

# TRENDS

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## Alternative Worldviews and Natural Resource Management

U.S. Department of the Interior • National Park Service • National Recreation and Park Association



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Volume 33, Number 4, 1996

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# Alternative Worldviews and Natural Resource Management: Introduction and Overview

by Robert E. Pfister, Ph.D., and Alan W. Ewert, Ph.D.

*In the early days of my exposure to forestry, I had occasion to discuss forestry problems with very many foresters, foresters of every conceivable specialization. Had I believed implicitly everything they told me, I would have been driven inexorably to the conclusion that forestry is about trees. But, of course, this is quite wrong. Forestry is not about trees, it is about people. And it is about trees only insofar as trees can serve the needs of people.*

*Jack Westoby,  
The Purpose of Forests, 1987.*

Westoby's worldview, which he expressed frequently to the international forestry community, symbolizes an individual belief in the position that resources are managed to serve *human needs*. His perspective was first presented in 1967 when he was working with the Forestry Department of the United Nations' Food and Agricultural Organization and he sought to explore the responsibilities and dilemmas of the forestry profession in deciding who they serve. It was delivered to give attention to "why" we manage resources:

- Stating a concern for people (particularly Third World nations) whose needs are not effectively heard in economic or political discussions.
- Questioning the alliance of foresters with specialized interests which served neither their country nor their people.

## About This Issue

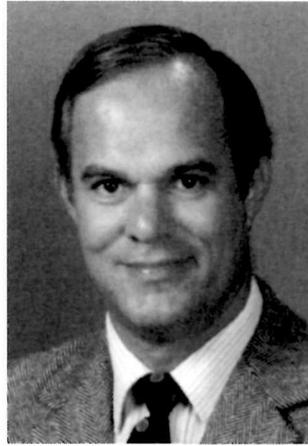
This issue of TRENDS is designed to acquaint the reader with a variety of viewpoints concerning worldviews and their potential effect on natural resource management. Worldviews on the management of protected areas can, on one hand, provoke the reader into recognizing the new possibilities for collaboration that will build goodwill and partnerships while, on the other hand, provoke a sense of loss about the likely changes in the basic philosophy underlying the management practices for such areas. Such internal dilemmas are normal and to be expected.

Changes in the way we do things can be perceived as an opportunity to explore and to embrace new ideas or as a threat to core values that support some ethnocentric views. The process of understanding alternative worldviews begins with awareness of the options and the articles in this issue achieved this purpose. Beyond the awareness phase, the reader will see how cultural norms and institutional paradigms come together as the result of legal, political and social process.

The results reflect creativity and imagination in the manner by which western/non-western worldviews contributed to agreements and accords for resource management in the protected areas of Canada (Murtha), Australia (Absher and Brake), the United States (Gallagher) and Russia (Fondahl). The interconnections of different meanings — personal, historical, cultural and spiritual — contained in worldviews of Native American and First Nations people are discussed in articles by Booth, McDonald and McAvoy, Brown and Jostad. Thus, the question of "societal needs" is illustrated by describing the "function" a protected resource (e.g., a park) performs in a societal context. Parks can perform multiple functions for a society in terms of their cultural identity, their preferred lifestyle, conservation-economic goals and perhaps in the reinforcement of a set of societal norms.

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- Invoking a social conscience for the international forestry sector by reminding his colleagues about the faults and dangers of only focussing on highly specialized issues of resource management (e.g., increasing livestock survival through predator eradication).



Robert Pfister, Ph.D.



Alan Ewert, Ph.D.

*A perspective based on a variety of antecedent conditions (e.g., cultural norms, personal experience, formal training) that act as determining factors in the formulation and expression of a view pertaining to the value or use of natural resources in a worldwide context.*

His commentary gives a voice to those resource management professionals who would remind the rest of us about the other worldviews that need to be accounted for in the decisions of managing resources (whether those resources involve food, fibre, mineral, energy, etc.). Westoby's writings were designed to confront foresters to consider the weighing of their responsibility to society and guiding them to recognize the need for change in direction. He poses his questions in a worldwide context and addresses the societal process which must accommodate the perspectives of those individuals seeking to initiate change.

His effort symbolizes the interrelationships of:

- *individual beliefs* and perceptions in influencing worldviews
- recognizing *societal needs* in resource decision-making
- the pervasive influence of *institutional paradigms* in resource management as expressed by professional institutions, and specialization of the experts in the field.

This article presents a commentary and model to identify and incorporate alternative worldviews in the management and allocation of resources. The organizing model governing this perspective is presented in Figure 1.

In the case of resource management, a worldview can be defined in the following way.

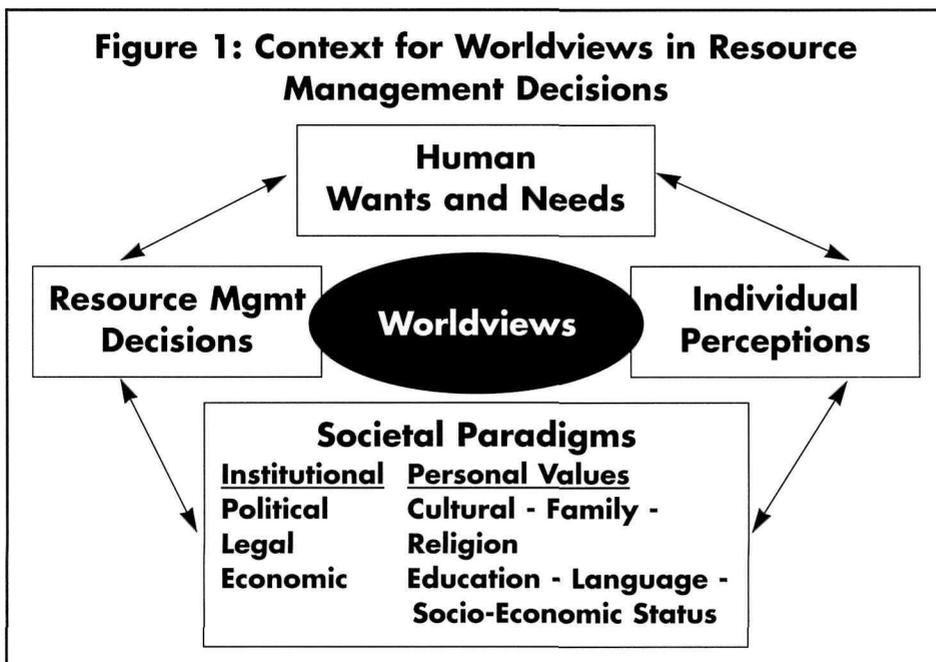
In the following paragraphs we elaborate on these factors that appear pertinent to the process and illustrate how they interrelate in a dynamic process of formulating and stating worldviews.

### Societal Wants and Needs

Why do we recognize and manage resources in the first place? This is a fundamental question pertaining to societal wants and needs. "Resources are not, they become..." Zimmerman stated (1963, p.21) in order to illustrate how resources are created by the purposeful interaction of a set of cultural values and the bio-physical environment occupied by the people who depend upon it. Perhaps the important element of his worldview was on how a society fulfills its needs by identifying the valued assets found in their environment. A "resource" is an abstraction that presupposes a person and it represents an expression of human appraisal. Thus, a resource does not exist in the environment independent of people but it is a concept revealing human assessment. Resources have meaning, utility and consequences since they serve as a means to an end. Zimmerman (p.8).

*The word resource does not refer to a thing nor a substance but to a function which a thing or substance may perform ...*

Thus, we can begin the inquiry of worldviews by acknowledging the function that a resource serves in terms of a societal need. This part of the model brings back into focus the human values we expect to guide resource management decisions.



## Individual Beliefs

How natural resources are perceived, valued and utilized is often the result of a constellation of an individual's background, training and personal belief system. Related to these personal belief systems is the issue of worldview. Within this context, worldviews become an important consideration in determining how an individual will deal with natural resources and why certain management decisions will be viewed either positively or negatively.

Worldviews play a role in the four types of conflicts: cognitive, value, interest and behavioral. Cognitive conflicts involve both different understandings of "facts" and differing perceptions. Value conflicts include different values attached to specific actions. Interest conflict, on the other hand, involves primarily a question regarding the distribution of costs and benefits. Behavioral conflicts include a compilation of

*Photo: Courtesy of Alan W. Ewert*

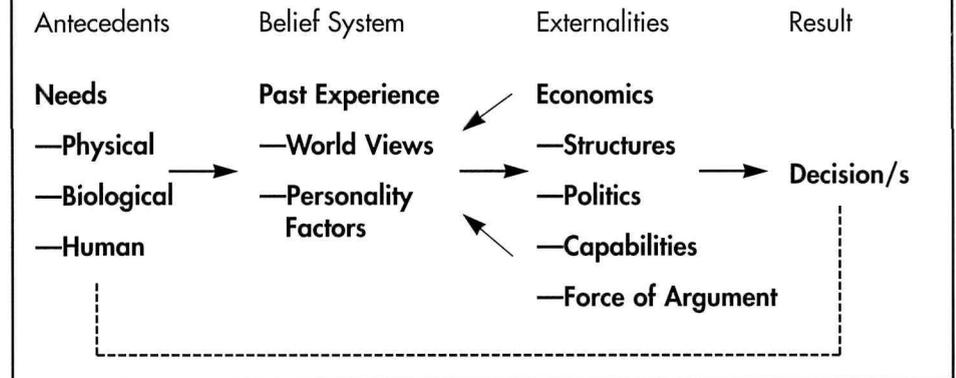


*Sharing the moment in the out-of-doors.*

personalities and experiences that differ from the disputing parties.

Given the roles that worldviews play in both the decision-making process and conflict formation, it is critical that resource managers consider the worldviews of the various parties involved. For example, much has been said about the desirability of creating a sustainable future. However, as Nagpal (1995) points out, what sustainability means often depends on where you are from: North, South, developed, undeveloped, Aboriginal or immigrant. For

**Figure 2: The Decision-Making Process in Natural Resource Management**



example, whether a particular piece of undeveloped land should be designated as "protected parkland" depends on your perceived economic needs, whether you view parks as "lands that are locked up," whether you value aesthetic scenery over commodity production and who will control the uses on this land.

From a broader perspective, individual worldviews are often dichotomized as being either "Western" or "indigenous" (Edelstein and Kleese, 1995). This dichotomy often espouses the following: individuals following a "Western" belief sys-

tem embrace economic development, industrial technology and scientific thought. Individuals following an "indigenous" worldview believe that nature is "sacred" and that people are a natural part of nature. From such a polarizing perspective, even procedures widely adhered to such as impact analysis can be thought of as reflecting a particular worldview perspective. Moreover, information and belief systems represent personal and collective learning that are particularly resilient and difficult to change (Kates and Clark, 1996). Given the magnitude of these differences, how

*Photo: Alan W. Ewert*



*Welcome in different languages.*

have natural resource agencies adjusted for the issue of worldviews?

### Societal Paradigms

The third component of the descriptive model recognizes the influence societal paradigms can have. Only decision-making paradigms establish boundaries for each of us when interpreting opportunities and identifying rules for preferred courses of action. Since many "resource paradigms" are culturally-based, the prevailing societal values systems can present a noteworthy obstacle when one wishes to create any type of change in one's thinking or behavior. (Kuhn, 1962). Simcox (1991) examined the cultural dominance paradigm of Kluckhohn who found:

*Cultural orientations to nature can be classified in three ways: 1) cultures that perceive themselves to be subjugated to nature, living under*

*its power with no ability of control; 2) cultures that perceive themselves to be dominant over nature and the environment and 3) cultures that perceive themselves to be an inherent part of nature, living at the same level as plants, animals and natural forces in harmony with the environment.*

For an individual to shift among the three perspectives will depend largely on one's self-awareness of the societal values system most influencing one's beliefs and an inclination not to judge one paradigm as superior to another. As stated previously, (Pfister, 1991):

*The all too common tendency is to judge others based upon a set of values held by oneself. Parochialism assumes that one's own way is the only way to do something and ethnocentrism assumes that one's own way is the best way (to do some-*

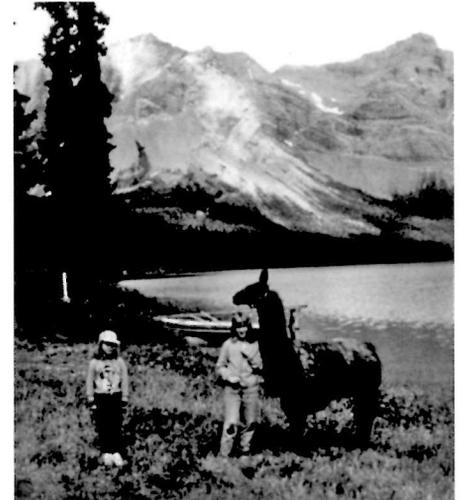


Photo: Alan W. Ewert

*thing)...Such tendencies could result in a set of cultural standards being imposed upon others who may not share those values.*

In the case of resource management, the shift of a paradigm could

Photo: Alan W. Ewert



How natural resources are perceived and utilized is often the result of a constellation of background, training and personal belief systems.



*It is critical that Resource Managers consider worldviews of various parties involved.*

be simply to provide an opportunity for other worldviews to have voice in the examination of the human needs associated with resource management. Thomas Kuhn, drawing upon examples from the natural sciences, identified how in any given period a certain set of common assumptions referred to as "paradigms" dominate and constrain the thinking of scientists as they interpret research findings. However, every so often the prevailing assumptions and associated paradigms are insufficient to explain new facts and to respond to the new information. It is then a shift, or change in paradigm is initiated and often such changes are viewed as threats.

The same analogy applies to the social sciences. Our values and cultural norms define how we manage and protect resources. The value systems constitute a set of assumptions which

may constrain the way we interpret new information both individually and collectively as society. To further complicate the situation of responding to new information, we cannot rely on either the social scientist or the practitioner to always function as "neutral and objective" professionals in the process of recognizing the shift as they may very well have an investment in competing paradigms.

One timely illustration is the concept of a "park" as a legislatively-protected area. The western and non-western values associated in establishing a park is a commentary on the paradigm for human-nature relationships. The park example, which is discussed in subsequent articles, serves to illustrate how various societal values and norms have been accommodated in the management of cultural and natural resources.

## Resource Management Decisions

Whatever the natural resource-related issue, the decision-making process generally involves four major components: Antecedents, Belief System, Externalities and Results. As depicted in Figure 2, Antecedents primarily consist of physical, biological and human needs. These needs can be either felt or actual and would include issues such as the need for adequate habitat for species survival.

Belief systems primarily involve experience. Within this framework, past experience includes factors such as personality. It is also in this category that worldviews come into play. When combined with personality, the constellation of beliefs, perceptions and values we know as a worldview, both influences and is influenced by the concept of externalities.

Photo: Alan W. Ewert



Externalities involve factors not in direct association with the central issue but that also exert an influencing force. As described in Figure 2, externalities include issues such as economics, politics and the force of differing arguments.

Taken in total, the combination of antecedents, beliefs (e.g., worldviews) and externalities often exert important influences on the decisions made by a group, organization or individual. Decision-making is not the only ramification of worldviews, however. Conflict is another variable that is influenced by worldviews.

Kaufman (1981) lists a number of environmental conflicts that have some connection to worldviews in natural resource management. These conflicts include the following:

- The psychological and economic need to grow versus the need to conserve natural resources.
- Individual freedom versus the safeguarding of natural systems.
- An overriding faith in technology.

- Environmental protection versus development for the have-nots.

Given these and other concerns, a number of processes have been established for making natural resource-related decisions and accounting for worldviews. Most of these processes involve developing methods for the allocation of scarce natural resources differing worldviews (with their attendant values) and a variety of legitimate competing interests (Wondolleck, 1991). Moreover, these recent developments reflect a growing belief in the efficacy of multi-party collaboration instead of the traditional two-party process involving the land management agency and single or dominant stakeholder/s.

Examples of these processes include:

- Resource Planning Boards
- Local Resource Management Planning Boards
- Commission on Resources and the Environment
- Indigenous Environmental Networks
- Countryside Resource Planning Commissions

Decision-making is influenced by worldviews.

Photo: Alan W. Ewert



While the difficulties posed to natural resource management by differing worldviews will not disappear, some progress has been made on how to take this variety of viewpoints into account. Given this progress, what are the implications for the future with respect to natural resource management and worldviews?

### Implications for the Future

As we look to the 21st century, only four years from now, it is important to note the lessons of the past century. The uncertainty of increasing collaboration with all stakeholders in resource management will involve new partnerships, new insights into choices and the accommodation of different cultural paradigms. Enticing as the opportunity may be for increased collaboration, it is likely to be a "Pandora's

Box" of human values: The box once opened will introduce fundamental questions underlying alternative views about the resources being managed. As has been stated previously (Altman and Chemers, 1980; Pfister, 1991; Simcox, 1991; Tuan, 1974), there is an increasing need to understand unique and common cultural norms contained within alternative human-nature relationships and the worldview emanating from them.

Given the influence that worldview exerts on both society and natural resource decision-making, what can be expected in the future? First, in some cases it can be expected that some natural resource issues will approach irresolvability. Worldviews often contribute to this lack of resolution because of the polarity they inculcate.

Second, the issue of multi-party input into the natural resource decision-making process is ultimately an unproven process. Increasingly, resource conflicts and the attendant worldviews are both transnational and multidimensional (Barker and Soye, 1994). Whether the processes previously described will be effective in generating creative solutions or lack the ability to direct the competing groups remains to be seen. ■

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*Photo: Alan W. Ewert*



*A western worldview is often seen as embracing industrial technology and economic development.*

# Aboriginal Involvement in Park Management in Australia

by James Absher and Lynn Brake

The empowerment of Aboriginal groups to affect the management and, in some cases, tenure of parks<sup>1</sup> in Australia is increasing. Aboriginal people are demanding a greater voice in matters that affect their traditional lands and culture. Understanding why is important for Australian, North American and other park professionals where indigenous people are part of the evolving decision-making mix. Some might believe that these changes are unnecessary or present a threat to the integrity of professional park management or park systems. But the involvement of traditional owners in park management is a necessity, not an option. The review below is rather cursory but attempts to show how and why such co-management schemes are emerging.

## Why is Aboriginal involvement so difficult?

One reason Aboriginal involvement is sometimes difficult is that it is inherently a cross-cultural undertaking which can easily imply a threat to cherished park management traditions. Fundamentally the idea of a national park is a Western cultural construct. Traditional park management is rooted in the forces that created parks in the first place. Land areas, particularly large tracts of "natural" bushland, were set aside because they could provide a refuge for all sorts of features, processes or artifacts against the ceaseless onslaught of "civilization."

The ideal of a recreational park visit (camp, hike, picnic, etc.) has become an integral part of the culture of park visitor and manager alike. While policies and practices for managing parks have changed markedly, the overall cultural milieu of park management has been relatively uniform.

Photo: Seattle Filmworks



Wallabies and other flora and fauna can often be managed better with Aboriginal involvement.

As Aboriginal rights, values and culture are recognized in enabling legislation the professional decision-making mix must be modified to ensure Aboriginal ways are given their proper place in all aspects of park management. Unlike the previous management eras, by its very nature Aboriginal involvement challenges many of the fundamental cultural assumptions on which park

management is based (Hall and McArthur, 1993; Birckhead, 1995).

## The basis for Aboriginal involvement

The experience in Australia is particularly enlightening. Notions of the integral relationship between identity, culture and land has always been germane to Aboriginal people but until recently this has not been widely recognized in law or by resource management institutions. Arguably there was some involvement in prior years, but essentially since the mid-1980s the status and role of Aboriginals in park management in Australia has been unquestionably upgraded. And in contrast to what had gone on before, much of current Aboriginal involvement places them in positions of real power and authority. Such power means their cultural values and traditions must have credence within the substantively Western art of park management (Nutting, 1994).

The ethnocentric roots of the park management situation in Australia and elsewhere highlights the complexity and depth of adjustment that is being made in response to this new reality of cultural pluralism and more complex decision making authority. Aboriginal people are seeking appropriate involvement in all phases of park management. Below are some core issues and solutions which guide this involvement. While circumstances may vary from park to park and certainly from place



Rock art is popular and fragile.

to place, the lessons from Australia have an international impact. There is much to be learned from our colleagues Down Under.

### **Mabo and the Federation**

There are two distinguishing characteristics of the Australian experience with Aboriginal involvement. First is the fact that the country is a federation, not a republic. Individual states retain much more autonomy than in the United States or Canada, and places termed “national parks” are in fact mostly state-run entities. The exceptions are parks like Kakadu or Uluru in the Northern Territory where the Commonwealth government is the operator. As might be expected, different state statutes gov-

ern parks and their management. Although all are familiar in style and in the mold of Western national parks, the differences in enabling legislation, gazetting and operation can make the job of accounting for the full range of Aboriginal involvement difficult.

Thus a caveat is in order. With apologies, due to space considerations many fine examples of co-management will not be presented, and only a few essential details are presented in order to focus on some key points. Uluru is featured to emphasize it as a prototype, not a final solution, to the conundrum of Aboriginal involvement. This is a complex issue, and readers are referred to the reading list in the “Who Can You

Turn To?” section at the back of this publication.

Second and more to the point of active Aboriginal involvement is the “The High Court Decision on Native Title” of June 3, 1992, commonly known as the Mabo case, after the surname of the primary litigant, Eddie Mabo.<sup>2</sup> It was this judgment that set into motion a range of repercussions about land ownership and management throughout the six states and two territories. Briefly, the High Court ruled that the initial assumption in law that the land was terra nullius, or unowned, at the time of European settlement was incorrect and asserted that Aboriginal groups had a right under common law to hold title to the lands they occupied

(Wotten, 1993a). This is in contrast to, say, the United States' Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971 which extinguished common law claims to land by the Native Alaskans (Craig, 1992).

While the Mabo decision maintains the primacy of Crown sovereignty and law, under certain conditions of use and tenure Aboriginal groups can press a claim for "native title." These conditions were not inconsequential. Native title can exist only if the land had been continuously occupied through the years of European settlement and at the

or simply remain silent on the title issue (Wotten, 1993b). So the primary test has usually been one of continuous occupation and use. Many parks in rural areas, and even some in built up areas, have Aboriginal communities extant.

The Mabo case was drawn out over nearly twenty years. Mabo himself died before the final decision was known. Agencies and state governments had years to consider the consequences for their park and conservation reserve lands, although most waited for the final ruling before responding.

*Photo: Seattle Filmworks*



*Protecting rock art.*

same time, title has not been expressly extinguished by valid governmental acts (such as some settlement leases or acts of reservation). The latter condition is especially cogent in rural lands as it asserts the role of European sovereignty, but it applies only rarely to Australian National Parks. Almost all Acts to establish Australian National Parks do not extinguish native claims, preferring instead to allow existing uses (e.g., artisanal resource use or camp sites)

The public sentiment for and against the decision has been strongly acrimonious. Quite often people are misinformed about the facts of the case. This is true on both sides of the cultural divide as evidenced by Aboriginal groups who threatened vague claims to places such as downtown Sydney, and pastoralists or mining corporations who characterized the ruling as the end of their way of life. The true impact is much more restrained, albeit largely

unwritten as yet. Claims tribunals and court cases are ongoing throughout Australia. Yet some park systems took a different approach, preferring instead to be less litigious and more proactive (Nutting, 1994).

### **Park management boards**

Land owners and park managers are not required to await further decisions from the courts to settle native rights claims under Mabo. Alternatives do exist that can be far more expeditious and holistic. One is a special act of State or Federal Parliament to assert land ownership and set up a mechanism for the park management to continue. The Native Title Tribunal has actively promoted mediation and negotiated agreements between native title claimants and land managers as an alternative to drawn-out litigation. In fact, title to some parks had already been given back by the time the High Court ruled. In 1985, Uluru National Park (formerly known as Ayers Rock) was placed under full Aboriginal title<sup>3</sup>. This was before the High Court had handed down the Mabo decision and the Federal Parliament enacted the subsequent Native Title Act.

On October 26, 1985, the Anangu people were given title by the Commonwealth to their traditional lands in and around Uluru National Park. In return the new owners agreed to: 1. Lease the parklands to the Australian Nature Conservation Agency (ANCA) to manage as a National Park, 2. Set up a Board of Management that has a majority Anangu representation, and 3. Initiate a joint planning and management effort that continues to this day (Willis, 1992).

One example of the joint management effort is the way in which Mutijulu residents have assisted ANCA staff in understanding waru, or traditional mosaic burning of the bush, and its role in the preservation of the fragile desert ecosystem.

Another is the way in which traditional Anangu wildlife knowledge has been recognized and chronicled for posterity. As a result Anangu and scientists are working cooperatively on such projects as reintroduction of the Brushtail Possum (*Wayuta* or *Tichosurus vulpecula*, reader's choice), an animal of both strong ecological and religious significance (Tjamiwa, 1991; DeLacy, 1994).

The park board of management solution is also happening elsewhere. The South Australia National Parks and Wildlife Service (SANPWS) for example is setting up similar structures for a number of parks, notably with the Irrwangere (lower Southern Arrente and Wangkangurru people) for the Witjira National Park and with the Maralinga Tjartja

(Pitjanjatjara people) for the Unnamed Conservation Park. Elsewhere negotiations have commenced over Coorong National Park, traditionally owned by the Ngarrindjeri people and Flinders Ranges National Park which has ties to the Arabana people (Richardson, 1991; DENR, 1994).

In New South Wales, Mootwingie National Park, Lake Mungo National Park and others are undergoing similar evolution in their management (Toyne & Johnston, 1991). Space restrictions preclude much discussion

of these places but suffice it to say that in state systems throughout Australia, the ethically correct and more expeditious route to resolving native claims and achieving sustainable park management lies with more of these agreements to co-manage national parks with the traditional owners.

### Regional agreements

Other solutions are needed where title itself is not at stake, or where parks are part of a more complex set of social or resource use issues. For these situations, another emerging idea is the regional agreement.

Aboriginal, state, federal and conservation

(NGO) interests come together and agree on the principles and roles for each. This solution is likely to be more complex and perhaps more difficult to obtain a workable agreement than with joint management boards. But regional agreements have the potential to extinguish some of the concerns for long drawn out litigations over land title in the post-Mabo



Photo: James Absher

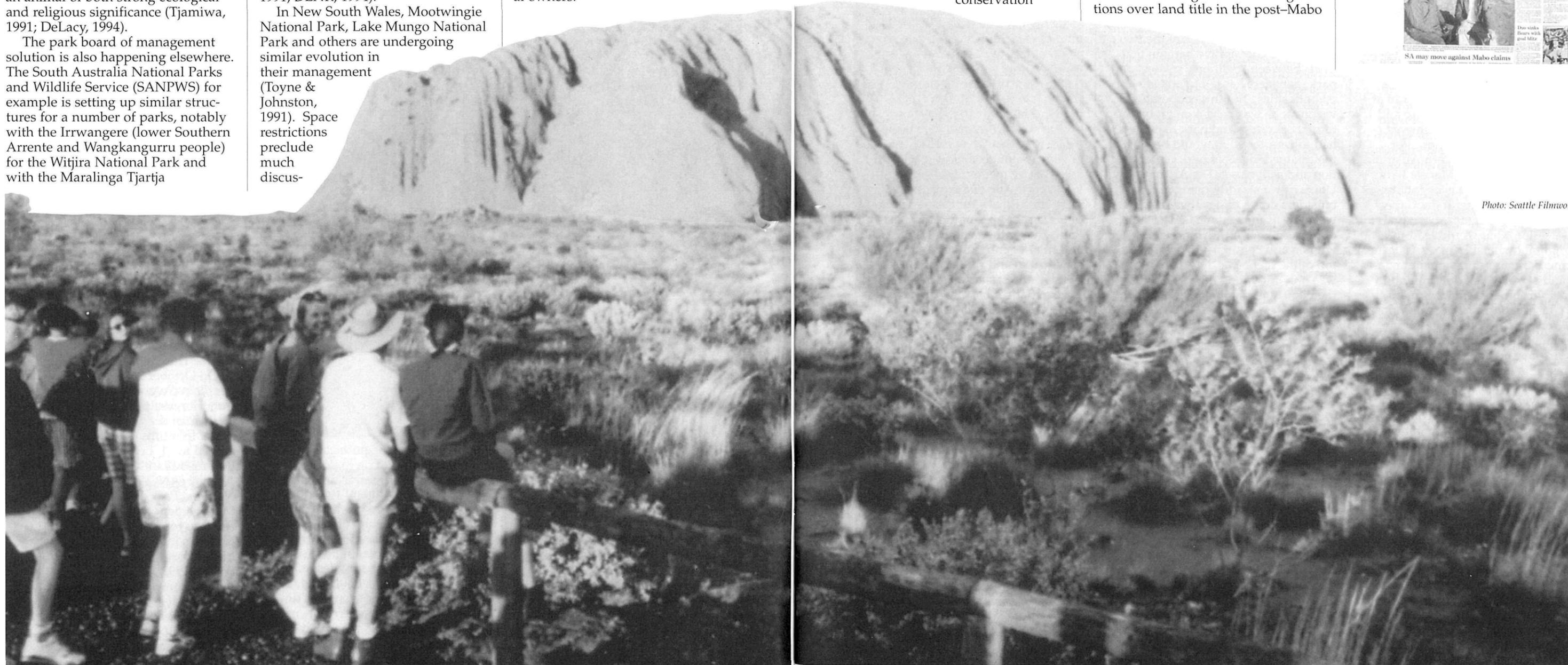


Photo: Seattle Filmworks

Viewing Uluru at sunset is a popular activity.

era, and are favored by some due to their comprehensiveness.

Regional agreements bring together indigenous people and local or state governments on issues such as health care, education, residence, resource utilization, access, control or other pertinent issues. They are patterned after the Canadian experience in the years following the Calder judgment (e.g., the Nunavut Agreement with the Inuit of the Northwest Territories), and are variable in nature (Harris, 1994; Horstman and Downey, 1995). Of interest here is the fact that many of them will include resource use and conservation issues which impact park management activities. For instance in far northeastern Australia the Great Barrier Reef Marine Park Authority (GBRMPA) is negotiating such arrangements with the Cape York Land Council (an Aboriginal organization) that would lead to Aboriginal ownership of parts of the Marine Park and much greater control and sense of self determination over environmental management and conservation issues. An important component of these emerging agreements for this part of Australia (Cape York and adjacent Gulf of Carpentaria lands) has been the incorporation of local community control over resource use, whether it is bauxite, wilderness or ecotourism resorts, and the need to operate from occupied outstations as stewards over their land (Horstman and Downey 1995).

### The Uluru precedent

As noted above, rather than wait for the outcome of the lengthy *Mabo* case, the Commonwealth government and its park agency, the Australian Nature Conservation Agency (ANCA), assumed a leadership role and accepted as fact the local Aboriginal community's (Mutjijulu) long association with Uluru and neighboring Kata Juta (formerly known as The Olgas) and

the Anangu people's reliance on them as sites of deep spiritual significance. The land was truly theirs and moreover, the Anangu people had a strong right not only to the land but to be involved in decisions about the park and its operation. Both sides bargained in good faith to arrive at a mutually satisfactory, cooperative arrangement.

As might be expected from the contrasting cultural styles of the two groups, the cooperative bargain that exists between traditional owners and park managers has led to adjustments on both sides. But this cooperative vision alone was hard won. Initially tourist operators and park managers had to wonder what would become of their valued ideals of park preservation and active use. The Anangu at Uluru saw a steadily rising influx of outsiders doing things they didn't welcome or understand, such as the opportunity for all visitors—men, women and children—to climb to the top of the rock. For the Anangu it was only for young men as part of their spiritual traditions. Indeed the

*Photo: Seattle Filmworks*



*Climbing to the top of Uluru is on a sacred route and discouraged by Aboriginal managers.*

Anangu often refer to tourists as *witja*, or ants. Under co-management they have allowed the "climb the rock" practice, but continue to seek a way to end it over time.

Another major adjustment for the Anangu at Uluru has been to adapt their lifestyle to the imperatives of being involved in the tourist industry. Much of Aboriginal culture is available only to those within their community who have the right to know it and the duty to pass it on — age and gender distinctions are fundamental. At the same time the Anangu wanted the park to represent their culture more prominently in the visitors' experiences. The Anangu expressed a desire to widen the world's perception of Uluru from geological spectacle to a sacred place for Aboriginals.

However, many of the places that might be visited in such a redefinition of the significance of the park were off limits due to their cultural significance and rules of entry under Anangu law (*Tjukurrpa*) and rules (*Manta*). And other features, such as rock art sites, were in danger of being "loved to death" by visitors, or could be violated by merely taking a photograph. Issues of access and control were major barriers to the transition to full cooperative management (IAD, 1991).

Complicating matters further, most tourism operators were non-Aboriginal and had little history of such cross-cultural involvement. They promoted their tours and services based on standard Western notions of park values, leisure and tourist demands. For their part the Anangu had misgivings about being involved in the industry as it represented a perceived threat to their way of life, and the financial benefits from such involvement were not universally valued by their elders.

The ensuing level of distrust and ambivalence led to inevitable conflict within the Anangu community. While there is still debate as to the level and type of aboriginal involvement in everything from park opera-

Photo: Seattle Filmworks



Aboriginal tools at Mala Walk.

tions to tours and profits, the initial barriers have been resolved within the Anangu community and most issues of day-to-day cooperative management have been addressed.

Fortuitously, a good deal of trust and respect for each other's position has developed. There are tours, trails and brochures with strictly Aboriginal themes on lifestyle and knowledge about local plants and animals. Some Anangu community members lead daily (and heavily attended) short walks to introduce their culture and relationship to the land (bush tucker, fire management, etc.). Other Anangu demonstrate handicrafts and sell these authentic souvenirs at the visitor center. Yet others eschew public contact altogether and assist the park staff in research on the plants, animals and ecosystems that are to be protected (Tjamiwa, 1991; DeLacy, 1994).

Tour operators and park service personnel for their part are hiring more Anangu to staff all types of positions. The "we-them" distinction

is diminishing as the diversification of staff and programs continues. Of course there are ongoing discussions about the future course and content of park management activities, but the interpenetration of the two ways of life is continuing apace. The Anangu at least have a sense of ownership and pride in Uluru, and a strong role in overall management decision making as well as day-to-day operations. This park, which originally only dispossessed indigenous people, has been transformed through a complex yet workable set of arrangements. At the core is consultation and involvement with recognized Aboriginal elders to integrate modern ecological and recreation management with traditional land uses and management. Hopefully this will enable benefits to accrue to both cultures.

## Conclusions

It is far from easy, but the imperative to incorporate Aboriginal peoples in park management is proceeding throughout Australia. The Mabo decision illustrates that it is a matter with a strong legal basis. As with most cross-cultural problems the long-term solutions rely heavily upon diplomacy and good will for the contrasting groups to find ways to work together. Both cultures value the land and its integrity, yet the Aboriginal culture stands in stark contrast to that of the founders of the park ideal. Viable solutions must do more than just obtain signatures to agreements or employ people as rangers and tour guides. The necessity for appropriate consultation and negotiation procedures prior to management decisions is paramount. Where equal involvement in park management is strongest, both cultures have had to make adjustments to cherished values and traditions. Joint park management boards, lease back arrangements and perhaps regional agreements are parts of the solution for Australian National

Parks and associated Aboriginal people. This represents a fundamental shift in how parks are defined as well as the institutions that run them. The only certainty is that there is no going back and that co-operative management must be made to work. ■

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- 1/ The term park in this paper is meant to be an inclusive, short-hand term. All manner of forests, preserves and other protected areas are intentionally implied.
- 2/ The fact that Mr. Mabo was not Aborigine, per se, but a Torres Strait Islander, makes no difference as both groups are constitutive of Aboriginal peoples under Australian law.
- 3/ An Act for Kakadu National Park predates this and does contain a compelled lease-back arrangement, but this joint management arrangement was found lacking and modified in 1991 to emphasize more complete Aboriginal involvement and equal partnership (Craig, 1992).

# Land From Any Other Perspective? Indigenous Perspectives of Land and Resource Management

by Annie L. Booth

Resource management in the 1990s is an increasingly complex task. Managers, policy makers and ordinary land owners are being asked to change their approaches to land and resources to take into account different values of the land and its human and non-human elements. One way of changing is to learn from examples outside the traditional western style of management. An older view of appropriate land-human interactions can be found in historical and contemporary Native American/First Nation communities and cultures throughout North America (and indeed South and Central America). The "values" contained in traditional social prescriptions, actions, stories, spirituality, ways of making a living and other cultural constructs challenge the ideas of "management as usual."

For indigenous cultures, the land held many more shades of meaning than as a collection of ecological interactions, although the sense of an ecological community was a part of the meaning. There was a sense of respect and even love involved, as well as responsibilities. Land was a part of history and a part of life's sacredness. A central reason why indigenous perspectives have persisted over time and through severe disruption, I believe, is that they are grounded in the land as well as in the entire culture: the language, the practices, the spirituality of a people seem to be to a substantive degree

interlinked with the geographical space they claim as home.

This implies neither that the culture was static nor that the people never moved. When migrations occurred "naturally" over time (unlike, say, forced relocations), a culture appears to have readjusted over time to spiritually relocate a people into a new geographical space. The Navajo are one example. Relocating from central Alaska to the southwestern region of Arizona and New Mexico resulted in a relocation of both an ecological knowledge basis and a spiritual knowledge base. They adopted ways of making a living suitable to the new terrain, but they also readapted cultural understandings, such as origin stories, to reflect their new land (Pinxten 1983).

My outsider understanding of indigenous cultures' land relations is this: while the land certainly had ecological attributes (who and what lived there and how, which had considerable implications for how one made a living, how one gathered, fished, hunted and built one's housing), these attributes were not the basis for understanding the land and its other residents, although it was part of a whole.

The essential framework understanding, if you will, underlying indigenous relations was a sense of the land as a spiritual-cultural locus. Through participation in spiritual, as well as ecological relations, the human community became an essential partner in maintaining the inte-

gral beauty, harmony or balance of the world. Indeed, removing an indigenous culture from the land that they inhabited would significantly alter the spiritual/moral continuum between native and the land, significantly altering what that land was. This is not to imply that the land became necessarily worse or better, but that it became substantively different without indigenous participation in the spiritual obligation to maintain the balance and harmony of the land. Anthropologist Richard Nelson described this interparticipation in his work on the Alaskan Koyukon. In his assessment,

*The terrain is permeated with different levels of meaning—personal, historical and spiritual...Yet, as real and alive as this dimension is, it cannot be known except through the people whose lives and culture derive from this landscape. I do not mean to imply that such associations are unique to the Koyukon; I mean that the Koyukon homeland itself is unique because of the particular human imprint that it has embodied over the centuries (Nelson 1983: 245).*

Land was sacred, both as a source of life and as a source of being and self-definition. The definition of certain spaces as sacred, Brown suggests, is essential to give one a sense of place within the vastness of space, a sort of spiritual geography: "[Land] also gives meaning to the life of man who cannot conceive of him-

self apart from the land (Brown 1985: 30).” Nor was nature simply a biological reality, a part of a purely ecological community. The land gave shape to the people. Cultural attributes such as spirituality, language, rituals and origin myths were grounded in a particular landscape. As Cherokee Jimmie Durham testified during the 1970s’ Congressional Hearings on the Tellico Dam construction project,

*In the language of my people...there is a word for land: Eloheh. This same word also means history, culture and religion. We cannot separate our place on earth from our lives on the earth nor from our vision nor our meaning as a people...[W]hen we speak of land, we are not speaking of property, territory or even a piece of ground upon which our houses sit and our crops are grown. We are speaking of something truly sacred (Matthiessen 1984: 119).*

Land, for indigenous peoples, appeared to reinforce who they were as humans, albeit humans interacting within the natural world. For a traditionally-minded Navajo or Lakota, for example, appropriate land-human relations are buried in the most mundane activities to help lead one to a greater sense of participation. For example, even the manner and form of house construction is done as part of an individual’s participation in that greater framework linking human, nature and supernatural. For the Navajo, the traditional hogan becomes both dwelling and ceremonial structure. As contained within the Blessingway ceremony, performed during hogan construction, the four support poles are linked with the four pillars that support the Navajo world. As Gill reports, “The commonplace Navajo home is at the same time the structure of the entire Navajo world (Gill 1989: 25).” Thus the very house becomes a minute to minute

reminder not only of ecological reality, but of spiritual reality, of the importance of a correct way of living, of a great many other dimensions than shelter from the weather.

To all such intellectual debate, the modern resource manager might respond with, “Well, yes, but what are the real life implications for the land?” The usual assumption is that historical Native Americans lacked capacity for either damage or stewardship, and that modern Natives are too compromised to serve as an example. However, to picture Native Americans as people who passed through the land leaving no trace is to deny an ecological reality. Hughes notes that while Native Americans probably had the capacity (and the numbers, given revised population estimates) to do considerable damage to their ecosystems, when the European immigrants arrived in North America, they found what they took to be a wilderness, complete with extensive tree cover, predatory animals and abundant game. It was a shocking contrast to the condition of their former home (Hughes 1977: 7).

That the lands remained productive was in part due to Native American lifestyles that were more or less mobile (even the horticulturalists moved to new areas when the soil was exhausted), as Cronan documents (Cronan 1983). It may have also been the result, in some cases, of a sense of stewardship. Many tribes deliberately took (and still take) steps to ensure that human-induced changes did not damage their source of livelihood. Among the Yukon Indians, these steps take the form of a belief in ownership of certain areas:

*This kind of ownership meant that a headman and the people who travelled with him had the first right to use the products of the local land and water, but they also had the duty of taking care of these resources. The headman and those living with him were thought of as*

*the persons responsible for the welfare of the country. It was part of their job to see that people did not overhunt, overtrap or overfish the area, as well as to see that as far as possible everybody got enough to eat...(McClellan 1987: 151-152).*

Among the Cree, efforts to conserve resources took the form of dividing the land into regions, with a hunting camp in the center. The camp was occupied until both animal populations and resources such as firewood and green bedding boughs were reduced. The camp was then abandoned to avoid offending the spirits, who would send away the animals if the land was not cared for (Tanner 1979: 74-75). Such efforts were not intended to return the land to a “pristine” condition, but were intended to appease the spirits. Obviously, such concerns did not mitigate the ecological impacts, the game population and the camp site recovered because the Indians moved elsewhere. However, the concern for the spirits’ good will, in combination with a mobile population, may have limited irreparable damage, at least where overall human population numbers were low.

Among the modern Hopi, primarily horticulturalists, there is still considerable care taken to farm in an appropriate manner. Traditional planting sticks are sometimes used rather than a tractor, and pests are picked from the corn by hand. Irrigation comes from what moisture falls from the sky. Clifford Balenquah, a traditional farmer, explains the Hopi interconnectedness with the world:

*When you plant your crops you offer some seed to Spider Woman, some to the worms, some to the birds, and then you say, “Whatever is left, let my family feed from that” (Johnson 1987: 20).*

However, Native Americans did modify their environment, sometimes significantly so. Patterson and

Sassaman (1988), for example, cite early explorers' accounts regarding extensive modifications with fire in Rhode Island. These slash and burn techniques, claimed explorers, left vast open plains, "twenty or thirty leagues in extent, entirely free of trees." Patterson and Sassaman suggest that what usually remained after burning was a mosaic of forests and fields, probably very rich in certain species, but not "virgin" territory.

Of great concern to Native Americans, for obvious reasons, was the conservation of game animals. Harrod notes the presence of several Trickster stories amongst the Plains Indians, in which the Trickster character exploits trusting animals to satisfy an insatiable appetite. In this pursuit he is foolish enough to almost eliminate all the animals, usually missing just one (Harrod 1987: 63).

There appears to have been a real concern, expressed through such stories, that the animal populations not be decimated. Recent anthropological work among the twentieth century Cree and Koyukon has uncovered what researchers feel are deliberate conservation practices. Tanner observes that the Cree are constantly assessing plant and animal population levels. Long and short-term changes in populations are understood both in spiritual terms (the activities of the Animal Masters) and in terms of environmental factors (food supplies, water, weather patterns, forest fires and hunter activities). The Cree govern their hunting activity on the basis of these observations (Tanner 1979: 44).

Among the Koyukon, conservation activities are also based on their keen observation of the ecological dynamics of their lands. The people regulate their harvests in a number of ways to ensure that plant and animal populations remain healthy. The Koyukon may consciously avoid taking more individuals than they believe can be naturally replaced, or they may take special measures that

they hope will enhance the productivity of a species. They avoid killing female waterfowl, bears and moose in the spring when they are breeding. Hunting activities are usually spread over as wide an area as possible. Young plants and animals are usually not harvested, but are allowed to mature. Trappers are very cautious about where and how many animals are harvested (Nelson 1983: 221-223). While such practices are noteworthy,

*“The essential framework understanding, if you will, underlying indigenous relations was a sense of the land as a spiritual-cultural locus.”*

Nelson is careful to point out that there is no objective data to prove that these intentional limitations actually achieve their conservation goals. He does, however, feel that the Koyukon could be considered to be practicing a "conservation ethic." Tanner is also unable to document the impacts of the Cree's conservation practices on resource populations. The lack of data on species populations under traditional

exploitation leaves open the claim that Native Americans are (or were) true conservationists.

The interconnection between Native Americans and land is not merely a thing of historical significance. Native American worldviews are inextricably tied to the here and now and to relationships with specific places and beings. They are intimately involved in making a living from a place while attempting to honor its requirements. Yet even this millennia-old acknowledgment has not made choices clear or easy, particularly in today's world. Poverty and poor economic prospects have led many tribes to make very difficult choices (often under pressure from the U.S. government) which result in significant environmental and social degradation. Uranium and oil mining on the southwestern reservations or in Alaska are particularly painful cases in point. Utes in the Southwest, for example, faced with the question of mining on their lands are deeply troubled, for the land is more than a mere resource, as several individuals have tried to explain:

*The land is a living body with spirit and power, which contains tribal genealogy. It is necessary for the people to remain in the place in which they have always been, as guardians, and as an inseparable part of that place and space.*

*Taking oil out of the ground is like taking blood from the veins in a person's body. But when people ask me, I just say I'm environmentalist-minded.*

*The tribe doesn't want to diminish the land, but not because of money issues. But because you diminish us when the land is eaten away (emphasis in original, Romeo 1985: 159-161).*

Romeo, the anthropologist, noted that the people she interviewed

made no effort to reconcile conflicting Anglo needs and Native beliefs.

Practicing, for Native Americans, means more than just taking a living from the land. It involves certain ongoing recognitions of the nature of life, as Paula Gunn Allen comments:

*Where I come from you take care of the seeds, you cook the meals, you make some pottery, you take care of the kids, you gossip with your friends. But you never forget where you are and what it is that you're doing. You're always attentive. If you live that way, then everything'll go along fine . . . It doesn't mean that you don't get old or you don't have pain, it doesn't mean that you don't die. It just means that your heart is peaceful (Allen 1992: 46).*

Such recognitions remain in place on many reserves and reservations across North America. It does not make the management choices any easier; in fact it may substantially complicate them. Resource decisions, because of the complex meanings of the resources, inevitably become community decisions and resource managers are directly answerable back to the community, including the elders, the spiritual leaders and the children (many indigenous groups have adopted the Iroquois policy of planning for seven generations).

One example of this complex resource management strategy exists among the Menominee of Wisconsin. The Menominee have successfully managed an active forestry program for almost 140 years. The forest continues to be so dense that the reservation can be recognized by its forest cover from satellites. The forest is considered vital for supplying tribal members with access to wild game, fish and plants which remain important sources of food and cultural continuance. As Huff and Pecore (1995) report:

*The success of the forest enterprise on the Menominee Reservation is rooted in the community. The tribal members maintain the enterprise—through their support of the harvest methods and their refusal to allow their forest to be degraded. To develop a market-oriented forestry enterprise that is ecologically and socially sustainable as well as economically feasible requires a society that is well balanced with respect to these areas (Huff and Pecore 1995: 18).*

Or as one elder observed, "Everything we have comes from Mother Earth—from the air we breathe to the food we eat—and we need to honor her for that. In treating the forest well, we honor Mother Earth." (Huff and Pecore 1995: 9)

Such recognitions reflect the changing needs of non-indigenous resource management as well. Increasingly, resource and land managers are accountable for meeting community needs, both human and ecological. Different values must be recognized, including cultural and even on occasion spiritual. What the example of Native Americans suggests is not only the diversity of values to be managed for, and the necessity, however difficult, of reconciling needs and values, but of re-acknowledging what many indigenous peoples continue to recognize — the inextricable linking of the human within nature. It is not a question, however, of resource and land managers trying to think like Native Americans; unless one is born to a culture (or spends his or her life studying it) such a thing does much harm. Rather it is a question of allowing different cultural perspectives to shake our comfortable assumptions and understandings of what reality (and resource management) truly is. One anthropologist described this uncomfortable, but important, shift in vision through his encounter with an Alaskan raven:

*I stood beneath the tall timber and watched a raven fly above me, vanishing and reappearing as it passed behind the treetops. And I wondered what, or who, it really was. Certainty is for those who have learned and believed only one truth. Where I came from, the raven is just a bird — an interesting and beautiful one perhaps, even an intelligent one — but it is a bird, and that is all. But where I am now, the raven is many other things first, its form and existence as a bird almost the least significant of its qualities. It is a person and a power, God in a clown's suit, incarnation of a once-omnipotent spirit. The raven sees, hears, understands, reveals...determines.*

*What is the raven? Bird-watchers and biologists know. Koyukon elders and their children who listen know. But those like me, who have heard and accepted both, are left to watch and wonder (Nelson 1986: 248). ■*

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# Resource Management on Haida Gwaii — Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow

by Kevin Brown

**Note from the Editor:** This article by Kevin Brown expresses his viewpoint of how natural resources are being used or misused from an Aboriginal perspective.

*Much of the contemporary discussion regarding worldviews is currently focused on the observations and belief systems expressed by people of Aboriginal ancestry. Indeed, Aboriginal thinking and relationships to the land can add important perspectives to many resource issue discussions. With this in mind, Kevin Brown from the Old Massett Village of the Haida band of the Haida Gwaii (Queen Charlotte Islands) was asked to provide his observations and worldviews regarding natural resource management on and around his homeplace.*

The Haida have inhabited Haida Gwaii (also known as Queen Charlotte Islands) for at least the last 9,000-15,000 years. Haida Gwaii is an island archipelago located on the Pacific Northwest coast of British Columbia, Canada, and is approximately 60 miles off the coast, just south of the Alaskan border. Haida Gwaii has one of the richest diversity of marine life on the Pacific Coast. The land base is just as diverse with a wide variety of flora, fauna and wildlife that are unique to Haida Gwaii. All of these natural resources have been and are now at risk, due to unsustainable rates of timber extraction since the first European contact.

Historically these rich natural resources have sustained and played an important role in the culture of the Haida.

*Over time they have developed an intricate social and resource management system. Wealth consisted of the right of access to both natural and supernatural resources. Rights and privileges belonged to the lineage and were exercised by the lineage chief. Prerogatives assigned to a particular lineage might include the rights of hunting land and fishing streams, rocky islets where sea mammal could be clubbed, berry picking areas, stands of fine timber, or stretches of beach where whales might be stranded. Each lineage had a founding ancestor and an accumulated history which was the basis for claiming these rights and privileges. Linking the lineage with the ancestral and supernatural sources of power were the songs, dances, crests used in carving and names belonging to lineage.*

Dr. George McDonald, Haida Monumental Art

Upon the first arrival of the Europeans, they saw and reported back to Europe that they had discovered an infinite supply of natural sea and land resources. Since then there has been a relentless and steady extraction of these resources. With the increasing advances in technology and an ever increasing need for profit, the extraction rates have continued to increase. The advancement in technology and rate of extraction has resulted in the recognition that the resource base is finite and now at risk. Present management practices,

advances in technology, maximizing corporate profit and lack of responsibility are putting a great strain on these natural resources. These impacts to the natural resources have been ongoing in Haida Gwaii for the last 150 years. Responsibility and action must be taken now to repair the damages that have been caused. This includes restoring dwindling habitats and species numbers before we reach the point of extinction. We need to think about tomorrow and the future of our children and what resources they will have and need to sustain them with a comfortable standard of living.

Presently, the population of the two remaining reserves on Haida Gwaii are experiencing an average unemployment rate of 68 percent, well above the Canadian average of 9.7 percent. Historically at pre-contact the population of Haida Gwaii was estimated at 8,500-10,000 inhabitants, after pre-contact this number was reduced by 90 percent. Today the population has rebounded to approximately 3,000, one-third of whom live in the two remaining reserves, the remaining two-thirds living in the urban centers. This situation is due to the lack of resources for proper housing and economic sustainability.

The present extraction rate of wood fiber is at approximately 200 percent above the estimated rate of sustainability. The perceived future rates of extraction of resources do not reflect the dire need to manage this

resource in perpetuity. All resource extraction carried out now are revenue driven and are designed for short-term profit, which means that everyone will pay in the very near future. We must take serious steps now to avoid what is obvious. There does not need to be fact-finding commissions formed or studies done to assess the problems. There does need to be direct action taken to address the concerns that have been voiced by the public for the last two decades. We must address the flaws in the control of the resources now and ensure that they are being effectively managed. The present decision makers are so far removed both physically and emotionally that, although they have made a decision, they do not feel responsible. The decisions made were based on public pressure. In part, business interests are creating the problem in taking no responsibility for their actions and implying they are duty-bound to their shareholders.

The bottom line is that we are all responsible, if not for the past mistakes, then for future solutions. We have to come up with alternative methods in how resources are managed on Haida Gwaii. We must do more with less and develop value added products instead of selling by raw volume. We must change the way things are managed now, to ensure that a perpetual resource is there for future generations and get away from the "today" mentality. Who, if any, are dealing with these problems and how are they being dealt with?

The Haidas are the longest user group and managers of the natural resources on Haida Gwaii. There have been some practices used in the past that may be used today. Finally, we must look at and decide what has worked and apply it to today's world to ensure that these precious resources will be there tomorrow.

For example, the natural resource dilemma we now face on Haida

Gwaii is indicative of a global trend. With an ever-increasing population we are going to have to come to terms with some very harsh realities and come up with some realistic long-term solutions. These solutions must become the collective majority; historical differences have to become secondary to address a very real threat to the survival of all user groups.

Haida Gwaii is also a haven for a large variety of migratory birds such as the peregrine falcon, the bald eagle as well as 70 percent of the world's population of the ancient murrelets. It is also home to the largest black bear in the world. Some of the last remaining stands of old growth forests in the Pacific Northwest can be found on Haida Gwaii. The last Ice Age did not cover the entire islands, resulting in a variety of flora and fauna unique to Haida Gwaii.

There is also a wide variety of shellfish as well as all species of salmon and trout. The resources of the ocean, rivers and streams on and around Haida Gwaii are also feeling the effects of today's lack of management. This management style has devastated the Canadian East Coast fishery and the West Coast is sure to follow. It is surprising that the government, with so many resources and levels of management, cannot manage a sustainable fishery that has a turn-around cycle from 2-5 years. The money spent on discussions about the obvious problems over the years could have been spent directly on resource replacement and habitat restoration and research of the very resources that are their bread and butter. Industry and government are interested in profits from volume harvesting and sales, leaving the value-added profits to other industrialized nations such as Japan and the United States.

The root of this downward spiral of these natural resources can be traced back to mismanagement, over-efficient technologies in harvesting

techniques, greed of the profit motive and finally the denial of responsibility.

Historically, the Haida Nation has been and is the longest user and manager of these natural resources on Haida Gwaii. They have had an intimate relationship with the resources around them. These resources that sustain them are also woven into their culture and history through legends and songs. The care and responsibility of these resources have also been passed down through the generations. Individual families were responsible for entire watersheds and all they contain. Permission would have to be obtained by neighbors and outsiders to utilize resources contained within these watersheds. We must bring the decision makers and caretakers back to the resources that they are responsible for. Only when they have experienced it or been in its presence can they provide justice and respect in their decisions of allocation, preservation, etc. When decisions are made on volumes and numbers on a sheet of paper from great distances, there may not be proper care or consideration in the decisions and thus become arbitrary in nature.

In conclusion I would posit the following: If present trends go unchanged, humanity will have a very short future and even shorter history, especially when compared to other species that have come and gone such as the dinosaur. Mother Earth will survive and adapt, as she is a living, every-changing body and she will do it with or without humanity. We have nothing to fear but ourselves and our actions. We have the power and control over our ultimate fate — we just need to exercise it wisely and quickly. ■

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# New Views on Resource Development in Southeastern Siberia

by Gail A. Fondahl, Ph.D.

Rapid transformations in the Russian Federation, political, economic and social, can be seen in shifting views about resource development even in the most remote corners of Siberia. A look at one such corner — the northern extremes of the Chita Province — exemplifies such changes. The area is not typical of Siberia; rather, here planners are cautiously trying out a new arrangement in land and resource tenure, changes that reshape society's access to resources. Locals, indigenous and non-indigenous, are greeting these experiments with a varied reception. Progressive planning in Northern Chita, and the challenges confronting its implementation, may inform not only other areas of Russia but areas with similar conflation of renewable and non-renewable resources, and immigrant and indigenous populations.

Chita Province stretches north from the Chinese-Mongolian border to 58° N. Its northern three districts fall within the "Far North and areas equated with it," a zone in Russia which long received special state attentions in terms of wage increments, social services and planning initiatives. The indigenous people of the Northern Chita Province, the Evenks, have for centuries lived a nomadic life in this area, herding reindeer and hunting game. Fur trapping, especially of sable, became a major focus after Russian penetration into the area in the mid 17th century. Boreal forest — taiga — comprised

mainly of larch, covers most of the areas while high alpine tundra provides useful summer escape for both reindeer and humans from biting insects. In the northernmost region majestic mountains climb to 2999 meters; some harbor glaciers.

While the influx of non-indigenous population dates to several centuries ago, large-scale immigration of Russians only began during the mid-20th century. Early development focused on fur trapping, but by the 1930s several gold mines had opened. During the 1930s geologist and transport parties combed the boreal forest for new resources and a route for a new transSiberian railroad. Discovery of a world-class copper lode in 1949 suggested a new future for this area — by a few years later, hundreds of trucks lumbered north along the winter ice-roads with equipment to build a remote mine and mining settlement.

The copper lode, located in a valley prone to air inversions and far from any industrial center, presented major challenges for development: with falling copper prices, the tempo of development slowed and the mine has not yet been brought into production. Recently small-scale gold mining efforts, including the reprocessing of tailings from earlier efforts, have burgeoned. The largest mine in the area, which closed down decades ago, is attracting the interest of an Australian firm.

However, a group of planners working for the Chita Provincial

Committee on Land Reform and Land Planning, emphasize a different view (Territorii, 1995). Noting the boom-bust cyclical nature of mineral development, the remoteness of the area and myriad geographical problems which elevate the cost of mineral extraction and primary beneficiation (steepsided horst and graben valleys, discontinuous permafrost, slow decomposition of organic wastes due to climate, etc.), these planners forward a new view of the development of Northern Chita Province based on renewable resource development. They especially envision the reinvigoration of the "traditional" indigenous activities of reindeer herding, hunting and gathering. Tourism — including both eco/ethno-tourism and sports hunting and fishing tourism, also are suggested as rounding out the options for a strategy to re-orient Northern Chita's economy. The view espoused by the planning group marks a radical break with former planning scenarios based on a minor role for traditional activities as supporters of large-scale industrialization based on the mineral wealth of the area.

The origin of this group of planners may help to explain its visions. The group came into existence as a force when in 1992, Russian President Boris Yeltsin signed a presidential edict demanding the creation of "territories of traditional nature use" throughout the Russian North in areas inhabited by indigenous peoples. "Territories of traditional

nature use" (TTP's, for the Russian *territorii traditsionnogo prirodopolzovaniya*) are to be areas of significant size, set up for the support of "traditional" activities of the indigenous peoples in which industrial activities cannot be pursued (Fondahl, forthcoming). To implement the presidential edict, the chairperson of Chita Province's Committee on Land Reform, Vladimir Ilich Shkarovskiy, established a Working Group composed of geographers and ethnographers with a long history of research in the area. In consultation with district land reform committees, indigenous groups and other local players, the group set out to delineate TTP's for Chita Province's North.

Chita Province's rapid response to the presidential edict itself stands out in the Russian North. Many provincial governments with the Russian Federation have chosen not to move on the edict until it becomes law — postponing difficult decisions on delineating lands from which to exclude future industrial development. Some individuals who condemn this approach accuse such governments of purposely delaying delineation so as to not stifle industrial development, and even encouraging the acceleration of development in potential TTP areas while awaiting legislation. In the Chita Province, on the other hand, officials have argued that part of the great natural wealth that their province enjoys is "untouched, pristine nature," and that to wait is to jeopardize the future of these lands.

Upon recommendation of the working group, following approximately 18 months of research, the provincial government designated 27 percent of the three northern districts as TTP's, effectively removing them from industrial development. While alienation from protected status is possible, via a referendum, the designation is a significant movement toward protection of these lands for

the development of "traditional activities."

How has the population of Northern Chita reacted to governmental moves to establish protected zones, and to re-direct the direction of development from non-renewable to renewable, "sustainable" paths? Discussions with various segments of the population evince a wide spectrum of responses.

of the villages in which the indigenous population is concentrated. Sharply rising air tariffs and gasoline costs, and a poorly developed transportation infrastructure, which relegates some villages to complete lack of transport ties other than by air during freeze-up and break-up, made travel from such villages to where the Working Group was meeting impossible. Some 60 percent of

*Photo: Gail A. Fondahl*

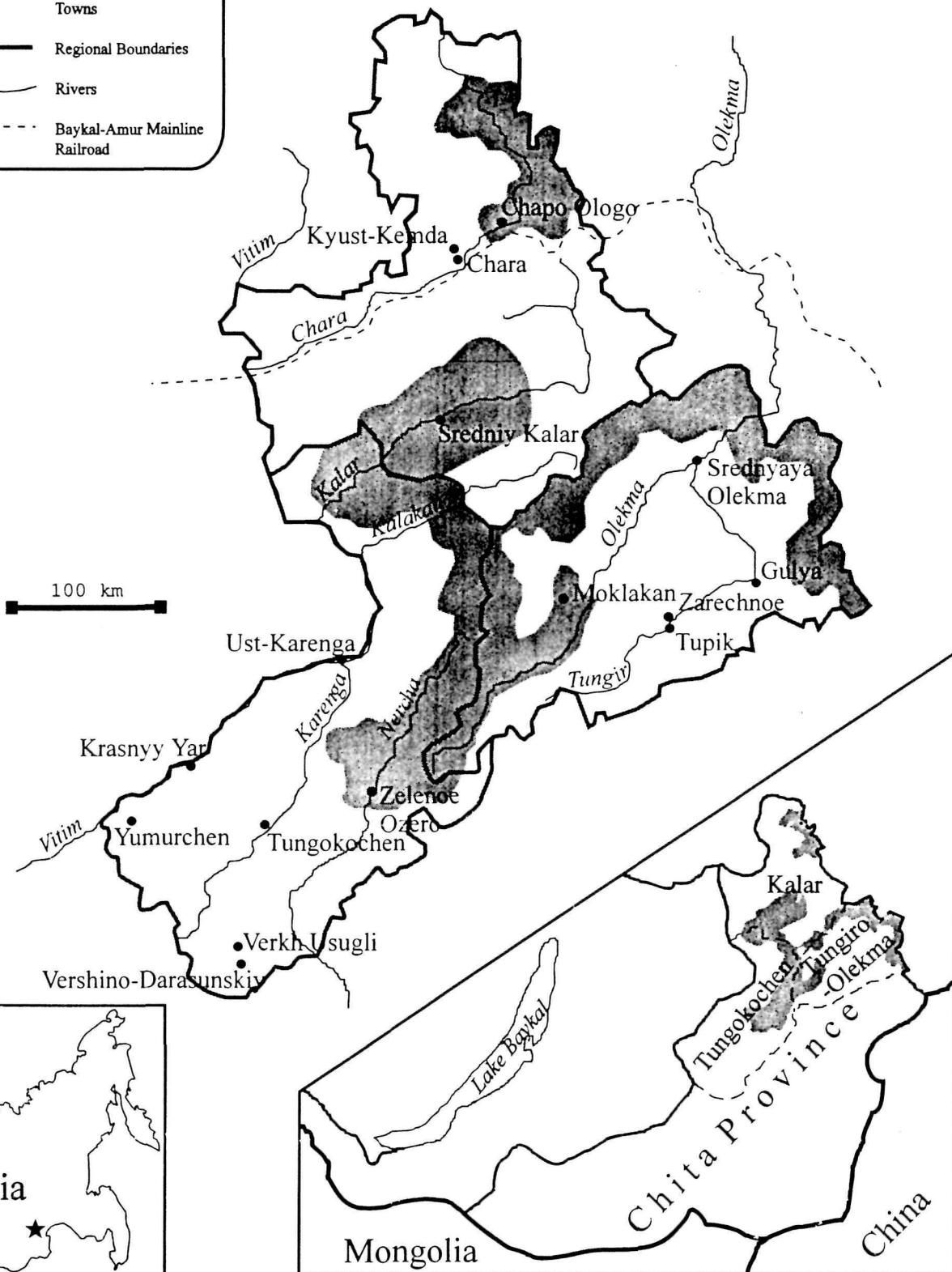
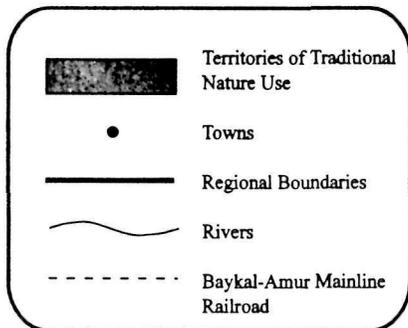


*Taiga reindeer herd in East Siberia.*

Many Evenks, while happy to have some assurance of a land base for their "traditional" activities, have questioned the process and outcome of the government's efforts. While the Working Group traveled to district capitals, and in one case to an outlying town, it failed to visit most

the indigenous population live in villages not visited by the Working Group; 40 percent live in villages at a significant distance from the visited villages. Evenks complain about limited chances for input into the planning process due to these spatial constraints. In fact, none of the four

# Territories of Traditional Nature Use, Chita Province



Source: Obosnovanie, 1993, p.194

Map prepared by Kevin Driscoll

Evenk villages, encapsulated by the new TTP's (Srednyy Kalar, Chapo Ologo, Zelenoe Ozero and Moklakan), were visited by the Working Group, and the population of only one (Chapo Ologo) enjoyed even moderately reasonable access to a meeting in the district capital (Chara) — a trip of 1-2 hours by bus, with no regular service scheduled.

An accusation that follows from the alleged lack of opportunity to participate in the planning process involves the fact that much of the land incorporated in the TTP's was found in the high-alpine zones, good for summer pasturing of reindeer but for little else. The TTP's contain little good hunting territory. In essence the Evenks feel that the TTP's contain lands that the Russians have no use for. Lands with known mineral reserves were explicitly avoided precisely to decrease the contention over such areas. Many Evenks argue that the intent of the presidential decree was to ensure a land base for traditional activities, and that in Chita's North reindeer herding, hunting and gathering are an integrated complex, the individual components of which on their own will not provide for cultural persistence. By providing a land base for herding alone, the Province fails to protect the rights of indigenous peoples to cultural persistence. Many Evenks argue that the totality of all three northern districts should have been included under the protective aegis of TTP designation.

At the same time among some non-Evenks, especially among persons who have lived in the area for less than a generation, a feeling prevails that the Evenk population, comprising less than 4 percent of the total population, now enjoys a special protective status over more than a quarter of the northern districts' lands. In a time of economic collapse they see this as counterproductive, even blatantly ridiculous. Some argue that the chances for developing tourism are slight, given the relatively close

proximity of Lake Baykal (a more desirable destination) and that "traditional" activities, notably reindeer herding and hunting are declining, both in terms of economic output and in terms of the numbers of Evenks employed. Mineral development, in the short term, is the only hope for improvement of economic conditions; to construct impediments to this is capricious at best.

Chita's government has carefully avoided identifying the TTP's as ethnic homelands of any sort. It points out that the TTP's allow for the development of activities traditional to the Evenks, but that at present more non-Evenks than Evenks pursue hunting as a main source of income. Rather, the government highlights the TTP's as a reserve for protecting undamaged environments and promoting avenues of more sustainable development.

The approaches pursued in this corner of Siberia offer us several interesting issues on which to reflect. Chita Province's approach to its northern districts seems to be at odds with what might be expected in a time of severe economic constraints. Much of Russia is desperately casting around for ways of generating enough income to cover short-term needs. While gold mining is expanding in Chita's northern districts, the provincial government has chosen to geographically circumscribe this and other non-renewable activities, and to invest in renewable activities in a very inexpensive manner — by guaranteeing a land base for traditional activities.

It assumes that individuals, Evenks and otherwise, provided with such a prospect of future stability in access to land, will reinvest attention and effort into what have been declining traditional activities. These activities may revive as the backbone of the northern economy, providing a stability that mineral development cannot offer.

The TTP's themselves offer an interesting model for protected

zones. They incorporate villages (none of which have an industrial base — the economy of all of these is based on hunting, reindeer herding, marginal agriculture and welfare payments). Alienation of parcels of land for industrial development is allowed by local referendum, allowing for a degree of self-determination over development scenarios (see *Fondahl, forthcoming, for a discussion of problems associated with this*). By not transferring title to land to indigenous peoples, they do offer protection for the land base needed for traditional activities. Indigenous families can receive hunting and herding allotments within the TTP's to which they enjoy usufruct rights for a specific period (usually 25 years).

In this way the provincial government explicitly sidesteps the thorny issue of "native lands," a cautious move in the face of rising national antagonisms which characterize Russia today. It has declared repeatedly that the TTP's support the activities of all traditional users. Moreover, it holds, an equally important goal in their establishment is the preservation of ecosystems. Significant conflicts between indigenous organizations and conservation groups have yet to arise in Russia; both interest groups having only begun to organize. The negotiation of interests between these two groups and their engagement of provincial governments in the future vis a vis such protected areas promises to be an arena of great interest. ■

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# Native Peoples and Resource Management in the Arctic

by Thomas J. Gallagher, Ph.D.

Photo: Thomas J. Gallagher

Culture matters! It is important because it determines “What is true, what is right, and what conduces to public needs and welfare” (Gamble 1986). Culture is particularly important in natural resource management where fundamental differences in values, beliefs and norms (the elements of culture) energize the debate on public policy and management issues. No piece of public land — park, refuge, forest or reserve — or public resource — fish, wildlife, water, forests or minerals — is immune from a debate on policy and management amplified by “cross-cultural” differences. These cross-cultural differences can be readily seen in the sub-cultures within the mainstream Western culture in the United States, such as between the cultures of pro-environment and pro-development groups. However, the gap between these Western sub-cultures is narrow compared to the gulf between the two primary cultures in the United States — Native and non-Native (or Western). (“Native” is the term used in Alaska to refer to the indigenous Aleut, Eskimo and Indian people while the preferred term in the Lower 48 is “Indian” and the preferred term in Canada is “First Nations”).

Perhaps no place in the United States is the gulf between Native and non-Native cultures more evident than in the Arctic, where Native people have lived a subsistence lifestyle to the present day, and Western culture has only recently introduced



Inuit woman weaving traditional basket in North Slope village.

such notions as “wilderness.” This article introduces some of the key ways Native and Western cultures differ and some strategies for spanning cultural differences in management. Of course, it is not accurate to speak of any group — Western or Native — as if all members are the same; there is a great deal of natural variation within Native groups and a wide range of acculturation among Native people to Western ways.

## World View

The first and most important way Native and non-Native cultures vary

is their different “world views,” defined as how a culture structures its relationship to life and the world. Florence Kluckhohn, an anthropologist writing in the 1960s, argues that each culture must address five core issues, and differences in how they are addressed by different cultures can lead to conflict. The issues are the goodness of human nature, the human/nature relationship, the sense of time, the type of preferred activity and social relations.

Concerning the “goodness of human nature,” in Native cultures it is more the norm to think of people

as basically good, whereas in Western culture it is more the norm to think of people as basically bad, but redeemable. Western religions emphasize the need for overcoming inherent badness through contrition and baptism. Western culture, in its civil operation, tends to depend more on formal rules and regulations, and punishment, than Native people for encouraging desirable behavior. It is interesting that Native languages in Alaska do not have a word for "guilt" as used in Western courts. Western rule-based game and land management does not make sense or seem important in the Native culture, not when there are long traditions of hunting and fishing in certain ways, at certain times and in certain places.

Concerning the human/nature relationship, Native people think of their relationship with nature as one of harmony with or subjugation to nature, while it is much more a Western notion that humans have dominion over nature. The concept of management as we know it in Western culture is a formalization of this domination which is not shared among Native people who traditionally do not think that land or wildlife needs to be managed. In management Western agencies are staffed with professionals dedicated to management through scientific practices; among Native people "management" occurs through showing respect to animals that "give themselves to be killed." Many scientific management practices, such as placing radio-tracking collars on animals, are considered by Native people to be sacrilegious, harming the spirit of the animal and disrupting the relationship between people and nature.

The third issue, the sense of time, is generally recognized by both Native people and non-Natives alike. Among Native people time is more likely to be set by the season or by the species of fish that is running in the river than by the clock, what has been referred to as "Indian time."

The Western concern for timeliness is not shared in traditional villages where things happen "when the time is right." Much to the dismay of agency meeting planners, meetings in villages hardly ever start on time. Similarly, to the chagrin of agencies employing Native people much emphasis may need to be placed on getting to work on time. It is not uncommon for Native workers on construction projects to leave their job unannounced when the caribou migrate through their region. (Of course, some non-Natives also respond this way, too.)

This difference in time sense also shows up in the two cultures in their future orientation, particularly the propriety of planning for the future. Western culture places great value on planning for the future, especially as a way to resolve problems and allocate resources. Our agencies prepare and follow a hierarchy of plans for resource areas as required by laws such as the National Environmental Policy Act. Given the importance of planning to Western agency management it is telling that the term "planning" does not translate into any of Alaska's Native languages. Indeed, among Native people such forward orientation is considered highly presumptuous and tantamount to bragging. This is not to say that Native people do not "plan" in some sense as their long-term success in the extremely hostile Arctic proves. Rather, among Native people it is more the norm to "prepare" — with tools, skills, attitudes and rituals — so as to be able to respond to the future as it unfolds. This preparation is done in great modesty with no predictions of future success. An old Athabaskan Indian story expresses this norm to talk about the future with "if" rather than "when." It goes: "Boy say, 'I kill moose today!' Man say, 'Don't say that! Say instead, 'Maybe today I see moose.' Boy say, 'I cross river now.' Man say, 'Maybe

Photo: Thomas J. Gallagher



*New church and community center in Arctic Village, Alaska.*

you fall in river and drown. Say instead, 'Maybe I try to cross river.'"

The fourth issue concerns "activity." Native people are far more oriented toward "being" than "doing." For Western people action and products, getting things done, are often a measure of achievement for an agency and self-worth for an individual. There is considerable emphasis in Western culture and its agencies on projects and performance. For Native people it is enough to "be"; one doesn't get status or reward necessarily from being active. This difference often creates a situation where non-Natives take the initiative, often too much so. Non-Natives may also feel that the Native person is not interested when the interest exists but is subordinate to other cultural values and norms, such as family and traditional activities. In a "being" culture, who you are is much more important than what you have done; hence trust building between the cultures can take longer or be complicated by non-Natives who focus on titles, credentials and accomplishments while Natives focus on less-tangible character traits.

The last Kluckhohn issue concerns Native and non-Native perceptions of appropriate social relations. Native cultures have strong values, beliefs and norms that support the extended family, whereas in Western culture the support is for individuals

and the nuclear family. The difference shows up in many subtle ways: the Native person who does not come to work because a distant family member is sick, traditional gatherings that the Native person must attend and sharing of resources among family members. This last item is of particular interest in natural resource management where fish and game rules are established to limit take by the individual, yet in Native culture it is the norm for several individuals (usually young men) to fish and hunt for many, particularly the elders. Differences in perspective on "private property," land and chattel, and legal property boundaries fit in here too, as does the use of a strong deference style of individual relations. Where non-Natives are prone to offer advice to others, such as about how to hunt or where to build a house, Native people are very reluctant to offer advice, deferring to the other person. This deference style often means Native people answer "yes" when they mean "no." For example, a Native person may answer "yes" to a question about whether a management alternative is a good idea, meaning it is a good idea for the non-Native but not for the Native person.

### Spanning Cultures

The differences described above occur in a context which makes effective cross-cultural interaction difficult. Aspects of this context and strategies for working across cultures follow.

**Time and Space.** The first strategy concerns understanding and working within the time/space environment of Native people. When agencies wish to interact with Native people, perhaps at a meeting as part of public review, it is critical to understand



Salmon smoking on rack in Ruby, Alaska.

the natural cycle of activity of the affected people. This might prevent an agency from holding a meeting during a time when everyone is busy with a subsistence activity, such as fishing, which typically cannot be delayed, or holding a meeting too close to another event. It is always important to schedule the meeting for a certain hour and then to expect it to start somewhat later. Agency planners who have involved a Native community in the review of a proposed plan have often done well by holding an initial meeting to present the plan, then returning after several days to get the community's response.

As with time, it is also important to consider "space" in working with

Photo: Thomas J. Gallagher

Native communities.

Sometimes people have great distances to travel to attend a meeting, or the weather is bad, or the transportation is not regular or dependable. Travel cost may be prohibitive. It is also important to consider where the meeting is held as some buildings such as public schools and some churches may not be considered "neutral."

**Decision Making.** This strategy concerns the general finding that Native people, perhaps due to the extended family organization mentioned above, make decisions in a more collaborative style than is common in Western culture. This is sometimes confusing to Western people who think of Native people as having a "chief" and then see a single spokesperson at a meeting. Even if the single person is the mayor, or other prominent figure, he or she is seldom willing or able to make a unilateral decision at the meeting. It is necessary to give the community time after a meeting to reach a consensus and to respond.

Such consensus decisions are not reached in public meetings but are conducted through a great deal of informal "talking around" in the community. It is important to recognize that the spokesperson for the community may be the one person who is constantly asked to intercede in clashes between cultures. These people, with a foot in each culture, often burn out and should not be expected to do the work of the agency.

**Public Meetings.** When holding a meeting in a Native community or with Native people it is almost always best to reduce formalities. The formal hearing process, where the agency takes testimony but does not respond to questions, is particularly unproductive. It is often

observed that the elders in the community do not speak at such public events, but will be involved in the decision process, the talking around, outside of or after the meeting. Often elders will speak through a representative, but in some cases individuals who are not representative of the community use the meeting forum to speak their minds and stir things up. Agencies have often found that what they hear in the meeting is not what the community decides a week later. The format of the meeting is well worth discussing across cultures beforehand, to establish the place, time and style.

Language. Perhaps the most interesting problem in spanning cultures concerns language. As noted above, sometimes concepts such as "planning" don't translate. Other concepts that don't translate well include "recreation" and "wilderness." For Native people recreation is more integral with living and is not part of a polarity — a work versus play — dichotomy found in Western culture. "Wilderness" is particularly problematic as the concept of "land without people" threatens Native people who have, historically, filled the landscape directly or indirectly. Proposals to expand wilderness designations directly threaten Native people with loss of traditional land and land-use activities. Conflict between Native people and environmental groups, such as in the Gates of the Arctic National Park and Preserve in Alaska, often hinge on this issue.

In situations where Native people, particularly elders, are not fluent in English, translation is desirable if not necessary. Finding quality translators, however, is not easy given the difficult task of translating foreign concepts. Good translators should be found or developed, and paid a professional rate. Agencies should demonstrate support for translation through both programs and budget. To help eliminate the translation

problem in the legal courts in Alaska the North Slope Borough has held terminology workshops to create new Native words for "guilty" and "probation." Similar workshops might be held to overcome such untranslatables in natural resource management as "environmental impact statement." Translating at least portions of written materials, such as executive summaries, to Native languages can help communicate with more traditional cultures and demonstrates a symbolic interest in improved interaction.

Communication Rules. Other communication problems occur when the Native person, while speaking English, uses the traditional language's communication rules. Of many such problems three stand out. The first concerns the use of direct questions. Native people strongly value individual autonomy (the deference style of relationship noted above) and feel that a direct question is too personal, and even somewhat aggressive. Where it is the norm in Western culture to ask whether one likes or dislikes something, such as an alternative plan, among Native people the norm is to "talk around the subject" until the information is provided. Forcing a response will tend to yield an affirmative answer, not representing the Native person's real feelings, but their unwillingness to be disagreeable.

A second communication rule that causes problems is the length of pause between sentences. In Native languages it is common to speak in longer units than found in English, and common to be explicit when giving up the floor for another to speak, e.g., "I am done, now it is your turn to speak." The "talking circle," where a feather or other artifact is passed around and designates the speaker, is an example of this more-formal, less dialogue-oriented model. In Western culture it is common for the listener to start speaking when the speaker stops for a second or so. (On the East Coast

of the United States it is the norm for the listener to start talking before the speaker is finished!) In this situation a negative feedback loop can develop where the Native person leaves space, perhaps to emphasize a point or to think a moment, and the non-Native person begins speaking. Or, the non-Native person leaves a short space, anticipating the Native person will enter the conversation, but doesn't. The non-Native then, erroneously, thinks the conversation is going poorly and resumes speaking. With such different norms or cues about conversation it is no wonder that Native people are often thought to be too silent, and non-Natives are thought to talk too much.

The third communication rule concerns body language, specifically eye contact. This problem is important because in Western culture it is often said that you can tell if a person is lying if they don't look you in the eye. Among Native people it is considered a sign of respect and deference for a person to look away during a conversation. The penetrating gaze common to more extroverted non-Natives is, at its worst, interpreted by Native people as a form of aggression. When communication is failing, non-Natives tend to increase eye contact, making the situation worse. Again, a negative loop develops that can lead to serious misunderstandings of intent between individuals talking across these two cultures.

Control Vocabulary. Agencies and professions develop a special, shared vocabulary so they can communicate effectively and efficiently "in house." This in-house language, however, as Mark Twain quipped, is "a conspiracy against the laity." It is difficult for any non-professional to read a professional report, and yet many agency reports such as management plans and environmental statements are by law prepared for public review. Research has shown many of these public-review documents to be written at the post-doctoral level,

instead of the “plain language” — 8th grade level — recommended by consumer advocates for warranties and policies. The wordiness of government reports is amplified by poor page layout — too small of type, too long of lines of text, poor use of graphics and numerous acronyms. For Native people, who have an oral history, such dependence on writing, particularly academic/professional writing, effectively excludes them from participation. Clear, direct writing, supported by graphics, even videos, has proven valuable.

**Native Terms.** One of the simplest ways to span cultures in resource management is to use Native terms for places and things. It is relatively easy to involve Native people in putting their traditional names on U.S. Geological Survey maps alongside Western names. Often these place names carry extra meaning which might also be explained in parentheses. For example, the University of Alaska in Fairbanks sits on “Campus Ridge” or what the Indians of the region called “Troth Yeddha” which means Indian potato ridge. Similarly, the use of Native terms for plants and animals recognizes their culture while providing new information. The Yup’ik word “nega,” for example, means both food and fish. This underscores the importance of fish to this river and salmon-oriented culture. It also explains in part why Yup’ik people do not approve of catch-and-release fishing, which they consider “playing with your food.”

**Traditional Knowledge.** The final strategy for spanning cultures is to talk with Native people about what they know of the land and resources, their local knowledge. Sometimes this information is not to be shared with outsiders, but most often Native people have tremendous insight into their natural surroundings and enjoy helping agencies to understand the environment. This “native natural science” is based on centuries of

observations and often is very accurate. It also is much preferred by Native people to Western game-scientist strategies such as drugging, tagging and radio-collaring animals. As noted earlier, many Native people find this behavior repulsive as they feel it offends the spirit of the animal and puts at risk future productivity of the animal which they depend on. People, Native and non-Native, like to get involved. Participation in providing information, and developing alternative solutions to problems, encourages interaction and understanding and compliance with the regulations, once set.

### Concluding Thoughts

There are at least three errors a person, or agency, can make about the relationship between cultures. The first is the error of “sameness,” where we think we are the same so we don’t need to worry about the differences. The second is the error of “separateness” where we think we are so different that any effort to find common ground is hopeless. The third is the error of “compromise” where both cultures need to give up their values, beliefs and norms to get along. The first two errors deny the reality of the situation, that we share some aspects of our cultures but are different on other parts. The third error is one of a failure to critically and creatively think about what is possible; a compromise should be the last resort.

What is preferred to the three errors above is a third culture, neither Native nor non-Native, that defines norms when the cultures meet. These “third space” cultures are not easy to construct, but they have been built through open, critical and creative dialogue, and through formal programs such as “Cross-Reach,” developed by the Cooperative Extension Service (at Oregon State University), and the Value Orientations Seminars offered by the Kluckhohn Foundation for the

Study of Values in Bellingham, Washington.

Cross-cultural interactions in natural resource management are not easy, but they are not impossible either. Informal, candid, respectful and studied exploration of differences have proven effective at spanning cultures; solutions are possible and very rewarding both for the individuals involved and the agency. ■

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# Cultural Perspectives: An Alternative View of Land Management

by Patricia M. Jostad

*It must be noted at the outset that the author does not represent a Native American tribe. Her understandings are based on research and subject to error. She has tried to be true to the spirit of the words she was given by those she interviewed. There are many different tribes and many different ways of looking at the world. The ideas expressed are but a beginning look at combining ways to achieve a blended approach to land management.*

As we approach the year 2000, it is time to pause, reflect and assess the impacts the dominant Euro-

American culture has made in its pursuit of the American Dream. Over the past 175 years, the blossoming of the Industrial Age has produced not only the fruits of materials and technological benefits, but also a crop of poisonous by-products and processes that threaten to destroy the base of our productivity—our planet.

The American Dream, so overused by politicians, news media and numerous leaders has all the earmarks of being a corporate fiction based on commodity-consumer ethic. It can be argued that considering increasing evidence of social and

environmental problems, the dream should rather be a shared global vision of humility, sharing and balance in an ancient world that has only recently included the human species as one of its life forms.

The seeds of an alternative version of the dream can be seen in the evolution of environmental ethics.

Environmental ethics are as old as our ancient cultures, but they have been obscured in the Euro-American tradition. Roderick Nash, (1989, pp. 10-11), explains that "environmental ethics involves people extending ethics to the environment by the exer



Photo: Pat Jostad

Mission Mountains Salish-Kootenai Reservation, Montana. Smoggy day—Tribal Managers are asking for Class 1 air quality standards.

cise of self-restraint....The American propensity for unlimited growth, intense competition and the domination of nature run directly counter to ecological ideals such as stability, interdependence and a community consciousness extended to include non-human beings and biophysical processes." With an internalized system of environmental ethics, our actions could ameliorate the current and future state of the planet.

Where, then, are models to look towards to begin reshaping patterns of choice? Some are recommending a turn to indigenous peoples for guidance on achieving balance and harmony in our actions.

The history of scientific, pragmatic, practical Western people has been to shape nature to fit their needs. The history of mystical, intuitive, indigenous people has been to shape their

Photo: Pat Jostad



Fish and Wildlife Service.  
Bison Refuge on Salish-Kootenai Reservation near Flathead Lake, Montana. Pronghorn Antelope.

needs to fit nature. "The white men were many and we could not hold our own with them. We were like deer. They were like grizzly bears. We had a small country. Their coun-

try was large. We were contented to let things remain as the Great Spirit made them. They were not, and would change the rivers and mountains if they did not suit them" (Chief Joseph, cited in Brown, 1970, p.321). We have had ample evidence of this trait in mining operations that have leveled mountains and filled valleys and in altering entire watersheds with dams.

The concept of dominion over nature is generally absent from the Native American belief system. "Within the traditional Indian context, humans frequently are believed to be at the bottom of the hierarchy of life because they do not make constructive contributions to the other forms of life but simply live off them" (Deloria, 1992, p.48). This contrast, perhaps more than any other, reflects the profound difference

Photo: Pat Jostad



Lake Basca State Park, Minnesota.

Photo: Pat Jostad



Wolf River (Wild and Scenic River), Menominee Reservation, Wisconsin.

between Euro-American and Native American belief systems. In the western world view of private ownership, conquest and the cult of the individual, the earth belongs to the dominant species, humans. What follows from this is an intellectual *carte blanche* to use, fix or change. In the indigenous worldview, where ownership is a flexible and changing concept, and the individual is only as strong as the group, people belong to the earth. In the words of Chief Joseph (Nez Perce), "Do not misunderstand me, but understand me fully with reference to my affection for the land. I never said the land was mine to do with it as I chose. The one who has the right to dispose of it is the one who has created it. I claim a right to live on my land, and accord you the privilege to live on yours" (Brown, 1970, p.316). To many Native Americans, the earth is looked upon as the mother of life, in a very personal sense, and to act in opposition or in a harmful manner is suicidal and contrary to survival.

A framework of contrasts in world outlook gives a perspective from

which to view modern land management approaches. Resource and recreational use demands have placed an increasing burden on land managers. Concern over the resource quality of our parks has been growing for many years and calls for increased efforts in cooperation, training and congruent goals and objectives in managing wilderness and wildlands.

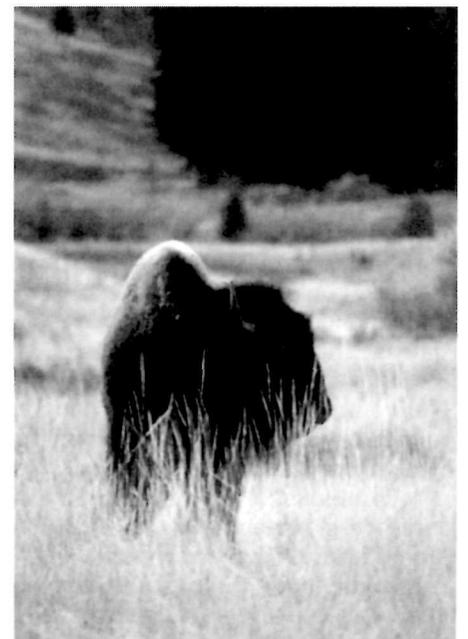
The study on which this article is based (Jostad, 1994), sought to explore and to describe the traditional values of selected tribes of Native Americans in the United States as they relate to the longterm preservation of the land. The pattern of traditional values that emerged helped to define a Native American land ethic that could prove useful in tempering the more utilitarian Euro-American approach to management of the land and its resources.

Underlying this study is the belief that as we learn more of indigenous lifeways, we can incorporate them into the western worldview and achieve a synthesis in mind and heart that will lead to a state of har-

mony with the needs of people and the dictates of nature. A major aspect of a Native American worldview is that nature is inherently spiritual. Buckminster Fuller believed that our first trip to the moon, being able to look down on our planet and perceive it physically as a whole, paralleled our cognitive ability to think on a global level. In the same manner, we must also be able to perceive, understand and synthesize mystical, intuitive belief systems with pragmatic, scientific ones before we cannot only think, but also act appropriately in a holistic, global manner in harmony with the dictates of Earth.

A deeper understanding of Native American spirituality as it relates to recreation land management may assist those charged with the management of recreation resources to think and act in a more balanced and holistic manner, and to better understand the context within which Native Americans view recreation land and resource management issues.

Photo: Pat Jostad



Fish and Wildlife Service Bison Refuge on Salish-Kootenai Reservation near Flathead Lake, Montana. Bison.

Many scholars over time have suggested a conceptual departure from the sacred, from nature and its subsequent shaping of the western world view. Our western heritage may be seen as having diverged from an original, cosmic, universal way of being in the world, one which is seen in primal cultures. It is possible that our ecological understanding of the strength that comes from diversity can be extended to a theological pluralism where the strength of the sacred is dependent on the diversity of religions.

It is here that the argument lies for exploring the belief systems of indigenous people. They have retained within their cultures, despite all genocidal attempts to destroy them, traces of an original, cosmic religion that allows for theological pluralism and maintains the way of the sacred. Native Americans are clear in understanding that non-Indians cannot simply put on their beliefs like a different set of clothes. They suggest that non-Indians must retrace their own histories, their own roots, to retrieve teachings that were lost.

It was seen throughout the larger study that a land ethic in its fullest sense pervades Native American belief systems. The earth is revered in a physical, mental and spiritual sense. Its resources are gifts that are to be used wisely, i.e., frugally and with respect. Survival derives from the earth and action is predicated within a sacred context to maintain harmony and balance of an interrelated, essentially egalitarian system. The "environmental consciousness" of the Native American permeates through to the very core of the world view.

As there was no word for "religion" in most Native American cultures, neither was there a concept for "management" per se. The idea of controlling and manipulating is more a western concept. Vine Deloria, Jr., Standing Rock Sioux in 1992 coined the term "spiritual management" to describe a Native American approach

to land management. Tribal land management programs exist despite the many political and jurisdictional issues that complicate the situation. Research is needed to find out if traditional Native American values, blending with traditional Euro-American land management philosophy and management policies and practices, can provide insight and direction towards a more successful, sustainable way of managing Earth's resources.

*Photo: Pat Jostad*



*Nesting colony, University of Minnesota station.*

There exists a multitude of prophecies and beliefs throughout Native America about what the future holds. There is a widespread, aggregate sense that if humankind does not change its ways, Mother Earth will take care of the problem herself. It seems fitting to end with words spoken by a Dine (Navajo) elder, Roberta Blackgoat, to interviewer Winona LaDuke, Ojibwe, herself a clear voice for Native American environmentalism. "Earthquakes and

tornadoes are her breath. She's breathing heavy. She's in pain, we need to protect our mother. Fighting for her to be free. She has to be dried up to die. When they take her oil and her organs she dies. The government needs what she has in her body. The government wants money, it doesn't think of the four-legged people, people who crawl. These are our brothers and sisters, they have life. They talk, even the grass, you can hear it when one wind blows. You can talk to them...." (LaDuke, 1986, p.31). ■

*This article is part of a larger study, A Native American Land Ethic: Implications for Natural Resource and Recreation Land Management, a Ph.D. dissertation. The study was done through a cooperative research grant funded in part by the USDA Forest Service and the University of Minnesota. If you have questions or comments, please address them to Dr. Patricia M. Jostad, Rt. 1, Box 1246, Henderson, Minn. 56044, telephone: 507-248-3222, e-mail Pjostad@Edenpr.K12.MN.US.*

# In Countless Ways for Thousands of Years: Native American Relationships to Wildlands and Other Protected Places

by Daniel McDonald and Leo H. McAvoy, Ph.D.

*Wilderness has played a paramount role in shaping the character of the people and the culture of the Salish and Kootenai tribes; it is the essence of traditional Indian religion and has served the Indian people of these Tribes as a place to hunt, as a place to gather medicinal herbs and roots, as a vision-seeking ground, as a sanctuary, and in countless other ways for thousands of years.*

(Ordinance establishing the Mission Mountains Tribal Wilderness, CSKT, 1982)

This quote describes for one Native American community both the range and the depth of their relationship to wilderness. Its emphasis on time immemorial as the basis for that relationship, placed in juxtaposition with the protective nature of the ordinance itself, suggests that wildlands have been and continue to be an integral part of being Salish and Kootenai.

Certainly popular culture has painted an image of Native Americans as being the prototype environmentalists in North America, linked to the land in a way impossible for non-Native Americans to fathom. The writings of non-Natives representing this environmentalism are many, but little has been heard from Native Americans themselves about this tie to the land. Do other communities and tribes share the Salish and Kootenai reverence for wildlands reflected in their tribal ordinance? What is known about how these rela-

tionships translate into actual behavior concerning wildlands? This article will attempt to answer these questions by reviewing the available park and wildland management literature and that of other disciplines that have often studied Native American cultures in greater depth. The answers to these questions may become of some importance as increasingly public land managers find themselves responding to larger numbers of traditional and non-traditional tribal users, co-management of lands with tribal authorities, and in some jurisdictions, the return of traditional lands to Native American communities to manage as they see fit.

## Seeing with a Native Eye: Native American Values Concerning the Earth

Native Americans are in reality a collection of diverse cultures, in language and beliefs less related overall than the cultures we associate with Europe and the Mediterranean. Nevertheless, with care not to over-generalize, some common values can be identified as present in nearly all Native American cultures to some lesser or greater degree (Toelken, 1976; Beck et al., 1992; Ross, 1992; Grinde and Johansen, 1995).

One of the most frequently associated values with Native Americans is that of a pervasive sacredness to life. Linked to this is a sense that humans are either inseparable from a revered nature, or at least that there is a clear and reciprocal interdependent rela-

tionship with all of creation. Since all is sacred, and infused with spirit, there is a much more egalitarian view of human relationship with nature, rather than the dominant or stewardship view taken by most Euro-Americans. Elders in native communities are often uncomfortable with the concept of resource management for example, because it implies a sense of superiority over nature and being apart from it (Notzke, 1994). Simcox (1993) would refer to this worldview as harmonic. Part of the goal of human action, both spiritual and otherwise, then becomes the maintenance of this relationship or bond. A balance is sought and non-interference valued, precisely because it maintains a perceived balance in the natural world.

Native American cultures in general place such importance on this relationship with the land that they often have a heightened sense of place or connection to a particular environment (Grinde and Johansen, 1995). Matthew Coon-Come, Grand Chief of the Crees of Northern Quebec, states, "My people live in and use every inch of the land. We have lived here for so long that everything has a name: every stream, every hill, almost every rock. The Cree people have an intimate relationship with the land." (Grinde and Johansen, 1995, p.229) This heightened relationship to land can involve the ritual fixing of a center as the place of a peoples' origin, or the stressing of a sacred connection to particular geographical landforms.

These places may not coincide with the present place of tribal residence, but may be located in lands inhabited prior to migration to their present local or removal to a reservation. In many cases, these sacred sites are located in publicly managed wilderness areas.

Native American beliefs concerning the land are well detailed in two recent dissertations by Wood (1991) and Jostad (1994). Wood, by comparing 126 Native Americans from the Pacific Northwest with an equal number of Euro-Americans, found Native American earth values best described as being more respectful, spiritual and aesthetic than those of her non-Native respondents. Jostad interviewed tribal leaders and land managers of both the Salish-Kootenai and Menominee nations, and found four common patterns of thought. These were that all nature was inter-related, that all nature was sacred, that the Earth was mother and that there was a need for "right action" in human interactions with nature (p.88). Cornell (1990) finds many of these same patterns in his review of the historical record of Native Americans through their post-contact period. Booth and Jacobs (1990) also echo these in their search for an environmental ethic by reviewing the writings and published thoughts of Native Americans.

The connection between environmental ethic and religion, though uncomfortable for most land managers trained in Western science, is evident and constant in Native American cultures (Grinde and Johansen, 1995). Both historically and contemporarily, Native cultural ideals stress behavior that is reverent toward nature. These ideals, however, like those of Euro-American traditions, do get played out within a context of modern life (Ross, 1992), where each individual negotiates with a set of traditional cultural values to see how they will be expressed in one's life. This context for many Native

Americans, both urban and on reservation, more often than not includes poverty, discrimination and social problems that flow, at least in part, from a history of mistreatment by the dominant Euro-American societies.

## Protected Areas and Native Peoples

Aboriginal languages in general lack any concept that would correspond to the Western idea of "park." As well, the two common ingredients

*Photo: Alan W. Ewert*



*Carved totem poles.*

embodied in the park idea — preservation and recreation — are also alien concepts (Notzke, 1994). Preservation as an ideal requires a view of humans as being separate and somehow responsible for the natural environment. Recreation is a notion of purposeful, restorative activity, developed in an industrial context. Both ideas then would be outside the traditional experience of indigenous peoples. Reflective perhaps of how Native American cultures view parks may be the term the local indigenous people use to refer to Auyuittuq National Park Reserve in Canada's arctic. They call it "the place where whiteman comes to play."

The Western concept of "wilderness" may also be antithetical to their beliefs, with its central concept of being untrammelled by humans. Jewell Praying Wolf James, direct descendant of Chief Seal'th, states,

Photo: Alan W. Ewert



Recreation is an alien concept in most Aboriginal languages.



"At one time our plains, plateaus and ancient rain forests were respected and not considered a wilderness." (Grinde and Johansen, 1995, p.250) There is considerable evidence that

Native American cultures interacted with nature in ways that modern people may consider land management. White (1984), in looking at how Native Americans related to the lands of North America, begins by

stating that the cumulative evidence of Native American influence is great, so pervasive in fact "that it makes the use of the word wilderness (in the sense of land unaffected by human use) meaningless for huge areas of North America at the time of contact" (p.181). He goes on to document the evidence for controlled use of fire, the designation of family hunting territories with flexible boundaries to allow for game fluctuations, and the use of distribution mechanisms to limit waste and reduce pressures on resources. But these actions differed in essential purpose from the environmental control of Western wildland managers in producing "recreation opportunities" or to maintain the purity of "wilderness." As Grinde and Johansen note, "the Eurocentric thinker focuses on control while the native thinker focuses on harmony." (p.271).

In Native American cultures, the most common creation of an equivalent designation of land for wilderness was a sanctuary. These sanctuaries were created for ritualistic reasons, not the Western ideals often

attached to present day wilderness designation (Bierhorst, 1994). As one Californian elder puts it, "This land is our church, our place of worship, and all of the animals and trees are part of it...everything has meaning." (Laidlaw, 1991). The designation of sacred places by Native American cultures can be seen repeatedly, even in modern times. The religious significance of place is often a prominent rationale given when tribes protect land as wilderness or park. The Mission Mountains Wilderness of the Salish-Kootenai, parks on the Zuni and Navajo reservations, Gwaii Hanaas of the Haida, and Meares Island Tribal Park of the Clayoquot are good examples (Notzke, 1994; Sanders, 1990).

One of the most restricting aspects for the practice of Native American religions has been the loss of access to the sacred land on which it is dependant. This is an obvious outcome of the history of Indian policy in both Canada and the United States, which transferred much of what was ancestral tribal lands to provincial, state or federal ownership. Since the passage of the American Religious Freedom Act in 1978, one of the most active areas of test cases has been concerning access to sacred sites on federal land. Though language designed to increase this access was eventually dropped from the 1992 amendment to the Act put forth by Senator Daniel Inouye, Native American leaders vow to continue pressing for greater access to these sites.

Parks, as one class of protected area, have generally found little support among Native Americans (Dragon and Ham, 1986; Sadler, 1989; Sanders, 1990). The setting of park boundaries has been viewed more as alienation of the land rather than as protection. A park is often seen as a piece of homeland taken away. Though wilderness preservation can be seen as a central goal of both national park movements and many

Native American land claims, Sadler (1990) stresses they are based on different premises. "One is based on an exclusive view of man's role in national parks—as a visitor who does not remain. The world view of indigenous peoples, by contrast, is based upon a perception of themselves and their activities as part of rather than separate from the natural environment." (p.193). He uses the historic case of Wood Buffalo National Park, the recent establishment of North Yukon National Park Reserve, and the proposed park on the east arm of Great Slave Lake as Canadian examples of this difference. An American example would concern much of the federally protected land in Alaska. Griffith (1987) in his look at the same proposed Great Slave Lake Park, includes a particularly illustrative quote from Zepp Cassaway, a Dene elder.

"White people have their own land in the south. The land here belongs to the Dene. The creator made this land for our use. He does not want us to dispute over land..."

The land has not changed. It continues the same. The animals, birds and fish have been put on the land and it is still that way. We are careful in the way we treat the land. We look after the land...

We will continue to allow people from the south to come and visit our land — not to use for many years — just for a few days and then they will go back to where they came from...

I am pleased that you came to talk about a park, but we do not want any park for now. Pack up your map and go.

Thank you. (p.29)

This same concern about ability to continue a Native American way of life surfaces again and again in studies of northern parks.

This desire to use national park and wilderness lands for traditional

worship and hunting activities is not unique to the north. Wilkinson (1993), repeatedly refers to the work of Michael Truek, a land-use historian for the Native American Fish and Wildlife Society, in documenting the festering resentment some tribes in the lower forty-eight U.S. states carry about insensitive treatment at the hands of federal land managers. Most tribes desire at least co-management of federally-managed traditional lands. In most cases, neighboring tribes continue to use these areas to hunt and worship. An interesting comparison study of tribally and federally managed parks on Navajo lands has been done by Sanders (1990). He found that though Navajo people were appreciative of the expertise available in the federal agency they preferred to manage their own parks. A bond between the people and their land that is deeply ingrained in tribal tradition seemed at the core of this preference.

## Conclusion

This brief look at Native American relationships with protected places, both in concept and practice, gives land managers much to consider. Native Americans operate within a different worldview than do typical western land managers. Land managers must learn more about the world view, land ethic and value systems that are so important to Native Americans. There seems to be widespread support among Native American cultures to protect land, but that support differs significantly both in rationale and in practice from the efforts of public land management agencies.

Infusing land with sacred meaning calls for a different mode of management. A mode that allows for worship on site and for the gathering or hunting of flora and fauna for worship off-site. Many Native peoples see the continued environmental health of their homeland as not just a physical imperative but also as a

Photo: Alan W. Ewert



*More cooperative efforts must be made between Native Americans and wildland managers.*

spiritual one. To feel right with the world, they must be allowed to have access to the land to relate to it in a spiritual way. A spiritual relationship also tends to make Native Americans cautionary and reflective in their actions both as users and managers of land. Land managers dealing with Native American communities must also then be more reflective. This means in some cases giving more time to each stage of a consultative or decision-making process, to allow for the consideration and incorporation of Native American views and values. This respect for diversity may already be implied in the move to eco-system management, especially as managers consider the cultural values of a resource.

Part of the sacred meaning Native Americans attach to place comes from having an extensive historical relationship to the land. Land managers should also adopt this more reflective pace of management around any community that has a significant and lengthy relationship with the resource being managed.

The Native American view of parks and other protected places as alienated land deserves some consideration. Many tribes wish at least some measure of co-management of traditional lands now under government ownership. More cooperative efforts must be made between Native Americans and wildland managers to deal with lands close to or important to their communities. This cooperation should extend to including these groups in the goal setting and decision making stages of management. Review and study of existing co-management should be done, so that wildland managers are better prepared for the issues they may encounter.

Finally, more research in general is needed to better describe and understand the land management and outdoor recreation values of Native Americans, if we are going to be able to work together toward common ground in land management. Perhaps the growing literature on sense of place should focus more closely on indigenous peoples because of their long cultural rela-

tionship with specific land areas. Research should also look at tribal natural resource management systems, to see how the values discussed in this article are put into practice. If wildland researchers and land managers don't make these efforts, they may find that Native American communities increasingly ask them to "Pack up your map and go. Thank you." ■

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# British Columbia Parks' Partnerships With Aboriginal People

by Mike Murtha

British Columbia is the most diverse province in Canada, with immense geographical, biological and cultural variety. It has the third largest and fastest growing park system in North America. Concurrently, treaties with aboriginal people are being actively negotiated in all parts of the province. The rapidly changing social and political climate is fostering new partnerships between British Columbia parks and aboriginal people.

## The Park System

The B.C. park system is designed to represent the province's ecological characteristics and to provide compatible outdoor recreation opportunities. Currently there are 590 provincial parks and ecological reserves, ranging in size from a few hectares to 10,000 square kilometers. There are also six national parks. In total, the protected area system amounts to 85,000 square kilometers, or 9 percent of the province. The provincial population is 3.5 million, but visits to the provincial parks total more than 25 million each year.

British Columbia is the most geographically and biologically diverse region in Canada, with 27 mountain ranges, intermontane plateaus and incised canyons. Elevations range from sea level to over 4,500 metres, creating a mosaic of ecological conditions — the northern tip of the

Sonoran Desert, grasslands, temperate rainforests, boreal forests, taiga muskeg, alpine tundra, glaciers and icefields. The deeply indented fiord coastline and fringing island archipelagos create a Pacific coastline of 27,000 kilometers. The provincial and national parks conserve examples of many of these environments and provide a wide variety of outdoor recreation opportunities, but there are notable gaps.

In 1992, the B.C. provincial government announced the Protected Areas Strategy, an ambitious plan to double the protected areas system, then at 6 percent of the land base, to 12 percent by 2000 A.D., to fill the gaps. By early 1996 the Strategy has achieved 50 percent of its target and work is rapidly proceeding on the remaining 50 percent. As many as 200 additional provincial parks are anticipated in the next few years, as well as a new national park and two national marine conservation areas. The completed protected area system is expected to consist of approximately 800 units totalling about 115,000 square kilometers. By law, the park system will have a minimum size of 100,000 square kilometers by January 1, 2000.

## First Nations

British Columbia has the greatest diversity of aboriginal cultures in Canada. There are 120,000 "Status

Indians"\* (people of aboriginal ancestry who are legally recognized under Canada's Indian Act). They belong to 25 ethnographic groups and speak 27 native languages from seven linguistic families (out of a Canadian total of 37 languages in 11 families).

For 100 years following confederation in 1867, Canada followed a policy of attempted assimilation of native people which resulted in the suppression of native languages and cultures. This has changed during the last 25 years because of a number of court cases which have recognized aboriginal rights, plus the Canadian Constitution Act of 1982 which affirms aboriginal rights. Since 1975, 10 modern treaties have been negotiated in the Canadian north, establishing new, constitutionally-based relationships between First Nations and government. A number of the treaties allow for the establishment of new parks, usually involving a form of co-management and the recognition of aboriginal rights such as hunting and trapping. The timing of the new treaties parallels recent developments in Alaska and Australia which have also created new approaches to park management.

Until the late 1980s, B.C. governments refused to recognize aboriginal rights or to negotiate treaties. However, the changing legal climate has resulted in a reversal of policy. A Treaty Commission has been created

\*Although "Indian" is still the legal term, the more acceptable terms are now "aboriginal," "native" and "First Nations." They are used in this article.

to oversee treaty negotiations. Forty-eight First Nations, accounting for a majority of the native population, have so far filed Statements of Intent to negotiate treaties. Three are presently being negotiated and several more are part way into the process. Typically, treaties consist of the transfer of some lands to native ownership, cash compensation, economic development and employment initiatives, limited self-government provisions and new, formal, inter-governmental working relationships.

### Interim Agreements

Because of their complexity, treaties can take several years to negotiate. Meanwhile, B.C. Parks is in the middle of a major expansion of the park system, which must be undertaken without the infringement of aboriginal rights. Consultation with First Nations is now a routine part of the work leading to the designation of new protected areas.

Memoranda of Understanding are being established in some cases to formalize the subsequent relationships between First Nations and B.C. Parks. Some create enhanced consultation on resource management issues which affect aboriginal sustenance activities; others create a co-management regime by which First Nations and B.C. Parks share management responsibilities. The Memoranda are interim agreements until comprehensive treaties are negotiated. They are also political accords rather than legally binding contracts although one legal agreement has recently been signed. To date seven memoranda have been signed and several are under negotiation. They have accompanied the designation of new parks. However, negotiations are also underway for a co-management agreement for an existing park and more such arrangements are anticipated.

As a consequence of the agreements, B.C. Parks is now learning to work with new partners of different

cultural backgrounds and with different expectations. The challenges are more than offset by the new perspectives of traditional relationships to the land, of the richness of native cultures as an added benefit for park visitors and the opportunity to share management discussions with people whose families have lived in the area for countless generations.

### New Perspectives

1. Traditionally, British Columbia provincial parks have been designated and managed to protect natural characteristics and to provide outdoor recreation opportunities. The larger wilderness parks have been based on the Yellowstone model, with terms such as "wilderness," "pristine" and "untouched" in common use. The new partnerships with native people are forcing a re-evaluation of the underlying philosophy. Acknowledging a long human association with a park area requires a recognition that people have been a part of the landscape, that it is not "untouched." In fact, "wilderness" must be recognized as a western concept, grounded in an industrial society. To native people the area is "home." As a consequence, the

Yellowstone model alone is no longer sufficient. It is necessary to also develop park models which incorporate sustainable levels of traditional uses such as trapping, sustenance hunting and fishing, single tree removal for carving totem poles, canoes, etc.

Approached positively, such management models can demonstrate sustainable resource use, can be a basis for ethno-tourism, can enhance self-esteem amongst native people, can introduce resource management techniques such as prescribed fire and can broaden understanding and appreciation of cultural diversity.

2. Parks are a consciously selected form of land use, a component of the mosaic that a society constructs to apportion its resources amongst its members. But a park is a western construct. Traditional societies tend to apportion resources according to a model which distributes use lightly across all parts of the territory. In native societies, it is common for families or clan associations to have usufruct rights to a specific area, together with responsibilities for careful management. The close association over countless generations results in the members forging their

*Photo: Mike Murtha*



*Nisga'a clergy in traditional button blankets dedicate a memorial during opening ceremonies at Nisga'a Memorial Lava Bed Park.*

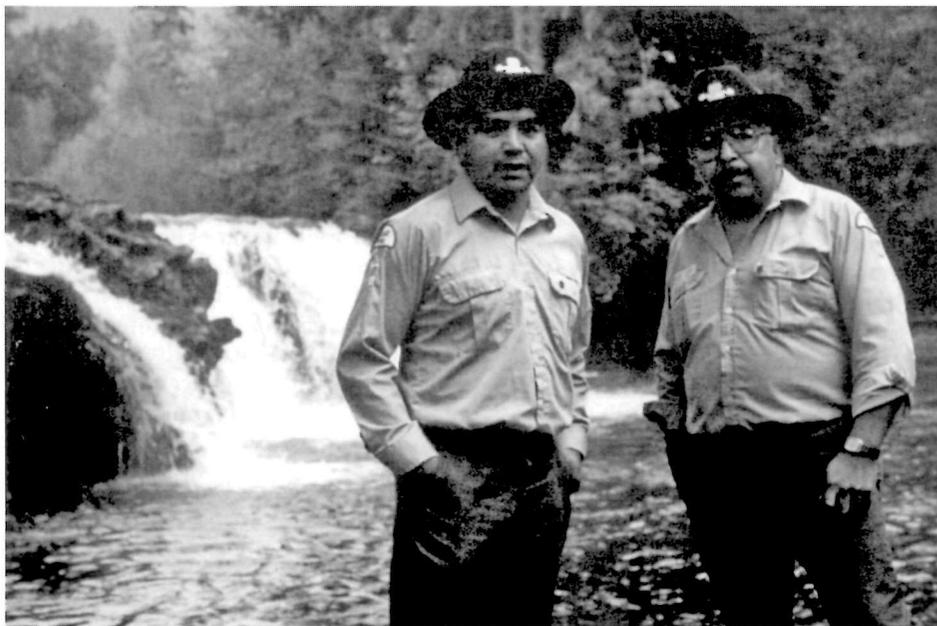
identity with the land which sustains them. The land is not simply a collection of resources to be utilized; it is the basis of their distinctiveness, their language, their way of life. The land validates their existence as a distinct society and over time the two become inseparable. Disrupt the association and the society is disrupted, thereby contributing to many of the social problems which plague native societies.

The new park partnerships can be a catalyst for cultural revitalization

several co-managed parks in British Columbia.

3. Aboriginal sustenance rights are now legally recognized in Canada, subject only to conservation requirements. Native hunting, fishing, gathering and trapping may now be authorized activities in parks. Such activities, not normally associated with national parks, are now constitutionally protected treaty rights in some northern Canadian national parks. In British Columbia hunting is recognized as a legitimate

*Photo: Mike Murtha*



*Nisga'a Park rangers Rod Moore and Charles Mackay.*

and social revival by validating a society's distinctiveness and its associations with a particular area. For B.C. Parks the results are likely to be a strong and enthusiastic participation by native people who can once again be involved in managing their traditional territory. And the enthusiasm will be transmitted to visitors. As an example, Rediscovery Camps, where elders can impart traditional skills, knowledge and language to younger people, are proposed for

recreational activity in some provincial parks and, consequently, the philosophical shift has not been as dramatic as in the national parks. However, managing for a right rather than for a privilege creates a higher degree of responsibility for consultation, for improved resource inventories and for greater monitoring of harvests. It also requires sensitivity to and education of non-native park users, many of whom are unaware of the newly defined legal responsibilities. B.C. Parks is only just starting

to deal with these new challenges. However, it is expected that closer relationships with native hunters and trappers will improve on-the-ground resource knowledge.

4. A society locates itself within the landscape by naming many of the geographic features, with the names often acting as mnemonic devices, a short-hand encapsulation of traditional knowledge of the resources or activities associated with a particular locality. By contrast, the geographic names conferred on the same features by European colonists tended to be descriptive, or to commemorate famous personages and expedition sponsors. The re-assertion of native peoples and the revitalization of their cultures and languages are being reflected in a reversion to traditional names. Many native communities in the Canadian North and increasingly in British Columbia have now adopted traditional names in the local language. Work is also underway partly via treaty negotiations, partly independently, to replace recent geographic names. The process is being extended to parks in British Columbia.

A number now have native or bilingual names, selected by native co-managers (e.g., Ts'yil-os, K'tzim-a-deen). For the aboriginal communities, the recognition and use of their languages is a powerful acknowledgment of their association with their territories. The research into names has been a catalyst to revitalized interest in oral histories and to a realization that there are important stories to share with visitors.

For B.C. Parks, the use of traditional toponyms and the naming of parks in the local language reinforces the sense of true partnership, of sharing knowledge which deepens the significance and interest of a protected area. A couple of specific examples:

- Canada's most recent lava flow is the central feature of B.C.'s Nisga'a Memorial Lava Bed



B.C. Parks ranger Clifford Musgrave, a member of the Gitsi'is First Nation, on patrol in Khutzeymateen Grizzly Sanctuary.

Park. The Nisga'a co-managers requested the "Memorial" part of the name, to convey the significant cultural message that the eruption killed 2,000 ancestors who lie buried under the lava. Behind this fact is a wealth of stories related to Nisga'a cosmology which would never have been told if B.C. Parks had concentrated simply on the lava flow as a geological feature. The park also bears the Nisga'a name of Anhluut'ukwsim Laxmihl Angwinga'asanskwhl Nisga'a which informs visitors that the

language is alive and in use, not a fossil from the past. And the inclusion of "Nisga'a in the title proclaims the local people's association with the area.

- The Kitlope Heritage Conservancy is also legally known as Huchsduwachsd Nuyem Jees, a name chosen by the Haisla co-managers. "Huchsduwachsd" is their name for the Kitlope valley, signifying the glacial blue waters of the coastal watershed; "Nuyem Jees" is "the place of the law." For the Haisla, the area is the untouched heartland

of their culture, a place of revitalization and re-connection. It is the place where elders can educate young people in the traditional ways, the rights and responsibilities which constitute Haisla law.

If managing the area alone, B.C. Parks would have emphasized such values as a complete primary watershed, unlogged coastal rainforest, the salmon/grizzly ecological relationship and wilderness recreation in a rugged setting. However, thanks to the new information revealed by the management partnership, the Kitlope will also be managed for its cultural

associations — a place of habitation for countless generations, until the 1940s; an example of harmonious relationships between a people and their environment; a centre for Haisla cultural revival, including a Rediscovery Camp. The rich cultural environment will provide tremendous enjoyment and appreciation to sensitive park visitors, deepening their experience of the park's natural beauty.

5. Traditional environmental knowledge is acquired through direct association. It is the accumulated wisdom of a society, usually transmitted orally in aboriginal cultures. Rather than being simply facts and figures, traditional knowledge embodies a moral code which has enabled the society to live successfully within its environment. Adaptive strategies are typical and the long time spans of the accumulated knowledge can reveal trends which are easily missed in snapshot surveys which typify much modern resource inventory.

On the other hand, modern scientific methods can survey the microscopic, as well as extensive geographic areas. The two types of knowledge can be complementary. Much traditional knowledge has been lost with the disruption of native societies and the suppression of their languages which convey concepts and subtleties which defy translation. However, knowledge is being retrieved in many parts of the world, including B.C., and the challenge will be to blend the two world views, particularly in the field of resource management.

No attempts have yet been made in B.C. Parks but as the co-management partnerships develop and mature, as trust and respect deepen, it is expected that the cooperation will be a true partnership of ideas and values and not a case of selected traditional knowledge being used out of its cultural context to supplement scientific approaches to resource management. In the mean-

time, work with elders is revealing the location of archaeological sites previously unknown to park managers and in danger of inadvertent damage. Spiritual sites, legend sites and vision quest locations are becom-

ing known to staff, not necessarily so they can be shared with visitors, but so that their locations can be protected and respected for continued private use.

*Photo: Mike Murtha*



*B.C. Parks ranger Clifford Musgrave, a member of the Gitsi's First Nation, explains a grizzly bear rub tree to visitors in Khutzeymateen Grizzly Sanctuary.*

6. A major challenge facing B.C. Parks is how to increase staffing by native people to more accurately reflect their proportion within the population. In co-managed parks, visitors expect to meet native staff, particularly for the interpretation of cultural information. (In fact, some stories, by customary law, may only be told by those who own them.) However, educational requirements, the seasonal nature of employment and rigid work schedules may all inhibit increased native presence in the work force. Sensitivity to local cultural values must somehow be blended with the standardized requirements of a bureaucracy. Typical union contracts allow leave for the marriages, births or deaths of close family members, whereas native people with clan associations may have a cultural obligation to attend similar events for people who are not recognized as "family" in the western definition.

In small, closely-knit native communities, the traditional social support structure can include numerous obligations which are not recognized in typical employment standards. Yet the small native bureaucracies have learned to blend their internal societal obligations with the work environment of the larger society within which they operate. The work of the tribal associations is still done, even though a whole office may shut down on the death of a revered elder or for a potlatch.

We can learn from their methods. In fact, a partnership requires such reciprocity. One avenue, for example, may be to operate a park by contract with a native organization which can organize its staff resources around its own societal values, instead of hiring staff directly. B.C. Parks is in the early stages of dealing with the challenge, and would welcome ideas from elsewhere. Programs such as mentoring, bridging, secondments, staff exchanges, cooperative educational associations

with native colleges and employment equity must all be considered. And they must be implemented at a time of shrinking government resources and in a way which does not create accusations amongst other staff of preferential treatment.

### Conclusion

Park agencies with a strong conservation mandate can have closer affinities than many other government agencies with traditional native societies. Despite sometimes profoundly different cultural environments, there can be common interests in respect for the natural world, in resource conservation, in sustainability, in sharing knowledge with visitors, in celebrating diversity, in preserving areas from industrial and social impacts for their inherent values, in employing time-proven resource management techniques. It is these common interests which are providing the foundation for new management partnerships in many parts of the world. In fact, it is no longer unusual for a native society to approach a park agency such as B.C. Parks with a partnership proposal. Translating the ideals and the enthusiasm into a successful reality requires creativity, sensitivity, patience, innovation and perhaps even imaginative interpretation of rules. A fundamental requirement is a recognition that it is not primarily a technical issue but an attitudinal one — how to accommodate two world views. Experience is still very limited — the partnerships are no more than 10 years old in Australia and the Canadian North; less than 5 years old in B.C. B.C. Parks' experience, though limited in scope so far, has been positive. The partnerships are enriching as well as frustrating. The enrichment derives from a deeper understanding and appreciation of the parks as not only places of conservation and recreation but also as "home." The frustration results from having to change from tried and true

management regimes, at a time of rapid park system growth and declining management resources. But the frustration is being channelled into innovation. The experiences are now being incorporated into permanent, legal partnerships via treaties which become part of the Canadian Constitution. With more than 40 treaties still to be negotiated, many of which will involve park lands, the B.C. park system will evolve into a variety of management models, shaped by both western and native world views. ■

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*The views expressed in this article are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the official position of B.C. Parks.*

# Who Can You Turn To?

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