



BRIDGING CULTURAL CONCEPTS OF NATURE

A Transnational Symposium on Indigenous Places and Protected Spaces of Nature

Helsinki, September 19-21, 2018

Conference Venue: Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies (Fabianinkatu 24)

Keynote Speech: Beyond Dispossession: Indigenous Peoples & Nationally Protected Spaces of Nature

Joshua L. Reid

University of Washington

From the late-nineteenth century on, nation-states often dispossessed Indigenous peoples when creating national parks and other protected spaces of nature both on land and water. Administrators, wardens, and other officials typically worked hard at keeping the original inhabitants out of these newly protected places. In response, Indigenous peoples illegally entered these places, exercising treaty hunting and fishing rights and generally utilizing their former homelands and waters as they had done for generations. These actions and responses seemed to normalize a dysfunctional relationship between Indigenous peoples and nationally protected spaces of nature. Yet the narrative is often more complex than this. In recent decades—and in some cases for much longer—Indigenous peoples have found ways to continue occupying, utilizing, interpreting, and managing these parks and similarly places. This keynote will introduce these themes that have shaped the symposium and will pose some critical concepts, considerations, and questions for the participants and audience members.

SESSION 1: UNESCO World Heritage Sites, National Parks and Indigenous People

Chair: Antti Korpisaari

Parks for What and for Whom? A Brief History of National Parks in Finland

Sami Lakomäki

University of Oulu

Finland's forty national parks are products of a long, complex, and contested history during which their meaning and purpose has been constantly debated. These debates, in turn, have involved a wide variety of participants, often with dramatically unequal access to power, resources, and publicity. My talk explores these debates from the 1880s, when the founding of national parks was first proposed in Finland, through 1938, when the first four parks were established, and through the subsequent expansions of the network of national parks up to the present. While visions of the purpose and goals of national parks have obviously shifted and transformed throughout this long history, competing groups have repeatedly presented nature preservation, scientific research, national pride, and/or tourism as the ultimate purpose(s) the parks should serve. Likewise, for decades both public debates and decision-making concerning national parks were monopolized by academic and political elites who tended to deem the views of local people on the topic irrelevant, if not downright dangerous. Indeed, even today many government civil servants, scientists, and tourists see the national parks as sites of "authentic" nature where people only visit for research or recreation, not as homelands where people live and gain their livelihood. Such attitudes have added yet another layer of debate and conflict in the history of the Finnish national parks.

Sámi space for agency in protected area discourses

Elsa Reimerson

Umeå University

There is considerable geographical and ideational overlap between Indigenous peoples' lands and rights and the practice of setting aside protected areas for nature conservation. The Nordic states are no exception. Large parts of Sápmi are set aside for protection by the nation-states, and Sámi influence over the governance and management of protected areas has historically been limited. However, recent developments show promise of change. In Norway, a specific consultation agreement for protected areas has been struck between the Ministry of the Environment and the Sámi Parliament, and a reform implemented in 2010 guarantees Sámi inclusion in local protected area management. In Sweden, a novel management arrangement for the Laponia World Heritage Site ensures Sámi influence and incorporates Sámi traditional knowledge and practices. While Swedish authorities have previously been reluctant to 'export' the Laponia model to other sites, and Sámi influence in other Swedish protected areas has continued to be restricted, ongoing work at the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency indicates a potentially shifting approach.

Although progress has been made, asymmetrical relationships of power and experiences of colonialism continue to influence and shape discourse formation and policy implementation from the global to the local level. In order to achieve and maintain change, critical scrutiny of the conditions for Sámi agency is necessary. In this presentation, I will address the developments in the Swedish and Norwegian parts of Sápmi, focusing on how dominating discourses

enable and restrict spaces for Sámi agency in relation to the governance and management of protected areas on Sámi lands.

Rights to Sites: Indigeneity, Nationalism, and Struggles over Cultural Patrimony in the Bolivian Altiplano

John W. Janusek

Vanderbilt University

In this paper, I outline a tridecadal history of struggles between native peoples and various scales of government over control of archaeological sites in the Bolivian highlands. People identifying as indigenous have constituted an inordinate portion of the population of Bolivia – relative to other South American countries – since its independence in the nineteenth century. This situation, in relation to recent national and global geopolitical currents that promote the value of indigeneity, has given rise to a situation in which local, primarily indigenous-identifying communities have been afforded de facto control over key archaeological sites. I trace a historical narrative that documents the transition from governments that promoted largely neoliberal discourses and agendas, culminating in the expulsion of President Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada (Goni) in 2003, to the presumably final years of a president – Evo Morales – who identifies as indigenous and promotes ‘socialist’ discourses and policies. I seek to document how native engagements with national and global currents have played out in local arenas at several well-known archaeological sites, including Tiahuanaco, Khonkho Wankane, and Chiripa. I suggest that in the course of ongoing struggles for self-affirmation and power to make decisions over local resources, Aymara-identifying communities have gained much ground in the past thirty years. Local communities inhabited primarily by Aymara-identifying people now call the shots in regard to municipal finances, archaeological permits, and conservation strategies. Yet, a rushed and chaotic decentralization of political control over Bolivian cultural patrimony, in part promoted by President Morales and his party (Movimiento al Socialismo; MAS), simultaneously puts these sites in jeopardy in that local municipalities and communities are afforded neither the resources nor education to curate local sites or their invaluable Pre-Columbian artifacts and contexts over the long term. I end by condensing possible actions suggested by my colleagues and friends in the communities I discuss – and which I have spent over thirty years investigating – as possible ways to render MAS’s ambivalent approach to cultural patrimony effective and sustainable.

SESSION 2: Indigenous Sustainabilities and Protected Spaces of Nature

Chair: Joshua L. Reid

Indigenous Sustainabilities and Protected Spaces of Nature

Aslak Paltto

Sámi University of Applied Sciences

Traditional knowledge in Sámi reindeer herding clashes with predator preservation and State laws in Finland. Reindeer herding is one of the oldest livelihoods in in Scandinavia that is still lively, even though reindeer herding has been fighting against many other livelihoods like forestry, farming, mining, wind parks and all kind of man made land use. All of these issues effect to reindeers and its natural habitat, pure clean nature. As in modern world it is still possible for the reindeer herders to work and earn a living in their natural habitats, in nature – there are many factors that still effect even more to their livelihood. In Finland 90% of Sámi homeland area is in some ways protected by the government.

Focusing on the realized situation in the Giehtaruohtas(Käsivarsi) area in Northwest Finland, the last years have seen the biggest reindeer damage by predators. The Sámi reindeer herders’ situation in Finland differs from that in other Scandinavian countries; the effect also is seen by the European Union. The rising number of predators have been seen as an issue because of the protection, but officials have not been able to take necessary actions based on legislations and many other reasons. As Finland has not ratified ILO 169, the rights of the Saami are not as strong as in neighbour country Norway. Since 1995 Finland became part of European Union, it drastically changed the predator and animal protection, neglecting the effects to the reindeer herding with rising numbers of predators. As reindeer numbers are carefully regulated on yearly basis and economic situation is monitored because of the EU-compensations, people following traditional lifestyle and way of life then easily can end up violating national law and international regulations. Nature and its balance for the reindeer herders in Sápmi has been in their control for many generations, but now are threatened with big punishments and fines, for the sake to have same regulations for everyone. As from historical perspective, sámi have owned the land before, but during time, ownership has

changed to owning reindeer and land is owned and governed by the state. As economic development is main virtue in the world, traditional livelihoods are struggling to live from the land, competing against big companies that are making profit for their shareholders. Traditional knowledge and lifestyle in nowadays' world should be understood better for the sake of balance of the nature.

**Beyond Borders: Territoriality of the *Yine Manxinerune Hosha Hajene*
– an Amazonian Indigenous People in Voluntary Isolation**

Lucas Artur Brasil Manchineri

Manchineri community &

Pirjo Kristiina Virtanen

University of Helsinki

In this paper we discuss, firstly, Amazonian ideas of human-environment relatedness and, secondly, the role of the protected areas of nature as one of the components in the assemblages of land, forests, waters, animals, and local human dwellers. We draw from the perspectives and experiences of the Manchineri and their relations with the *Yine Manxinerune Hosha Hajene* (Mashco-Piro), closely related Indigenous group in voluntary isolation, who inhabit seasonally the Manchineri Indigenous territory, Mamoadate, Brazilian Amazonia.

The territoriality of the *Yine Manxinerune Hosha Hajene* is established in various Indigenous demarcated territories and nature conservation areas on both sides of the Brazilian-Peruvian border region, where they move and use natural resources. In this region, the Indigenist attempt has been to form a 'Territorial Passageway for Isolated Indigenous groups' (*Corredor Territorial de Povos Indígenas Isolados*). This includes, besides the Indigenous territories in Brazil and Peru, the Ecological Reserve of Acre River, Chandless State national park in the Brazilian State of Acre, and in Peruvian side, the Madre de Dios territorial reserve, as well as the Upper Purus National park. They have offered a crucial living place for the *Yine Manxinerune Hosha Hajene*, and affect directly the lives of game, fish, and other living beings, as well as sustainability of resources in the region.

The Manchineri have collectively decided to share their own demarcated territory with the *Yine Manxinerune Hosha Hajene*. For the Manchineri, their kin in voluntary isolation still hold richer environmental knowledge and linguistic diversity that they themselves have not been able to produce during their oppressed relations with the dominant society. Manchineri's political choices in relations to the presence of the *Yine Manxinerune Hosha Hajene* are fundamentally based on the agonizing memory of contact. Therefore, they have actively contributed to the discussions held with different actors, such as the Brazilian state, international, governmental, and non-governmental organizations, as well as other Indigenous communities in the region. Altogether, they provide the context for the Manchineri's mobilization and the formation of the space for the *Yine Manxinerune Hosha Hajene*. While developmentalist projects in the area threaten Indigenous peoples' initiatives, land management practices are aimed to be created on the foundation of co-governance of different conservation areas and actors – beyond the borders.

SESSION 3: Indigenous Agency and Presence in National Parks

Chair: Harri Kettunen

PERSONifying Indigenous Rights in Nature? – Treaty Settlement and Comanagement in Te Urewera National Park, Aotearoa/New Zealand

Brad Coombes

University of Auckland

Recently, Aotearoa has attracted international attention for granting conservation spaces the person/al rights of human beings. Within a few years, four national parks, including Te Urewera which is the focus for this presentation, will be given their own special legislation that personifies Maori-landscape relations in ways that are intended to afford them greater protection, respect, security and dignity. It remains unclear, however, whether this new understanding of the rights of nature and indigenous peoples as legalised kin will be enforceable or effective for the Treaty of Waitangi claimants whose original activism prompted these experiments with legal pluralism. Their claims were a response to legal and cultural suppression, comprehensive land loss, and monocultural policies that inflicted contemptible social justice impacts upon Ngai Tuhoe and neighbouring iwi (tribes). Is today's legal framing of nature as a person an appropriate resolution to such a troubled, colonial past? It is also moot whether giving person rights to the ancestral homelands and preferred landscapes of Tuhoe can realise tribal members' own rights, especially as the state's

predilection for strict protectionism means that very few Tuhoe will ever live on their homelands. Moreover, past acts of personifying nature have marginalised many indigenous peoples, framing them as intrinsically linked to the environment as naturalised denizens who eschew developmental interests. Redressing a long history of state-Tuhoe conflicts requires a rethinking of the meaning of conservation and development, but the Te Urewera Act 2014 represents a new trajectory for old preservationism.

Indigenous People, Land, Jungle and National Parks

Antonio Cuxil

Kaqchikel Maya community

Guatemala and the Maya area is a cultural region where the majority of the population is indigenous, divided into 22 groups in Guatemala and 10 in Mexico and Belize. In Guatemala we represent approximately 60% of the population.

Traditionally the Maya people live from agriculture, but the society is composed of different segments, including artists, musicians, weavers, anthropologists, engineers, doctors and many other professions. However, all or most of them share the same respect and image of our Mother Earth. That is how we identify ourselves with the Earth, and all that grows on Earth is considered a living being and we all have to respect ourselves and each other which is part of the main philosophy of our religion. Within the 20 days in our calendar, we have one day devoted to the Earth.

Based on our experience, the concession/co-administration of national and nature parks has worked well with the indigenous and non indigenous people and the government. Part of the revenue is used for community needs, and the nearby population will continue protecting the parks and participating in giving ideas in order to improve the management and preservation of the sacred spaces in national and nature parks.

A large part of the national parks is located in areas where there are, fortunately, no human settlements nearby. However, people do still present a threat to the rainforest and to the cultural heritage, even though they are aware of the importance to preserve the natural environment and the cultural heritage, including the fact that we possess the second largest source of oxygen from rain forests in our continent, after the Amazonas. Unfortunately, the governmental budget to preserve the nature is not very high. Moreover, we have a challenge because we mostly live from agriculture, although the problem is not the traditional agriculture but the large expanse of monoculture in the area (such as the African oil palm, *Elaeis guineensis*), especially in the tropical rainforest. Another challenge we have is the population growth, and the fact that the largest percentage of productive and fertile land is in the hands of few people.

Makah Traditional Territory and Resources—on Reservation and within the Olympic National Park

Janine Ledford

Makah Cultural and Research Center

The relationship between the Makah Indian Tribe and the Olympic National Park (ONP) has evolved over time into one in which Makahs exercise agency both openly and subtly. The Makah Indian reservation and the ONP share borders, visitors, and resources, such as migratory land mammals, birds, and fish. The Tribe and the ONP have a unique history based on both conflict and collaboration. Conflict areas include ownership of land and resource harvesting, while collaboration includes management of cultural resources and habitat. Even given these conflict areas, Makah agency persists.

A body of documentation covers formal communications, negotiations, conflicts, and collaborations, but this project will highlight both the official and the unofficial continued interdependence of what are now the Olympic National Park and the Makah Tribe. Makah leaders, both past and present, Ozette archaeologists, and Makah people who regularly harvest, fish, and hunt in traditional territory will contribute to this project.

This presentation will examine the roots of Makah agency and explore possibilities for the future. The proactive approach of the Makah Tribe regarding cultural resource management and utilization, combined with the protocols established by the cultural resource division of the ONP, have created a setting where Makahs exercise agency in both practical and theoretical forms, and allows for discussion of areas of improvement.

SESSION 4: A Look at the Past as a Gateway to the Future

Chair: Pirjo Kristiina Virtanen

Enclosing the Commons: Indigenous Peoples & National Parks in the Pacific Northwest, 1870 to 1970

Boyd Cothran

York University

All National Parks in the United States were established on Indigenous lands. It is a fact the National Park Service (NPS) ignored for most of its existence. NPS and the American public have preferred to think of their most cherished landscapes as pristine wildernesses. When any particular unit did acknowledge its Indigenous history, Indigenous peoples were often portrayed as “first visitors” to the parks. But in the 1990s, a new historiographical narrative emerged: far from being sublimely uninhabited wilderness areas, historians began to understand these landscapes as critical sites of contestation between Indigenous peoples and the federal government. Through coercion, chicanery, and legislative force, the federal government throughout the 19th and 20th centuries stole from Indigenous nations these once vital Indigenous homelands, often guaranteed by federal treaties, and forced Indigenous peoples from them in order to create the national park system. As Mark David Spence argued in his ground-breaking book *Dispossessing the Wilderness* (Oxford, 1999), Indian removal and the making of the national park system went hand-in-hand.

This paper, however, seeks to complicate the dispossession narrative by examining the role national parks played in the working lives of Indigenous people. Using the specific case studies of Crater Lake National Park and Mount Rainier National Park, as well as examples from other national parks in the Pacific Northwest, I contend that the creation of these national parks was not simply a process of dispossession or settler colonial elimination but rather one of primitive accumulation, privatization, and, ultimately, the proletarianization of Indigenous peoples. The paper weaves together oral histories with archival documentations from local, state, and national archives to reconstruct the relationship between national park policy and actions and the working lives and conditions of Indigenous people. Ultimately, the paper argues that historians need to look deeper into the historical influence national parks have had on the working lives of Indigenous people in order to better understand the role parks have played in shaping the lived reality of Indigenous people for the last 150 years.

Revitalizing the connection with the Earth – in/through/with Sápmi

Hanna Ellen Guttorm

University of Helsinki, HELSUS/ Sámi University of Applied Sciences

Indigenous people are known as having near and sustainable connections with the Land/Earth at the areas which they inhabit. As a Sámi myself I nevertheless need to admit having lost the connection, or not having learnt it in my childhood and youth. As an urban Sámi I have learnt the neoliberalist and modernist thinking too well. So, in this autoethnographic emerging re-search and re-writing I’m going to revitalize the connection, to reconnect to and with the Earth (*nature* as being a Cartesian concept) again. Eg. by reconnecting with the sacred places with the help of both local knowledge holders, artists and other Earth-others.

In this presentation I dwell with the methodological and epistemological questions in the beginning of this emerging research, inspired by both Indigenous thinking and continental philosophies. What does it mean to be an Earthling, a habitant of this planet, in the era of super-complexity, in the need of turning the gaze towards the more-than-human(ist)?

Tending to our Families: The Syuxtun Plant Mentorship Collective and the Return of Food and Medicine Sovereignty among the Coastal Chumash

Julianne Cordero

Coastal Band of the Chumash Nation

Nearly lost with the passing of the last generation and the rise of industrialized food and medicine in the United States, Chumash Traditional Ecological Knowledge and Practice is undergoing a revival. Julie Cordero-Lamb spent 30 years learning about the proper care of the Chumash landscape, and how to safely prepare and use the medicines and foods of our ancestors. Now twelve apprentices, half of whom are under 25 years old, have joined with her to form the

Syuxtun Plant Mentorship Collective so that we may recover again the source of our ancestors' strength and healing. As non-federally recognized tribal groups with no landholdings, we face particular challenges keeping our traditional ecological practices alive.

In this talk, three plants tell the story of our re-connected knowledge: qayas (elderberry), akhtayuxaş (blue dicks), and Island sixon (holly-leaf cherry). By thriving even under extreme drought conditions, these plants demonstrate our powerful reciprocal horticultural partnership, which, along with long-term community activism, has persuaded federal, state, and local land agencies to work with us to create land access agreements. These agreements, which allow us to re-establish our ongoing seasonal plant gathering rounds, pave the way for a much more significant voice and seat at the decision-making table regarding our sovereign territories.

SESSION 5: National Parks and Indigenous People, co-operation or not?

Chair: Rani Andersson

Blackfeet Voices in Blackfeet Country (Glacier National Park)

Donal Carbaugh

University of Massachusetts Amherst

The relationship between indigenous people and national parks is well-documented and widely studied (Stevens, 2014). Yet each site carries its own geographic and cultural history as a background for its current practices. This presentation explores one such site, Blackfeet Country (of the Amskapi Pikuni) and Glacier National Park or Blackfeet-Glacier. The focus on the presentation is the way nature, people, their activities, as well as their inter-relationships, are expressively constructed by indigenous and non-indigenous peoples. The presentation will report a work-in-progress which will include several parts. One is a brief summary of the history between Blackfeet People and the National Park Service. A second focuses on practices today which respond to the questions: what indeed is and is not *knowledge* relative to this Blackfeet-Glacier country? Focal concerns here will be ways of knowing a landscape with attention to the cultural vocabularies being used to make sense of nature. Then, two major initiatives spearheaded by Blackfeet people will be discussed. One is a tour service which travels across Blackfeet-Glacier country. This service provides a "Blackfeet interpretive tour" from an indigenous guide. A second is the park's Native America Speaks program. The latter includes Blackfeet speakers who tell stories, sing songs, and otherwise verbally interpret Blackfeet-Glacier for visitors. The tours and speaker program both provide occasions for the communication of Blackfeet culture by tribal personnel. This part of the presentation will focus on conceptions of nature, traditional versus contemporary ways of living, relations between Blackfeet and non-Blackfeet people, and, in the spirit of the conference, promising directions for future works. The latter will include not only Blackfeet voices but also discussion with Park Service personnel who are positioned to work together to build a strong network of mutual support into the future. Specific dimensions for such work to be effective, from multiple views, will be presented and discussed.

Stan Stevens (ed.). (2014). *Indigenous Peoples, National Parks, and Protected Areas: A New Paradigm Linking Conservation, Culture, and Rights*. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press.

Collaboration: Paths to Land Restoration and Recovery

Teresa Romero

Coastal Band Of the Chumash Nation

Teresa Romero will present on the vital importance of engaging local indigenous peoples in collaborations, to allow local indigenous communities have cultural easements to have access to traditional lands that are currently inaccessible, and engaging local indigenous peoples on the topics food sovereignty and traditional ecological knowledge. Indigenous peoples have been managing traditional foods and plants for tens of thousands of years. Incorporating these traditional ways and values into the greater and mainstream current food production may have great benefit to all.

Indigenous peoples from around the world have lived through climate changes, have supported their communities and environment through local foods and plants. These traditional ways work in relationship to the surrounding environment. These methods may include tradition gathering management, clearing and cultural burning on lands. Traditional foods have supported indigenous populations prior to colonization. These foods have supported

indigenous communities for generations and can assist in healing the environment and people. Rather than continue to industrialize our foods, foods can be grown and support local ecosystems.

Allowing indigenous communities' access to the areas that were traditionally managed will allow a means to provide education with the indigenous community and local community members. In turn, this will knowledge to be shared on those plants and foods that supported local ecosystems throughout time.

People, Animals, Protected Spaces, and Archaeology: A Case Study in Collaboration from Belize, Central America

Meaghan Peuramäki-Brown

Athabasca University

In 1981, the country of Belize (formerly British Honduras) became an independent nation of the British Commonwealth. In that same year, The National Park Systems Act and the Wildlife Protection Act were passed, and the Convention on International Trade and Endangered Species (CITES) became enforced. Within the Cockscomb Basin in the southeastern corner of the country, part of the Maya Mountains formation, a high number of jaguars were noted in a preliminary survey by the Belize Audubon Society and the Wildlife Conservation Society. An American zoologist was recruited to conduct a more intensive study, ultimately resulting in the establishment of the world's first jaguar preserve in 1986: The Cockscomb Basin Forest Reserve (400 km²). A general "no hunting" ordinance was established within the reserve, much to the dismay of residents of a Maya village located within the designated boundaries of the park. Fast forward to 2016 within the now expanded and renamed Cockscomb Basin Wildlife Sanctuary and connected forest reserves (1011 km²), the speaker, Dr. Peuramaki-Brown, initiated an archaeological reconnaissance within the reserve, part of her larger Stann Creek Regional Archaeology Project (SCRAP), after having been approached by members of an adjacent Maya community to request future investigations. This reconnaissance built from previous investigations by the British Museum in the 1930s and the Maya Mountains Archaeology Project in the 1990s. This presentation will discuss the history of the reserve's development, ongoing co-management organization and use relationships with adjacent Maya communities, and how community and park leaders are negotiating the increasing pressure of tourism development within the country, all contemplated within the context of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). It will also recount the speaker's recent experience with establishing an archaeological research project within the reserve, and the beginnings of her collaborations with Maya community leaders, Belize Audubon Society and federal government representatives, and the first Park Director who hosts the archaeological project members while in Belize.