

Globalizing the Ethnoscape

KATRINA Z.S. SCHWARTZ



Nature and National Identity after Communism Globalizing the Ethnoscape

KATRINA Z.S. SCHWARTZ

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ILLUSTRATIONS

FIGURE 1. The mosaic agricultural landscape with traditional farmstead (viensēta) 59

FIGURE 2. Great tree liberator Imants Ziedonis 63

FIGURE 3. Great tree liberators burning brush 66

FIGURE 4. The occupation of beauty 68

FIGURE 5. A wealth of biodiversity 103

FIGURE 6. Map of Latvia with case study sites 113

FIGURE 7. Gauja National Park tourist postcard 119

FIGURE 8. Map of Gauja National Park zoning 122

FIGURE 9. Lake Pape ecosystem 142

FIGURE 10. Soviet apartment bloc, Rucava 144

FIGURE 11. The landscape of abandonment 145

FIGURE 12. Konik horses at Lake Pape 157

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PROLOGUE | THE DITCH

This book may well have never come to be without the childhood years spent at the kitchen table with my great-aunt Laura Strautzels (1905–2003), a remarkable storyteller with a joyous love of words in four languages (Latvian, German, Russian, and English, plus the occasional Ovid fragment recalled from high school). Aunt Laura's photographic memory, wry humor, keen intelligence, and elegant narrative style brought to life for me the vanished landscapes of pre-Soviet Europe, through her accounts of life on our family's prosperous farmstead, as a university student in Riga and a provincial schoolteacher during the interwar First Republic, and during two world wars and two exiles (the second to America; the first to Tver in Russia, where she lost a beloved little sister, made friends with Russian classmates, and rose to first in her class at the Rimskaya-Korsakova School for Girls). Because of Aunt Laura, the past has always seemed to me like a foreign country still open to visitors.

When I began working on this project, I talked about it with Aunt Laura during my visits to the family home in Cleveland. As always, she listened with acute interest. At some point she noted that my research themes made her think about the family farmstead, Strautzelas, where she grew up and to which she returned often in adulthood as the de facto head of household, taking over for her less practically inclined mother. I asked her to tell me more, but she said she needed to think about it. The following morning she announced that she was ready to talk, and I sat down with my tape recorder. I ask the reader's indulgence in reproducing here the narrative she delivered to me on that September morning in 1997, not only because it will serve as the only published testimony to her astonishing memory and verbal gifts, but also because it encapsulates so many of the themes of this book. (As always, alas, much of the beauty is lost in translation.) Like the agrarian memoirs discussed in chapter 1, her story begins with idyllic childhood memories of the Strauzelas farmstead, but it concludes with the despoliation of her own personal ethnoscape by the forces of wetland drainage (meliorācija) during the late 1930s, at the zenith of agrarian nationalist productivism and on the eve of World War II and the Soviet occupation of Latvia. "Do you know what title I want to give it?" Aunt Laura asked me before she began narrating. "The ditch."

* * *

Strautzeļas was a farmstead. The fields were primarily for grain. All the fields were divided into geometric shapes, squares or triangles or some other shape, with the help of ditches. And these ditches were the only drainage. This drainage was very primitive. The fields were a little bit sloped, and there was a sort of low-lying area. That was left as an uncultivated meadow, and it stretched the entire length of the property along that edge—about two kilometers. No one fertilized it or mowed it, there was no hay—they just kept it. And a little stream flowed through the meadow, a little meandering stream. And on the banks of the stream were tree stands in two places. We had the Big Grove and the Little Grove. And funnily enough these groves formed themselves—very little work had to be done in them. We all very much loved the near one—not just the children, but the entire household loved it, and if people came from Riga, or sometimes guests from Jelgava, then we would eat breakfast and—"Let's go to the grove."

The biggest event for the Strautzelas household and for this stream was springtime. My, how we awaited the spring! It occurs to me to compare it to provincial towns in America awaiting the arrival of a touring performance by the Metropolitan Opera. The performances run for maybe two weeks. And everyone waits nervously before it, and enthuses after they've left, and then there is something to talk about and remember. That's how at Strautzelas every year you awaited the same old springtime. Every year. Everyone—not just the children. The children most of all, but also for example the farmhands and herders—everyone went to check the pond. (There was also a pond in the meadow, and a well and a sauna, and also one farmhands' house, where the laborers could live.) And you went to see whether spring had arrived, so as not to miss the very beginning. First the pond thawed, full of frogs croaking. Then you looked—yes, the eggs have been laid. The eggs weren't one by one, but in clumps that were called spawn. And the children went to watch how the spawn grew. But there would still be snow here and there. Suddenly the stream swelled—it rose up and was no longer calmly blanketed with its layer of winter snow, but began to split, and water began to appear here and there, and then it jostled, and the snow also started to push around. Well, and that was the culmination.

Then the "visitors" began to arrive—the songbirds. That was called the nesting time, and they all had it at around the same time. The starlings had already arrived before them. They lived in little man-made wooden houses, attached to ap-

ple trees in the orchard, which were inspected before the spring arrival to see if they were still in good shape, or whether a new little board needed to be attached for the bird to sit on when he sings in front of his house. And the starlings began to whistle.

It sounds like bells in the sky—you look: blue skies, you don't see anything, but everything is ringing, ringing, it sounds like either a stringed instrument, or silver bells. What is it? The skylarks. They hover as high as they can in the sky. But why do they sing, and why do they hover right there, above the gray field? There is nothing on the field, or maybe there is a thin green layer of winter grain (rye and wheat were planted in the fall). They hover up there and sing because down in that bare field is the mother on her eggs. My, how beautiful those skylarks are!

The biggest tree in the grove, which stood apart from the others, had its top cut off and a wheel had been attached horizontally, and that's where the storks were awaited. They came in pairs, sometimes two pairs, sometimes only one. When the storks arrived, they tested the wheel themselves, jumping on the rim to see if it held.

And then also all sorts of little birds. Once they arrived, then quite soon the whole land, the whole grove, and the whole meadow suddenly was one great carpet of flowers—exactly like a carpet. In the low places, right by the banks of the stream, there were yellow marsh marigolds. Everything was carpeted with marsh marigolds. In the shadier places were anemone flowers, also yellow. Then higher up were yellow primroses and purple swallow-wort. And it all looked like a carpet, throughout the entire meadow.

There were some old trees, and they had lots of hollow places. Birds nested in all the hollow trees. And we were taught that you could look, but you couldn't breathe on them, and you couldn't show your teeth or talk: then the bird would abandon the nest. And we three sisters would go from tree to tree-we knew where the old trees were. What were these old trees? They were rowan trees and crab apple trees. And the branches were knotted, and often water would gather in the knots, and there the birds had made their nests. We lifted each other up as best as we could in order to see, because the nest was a little too high for us.

The little grove was especially beautiful on this side, where we brought guests. It was mostly birches. And under the birches almost nothing grew on its own, except for the junipers. The birches—well, it was a park, just like a park. The birches would already have leaves. A little farther along the stream bank, where the birches ended, were hazelnut trees, which let out a spray of golden pollen when they blossomed. Then with the birches there were also rowans, and another wonderful tree-the bird-cherry, and that was blossoming too. The nut trees first.

And even before the nut trees, the pussy willow catkins—already in late February they were bright silver, and the branch was a sort of bright brown color.

So the storks were making their nest, and the meadow was full of little baby frogs, and they all had food, and all the birds had food. And there were all sorts of insects, sort of a natural jungle, and they had good pastures there. When the bird-cherries had started to bud out, one lovely evening the nightingales began to sing. Wonderful! They would sing all night. They say about the nightingale that when she's singing she suddenly loses her voice, and you think she's gotten tired of it. No! She gets so carried away that sometimes she has a heart attack—a heart attack from ecstasy. The mother hatches the eggs, the father sings. All night until the light of dawn, and the bird-cherries are getting ready to bud out, to blossom.

And that was the "touring performance," and it lasted around a month. The storks had arrived from Africa, where they had been waiting to return to their homeland. The majority of these birds came back to their place of birth. Sometimes the very same storks come and come—suddenly one comes back alone. His partner had probably died on the journey. Sometimes he lives alone, he can't get a new partner. He lives out the summer alone in the nest, without children. . . .

But, well, life progresses, doesn't it? [As an adult] I start to get called in to the township council. "We have a project and you must participate in the project. We want to drain the fields, and you must give your one-and-a-half-kilometer stream in your meadow, so that a drainage ditch can be dug there. And you must join the drainage society." I refuse. They ask me why, and I say, "That is the most beautiful place," and I tell them about it. I say—when visitors come from Riga and other cities, then we go to the grove and everyone likes it there very much, and it's beautiful there in late summer too. "That's unacceptable," they say, and, "Nowadays everyone is draining, and everyone needs that drainage ditch, and you and your farmstead are backward, and the way that grove looks—I'm ashamed to drive by it!" I don't listen, and for a good long while I don't listen.

Well, finally I have to listen after all. I agreed to join the drainage society. That's how it is—progress, everyone wants artificial fertilizers, everyone needs the drainage ditch, and they all run their ditches into the big ditch. And I saw how the ditch was dug; it was around two meters wide, fairly deep. And so it happened.

And it's funny—from that very summer we notice that we no longer have flowers, that nothing grows there anymore. Everything starts to change. And here and there a tree dies. And we are surprised to see owls showing up in the apple orchard. One time, for example, we were sleeping in the attic room, the windows were opened outward, and I see on the wall something like the shadow of a bottle. I turn my head to see what it could be—an owl is looking right at me! An owl com-

ing into the bedroom! Another time I go to the window downstairs to see what's shining there. Two owls in the cherry orchard. It was strange—owls started coming to the house. They lived in the woods, in the groves. We noticed them for several summers. And then the nightingales started singing right in the yard. And they sang all night. We kept the windows open at night, and one night my mother awakens me and says, "Can you sleep? I can't sleep when the nightingale comes so close to sing." It had come right up to her window.

So we started wondering, what is this? At first we didn't really notice the changes—well, only that the ditch was ugly. Only that much. And then everyone began to talk about how the grove dwellers were coming to our yard at night, as if to complain. And we talked about it and decided—something is going to happen, something terrible. In the old days, when forest birds and forest animals come to people's houses, that means war is coming.

Well, and that's how it ended. And all this time I still thought about the ditch and the changes in that grove, and the birds' strange behavior, when they began staying in the yard right by the windows—I identified it with a prophecy of disaster from God. I was convinced that the old folks were right! That if a forest owl comes to the house, it means war. Until here [in America] I started hearing about ecology, about the Amazon River, and how they cleared the forests improperly there, and so on. It occurred to me that the change in that grove, and everything that happened, was ecology. At that time I didn't know about this ecology. And so our "wetland" was transformed into nothing. Into nothing. It had to be drained and planted with wheat and rye. And all around there wasn't a single grove—ours had been the only one. Everyone was draining, and it kept getting worse and worse in that grove, and one after another the trees died. And then in the Communist times they rode over it with bulldozers and flattened the grove.

CONTENTS

List of Illustrations ix

Acknowledgments xi

Prologue | The Ditch xiii

Introduction 1

PART 1

IMAGINING NATION, NATURE, AND HOMELAND

- 1. By Land or by Sea 27
- 2. "The Occupation of Beauty" 54
- 3. Globalizing the Ethnoscape 78

PART 2

CONTESTING NATURE AFTER COMMUNISM

- 4. Returning to a Postproductivist Europe 95
- 5. "Masters in Our Native Place" | The Politics of National Parks 115
- 6. Wild Horses in a "European Wilderness" 138
- "Lichens Are Not Our National Treasure" | The Battle over Sustainable
 Forestry 166

Conclusion 198

Notes 205

Bibliography 259

Index 277

Introduction

On May I, 2004, eight formerly Communist countries in Central and Eastern Europe, including the three former Soviet republics of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, consummated their long-desired "return to Europe" by joining the European Union (EU). The new members brought with them well-known problems of poverty, inequality, corruption, and popular disillusionment with democracy and the market. Many of these problems are particularly severe in rural areas, where nearly 4 million farmers will now compete in the European common market with the 6.5 million agriculturalists of existing member states. The region brought with it also the scars of environmental damage wrought by decades of state-socialist industrialization: the lingering effects of the Chernobyl disaster, forests laid waste by acid rain, the old strip mines and coal-fired power plants in the so-called black triangle on the East German—Czech—Polish border.

While popular perceptions of the East European environment center on nightmarish images of pollution hotspots, there is far less recognition of the fact that Communism yielded profound, if often unintended, environmental benefits as well: namely, protection for a wealth of relatively untouched nature that supports far more biological diversity than can be found in Western Europe.² This wealth testifies less to the superiority of the Communist states' toothless environmental protection laws than to the relative ineffectiveness of state-socialist economies in achieving the goal that Marxist-Leninist ideology shared with its capitalist nemesis: transforming nature for productive purposes. Part of the explanation, nevertheless, lies in the impressive system of protected nature areas established throughout the region during the Communist period and perhaps also in the presence of a strong, historically rooted popular environmental ethos.3 But whether by accident or design, in May 2004 not only were 74 million human survivors of Communism welcomed into the European fold: so too were thousands of brown bear, wolves, and lynx roaming the Carpathian Mountains and the world's densest population of black storks nesting secretively in Latvia's "northern rain forests." The coal mines of Bohemia have been "returned to Europe," but so have Poland's "primeval" Bialowieza Forest, the flood plains of the Danube, and the high dunes of Lithuania's Couronian Spit.

An abundance of nature is one face of an unexpected dual legacy bequeathed to the post-Communist countryside when the Soviet Union and its satellite regimes collapsed. The other is a relatively oversized and inefficient agrarian sector, which throughout the region employs a far greater share of the population far less productively than in advanced capitalist industrial societies. The elimination of Communist-era subsidies and trading blocs has ravaged agricultural livelihoods, and future prospects for these farmers are dubious at best; Europe is already burdened with agricultural overcapacity and is struggling desperately to reform and reduce its own much-criticized system of agricultural supports. But while the withering away of the agricultural sphere is likely to continue and indeed accelerate in these countries, demand for the East's natural wealth is likely to grow in the crowded cities and manicured suburbs of postindustrial Western Europe.

As one analyst of the geography of post-Communist Europe puts it: "Directly or indirectly, in greater or lesser measure, the lives of 400 million people (or about 8% of world population) are being reshaped; the functions, values and perception of space across the 17% of the earth's landmass that they occupy are being reorganized, reassessed and redefined."5 The Central and East European countries confront a developmental challenge that will have profound consequences not only for the livelihoods of millions of people but also for natural diversity on the European continent. What is to be done with large and underemployed rural populations and with growing areas of marginal farmland? Can nature itself be used as a resource to promote rural development? And if so, with what consequences, both for nature and for people? Responses to this challenge will evolve during the coming years, and they will be informed by many factors: by the give-and-take of national politics; the specific conditions of the environmental, agricultural, and rural development assistance dispensed by EU and international donors; the vagaries of global market demand; and the strictures of market liberalization. They will also be informed by the ideas and passions of post-Communist rural dwellers themselves: by how they understand the meaning of rural landscapes, the value of agrarian labor, and the proper relationship between human beings and nature.

This book hopes to shed light on this last dimension by exploring local responses to Western aid initiatives in nature management and rural development in one post-Communist country, Latvia, during the 1990s (that is, before its accession to the EU). Debates about the future of the Latvian countryside have been deeply influenced by competing understandings of nature, and these, in turn, are intimately intertwined with discourses of nation. To understand how Latvians

have negotiated and will continue to negotiate their "return to Europe" and, more broadly, their reinsertion into the cultural and economic space of the West, we must understand how the uses and meanings of nature are bound up with national identity: how generations of Latvians have defined Latvianness in terms of a particular relationship to nature and have constructed nature as a particular embodiment of Latvianness. The nexus of nature and nation is, of course, by no means unique to Latvia, and I present the Latvian case as one post-Communist variation, with some distinctive elements, on a universal theme. Like others elsewhere in the region and in other places and times, many Latvians believe that what is at stake in the incipient Europeanization of the countryside is the fate not only of storks and wolves and wetlands, but also, as one rural dweller told me, of "Latvians who know they are Latvians."

Constructing Nature and Nation

"Nature," as William Cronon puts it, "is not nearly as natural as it seems. Instead, it is a profoundly human construction." Social constructions of nature reveal much about "not just the natural world but the human cultures that lend meaning and moral imperatives to that world." Among other things, they reveal much about conceptions of national identity, for the cultural entrepreneurs of nations great and small are forever seeing the soul of the nation reflected in its native landscapes. Indeed, the perceived symbiosis between a community and "its" piece of earth is central to the phenomenon of nationhood itself, as Anthony D. Smith demonstrates. 7 The cultural question at the heart of nationalism—"Who are we?"—is at the same time always a geographical question—"Where are we?" or "What is our place?" Discourses of national identity seek not only to define the nation's character but also to delineate its homeland by articulating the nation's relationship to a specific territory. "The creation of nations," Smith observes, "requires a special place for the nation to inhabit, a land 'of their own.' Not any land; an historic land, a homeland, an ancestral land." Homelands are constructed by infusing physical terrain with national meaning, transforming landscape into "ethnoscape." Through a wide range of practices—school curricula, the arts, heritage tourism, public spectacles—historic sites and monuments are naturalized and natural features historicized by national entrepreneurs seeking to inculcate a profound identification with an ancestral homeland. In this manner, "long barrows in Wessen, stone circles in Brittany or the Orkneys, kreml-fortresses in Russia, temples in Greece and Italy, tells in Iraq and Syria, have all entered the imaginative fabric of the community over the centuries, by appearing to fuse with a surrounding nature and become one with the habitat."9 National identity, as Simon Schama puts it, "would lose much of its ferocious enchantment without the mystique of a particular landscape tradition: its topography mapped, elaborated, and enriched as a homeland." ¹⁰

In England, the iconic rural landscape, with its patchwork of neatly cultivated fields, hedgerows, and bucolic villages, is seen as embodying the national virtues of order, stability, insularity, and good stewardship.11 In Wales, early twentiethcentury nationalists extolled the rugged and remote northern hill country as the defender of Welsh language and tradition against the onslaught of Anglicizing modernization.¹² Zionists planted forests in Palestine to enact a redefinition of Jewish identity away from "rootless cosmopolitanism" to an earthy connection with the land, to mark Jews as the rightful cultivators of the land who were making the desert bloom after centuries of mistreatment. The ritual of tree planting by Israelis and Jews visiting from abroad continues today, as does the promotion of nature tours aimed at teaching love of country by interweaving natural and social history.13 In nineteenth-century America, artists, writers, and politicians seeking to define a unique identity for the upstart nation discovered that wildness was what distinguished America's nature from Europe's and that the splendor and antiquity of places like Yosemite Valley could be invoked against the Old World's indisputably superior cultural and historical heritage. Wilderness evoked America's frontier and its pioneer past, too, which was seen as having shaped the distinctively rugged but democratic and entrepreneurial character of its citizens. 14 The project to define national identity intersected with the Romantic celebration of the sublime to yield a dominant construction of nature as wilderness, valued for its pristine and untouched qualities, and institutionalized most prominently in the national park.15

The Power of Environmental Narratives

The natural sciences produce their own distinctive constructions of nature. Generations of scientists have articulated a series of environmental narratives or orthodoxies claiming to explain the causes and consequences of environmental change and to prescribe appropriate human relationships to nature: the narratives of deforestation, soil erosion, the population bomb, the limits to growth, global climate change, and so on. ¹⁶ Although these narratives come and go as new research upends prior certitudes, nonetheless each narrative in its heyday commands tremendous influence over perceptions of nature and agendas for nature management.

Scholars in the interdisciplinary field of political ecology have shown that those who control environmental narratives also wield power over land and natural resources. In many African colonies, colonial officials used scientific theories of soil erosion and conservation to justify strict control of native farmers' land use practices or even forcible removal from their lands. ¹⁷ In colonial and postcolonial Java, German-style "scientific forestry," with its notions of conservation and sustained yield, has underpinned state policies limiting access to valuable teak forests for millions of forest villagers. 18 Often the authoritative language (or "Big Talk") of the natural sciences¹⁹ is reinforced by Romantic narratives of nature as pristine, Edenic wilderness. The result is a potent mixture that clashes with indigenous understandings of nature as a lived-in landscape of labor and as a reservoir of cultural, religious, and historical meanings.

Ever since the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro (the Earth Summit) inaugurated the present era of global environmental politics, dominant environmental narratives have been transmitted through the provision of environmental aid by rich countries to the poor. In the wake of Rio, not only conservation organizations but also mainstream development donors such as the UN and the World Bank have been doling out environmental aid dollars to developing countries and in the third world. Since the collapse of Communism, such aid has gone to the second world as well. These flows of money and expert assistance are structured by the master environmental narratives of biodiversity conservation and sustainable development.

The term biological diversity—natural variation at the levels of genes, species, and ecosystems—emerged as a scientific response to the shocking rates of species extinction discovered in the 1970s and has become a household phrase. Yet even as the clarion call to prevent global biodiversity loss sounds ever louder, scientists are far from agreement on how to define and measure biodiversity, let alone how best to preserve it. "Biodiversity shines with the gloss of scientific respectability," observes David Takacs, "while underneath it is kaleidoscopic and all-encompassing: we can find in it what we want, and can justify many courses of action in its name."20 To be sure, the moral imperative to stop the annihilation of natural diversity is deeply compelling; yet all too often the narrative of biodiversity loss, much like earlier narratives of soil erosion or game conservation, underpins nature management strategies that vilify local people as environmentally destructive and sometimes literally fence them out of traditional lands.21 Armed with the discourse of biodiversity conservation, writes James McCarthy, extralocal understandings of nature "backed up by purchasing power are transforming environments around the globe, often to the detriment or against the will of local users."22 Biological diversity has become one of the "normalizing narratives" disseminated worldwide, along with changing flows of political and economic power.²³