context. Third and finally, in recognition of photography's intimate connection to colonialism's culture, our work explores not only the production context but also how images are embedded in larger visual economies, used, and circulated. By building on and expanding these three trends, this volume points towards a fourth and emerging current within photography studies – reflections on photography and decoloniality.

Towards a Global History of Photography

The incorporation of global perspectives in the study of photography has taken two forms. On the one hand, the vast majority of studies since the early 1990s have explored the practices of Western photographers travelling or settling in colonial locations. Nicholas Thomas (1994), for example, incorporates colonial photographs from Oceania and Australia into his analysis of colonialism's culture. Since he published his work, a number of contributions with a more specific focus on photography have appeared, including James R. Ryan's 1997 book on how the British Empire was visualized by means of photography and Anne Maxwell's 1999 overview of colonial photography from North America, Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific. The process of mapping and discussing colonial photographic enterprises and archives has since expanded to include in-depth studies from particular geographical areas, for example, Deborah Poole's 1999 study of photographic practices from the Andes and Paul S. Landau and Deborah D. Kaspin's 2002 book on visuality in colonial and postcolonial Africa. Of particular interest for this volume are Carol Williams's and Jane Lydon's studies, published in 2002 and 2005, respectively, of settler photography in the Pacific Northwest and Australia.

On the other hand, scholars have drawn attention to how photographic technology was embraced by local populations in the colonized regions. Deborah Poole's 1997 exploration of photography's role in the formation of an Indigenous modernist aesthetic is an early example of this way of rethinking the history of photography. Another example is Christopher Pinney and Nicolas Petersen's edited volume, *Photography's Other Histories* (2003), which features pioneering contributions on local vernacular photographic practices beyond colonial encounters, for instance, in India and Africa. Lately, and in the same vein, Sissy Helff and Stefanie Michels (2017, 9) have sought to break the hegemonic view of photography as a Western practice dominated by the Western gaze: "Photography

never solely belonged to the West, nor was the idea of creating a likeness of a thing or a person an exclusively western or modern notion." They point to how, as early as the 1850s, professional photographers were active on all continents. These photographers were by no means exclusively Europeans. Likewise, Alfred L. Bush and Lee Clark Mitchell's book, *The Photograph and the American Indian* (1994), draws attention to how photographic representations of Indigenous Americans were not produced solely by outsiders. Indigenous Americans started making use of the camera on their own terms as early as the 1880s. Other recent works discuss the complexity of the colonial photographic encounter. For example, Ali Behdad and Luke Gartlan's 2013 edited volume on photography's Orientalism, which explores the aesthetic interplay between Occidental and Oriental practices, demonstrates that Indigenous photographers did not necessarily reject the Orientalist photographic aesthetics initially promoted by outsiders.

Photographs as Images of Power

Paying attention to photographs as colonial representations has been a major concern in the wake of postcolonial criticism. This representational critique has led to a continuous process of mapping and analyzing colonial iconography, stereotypes, and the naturalization of otherness. Anne Maxwell (1999), for example, argues that colonial photography was produced as stereotyped spectacles of colonized peoples, thereby contributing to the formation of the Anglo-European self and Western modernity. Similarly, Nicholas Thomas (1994, 132–33) demonstrates that photographs helped establish "the civilized man and the savage," contributing to the infantilization of Indigenous peoples and the fixation of racial types. However, studies of colonial photography not only emphasize the way images confirmed and reproduced racial theory and ethnical stereotypes; they also reveal their broader role in the colonial apparatus. Paul Landau and Deborah Kaspin (2002), for example, situate the production of colonial photographs in the political economy of British colonialism while pointing out how classification became an important tool for colonial administrators in the surveillance and control of colonial subjects.

These early movements in the field were followed by a growing awareness of the complexities of power dynamics. Many argued against what they saw as a tendency to overemphasize the dominant part of asymmetrical power relations, thereby neglecting the voice and agency of photographic subjects. Such insights led to more nuanced readings of photographs in cross-cultural encounters. Colonial images are more than mere instruments of power. In the Middle Eastern context, for example, Ali Behdad (2013, 13) questions the notion of photographic representations as mere reflections of European racial prejudice

that validated imperial dominance over the region. Seeking to avoid reductionism, he argues against seeing Orientalist photography as "a binary visual structure between the Europeans as active agents and 'Orientals' as passive objects of representation." Correspondingly, Elizabeth Edwards (2011, 176), in discussing the subject of agency, states: "Even the production of the most overtly oppressive of images, anthropometric photographs, revealed points of fracture and resistance, which worked to restore the humanity of the subject."

This acknowledgment of the relational aspect of taking and posing for photographs informs other studies. Writing about early Indigenous uses of photography in the Pacific Northwest, Carol Williams warns against dismissing Euro-American photographs of Indigenous peoples and Indigenous life as inherently biased or one-sided. Indigenous Americans who were paid by researchers eventually sought out and acquired photographs for their own use. They played an important role as consumers of photographs and probably exerted a degree of influence over the manner in which the photographs were taken (Williams 2003, 175–76). Likewise, Jane Lydon (2005) demonstrates how Indigenous Australians attempted to exert influence as photographic subjects in a colonial setting. In a study of colonial photographic practices in the Sámi areas in Norway, Sigrid Lien (2018) holds that Sámi people were far from naive in regard to their role in the visual economy of late nineteenth-century scientific explorations. Their resistance to being photographed might have indicated Indigenous cultural integrity, or it might have been a reflection of negative experiences rather than, as was often presumed at the time, irrational fear or superstition.

Visual Currencies, Uses, and Circulations

Growing attention to questions of power and agency has led to a more dynamic understanding of how photographs work in different colonial and decolonizing contexts. There has been a shift from exploring photographic production and representation to the way images circulate in time and space. Christopher Pinney (2003), for example, demonstrates that the spread of photographic technology decentred and destabilized Anglo-European conventions and meanings. In other words, circulation and use affect how photographs are perceived and understood.

To capture the implications of this mobility across national and cultural boundaries, Poole introduced the concept of visual economy. This concept comprises not only the organization of image production, including the individuals and technologies involved, but also the economies of the circulation itself and the cultural discourses in which the images are embedded. Elizabeth Edwards (2001) developed the conceptualization of the temporal and spatial dynamics of photographs further by borrowing from Arjun Appadurai's *The*

Social Life of Things (1986). She emphasizes the relationship between materiality and circulation by introducing the notion of the social biography of photographs. Her discussion of how the social biographies of photographs relate to the way people look for and create history is of particular relevance to this volume. History involves, as Edwards remarks, both the actuality of the evidential inscription and the particular reality of those seeking history. The histories sought and confronted through photographs can be one's own, someone else's, or the history of a discipline. Thus, through photography, people can confront a colonial past or make, remake, and even imagine histories.

A pioneering work in this sense was Lucy Lippard's *Partial Recall: Photographs of Native North Americans* (1992), in which she, as a non-Indigenous scholar, uses frontier photographs as passageways to discuss the historical relationship between colonizers and the colonized. But she also provides ample space for Indigenous authors to reflect on historical colonial photographs in contemporary narratives of resistance and self-determination. Likewise, Hulleah J. Tsinhnahjinnie (2003, 42) describes her own approach to historical images of Indigenous Americans as having shifted from the gaze of the observer to that of the observed. This shift enabled her to see the latent layers that have survived, but which may resurface at appropriate moments. Tsinhnahjinnie has since revealed the ambiguities of using colonial photographs as sources of memory by incorporating archival images into her own artwork (see, for instance, Lidchi and Tsinhnahjinnie 2009). Another prominent example is the repatriation of photographs from the Pitt Rivers Museum carried out by Laura Peers and Alison K. Brown (2009). In describing how quasi-anthropometric photographs taken by the Oxford anthropologist Beatrice Blackwood in the 1920s were returned to Kainai (Blood, Blackfoot) people in Canada, they observe how these images underwent a profound process of both recognition and transformation.

It is possible, although sometimes difficult, to approach images with a gaze that transcends the stories and power structures connected to their origin and conventional use. The Sámi museum RiddoDuottarMuseat in Karasjok, Norway, for example, makes use of colonial visual heritage in new ways. In this institutional context, publications, public talks, and exhibitions function as arenas in which to reclaim historical photographs as part of an overall effort to rewrite history on Sámi terms (Lien and Nielssen 2012a, 2012b, 2016).

Photography and Decolonization

Decolonization is still a project in the making. *Adjusting the Lens* approaches photography in the context of decolonial thinking and practice. As Walter Mignolo and Cathrine E. Walsh (2018, 1) emphasize, it is important to develop decolonizing analytics from the local instead of proposing a new abstract universal

or global answers. The contributors to this volume use, or argue in favour of, a local positionality, as a point of departure for the exploration of different decolonial strategies.

Recognizing colonialism and modernity as two sides of the same coin is at the core of the decolonial turn (Mignolo 2011; Mignolo and Walsh 2018). Part 1, "Revisiting the Modern Colonial Order," revisits the role of photography in the emergence of the modern colonial order in different localities in Canada, Greenland, and Norway. In Chapter 1, Carol Williams discusses the regional colonial photographic archive of residential schools in southern Alberta. These schools, operated by Methodists, Catholics, and Anglicans from the late nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century across Canada and the United States, produced a profoundly disturbing yet surprisingly banal genre of photographs in their depictions of Indigenous pupils. Residential school photographs, at first glance, appear to express the humanitarian intentions of the administrators. In contrast, oral testimonials of survivors, as exemplified by accounts collected by Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2015), reveal that the student's experiences at the schools were anything but nurturing. Williams argues that this discrepancy poses an interpretive challenge. Photographs of Indigenous youth incarcerated in residential schools contradict not only contemporary testimonials but also the conventions of school photographs meant to celebrate a child's intellectual progress.

In Chapter 2, our own contribution to this book, we explore the colonial dimensions of the modernization process in Norway by addressing the photographic practices of two Norwegian settler women who arrived in the northernmost Finnmark County in the 1880s and 1920s, respectively. These women, Ellisif Wessel (1866–1949) and Margarethe Wiig (1903–2002) documented the Sámi population through photography. While Wessel is celebrated as a union organizer and socialist with close ties to Revolutionary Russia, Margarethe Wiig, whose husband was a minister and later a bishop, is renowned for her social engagement with people in the North. We discuss to what extent their differences were transcended by their common grounding in colonial culture and their role as agents of modernity and civilization and state and nation building. We also examine how commonalities and differences in the photographic cultures of production were manifested in their visual encounters with the Sámi population.

In Chapter 3, Ingeborg Høvik reveals the complexities and ambiguities of the colonial encounter by considering the practice of Greenland's first professional Indigenous photographer, John Møller. Between 1889 and 1922, Møller produced more than three thousand portraits, landscapes, town views, and scenes of social life in western Greenland. While most of his work circulated within a Greenlandic context and played a crucial role in the shaping of a modern

Greenlandic identity, several of his images circulated abroad as illustrations in European literature on Greenland. Høvik shows how Indigenous photography in this case intersected with Western discourses on the Arctic. Paying attention to the relationship between text and image, and the contexts in which the photographs were originally produced and subsequently reproduced, she questions to what extent Møller's photographs offered a site of resistance or, alternatively, played up to Western ideas about the Arctic and its Indigenous inhabitants.

In Part 2, "Identifying Decolonization," we explore how the process of delinking from the colonial matrix has played out through photography. In Chapter 4, Laura Peers argues that intersections of photography and indigeneity have global dimensions as translocal histories. She maps a multitude of ways in which Indigenous peoples reuse historical photographs, revealing decolonizing strategies: renaming projects involving kinship and memory; reclaiming forms of knowledge traceable in historical photographs; using photographs in acts of resistance and political confrontation; and, finally, developing new forms of portraiture practice with the potential to subvert colonial imagery.

The two next chapters provide in-depth studies of what Peers calls "renaming projects." In Chapter 5, Carol Payne and colleagues discuss Project Naming, a North American Inuit engagement with the photographic archive of Library and Archives Canada. Payne holds that this archival intervention can be seen as an Indigenous reparative testimonial practice. Most of the photographs date from 1950–75, a period of enforced assimilation of Inuit into southern Canadian life. Known among Inuit today as the "disruption," this short period transformed the lives of most Inuit in the region from being nomadic hunters living in dispersed small family groups to being sedentary members of a small number of settlements reliant on governmental assistance. The devastating long-term effects of the policies are still tangible today. Through the seemingly straightforward act of identification, Project Naming and its many Inuit participants confront this difficult history while reasserting Inuit cultural history among Inuit and non-Inuit communities.

In Chapter 6, Veli-Pekka Lehtola looks at historical photographs of Sámi peoples from a Sámi perspective. A Sámi scholar based in Finland, he uses his own experiences of repatriating such photographs as a point of departure. But he also discusses how colonial photographs circulate in Indigenous publications, including his own. Lehtola argues that looking at these images from "the other side of the borderlands" turns them into something more than testimonies of past events or colonial encounters. Reappropriated, the photographs reveal their potential to tell multiple stories about "our histories"; they work as an emotional archive that embodies experiences and memories. Colonial experiences thus fade in favour of histories that are even more important to the local communities.

Chapter 7 explores the colonial photographic archive in Australia. Jane Lydon and Donna Oxenham show that until the 1990s this archive was forgotten or repudiated by Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, who saw it as evidence for their dispossession and oppression. A radical shift has since brought forth new ideas about the archive materials. The photographic collections are now considered an important cultural heritage resource used both to reconnect families fragmented by assimilation and as truth claims of Indigenous histories. Lydon and Oxenham, a white and an Indigenous scholar, collaborate to explore the uses of photography to assert Indigenous rights in a society still riven by debates about identity, inequality, and Indigenous well-being. Tracing the changing intellectual and cultural value of these photographic collections, they demonstrate their potential to enhance Indigenous culture and heritage. Historical photographs have become assets to Indigenous cultural heritage, and they can also be used to document violations of human rights and in support of human and Indigenous rights.

In Chapter 8, waaseyaa'sin Christine Sy moves the discussion forward by considering the methodological and epistemological dilemmas that accompany encountering a colonial photographic archive from an Indigenous perspective. She calls attention to core concerns in the debates on knowledge production and coloniality. More specifically, the chapter reveals the nuanced methodological tensions the author encountered as an Anishinaabe feminist researcher approaching a collection of photographs of Anishinaabe women that was produced by a settler photographer in the 1940s and stored in the archives of the Minnesota Historical Society. Questioning other Indigenous women scholars' resistance to using settler-produced archives, as well as their insistence on supplementing archival materials with oral histories, waaseyaa'sin shows that all historical sources are ideologically anchored, including Indigenous oral sources. She demonstrates that even colonial archives can be read in ways that produce generative, productive, and insightful interpretations and knowledge that can benefit Indigenous communities in multiple ways. All the practices discussed in this section involve efforts to delink historical photographs from coloniality while grounding them in personal experiences, local histories, and Indigenous memories and trajectories.

Part 3, "Decolonizing Art," explores other forms of decolonial activism. Chapter 9 examines the work of the anonymous Sámi artist and activist group Suohpanterror. Laura Junka-Aikio discusses the work of this group as an example of what she terms "Indigenous culture jamming." The concept refers to the innovative use of a global visual archive to renew the image and representation of the Sámi and to articulate Sámi subjectivity politically through the internet and social media. Junka-Aikio addresses decolonial processes taking place in Sámi society and the meanings and uses that Suohpanterror's body of online poster

art hold for the Sámi themselves, both in terms of the construction of collective political subjectivities and agency and on the level of political articulation. In the context of a highly politicized national public sphere that is often insensitive to Sámi perspectives, consuming and sharing Suohpanterror's work online offers an easy, effective, and unmistakably trendy way to publicly identify with a certain set of (Sámi) political views. As the author argues, the posters enable the performance of a political "us" that feeds shared knowledge and experiences of collective laughter.

Activist art is also the focus of Chapter 10, in which Mette Sandbye investigates how contemporary photo-based practices emerge as renegotiations of the colonial archive. Comparing two photo books by the Greenlander artist Pia Arke and the non-Indigenous Danish artist duo Tina Enghoff and Peter Berliner, she questions the possibility of creating counterarchives in a visual culture still haunted by colonial iconography and power structures. Both projects seek to redefine Greenland to create alternative histories and to develop history and identity from below. In this context, the photographs become performative, affective, place-making interlocutors between people, memory, lived experience, and historical knowledge. Thus, a common theme in both Junka-Aikio's and Sandbye's chapters is how decolonial strategies materialize in contemporary art. They help envisage struggles of resistance while also introducing new and often subversive forms of representation. Both Suohpanterror's and Arke's art is founded in local, lived worlds, where they have the potential to produce reactions and increased political awareness.

Chapter 11, by Hanne Hammer Stien, explores an artistic intervention in an ethnographic exhibition of Sámi cultural history at the Arctic University Museum of Norway, in Tromsø. In this context, Sámi activist art enters the museum as a site for the production and dissemination of knowledge – a move that recalls Walter Mignolo and Catherine E. Walsh's argument that taking a decolonial position requires transcending modernity's power-knowledge structures by locating and delinking from modernity, which is a "construction" (Mignolo and Walsh 2018, 111). The museum, itself a product of modernist epistemology, thus represents an important arena for the deconstruction of the colonial modern order.

The artist who intervenes in this case is Harry Johansen. Through a series of photographic portraits of Sámi individuals produced for the exhibition, Johansen disrupted the static and homogenous image of Sáminess common to ethnographic portraiture and exhibitionary practice. By showcasing individuality and the specificities of time and space, Johansen's images, Hammer Stien argues, open up a different understanding of time and historicity – thus, we would add, they also further the decolonization of museum knowledge.

In Part 4, "Negotiating Theory," Elizabeth Edwards's chapter explores the challenges that lie at the intersection of "telling the past" and the wider field of photographic studies. Despite formative analyses of the power of categories by scholars ranging from Michel Foucault to Mieke Bal, photographic studies have nonetheless fallen back on a constrained body of theory, she argues. However, the emergent critical, cultural, and geopolitical basis of scholarship on photography (as represented, for example, by engagement with Indigenous photographs) has increasingly highlighted problems in the categories of engagement with photographs. The analytical lens of photographic theory, like history itself, has relied, almost exclusively, on Western categories of analysis. What passes for history and what passes for photographic meaning are embedded in such guiding principles.

In terms of Indigenous photographic practices, Edwards holds, many theoretical assumptions seem to have little to do with the way photography is practised and desired by most people. She questions the Eurocentrism of photographic theory and its inherent assumption that theoretical concepts can be easily applied across epistemic boundaries as pre-existing categories of analysis. Thus, she calls for further explorations of how Indigenous conceptualizations may operate as legitimate and constitutive players in the analytical landscape.

Such explorations are one of the many paths that need to be pursued to decolonize photographs and photography studies. All chapters in this book are locally based contributions to discussions on how photography can move beyond the closures of coloniality. Although photography and indigeneity are strongly embedded in the colonial endeavour, deconstructions of settler colonial and Indigenous photographic encounters, not least Indigenous practices and voices, challenge assumptions about how photographs work and what they do. In this sense, *Adjusting the Lens* is a timely intervention.

The subject of colonial visual heritage and decolonizing strategies raises many questions that in this book are addressed from both Indigenous and non-Indigenous perspectives. Writing from a Sámi position, Veli-Pekka Lehtola, for example, demonstrates that archival photographs taken by outsiders can change their meaning when informed by Indigenous knowledge and experiences. As an Anishinaabe scholar, waaseyaa'sin Christine Sy questions whether Indigenous researchers should make use of settler colonial archives at all and whether researching their visual material should require the inclusion of oral Indigenous histories. Jane Lydon and Donna Oxenham's chapter takes the form of a dialogue between a non-Indigenous scholar and an Aboriginal scholar. They discuss how colonial historical photographs can be treated with significance or ambivalence

from different perspectives. While Lydon brings a colonial self-critical reflexivity into play, Oxenham speaks from the position of her own and her people's lived experiences. Ongoing discussions of the importance of Indigenous perspectives in the decolonization of academia have also increased our own awareness of the problems related to our own situatedness as non-Indigenous scholars. What are the limits to what we may study, articulate, and understand? Does our situatedness exclude us from certain topics or levels of analysis? Recalling a recent question about Indigenous methodology: Is it at all possible for us to learn from Indigenous perspectives (Tuhiwai Smith 1999)?

Despite these questions, the photographic practices that now form part of Indigenous heritage also belong to our own past, as we are representatives of the colonizing majority society. Jason Chalmers (2017, 112) suggests that Indigenous relational thinking, which emphasizes the ways that all things are interconnected, can provide a useful lens for non-Indigenous researchers engaged in decolonial research. The term relationship implies responsibility, and one's position in place and social reality defines this responsibility: "Everyone is enmeshed in the colonial fabric, but we must all do so, based on who we are and how we are twisted into its netting." As this book demonstrates, photographs as artifacts can help us recognize and grasp not only colonial entanglements but also the situatedness of seeing and knowing.

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