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INARI

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Chapter 7

SÁMI FRAMES IN THE PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT OF NATURE PROTECTION AREAS IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE – ENVIRONMENTAL NON-CONFLICT IN INARI

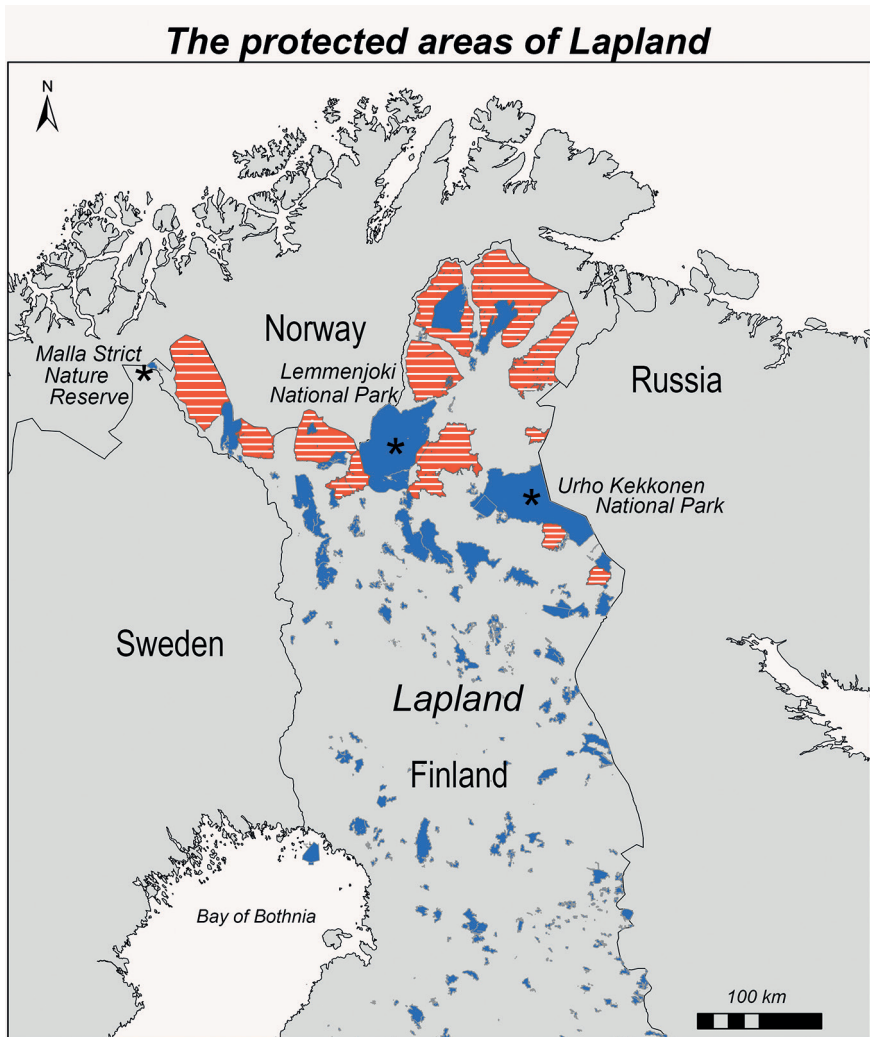
Jukka Nyysönen

Introduction

Northernmost Lapland is well conserved. In addition to numerous protected areas (PAs),¹ nine of the twelve wilderness areas are located in Upper-Lapland, where ninety per cent of the land area and 53 per cent of forest lands are protected.² This article concentrates on Inari due to the uniqueness of its timberline forests, an ecotone between the northern boreal forest zone and the tundra.³ Inari is a multi-ethnic municipality, populated by Finns and three Sámi⁴ groups, distinguished, for example, by their languages, Northern, Aanaar and Skolt Sámi. In Finland, the Sámi enjoy constitutional self-government and the status of an Indigenous People (IP).⁵ Another distinctive feature in Upper-Lapland

1. Nature protection terminology is abundant. This article covers mostly cases of national parks (kansallispuisto), open for different usage and tourism. When relevant, I use the specific term for each protected area. As a general term, I use the term Protected Area (PA). On terms, see e.g. Koilliskairatoimikunta 1972, p. 3.
2. Situation in 2006. Upper Lapland includes the municipalities of Enontekiö, Utsjoki and Inari. Hallikainen et al 2008, pp. 192–93, 203.
3. Raitio 2008, p. 81.
4. The Sámi reside in Finland, Sweden, Norway and Russia. The current total population is estimated to be appr. 70,000–100,000. The Sámi are the only folk enjoying the status of Indigenous people within the EU. The Sámi speak 9 surviving languages and practise versatile sources of subsistence. A significant minority is engaged in reindeer herding.
5. www.samediggi.fi (accessed 17 Oct. 2022).

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Map 1. Much of the protected area is located in Upper Lapland. Not even in these areas is conservation total, as in the Wilderness areas (hatched red) light forms of multiple use are allowed. Map by Jan Magne Gjerde using ArcGIS and data from the Finnish Environment Institute (accessed Feb. 2023), [CC 4.0](#).

is recurring and long-lasting disputes over resource and land-use, which have centred in the municipality of Inari. The main reason for disputes has been the relationship between reindeer herding and forestry. The fronts have been re-formed many times, the conflicts do not follow ethnic boundaries, and ac-

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tors involved range from local to global. Another source for disputes has been the seemingly continuous stream of proposals to establish PAs in Inari. The initiatives have provoked severe resistance against nature conservation, caused by fears over loss of lands, usage rights and raw materials; and the perception of undemocratic dictated policies from the south and neglect of local opinion. The EU is among the institutions resisted by the local population.⁶

One group has remained mostly positive towards PAs up to the present: the Sámi and among them especially Sámi herders.⁷ By employing frame analysis, I shed light on the background of this support and the resulting, exceptionally peaceful segment of land-management in Inari region, Finland. My case is the planning process of Koilliskaira/Urho Kekkonen National Park that took place in the 1970s as well as the numerous cases of nature protection on which the Sámi Parliament⁸ (est. 1995) made statements.

Frames provide coherent understanding of complex policy situations through a selection of certain features of reality for attention. Framing relates to how the issue is 'seen', what background is given to the problem and its origins, and which remedy is suggested as a solution. Frames promote a particular problem definition, rationale, causal interpretation and moral evaluation of the issue at stake and condition and shape the interests and bias for action, as well as the duties and rights of individuals/organisations. As the issue is framed, stakeholders participating in an ongoing public policy debate frame their identities, including those of the organisations they represent, and relations with other stakeholders. Frames employ culturally well-known forms of communication, aiming to create resonance with the broader political climate and to make framing successful.⁹

I am interested in how the problem of conservation was framed by Sámi and Finnish planners during the planning processes. In the planning context, different framings limit alternative ways of looking at the issue, which might reduce it to only a political, legal, historical, cultural or economic problem.¹⁰

6. Hallikainen et al. 2006, pp. 459–62, 464, 467; Veistola 2008, pp. 241–43.

7. Hallikainen et al. 2006, pp. 467–72; Markkula, Turunen and Kantola 2019, *passim*.

8. Sámi Diggi (est. 1995) is the responsible organ for the cultural autonomy the Sámi received the same year. The Parliament has a right of initiative. According to the Act on the Sámi Parliament (1995), the state authorities shall negotiate with the Sámi Parliament in all far-reaching and important measures which may directly affect the status of the Sámi as an IP and which concern the management, use, leasing and assignment of state lands, conservation areas and wilderness areas. Sara 2019, p. 32.

9. Creed, Langstraat and Scully 2002, p. 37; Raitio 2008, pp. 45–49; Sara 2019, 18ff.

10. Sara 2019, p. 122.

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This limiting function of the frames resembles ‘whole story frames’, interested in what each party believes the dispute is about, which guides their argumentation in the dispute.¹¹ I use whole story frames to reveal the underlying interests and whether the frames and the policy choices aligned in the negotiation over national parks in Inari.

I argue that Sámi planners framed the issue for a long time as economic. I also argue that the increasingly powerful environmentalist frame did not hinder frame alignment between key actors, since the interests overlapped, while the principal issues of Sámi rights have been introduced independently of the environmental frame. At times, the environmental frame shared a similar definition of the problem, with the Sámi frames. The focus is on how Sámi manoeuvred the administrative landscape and how it was used as a resource by the Sámi (herders).

This article contributes to the field of conservation history, an essential ingredient in the study of environmental history. The genre has focused on projects of building of national identity and on the aesthetic, religious and ethical convictions motivating conservation.¹² This article touches upon the much studied issue of IP and nature protection. Typically, the IP have been represented as possessing a knowledgeable, religious/spiritual and warm relation to their environments. This old representation has numerous potential pitfalls and has made the alliance between environmentalists and the Sámi fragile, because of the expectations of authenticity connected to an environmentally sound relationship to nature. If these expectations have not been met, paternalism and intolerance have surfaced.¹³

The Sámi relation to nature is a complex, multi-layered issue. The ways the Sámi have in different times held aspects of their physical environment holy and built their worldview through it, is well-documented in Sámi research.¹⁴ In addition to carrying the Sámi relation to nature, reindeer herding comprises a whole life-system, creating identity and maintaining social networks. Herding sustains aspects of culture and contains ethical and juridical-political aspects.¹⁵ The sources used in this article, consisting of official publications, committee reports and statements given by the Sámi Parliament on park planning, do not contain information on these issues. They have their origin in administrative

11. Kennedy, Brown and Butler 2021, *passim*.

12. Niemi 2018, pp. 18–19.

13. Vincent and Neale (ed.) 2016, *passim*.

14. E.g. Äikäs 2019, *passim*.

15. Nordin 2008, *passim*.

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organs and contain a number of state-pronounced biases and guiding grids that in part framed the replies herding community gave. The sources do not contain direct information on Sámi perceptions of their lived environment, so this cultural and spiritual aspect of PAs will not be touched upon.¹⁶ The sources reveal the priorities and frames of the Sámi (Sámi herders from the herding administration and members of the Sámi Parliament), who received a say in the planning processes, taking an active role in the park planning processes. In addition, the actors include the organisations and individual key actors responsible for nature protection and initiating and articulating the environmentally inspired frame.¹⁷

Research on nature protection in Finland has long showed clear preference for natural values.¹⁸ Nowadays the extensive research on PAs and the Sámi has engaged actively in discussion of the Sámi rights connected to conserved areas. Scandinavian studies have long been concerned about the cultural rights of the Sámi to (traditional) usage of natural resources.¹⁹ The demands of biodiversity were not allowed to overrule this aspect.²⁰ Restrictions on Sámi usage, types of herding and lack of statutory protection and true stakeholder participation are problematised in Scandinavian research, while herders are mostly positive towards PAs. For example, in Norway, herder fears are connected to tourism and development plans in PAs but, in the 2000s, PAs are understood increasingly as sites for generating more comprehensive rights in future and raising principal issues of rights to land, self-determination and true say in PA management and use of nature and natural resources. Not only ecological sustainability, but also socio-cultural and economic sustainability, defined from Sámi premises, must be taken into consideration.²¹

In certain segments of park studies, most notably in inquiries in social sciences and cultural studies, nature conservation is represented as a predatory and colonialist undertaking, where peripheral land of lesser use value is conserved

16. Heinämäki, Herrmann and Neumann 2014, p. 192.

17. In the 1970s, a separate office of the inspector of nature protection (Luonnonsuojeluvälvojan toimisto) at the Finnish Forest Research Institute (Metsätutkimuslaitos) was responsible for the conservation of nature. The management and planning were taken over by luonnonvarainhoitotoimisto at the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry in 1973. Ahonen 1997; Joutsamo 2008b, p. 130; Suominen 2008, p. 85.

18. E.g. Telkänranta (ed.), 2008, *passim*.

19. Allard 2017, p. 9; Andreassen 2002, p. 124; Elenius 2017, p. 1.

20. Andreassen 2001, *passim*; Green 2009, *passim*; Schanche 2001, pp. 4–7.

21. Andreassen 2002, pp. 115–20; Reimerson 2021, p. 77.

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to boost the national identity of the coloniser. Scientific needs and arguments about preservation of biodiversity and ecology have been tools to dispossess and bypass native communities in terms of land ownership rights, since the coupled authority and expertise to talk about these issues is reserved to state authorities. Science and ecology bypass the moral issues of indigenous rights and stewardship over ancestral lands.²² Another related tendency in recent park management studies is to call for and analyse existing ways of stakeholder inclusion in PA management, based on dialogue, collaborative action, partnership and social learning.²³ Although these studies have revealed numerous histories of dispossession and contributed to conservation studies in settler colonies, and in Sámi areas,²⁴ their approaches are not followed in this study, since, in the era studied, rather than colonial dispossession the process in Finland was one of (limited) inclusion of the Sámi, which is analysed as it emerges from the sources. As such, the systemic unbalances in the processes are of interest in this research, but they are studied without grids from recent theorising.

The theme of this chapter is of successful managerial encounters between the Sámi and the Finnish administration. The research questions to be illuminated include: How the Sámi framed their interests in the planning processes? Did these frames resonate with competing (forestry, ecological) frames? Did the herders manage to use the administrative setting as a resource, or did it constitute a hindrance to their interests? Which factors in the institutional setting contributed to the planning process?

Inari: History of multiple uses, crossing interests – and conservation

The organ responsible for forestry in state owned forest, the Forest and Park Service (FPS), has a history of working hard to launch and sustain forestry in Inari. This project was hindered by long distances, poor transport connections to the mills in southern Lapland and high costs. The local population, including the Sámi, had been actively involved in the forestry project. The FPS, managing the nature conservation areas as well, constituted a centre of power, with tangible consequences for herders due to usage areas overlapping with reindeer herding. As the efficient forms of forestry were finally introduced to Inari in the 1960s

22. Andersson, Cothran and Kekki 2021, *passim*; Green 2009, pp. 56–57.

23. Andersson 2019, *passim*; Andersson, Cothran and Kekki 2021, *passim*; Getzner, Vik, Brendehaug and Lane 2014, *passim*.

24. Malla Strict Nature Preserve is given as an example of dispossessing the Indigenous Sámi from their pastures: herding is prohibited, in the name of research and a 'pristine' state of nature. Andersson, Cothran and Kekki 2021, pp. 3–4.

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and 1970s, it took a decade before conflicts arose.²⁵ Ownership of reindeer and right to practise herding are allowed to Finns as well, but the Sámi herders form a majority in the herding cooperatives (*paliskunnat*) of Upper-Lapland.

The northernmost forests of Finland have long been considered special and worthy of conservation, due to their untouched, 'wilderness'-like character. Ecological, scenic and aesthetic values have ranked high, while usage values, varying from touristic use to forestry, are subject to ethical flexibility. Conservation began at the start of the twentieth century with the preservation of natural monuments and landscape protection. The first modern conservation area, meant to protect endangered plants, was established in Malla, Enontekiö (nature reserve from 1938 onwards). Numerous laws restricted, but did not totally prevent, logging, and forests were parcelled into several categories. The forests highest on the mountain slopes (*suojametsät* in Finnish), with low economic gain potential, were conserved in 1939.²⁶

The FPS-rationale was conservation of distant forests, wishing to minimise the economic loss. Forests with landscapes worth conserving were protected by forester-initiative and by FPS official policy from 1903 onwards (called as *säästömetset* in Finnish). Early PAs (until 1922 five of them) were established following FPS-initiative and expertise. The protection of the northernmost forests was motivated by fear of loss of forest resources, as the slow and uncertain re-generation of the northern forests dawned on foresters.²⁷ The FPS lost its exclusive power to preserve forest areas in the planned Law on conservation (*Luonnonsuojelulaki*) in 1923. Protection of endangered animal and plant species was now listed as a reason for conservation/preservation, alongside aesthetic reasons. The law, which was postponed due to the unclear landownership situation in the northernmost Lapland, would have meant real restrictions on land-use, and these limitations to economic utilisation of the areas caused severe resistance to the law.²⁸

Reindeer herders were not included in the early use planning of the northernmost forests, but reindeer herding was one of the factors taken into consideration when the FPS and a special committee reserved high-lying forests in the early twentieth century (*Suojametsälaki*, legislation in 1922).²⁹ Later, individual Sámi, along with all the residents of Inari, had the opportunity to

25. See e.g., Nyssönen 2000, *passim*.

26. Joutsamo 2008a, pp. 80–81; Nyssönen 2000, pp. 141–42.

27. Parpola and Åberg 2009, pp. 123–24.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 128–29.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 124–28.

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make remarks on park planning at special hearings.³⁰ Economic framing was typical for local stakeholders: in the 1930s, in the case of the protected area of Heinäsaaret in Petsamo, locals feared that the expansion of seagull populations would make fishing more difficult. They also feared increase in predator numbers as well as restrictions on reindeer herding and agriculture.³¹ Economic framing also dominated comments on the planning of Lemmenjoki National Park in the 1950s: herders were already then the most positive about protecting the region, as long as they received the right to hunt predators.³² I now turn to the planning process of Koilliskaira.

Koilliskaira and the inclusion of herding – economic frame

In 1977, a nominated state organ, a nature protection branch of the advisory committee for environmental protection in the Ministry of Interior (*Ympäristönsuojelun neuvottelukunnan luonnonsuojelujaosto*) aimed to widen the network of PAs. The proposition was extensive: 42 new national parks and sixteen new nature reserves plus an increase in the area of existing national parks and reserves were suggested, totalling 1,161,000 hectares. The report received fierce criticism, especially from private landowners, the lumber industry and local people. In Inari, local FPS officials were negative to the plan and engaged in precautionary measures typical at the time: logging and road construction in fringe areas adjoining and within the planned protected areas. The critique concentrated on the fear of losing use rights, job opportunities and opportunities for rational forestry in Inari. The motivation for protection was linked to the values of nature. The establishment of a reduced number of PAs was postponed until 1982.³³

The case of Koilliskaira is illustrative of the new thinking on the environment: PAs served a function of preserving nature in its original state. The inherent right of the ecosystem to existence was acknowledged as a starting point for conservation. In addition to recreational and aesthetic values, the general capacity to function as an ecosystem and the preservation of the ecosystem's genetic information were the elements protected. Additional aims included conserving a representative sample of typical ecosystems, all age-classes and

30. Kansallispuistokomitean mietintö 1976, pp. 88, 67, 70.

31. Vahtola 1999, p. 500.

32. Luonnon- ja kansallispuistokomitean mietintö 1953, pp. 9, 38–42.

33. Kansallispuistokomitean mietintö 1976, pp. 37–38; Ahonen 1997.

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landscape types for each province, in addition to which conservation took place at all scales, ranging from single endangered species to the global scale.³⁴

This was the authoritative, ecological framing of the matter. The planning organs articulated a parallel economic frame. Instead of imagery of untouched nature, the planning of the Koilliskaira took multiple uses of the conserved area as a point of departure. In the 1970s, special concern was laid on the possibilities for local people's continuing subsistence and economic compensation for conservation. Reindeer herding was seen as a natural, thriving part of the preserved areas and ecosystems, as reindeer could benefit from restrictions on land use and motorised traffic in the terrain.³⁵ Reindeer appeared robust animals, grazing 'almost in all kinds of habitats', turning almost all the protected areas into reindeer pasture.³⁶ The Sámi were claimants enjoying ecosystem services and benefiting from the protection. The framing is economic, not eco-romantic, arising from Sámi needs, not of imaginings of Sámi immersion in nature.

The Reindeer Herders' association (*Paliskuntain yhdistys*) and the Sámi herders received a voice, as a herder from Sodankylä, Jouni Aikio was invited to the commission. Reindeer herding was defined as a 'central form of economy and life', as an original and innate means of living protected by special legislation in the areas to be protected, as a significant employer and as a land use form that did not threaten the aim of protecting nature in its natural form. The commission referred to the 'strong protection' of herding, not least by national herding and conservation legislation. Reindeer herding qualified as a means of living based on 'nature's economy', falling thus under the recommendations of International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), which took these kinds livelihoods as the best guarantee of nature preservation. That reindeer herding, although capable of causing harm for landowners, was not taken as an ecologically harmful means of living, but as subsistence threatened by externalities, made its inclusion smooth.

All the planners took efficient forestry to be harmful to the winter pastures, especially if soil scarification was employed. Another externality was unregulated tourism, considered at the time as a great nuisance to herding. The commission recommended that protective measures and the status of herding had to be made statutory, in order to improve the protection of herding. Even though the commission suggested cuts to the protected area, trying to balance the demands of securing employment, the most important means of

34. Koilliskairatoimikunta 1972, p. 1.

35. Kansallispuistokomitean mietintö 1976, pp. 19–27, 61, 83–84, 87, 116, 118, 142, 158–61, 170.

36. Koilliskairatoimikunta 1972, pp. 1–44, 52, 112.

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protection was to limit forestry to the fringe areas of the park and to limit its efficiency too. Reindeer herding was to be allowed in all the park area, as were hunting and fishing.³⁷

A number of herding experts, including Sámi herder Jouni Aikio, forming a working group, were consulted in the planning of Koilliskaira. For the most part their arguments followed that of the 1972 commission, but they stressed more the vulnerable situation of winter pastures. The working group also employed a more sophisticated classification of pasture lands. Knowledge of the effects of forestry on reindeer pastures was more detailed and perception sharper; efficient forestry aggravated the already precarious situation of herding (the national park bordered former pasture areas now under the reservoir of Porttipahta, in the Lappi herding cooperative). Only restricted forms of forestry were to be allowed in the adjoining areas (the area protected was thus considerably larger than the one suggested by the 1972 commission). Herders wished for restrictions on soil processing and for trees with arboreal lichen only slightly logged.³⁸ These aspects related to damage to the growing capacity of pastures and preserving a winter grazing resource for the reindeer. The framing was economic, concerned about preserving the prerequisites of herding.

The protection of herding meant that the loss of employment, including knock-on effects in local economy, was predicted to be nil. There was no need to compensate for loss of employment, as in the case of forestry. The prognosis of the economic frame,³⁹ that of low negative economic impact from protection,⁴⁰ was in alignment with the herder frame.

One issue that caused different reactions and recommendations among the planners was the question of predators. Herders thought the losses caused by predators were significant and feared that the protection of viable predator populations would risk the economic sustainability of reindeer herding outside the park borders too. The working group had collected negative statements from neighbouring cooperatives and argued in terms of cultural rights: reducing reindeer herding to rearing reindeer as fodder for predators would entail end of herding as a meaningful life-form.⁴¹ This is a rare case of fetching support from another 'whole story'- and identity frame, that of Sámi cultural rights and cultural survival, from outside the process and the dominant economic frame.

37. Koilliskairatoimikunta 1972, pp. 1–44, 52, 112.

38. Selvitys 1972, pp. 9–10.

39. Frames are diagnostic and prognostic. Raitio 2008, pp. 50–51.

40. Koilliskairatoimikunta 1972, pp. 50–52, 59, 74.

41. Selvitys 1972, pp. 9–10.

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The working group suggested special legislation to improve the protection of herding: the area should be diminished if this legislation was not put in place. If it was, then even a larger area could be protected. Existing nature protection legislation could not provide sufficient protection for herding. The herding community and its administrative organisations saw nature protection in an instrumental manner, as means to protect their subsistence. The statute suggested by the working group was meant to secure the right to herd and to use herding infrastructure, as well as to hinder too-efficient logging in the protected areas.⁴² The framing was economic but could be aligned with the environmental frame concerned about natural values.

The national park committee of 1976 did not wish to voice the industrial discourse about harmful reindeer evident, for example, in forestry research and from the FPS;⁴³ on the contrary, herding and pastures were in need of protection and protection was in the interest of reindeer herding. The rutting and calving periods were represented as periods of vulnerability to disturbance from tourism and motorised traffic.⁴⁴ Adding to this pro-herding stance, the exclusion of local FPS officials from the planning process was one of the most decisive factors for the continuing peace after the planning process.⁴⁵ During the process, the economic sustainability of herding frame of the herders and the conservation frame of the central planning organs, committees and environmental actors aligned because of shared mistrust of the FPS. The other risk for Sámi and herder reputation, too great numbers of reindeer, was not (yet) articulated as a risk, as the condition of pastures was generally good and the externalities posed a greater, already observable threat.

While a coalition could be built with the ecological framing, the herders utilised culturally well-known forms of communication and a selection of categories, by seeing herding mostly as a source of economic sustainability. This economic framing of herding resonated well with the official and administrative framings of the era, still echoing the economic imperatives of employment, needs of industry and GNP. The remedy suggested by the herder framing was the same as in the ecological framing: exclusion of forestry. The Koilliskaira planning process is a case of creating, finding and using resonance across state frames, to build a successful front against another powerful state actor, the FPS.

42. Ibid.

43. Nyssönen 2022, *passim*.

44. Kansallispuistokomitean mietintö 1976: 88, pp. 61, 83–84, 87, 116, 118, 142, 158–61, 170.

45. Nyssönen 2000, p. 168.

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Statutory protection by the bureaucratic state was considered sufficient, which it indeed turned out to be, since the park statutes kept the externality effectively outside the park, despite the fact that the FPS took over its administration.

From wilderness dispute to the administrative duty of the Sámi Parliament – judicial framing

The doctrine of protection of old phases of forest succession was a source of great frustration to the FPS. The means of logging in forests reserved for economic use were to be scaled down, while demand for timber increased due to increased capacity in the plants in southern Lapland. At the beginning of the 1980s, the FPS was not willing to increase the area of conserved forests. The first major conflict over forestry in old forests resulted in establishment of Wilderness areas, where both reindeer herding and, to the great satisfaction to the FPS, also moderate forms of forestry were allowed.⁴⁶

In forestry disputes from the 1980s onwards, the Sámi statements varied in their ecological depth; sometimes it was ‘nature in its original state’ that was to be protected,⁴⁷ but most statements, and all the formal institutions, the Sámi Delegation⁴⁸ and the Reindeer Herders’ Association, stressed the need to protect reindeer herding. The Sámi voices still supporting forestry were marginalised. The fundamental difference had survived; in southern Finland, environmental values were the decisive driver for conservation, in Lapland it was the interests of competing means of living. The question had a cultural side to it, as herding was seen as a carrier of Sámi culture. Both aspects, the economic and the cultural, caused Sámi to protest about protection of predators in the conservation areas.⁴⁹ For one part, the Sámi looked to nature conservation for a preserved and saved resource zone; the questions of nature conservation were issues of compensation and securing usage rights.⁵⁰

Some information exists on Sámi perception of wilderness areas. Initially, the chairperson of the Sámi delegation, Pekka Aikio, employed a judicial framing, protesting that the land rights issue remained outside the scope of the committee planning the wilderness areas.⁵¹ The two wilderness areas in the Skolt

46. Parpola and Åberg 2009, pp. 354–56, 371–74, 382–86.

47. Kitti 1980a; Kitti 1980b.

48. The predecessor of the Sámi parliament, est. 1972, the Sámi Delegation was an elected organ for the Sámi, with an advisory mandate.

49. Nyysönen 2000, pp. 186–90.

50. Nyysönen 2000, p. 250.

51. Erämaakomitean mietintö 1988:39, passim.

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Sámi administrative areas seem to have been taken as a positive phenomenon, as areas for traditional usage forms. One reason for positivity seems to have been that, even though allowed, forestry had not been practised in the wilderness areas for many decades, while the Skolt Sámi are allowed to utilise their privately owned forests commercially. Wilderness legislation and the extreme geographical location of the forests thus provided assets to the Skolt Sámi in the competition for natural resources.⁵²

One aspect beginning to de-stabilise the managemental peace was the different views of one central actor, reindeer. She no longer stood automatically among the species to be protected, but as the one who simultaneously benefits from and threatens nature protection, by becoming 'too many'. Segments of forest science sustained the fixed idea of reindeer as a harmful animal to the forest and pasture ecosystem. This was an unquestioned truism in early forestry research, articulated throughout the twentieth century, and recently increasingly under the biodiversity paradigm, faced with increasing evidence of the weakening pasture ecosystem.⁵³ As foresters utilised the idea of multiple use, representing forests as a resource for forestry and herding, the herder community, researchers favourable to their cause and the media have continued to seek faults in forestry (fragmentation of pasture areas, weakening of winter pastures etc.). Conflict has polarised and locked since the parties employ numerous frames (economic and cultural sustainability of Sámi communities vs. ecological sustainability of the Sámi means of living; health of the ecosystem vs. cultural rights and self-determination of the IP). Mainstream research stresses the impact of both to the ongoing change in the pasture ecosystem and externalities, among them industrial land-use forms and increased grazing pressure.

As the Sámi Parliament began to give statements on protection of nature in the Sámi Homeland, the sources of knowledge changed: the Sámi used studies on law, which meant that the issue was framed as a question of rights; that conservation plans must not violate herding and pasturing rights; that the legal foundation of the administration and rules of the natural reserves must be judicially solid in relation to the rights of the Sámi; and that it must be considered whether the case opened a possibility to air claims and/or point to violation of cultural rights.⁵⁴ The Sámi were to be reserved a right to build

52. Itkonen 2017, pp. 89–92.

53. Nyssönen 2022, *passim*.

54. The archive of the Sámi Parliament of Finland, Statement 391/D.a. 9, 8.9.2005: Metsäntutkimuslaitoksen Kolarin tutkimuskeskustuksen lausuntopyyntö ratkaisuvaihtoehtoja, jotka koskevat suojelun ja alueen paronhoidon yhteensovittamista Mallan luon-

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constructions and houses, according to the needs of traditional means of living and according to the conventions of Sámi culture, in the conservation areas in the Sámi Homeland.⁵⁵ The level of protection of the right to reindeer herding, fishing and hunting is of constant interest.⁵⁶ The role and the connected administrative grids of the Sámi Parliament as administrator of cultural autonomy guide the framing. The clear particularistic agenda in the ecopolitics of the Sámi Parliament has not gone unnoticed in prior research.⁵⁷

The judicial frame marginalised ecological studies, forestry science and biology.⁵⁸ The predator question had also reached a crisis level, something that the Sámi Parliament has acted on: a right to remove individual predators was to be given to the Sámi as well.⁵⁹ In the most recent years, the conception of PAs as protective zones for reindeer (herding) has become a truism; part of this perception is the fixed position of forestry in the new constellation, i.e. culprit that diminishes the biomass of arboreal lichen and therefore consists a risk for the winter grazing of reindeer. Herder testimony of lesser need for artificial feeding in the PAs and research results showing bigger biomass of arboreal lichen in the conserved forest areas back up the conception.⁶⁰

Conclusions

The frames concerning conservation have changed over the research period: the Sámi/herder benefit frame was joined, though not overtaken by, a more science-driven and more challenging indigenous rights frame. Common to

nonpuistossa. <https://dokumentit.solinum.fi/samediggi/?f=Dokumenttipankki%2FAloitteet%2C%20esitykset%2C%20lausunnot%20ja%20muut> (accessed 23 Dec. 2020).

55. The archive of the Sámi Parliament of Finland, Statement 508/D.a.4, 2.10.2009, Saamelaiskäräjien lausunto luonnonsuojelulain muuttamisesta. <https://dokumentit.solinum.fi/samediggi/?f=Dokumenttipankki%2FAloitteet%2C%20esitykset%2C%20lausunnot%20ja%20muut> (accessed 23 Dec. 2020).
56. The archive of the Sámi Parliament of Finland, Statement 566/D.a.3.2007, 4.10.2007, Lausunto Lemmenjoen kansallispuiston hoito- ja käyttösuunnitelmasta, <https://dokumentit.solinum.fi/samediggi/?f=Dokumenttipankki%2FAloitteet%2C%20esitykset%2C%20lausunnot%20ja%20muut> (accessed 23. Dec. 2020)
57. Compare Berglund 2006, pp. 97–98.
58. Berglund 2006, pp. 103–08.
59. The archive of the Sámi Parliament of Finland, Statement 508/D.a.4, 2.10.2009, Saamelaiskäräjien lausunto luonnonsuojelulain muuttamisesta. <https://dokumentit.solinum.fi/samediggi/?f=Dokumenttipankki%2FAloitteet%2C%20esitykset%2C%20lausunnot%20ja%20muut> (accessed 23 Dec. 2020).
60. [Yle.fi/uutiset/3-11257874](https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-11257874) (accessed 1 April 2020)

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these frames was high insistence on usage rights. In the last phase of inquiry, the Sámi voices turned more challenging, not towards conservation, but towards competing land-use forms and to the sufficiency of Sámi rights. Peace is still prevalent within the protected areas, as forestry remains excluded from the PAs, and the PAs have turned into vehicles for monitoring the protection of other rights as well.

The way the committees framed the park planning processes with reference to the conservation practices of multiple use was one of the guarantees of success in the planning; the economic frames were shared, there was no dissonance in this way of approaching the PAs. The cause of environment, ecology and nature enjoyed a different weight for different actors. It was seldom referred to by the herders, but it did not amount to a hindering factor either, as herding was secured through the shared economically-framed approach and the environmental frame included herding in the entities to be protected. More decisively, all three frames, herding, environmental and that of Sámi survival, shared a negative view about efficient forestry. Differing interests and identity frames therefore matched sufficiently.⁶¹

The sources reflect the views of the group of Sámi herders and politicians with access to the PA planning and the framings of the state officials, who were behind the gathering of Sámi opinions and drafting the focus of the reports. The sources reveal an economic gaze, one wishing to see reindeer as a viable part of the landscape and income structures. Such instrumentality, and the success in restricting forestry outside the PAs, nuances the most victimised positions ascribed to IP in studies of PAs. Those with lesser standing received a voice in an issue that had long been handled without hearing them. At times, the institutional setting and a number of frames favoured their cause and the Sámi positioned successfully in relation to the competing frames.⁶² The matters of the sufficiency of the protection of northern nature, of Sámi rights and their inclusion in PA management can be and are further discussed in research.⁶³

Each usage of frame is linked to other frames and to larger cultural beliefs.⁶⁴ That the Sámi relation to their environments appears in the sources to be mostly economic, based on conservation of ecological services and natural resources, the productive capacity of nature,⁶⁵ is in part due to the mentioned

61. Kennedy, Brown and Butler 2021, *passim*.

62. Creed, Langstraat and Scully 2002, p. 45.

63. Heinämäki, Herrmann and Neumann 2014, *passim*.

64. Creed, Langstraat and Scully 2002, p. 45.

65. Ahonen 1997.

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grid of sources. The grid has led to under-communicating arguments about cultural rights, of which there are only glimpses in the 1970s. The whole story frame stressing economy and fate of the means of living was coupled with identity frames of cultural survival and ethnicity of the Sámi. These identity frames enabled the Sámi actors to combine the individual, usually seen (in the context of Lapland) as anti-protectionist,⁶⁶ and the collective values and interests, neither of which negated conservation.

As conservation areas are established and the conserved everyday (use) of the areas begins, usually peace ensues. The most important reason is that the Finnish conservation legislation is straightforward on reindeer herding: it is allowed in national parks and wilderness areas. The level of protection of Sámi usage rights from the state and park administration and legislation was long considered sufficient.⁶⁷ The Finnish model resembles dispossessive examples from settler colonies only superficially; for example the oft-heard criticism about protecting unproductive peripheries, used and settled by IP,⁶⁸ do in practice apply in Finnish case. In addition, the state could be criticised of minimal effort at the inclusion of local voices and of Sámi in the planning and administration of the PAs. But, Sámi presence or livelihoods in the PAs were only regulated, not denied, and the encroachment on subsistence forms was meagre.

The 'failure' of PAs to qualify fully as colonial in the Finnish context does not imply that state policies concerning the Sámi could not be deemed colonial – there are recent examples of encroaching on Sámi fishing rights in the river Deatnu/Teno in the name of protecting the Atlantic salmon⁶⁹ and Sámi conservation policies, turning sour to the protection policies dictated from the 'south', are articulated under conditions of perception of diminishing, fragmented and threatened areas for traditional means of living and under a sharpened tone demanding self-determination. The criticism reveals another aspect of the conservation history of Finland: conservation has not stopped industrial development or resource extraction outside the PAs. This affects the Sámi as well and these matters are experienced as colonial by them. Prospecting and gold-digging in Lemmenjoki national park, forestry, hydropower projects, the tourism industry and reindeer herding have all left marks, to a varying degree, on nature in Upper-Lapland.

66. Kennedy, Brown and Butler 2021, p. 613.

67. <https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-11695935> (accessed 11 Jan 2021).

68. Adams 2005, p. 129.

69. Toivanen and Cambou 2021, p. 58.

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