



# Speaking of the Future: A Dialogue on Conservation

A Report on a National Symposium  
November 2-6, 2001  
Reconstructing Conservation: History, Values, and Practice

*Convened by*  
The Woodstock Foundation, Inc.  
University of Vermont School of Natural Resources  
Conservation Study Institute  
Trust for Public Land  
Marsh-Billings-Rockefeller National Historical Park



**symposium**, *n.* 1. a meeting or conference for discussion of some subject. 2. a collection of opinions expressed, or articles contributed, by several persons on a given subject or topic. 3. an account of such a meeting or of the conversation at it. 4. (among ancient Greeks) a convivial conversation, usually following a dinner, for drinking, conversation, and intellectual entertainment.

*The American College Dictionary, 1964*

This report is the fourth in the Conservation and Stewardship Publication Series produced by the Conservation Study Institute. This series includes a variety of publications designed to provide information on conservation history and current practice for professionals and the public. The series editor is Nora J. Mitchell, director of the Conservation Study Institute. The editors of this volume are Nora J. Mitchell, Leslie J. Hudson, and Deb Jones, with additional contributions by Virginia Farley and Rolf Diamant.

The Conservation Study Institute was established by the National Park Service in 1998 to enhance leadership in the field of conservation. A partnership with academic, government, and nonprofit organizations, the institute provides a forum for the National Park Service, the conservation community, and the public to discuss conservation history, contemporary issues and practices, and future directions for the field.

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For additional copies, contact:  
Conservation Study Institute  
54 Elm Street  
Woodstock, VT 05091  
Tel: 802-457-3368 / Fax: 802-457-3405  
[www.nps.gov/csi](http://www.nps.gov/csi)

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November 2–6, 2001

Reconstructing Conservation: History, Values, and Practice

*University of Vermont, Burlington, Vermont*

*Marsh-Billings-Rockefeller National Historical Park, Woodstock, Vermont*

*The symposium was convened by*

The Woodstock Foundation, Inc.

University of Vermont School of Natural Resources

Conservation Study Institute

Trust for Public Land

Marsh-Billings-Rockefeller National Historical Park

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

*We must honor the special knowledge that each individual brings.*

— Glenn Eugster

The Conservation Study Institute was pleased to cosponsor a national symposium, “Reconstructing Conservation: History, Values, and Practice” with The Woodstock Foundation, Inc., the University of Vermont’s School of Natural Resources, the Trust for Public Land, and Marsh-Billings-Rockefeller National Historical Park. The leadership provided by David Donath of The Woodstock Foundation, Don DeHayes and Bob Manning of the School of Natural Resources, Ben Minter—then with Bucknell University and now with the Earth Institute of Columbia University, and David Houghton of the Trust for Public Land was critical to the success of this event. Ben Minter also played a key role in shaping the agenda for the symposium, identifying new trends in a number of academic fields, shepherding our planning committee, and advising participants in preparation for the symposium. For the Woodstock portion of the symposium, Marsh-Billings-Rockefeller National Historical Park hosted a tour of the park. The Woodstock Foundation and the staff of the Billings Farm & Museum hosted two public events: a lecture by David Lowenthal on the legacy of George Perkins Marsh and a panel, followed by a reception and book signing, with three symposium participants speaking on the legacy of Aldo Leopold.

On behalf of the cosponsors, I wish to acknowledge the contributions of all the symposium participants; collectively they created a stimulating mix of perspectives from academia and conservation practice. Delia Clark served as lead facilitator for the dialogue sessions in Woodstock and provided advice in organizing these sessions. Megha Budruk, Virginia Farley, Deb Jones, Chris LaPointe, Daniel Laven, Peter Newman, Barbara Slaiby, and Jennifer Waite served as facilitators and recorders for the small group sessions; I thank them all for their good work. I also thank Virginia Farley and Rolf Diamant for their invaluable assistance with the writing and editing of this report.

The contributors to this publication and the symposium participants who agreed to be respondents deserve special recognition. The epilogue written by David Lowenthal provides a valuable historical context for deliberations on the future of conservation. He eloquently reminds us that the past is prologue, and that it is important to examine our legacy critically as we strive to craft new approaches and embrace stewardship.

I hope this publication will stimulate further discussion about the future paths for conservation. I’d love to hear from you!

Nora Mitchell  
Director, Conservation Study Institute  
National Park Service  
Woodstock, Vermont  
January 2003



## FRAMING THE CONVERSATION

*To become a viable goal, conservation...needs to become more inclusive in three senses: it must care for all locales, not just a select few; it must involve all the people, not just a select few; it must laud all creative acts, not just those that preserve some past. Above all, effective conservation requires not just immediate but sustained action, collaborative effort over many generations.*

— David Lowenthal

In early November 2001, 50 conservation scholars and practitioners gathered in Vermont to consider the future of conservation. A national symposium, “Reconstructing Conservation: History, Values, and Practice,” challenged participants to critically examine long-held tenets of conservation history and philosophy, and to envision principles for conservation in the twenty-first century.

Invited participants included prominent academicians in environmental philosophy and history as well as leading conservation practitioners from the public and private sectors.<sup>1</sup> Through presentations and dialogue, symposium participants explored conservation from interdisciplinary perspectives and probed the relationship and tension between conservation thought and practice.

The symposium was sponsored by a broad consortium of public and private organizations: The Woodstock Foundation, the School of Natural Resources at the University of Vermont, the National Park Service Conservation Study Institute, the Trust for Public Land, and Marsh-Billings-Rockefeller National Historical Park. These cosponsors coalesced around a common interest in stimulating more discussion on the future of conservation and agreement that the time was right to convene a national symposium.

### SYMPOSIUM PUBLICATIONS

Two complementary publications have been compiled to share the results of the symposium and to encourage further conversations on the future of conservation. *Reconstructing Conservation: Our Common Ground* has been edited by Ben Minteer and Bob Manning and will be published by Island Press in the fall of 2003. This book is a collection of original essays devoted to exploring the conceptual foundations and contemporary vitality of the American conservation tradition in academic scholarship and professional practice. The authors are leading historians, philosophers,

social scientists, and conservation practitioners who have made lasting contributions to our shared understanding of the conservation movement, and who are working to redefine the meaning and role of conservation in the professions and in our communities.

This publication, *Speaking of the Future: A Dialogue on Conservation* has been prepared by the Conservation Study Institute with a focus on lessons and insights from conservation practice. The institute’s role is to create opportunities for dialogue, reflection, and creative thinking about conservation’s past and present, as well as to contribute to shaping future directions through collaborations such as this one. With this publication, we hope to stimulate discussion and encourage readers to delve deeper by reading *Reconstructing Conservation: Our Common Ground*.

### THE CONTEXT FOR THE SYMPOSIUM

Two hundred years after the birth of George Perkins Marsh, and at the turn of a new century, seemed a particularly auspicious time for a symposium. In scholarship, there had been a shift toward contextualism and pluralism in conservation history and philosophy and the emergence of new paradigms in ecological science, humanities, and historic preservation. There had also been critiques of the philosophical tenets of American conservation thought, as exemplified by William Cronon’s book *Uncommon Ground: Toward Reinventing Nature*, which stimulated a spirited debate around the concept of wilderness.

In recent decades, conservation practice had seen an increasing trend away from top-down management strategies toward decentralized, place-based approaches. Private conservation efforts had grown exponentially, as illustrated by hundreds of new land trusts. Conservation was often based on the consideration of ecosystems and large landscapes, working across boundaries, disciplines, and sectors. “Sense of place” had become a pivotal concept for connecting people to their local environments.

Another trend was the ever increasing pace of change, often resulting in loss of biodiversity and loss of landscape character. This homogenization had sparked a search for “community.” The events of September 11, 2001, which occurred shortly before the symposium, offered a tragic reminder that we are also a global community, and that conservation, too, is a global issue.

The symposium offered a time to critically evaluate these changes, take a collective bearing on where we are today, and imagine ways that conservation could bring about a more sustainable future.

#### GUIDING QUESTIONS

The following guiding questions were proposed to symposium participants in order to help frame the symposium presentations and discussions:

How would you characterize the evolution of conservation thought and practice?  
What do you take to be the main areas of convergence and divergence in conservation?

How do you see community-based and popular conservation efforts and accounts influencing conservation thought and practice, and vice versa?

How do changing social values and ecological models influence our understanding of the theory and activity of conservation?

What ethical or value frameworks need to be understood and incorporated in conservation practice?

What intellectual and practical barriers prevent us from making these connections between theory and practice, and how might they be broken down?

From your perspective, what are some general, yet practical, principles for “reconstructing conservation” in the twenty-first century?

#### DESIGN OF THE PROGRAM

The symposium format was designed to create an opportunity for dialogue among different disciplines and between academics and practitioners. The first two days in Burlington, at the University of Vermont, consisted mainly of presentations, with opportunities for discussion increasing as the program continued. During the final two days in Woodstock, participants engaged in several small- and large-group sessions. The opportunity for dialogue encouraged debate and an exchange of ideas. These sessions focused on defining principles for the future of conservation thought and practice, imagining prospective scenarios, and crafting new stories for conservation.

#### INSIDE THIS PUBLICATION

This report begins with summaries of nine presentations made at the symposium. Each of the authors draws insights from reflections on direct conservation experience. These summaries are followed by a compilation of the key themes that emerged from the small- and large-group discussions in Woodstock.

The presentation and dialogue summaries are, in turn, followed by a series of essays by four respondents who participated in the symposium. The respondents highlight many of the key elements of the presentations and discussions, but also broaden the vision for the future of conservation. Finally, David Lowenthal’s epilogue provides a historical context for reenvisioning and extending conservation, and concludes this report with a challenge: to find a path that deeply embeds stewardship in our daily lives and thoughts.

<sup>1</sup> We recognize that, while useful, the terms “scholar/academic” and “practitioner” do not necessarily represent the nuances of reality. For example, some “academics” are “practitioners” and vice versa, and there are many shades of variation in between. Here we use these terms to express the main professional realms from which conference participants were drawn.

## Summaries of Selected Symposium Papers

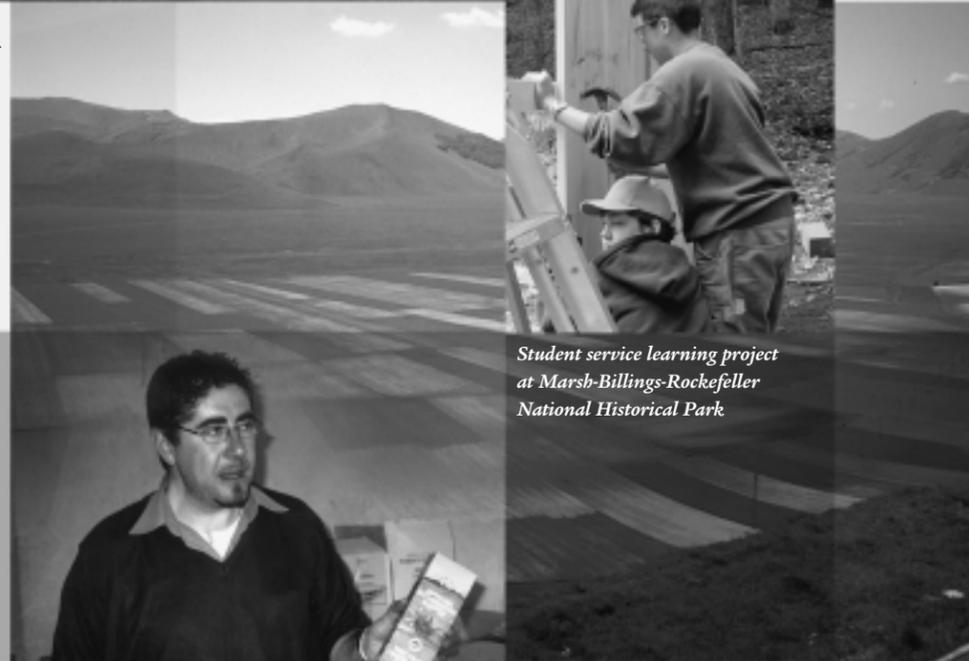
*“Conservation approaches are also becoming more complex, requiring us to weave together the broad strands of culture and nature with a diversity of disciplines, and to embrace broader social goals.”*

— Jessica Brown

Educators participating in "A Forest for Every Classroom"



Traditional lentil fields of Castelluccio, Monti Sibillini National Park, Italy



Student service learning project at Marsh-Billings-Rockefeller National Historical Park



Lentil farmer and park guide, Monti Sibillini National Park, Italy

## Social Capital and Conservation

Rolf Diamant

Superintendent, Marsh-Billings-Rockefeller National Historical Park

Robert Putnam, the widely read author of *Bowling Alone*, describes "social capital" as the "connections among individuals—social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them....Civic virtue is most powerful when embedded in a dense network of reciprocal social relations."<sup>1</sup> It would be difficult to imagine successful conservation on any level in the twenty-first century that is not in large measure dependent on such social benefits. Fortunately, conservation activities often generate their own social capital. We see it in grassroots organizing, fundraising, meetings, and all manner of volunteer activities.

Within the universe of conservation practice, there are at least five trends toward the development of social capital:

### Reevaluation of what we consider to be most important in personal and public life and how we measure success in conservation work

Reflecting on this rethinking, Gus Speth, dean of the Yale School of Forestry and Environmental Studies, has written "we broke things down to the component parts and laid out rational plans of attack, with deadlines, for tackling isolated problems. Now we know the most important resource is human motivation—hope, caring, our feelings about nature, and our fellow human beings."<sup>2</sup>

Peter Forbes, in an essay for the Trust for Public Land's Center for Land and People, writes: "To save a piece of land, people re-think their future not in terms of what they could do for themselves but in terms of what they could do for others. They are building rootedness, based on their sense of service toward one another and the land."<sup>3</sup>

### Experimentation with entrepreneurial models of conservation economics that cultivate a more sustainable development path

"Conservation economics" represents a broad range of ventures, an international phenomenon in which some of the most exciting work in building "green infrastructure" is occurring in Western Europe. Alternative financing mechanisms for sustainable development are being tested in various places, such as The Nature Conservancy's "Forest Bank" set up for small private woodland owners in Virginia's Clinch River Valley, who permanently "deposit" their timber rights in return for a guaranteed annual income from

sustainable forestry and the knowledge that their home woodlands will never have to be liquidated.

### Exploration of public history and memory, which opens up new venues for civic dialogue

"Our goal," writes Dwight T. Pitcaithley, chief historian of the National Park Service, "is...understanding who we are, where we have been, and how we as a society might approach the future. This collection of special places also allows us to examine our past—the contested along with the comfortable, the complex along with the simple, the controversial along with the inspirational."<sup>4</sup>

Some of the resources he refers to are national park sites such as the plantation slave quarters at Cane River in Louisiana, the Selma-to-Montgomery trail, the Japanese-American internment camp at Manzanar, and the immigration station at Ellis Island.

### Formation of more broadly based coalitions of collaborative interests

There are many excellent examples of this work from around the country. Rick Bass works with his neighbors on the Yaak Valley Forest Council to support a local, sustainable, forest-based economy and help protect the last roadless areas in the public wildlands of northwestern Montana. Rick describes the Yaak Council as a mix of valley residents, including "hunting and fishing guides, bartenders, massage therapists, roadbuilders/heavy construction operators, writers, seamstresses, painters, construction workers, nurses, teachers, loggers, photographers, electricians, and carpenters."<sup>5</sup>

### Recognition that longer-range change will involve significant investments in schools as well as lifelong learning opportunities

These investments reflect a priority on place-based education and life skills, including civic learning, service learning, and cooperative group work and problem-solving. In the West Philadelphia Landscape Project, students armed with old maps, photographs, tax records, census tables, railroad timetables, and city sewer plans reconstructed their urban watershed and became a voice for its future management. And a coalition of interests in Vermont has developed a place-based educational model called "A Forest for Every Classroom," which teachers can use to integrate

local forestlands and civic projects in meaningful and relevant ways.

As we engage in the process of reconstructing conservation, we have the opportunity to create a new definition and a new language for conservation that are far more inclusive as well as far more complex than the paradigms of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Conservation will be ethical and humanistic in the broadest sense, and it will be entrepreneurial, democratic, and intergenerational. Conservation that invests in the next generation is conservation that will build reservoirs of social capital for its own sustainability.

- 1 Putnam, Robert. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000.
- 2 Speth, Gus. "A New Paradigm: Bring It On!" Address to the Environmental Law Institute's Thirtieth Annual Award Dinner, Washington, D.C., October 1999.
- 3 Forbes, Peter. "Another Way of Being Human." Center for Land and People, Trust for Public Land, October 17, 2001. <[http://www.tpl.org/tier3\\_cd.cfm?content\\_item\\_id=5482&folder\\_id=831](http://www.tpl.org/tier3_cd.cfm?content_item_id=5482&folder_id=831)>
- 4 Pitcaithley, Dwight. *The Future of the NPS History Program*, February 2000. <<http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/hisnps/NPSThinking/historyfuture.htm>>
- 5 Bass, Rick. Interview for Marsh-Billings-Rockefeller National Historical Park Exhibit, "Celebrating Stewardship," August 2000.

## Northern Forest Wealth Index

No land conservation action or benefit can be continued for any extended period outside of the context of a healthy, stable, engaged community that understands the vital link between conservation and overall community well-being. Our ability to assess and understand the interrelationships among environmental, economic, and social capital is gradually becoming more sophisticated. For example, the Northern Forest Center, based in Concord, New Hampshire, developed the Northern Forest Wealth Index in an effort to understand the core assets and values that contribute to the overall well-being ("wealth") of Northern Forest communities in Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, and New York.

With the guidance of a steering committee and input from a series of community meetings, the Northern Forest Center identified five categories of wealth: community, culture, economy, education, and environment. Within these categories were listed a total of 24 assets, e.g., personal connection with the landscape, livable wage, water quality, and healthy people. Indicators were devised to assess the status of each, and the result is a fascinating set of insights into the condition of the communities of the Northern Forest and a useful tool for guiding change. For example, people in the Northern Forest region value and pride themselves on self-reliance and resourcefulness. While these are difficult characteristics to measure, one indicator is the ability to make one's own living without depending on outside employment. In the Northern Forest, about one-third more working people are business proprietors than in the areas of those same states outside the Northern Forest region.

*Traditional canoe builder, Maine*



*Volunteers of all ages helped plant more than 100,000 native plants along Crissy Field's restored shoreline and tidal marsh.*



## Golden Gate National Parks Conservancy

The Golden Gate National Parks Conservancy is a nonprofit membership organization dedicated to the preservation and public enjoyment of national parks in the Golden Gate area. The world's largest urban park complex, this 75,000-acre greenbelt runs 70 miles along the California coast from Marin County through San Francisco to the northern edge of Silicon Valley. In the mid-1990s, the Golden Gate National Parks Conservancy created and launched an extraordinary identity campaign to make this network of parks as familiar and identifiable to tens of millions of people as the Golden Gate Bridge. The campaign included signage, public service announcements, branded products, calendars, stationery, posters, and even a special hand-drawn alphabet. Over a relatively short time, a remarkable bond was established between millions of San Francisco Bay Area residents and their neighboring national park lands. The conservancy also built social capital by creating an unusual and inviting array of volunteer activities that helped to result in the contribution of more than 350,000 hours of volunteer labor annually to the parks. These include:

site stewardship programs and a native plant nursery, which provide training and volunteer opportunities in seed collection, plant propagation, endangered species monitoring, vegetation sampling, and removal of invasive nonnative plants;

the Golden Gate Raptor Observatory, which involves volunteers in studying the tens of thousands of birds of prey seen during fall migration over the Marin Headlands; and

the Crissy Field Center, a community and educational facility designed in partnership with local communities, which focuses on environmental stewardship, curriculum-based learning, and youth development.

With this enormous foundation of social capital, it is not altogether surprising that some 80,000 people joined the celebration at Crissy Field (part of the Presidio, a Bay Area national park site) when it was reopened in spring 2001 after a \$34 million restoration effort. After the crowds left at the end of the day, event organizers were surprised but pleased to see that almost no litter was left behind. This, they believed, indicated a sense of pride in as well as ownership of the park.

# Stewardship in a Global Context: Coping with Change and Fostering Civil Society

**Brent Mitchell**

Director of Stewardship, QLF/Atlantic Center for the Environment

## NEW PARADIGMS IN PROTECTED AREAS

Conservation practice today is a rapidly developing field, learning from the past, incorporating new ecological understanding, and adjusting to dynamic political, economic, and cultural realities. More and more, American practitioners are noticing the rich store of innovations to be found in countries with fewer financial resources and different cultural constraints. In my work for QLF in Central Europe, Latin America, and the Caribbean, I focus on stewardship: creating, nurturing, and enabling responsibility in landowners and resource users to manage and protect natural and cultural resources.

Increasingly, conservationists are viewing protected areas in broader terms (see box). People demanding more control over management of their resources are challenging protected area authorities to explain “Protected from whom? Protected for what?” Conservationists are finding that they must adopt inclusive approaches that encourage local participation, and that the first question may in fact be whether or not a protected area is the appropriate management mechanism.

## STEWARDSHIP TODAY

Among many new developments, there is a dramatic increase in formal and semiformal private conservation work worldwide, such as the development of private reserves (a demonstration of landowner interest in stewardship) and the establishment of land trusts.

To get communities to support conservation, one must first determine citizens’ values. While the long-term necessity of biodiversity conservation can be argued scientifically, to poor populations in the world it can seem an unaffordable luxury, and to others it is at best an abstract idea. In Colombia’s Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, a major conservation project began first with a participatory process to determine what the local community valued. (Where stakeholders include left-wing militias and right wing paramilitaries, it is unwise to be anything but participatory!) The overwhelming consensus placed top priority on water protection.

Often people see many different values in a resource. In Eastern Europe’s White Carpathian Mountains, unnatural habitats have long been created and maintained by management of meadows for hay. Today, with no significant market for the hay, the meadows are filling in. Conservation groups recognize the meadows’ natural and cultural values and are working to keep them open. For some, the cultural value is foremost, keeping alive a

tradition that long defined their agrarian communities. Others stress the importance of biodiversity; species richness is reduced when the land is allowed to return to a “natural” forested state. While both are trying to keep the meadows open, the groups disagree somewhat about the means, some insisting on traditional hand tools, others on more efficient machines. But both draw on the variety of values that people attribute to the landscape.

One of the most exciting elements of stewardship work is that it often leads to advances in other social areas. Stewardship builds civil society by offering people opportunities to participate in shaping their environments and therefore their lives. The 1989 political changes in Central and Eastern Europe were precipitated largely by people’s disgust with the state of the environment caused by the centralized economic system, and a corresponding demand to improve it. A wave of environmentalists went into politics in 1990; as a result some Central European countries have perhaps the best environmental laws on the continent. In the region known as the Black Triangle, a group that originally set out to restore the forest is now also engaged in leadership development in the surrounding communities, creating a voice for improved management of the state-owned land.

*Whether landscapes are intensively managed or left relatively wild, conservation often seeks to maintain both their cultural and natural features.*



## New Pair O’Dimes in Protected Area Management

AS IT WAS, PROTECTED AREAS WERE:	AS IT IS, PROTECTED AREAS ARE:
Planned and managed <i>against</i> people	Run <i>with, for,</i> and, in some cases, <i>by</i> people (not just the government)
Run solely by central government	Run by many partners
Set aside for conservation purposes	Operated with social and economic objectives as well
Designed as independent units	Designed as part of a national or international system
Managed as “islands”	Managed as part of a network (with strictly protected areas buffered and linked by green corridors)
Established mainly for scenic preservation	Often set up for scientific, economic, and cultural reasons
Managed for visitors and tourists	Managed with concern for local people’s needs, too
About protection	Also about restoration
Viewed exclusively as a national concern	Viewed as an international concern <sup>1</sup>

## PRINCIPLES FOR CONSERVATION

The foremost principle for conservation in this era of globalization is to focus on people’s relationship to the land, where all conservation starts. Whether called a land ethic, a sense of place, a stewardship imperative, or simply a love of nature, conservation is lost without people connecting at a personal level to land and resources.

Second, we must weigh social considerations equally with ecological and economic factors. David Western put it well when he wrote: “If conservation is to become embedded in our daily activities, nature and society must be intimately linked in our minds.”<sup>2</sup>

Third, community-based approaches are practical, have multiple benefits, and are often more successful over time than efforts driven by other levels of organization. They may offer the only antidote to increasing globalization. While we tend to think in terms of “local” communities, we need to remember as well that various stakeholders comprise “communities of interest” that are not necessarily locally based.

Fourth, conservation must be flexible and adaptive. Social, economic, and environmental conditions—not to mention our understanding of them—are always in flux, and we must be responsive.

Last, we must focus on *process* over prescribed outcomes. This provides flexibility and opens up opportunities that a predetermined approach does not. Not only do our approaches to conservation evolve over time, but our ideas about the objectives of conservation change as well. We will always be “practicing” conservation to get it right, because what we believe to be “right” is a moving target.

<sup>1</sup> Adapted from Beresford, Michael, and Adrian Phillips. “Protected Landscapes: A Conservation Model for the 21st Century.” *The George Wright Forum* 17, no. 1 (2000).

<sup>2</sup> Western, David. “Vision of the Future: The New Focus of Conservation.” In *Natural Connections: Perspectives in Community-Based Conservation*, David Western and R. Michael Wright, eds. Washington, DC: Island Press, 1994.

Replanting an orchard

## The Growth in Land Trusts and the Use of Conservation Easements

The rise of social capital in association with conservation has nowhere been more evident or more widespread than in the land trust movement. Land trusts are effective incubators of social capital, and they are thriving in Vermont, throughout the U.S., and worldwide. A land trust is “a nonprofit organization that... actively works to conserve land by undertaking or assisting direct land transactions—primarily the purchase or acceptance of donations of land or conservation easements.”<sup>1</sup>

### IN VERMONT

There are more than 1,000 conservation easements in place statewide.

Beginning with the work of The Nature Conservancy in the early 1960s and increasing at a rapid pace in the 1990s, private land conservation organizations have protected, through public or nonprofit ownership or easements on private land, approximately 19 percent of the state of Vermont.

In 1999, the Champion Lands Project alone conserved almost one-third of Essex County in northern Vermont.

Approximately 330 farms (20 percent of the remaining dairy farms) have been protected, and competition for funds to purchase development rights is high. Only one out of every three or four applications is approved for funding in a given year.

In some communities, more than 20 percent of the land base has been protected. In West Haven, that figure exceeds 30 percent.



### IN THE U.S.

The National Land Trust Census found that, as of December 31, 2000:

Local and regional land trusts had protected more than 6,225,225 acres of land. This was a 226 percent increase since 1990.

Massachusetts, where land trusts were born, continued to lead the nation with 143 groups. California and Connecticut were next.

1,263 local and regional land trusts were in operation (42 percent more than in 1990).

6.2 million acres were under permanent protection. Of these, nearly 2.6 million acres (a 475 percent increase over 1990) were protected by 11,600 voluntary conservation easements.

### IN LATIN AMERICA AND EASTERN EUROPE

Many Latin American countries, including Mexico, Guatemala, and Belize, have established their first conservation easements.

In Paraguay, the Natural Lands Trust is negotiating what may be the first conservation easement with an indigenous community. In return for safeguarding other features of the land in question, legal subsistence hunting and other rights will be secured.

In the Czech Republic, in a few short years 28 land trusts have emerged. While overall they “protect” a fairly small amount of land, these tend to be very significant areas. Perhaps more importantly, they provide a mechanism for people to be directly involved in conservation in a country where for a generation nature preservation was the exclusive domain of government specialists.

<sup>1</sup> Land Trust Alliance. National Land Trust Census, 2000. <[www.lta.org/newsroom/census2000.htm](http://www.lta.org/newsroom/census2000.htm)>

Farmlands conserved by easement continue in active use.

## Land Protection in Vermont: The Impact of Conservation on People, Communities, and the Rural Economy

Darby Bradley

President, Vermont Land Trust

During the past 40 years in Vermont, land protection through fee acquisitions and conservation easements has proceeded at a rapid pace. Approximately 19 percent of the state is now conserved through public and nonprofit ownership or through easements on private land. There are more than 1,000 conservation easements in place statewide.

### THE EFFECTS OF INCREASED LAND CONSERVATION

#### Public Support

The word is spreading: interest in and knowledge about land conservation is increasing. Landowners are sharing their positive experiences with their peers, and there is more funding available.

#### The Institutionalization of Land Conservation

Early discussions about land conservation were often philosophical or hypothetical: Is it a good idea to tie the hands of future generations? Will a bank make a loan on conserved land? Today, many people—including attorneys, bankers, accountants, appraisers, and realtors—must understand conservation easements just to serve their clients. Conservation easements can be discussed on a practical level with increasing information about their environmental, economic, and social impacts.

#### Property Taxes

Studies show that, contrary to public perception, conservation is often a bargain compared to development in its effect on a town’s tax rates, because conserved land requires few public services.

#### Intergenerational Transfers

Because land conservation makes farms more affordable, one-third of farm conservation projects have involved actual or prospective transfers of the farm to the next generation. Some of these farms would otherwise have been sold for development. In a few cases, fallow farms have been brought back into production as part of a conservation transaction.

#### Farm Investment

In most projects where the farmer selling development rights intends to stay in business, the money is reinvested in the farm to reduce long-term debt, modernize infrastructure, or purchase more land. Some landowners have reported that they are experiencing less stress,

working more efficiently, finding more time for their families and communities, and generally realizing greater profitability.

#### Change in Community Outlook

When there are enough new young farmers and modernized farms in an area, the outlook and morale of the farm community seem to improve, and there is a better climate for investment in businesses that support or depend on agriculture.

#### Change in Landowner’s Relationship to the Land

When development seems like the probable future, there is little incentive to keep up the farm buildings and maintain the fertility of the fields. When subdivision and development are no longer options, farm investments become more attractive.

#### Change in Community Relationships

In some communities, land conservation has sparked efforts to develop long-range recreational plans for former industrial forestland or to create community trail networks. Some of these initiatives have built new coalitions within communities and are expected to result in the establishment of new businesses.

### LONG-TERM CHALLENGES FACED BY THE CONSERVATION COMMUNITY

#### Data Management, Monitoring, and Enforcement

Land trusts are facing increasing challenges to store, maintain, and update their records; monitor their easements; and take appropriate corrective action when violations are discovered.

#### Ownership by Successive Generations

Once a conserved property passes to the next generation or is sold, the land trust’s close relationship with the original owner is usually lost. Land trusts must work hard to build and maintain good relationships with successive owners in order to avoid violations of easement terms.

#### Rigidity versus Flexibility

Local circumstances, business conditions, scientific information, technology, landowner needs, societal needs, and perhaps even the climate will change over time. Easements must be flexible enough to accommodate these changes, yet strong enough to protect the natural resources at stake. Land trusts will be under

pressure from landowners and society to allow—or not allow—modifications in easement language and uses in response to changing circumstances.

#### Relationship of Working Lands to Wilderness

There is an increasing debate within Vermont’s conservation community about how much land should be set aside in wilderness and ecological reserves. The Vermont Biodiversity Project may lead to a broader vision of a landscape consisting of ecological reserves with buffer areas and connecting corridors of working lands.

#### Economic and Social Impacts of Conservation

Understanding the impacts of land conservation on families, communities, and society will be essential if land conservation is to continue to enjoy public support, if land trusts are to make appropriate adjustments to existing programs, and if potential negative impacts are to be mitigated.

#### Ethics

Land trusts must explore their ethical responsibilities to the community at large and to future generations in deciding whether or not to conserve a tract of land. Land trusts should encourage communities to plan for housing and development, as well as for conservation and open space, so that their projects will work in concert with the community’s goals and needs, rather than in opposition.



ABOVE: The Victorian Nugget store’s tenants lost their lease when the building was sold for casino development.

BELOW: Harvey’s Casino in Central City is a single casino designed to resemble a series of attached buildings.



## Community Values in Conservation: The Case of Central City and Black Hawk, Colorado

Patricia A. Stokowski

School of Natural Resources, University of Vermont

Over the past 150 years in the United States, the idea of conservation has undergone numerous transformations. In recent decades, for example, conservation practice has expanded from a primary emphasis on protecting extraordinary natural landscapes for park and wilderness values, to incorporating new visions of locally based conservation focused on protecting regionally significant landscapes and community environments. This new emphasis on community conservation requires that planners must consider nature as well as people, that natural landscapes not be privileged over historic and cultural settings, and that local leaders manage the conservation process.

Locally led grassroots social movements intending to improve community quality of life are inherently appealing, but they sometimes fail, even with the best intentions. One example of a community-led historic preservation effort that produced mixed results is offered by the casino gaming developments in two former gold mining towns in Colorado. About an hour’s drive from Denver, Central City and Black Hawk—the only two incorporated towns in Gilpin County—were boomtowns in the 1860s and 1870s, but declined over time. Seasonal tourism kept the towns afloat after World War I, but by the 1980s local leaders claimed that the towns were dying. In 1989, limited stakes gambling was proposed by town leaders as a way to improve the economy and simultaneously obtain new funds for local historic preservation. A signature campaign placed the initiative on the state ballot in 1990, and the citizens of Colorado voted to approve gambling in the two towns and in Cripple Creek, another former gold mining town near Colorado Springs.

The development proved problematic from the beginning. Properties that could not be sold prior to gambling were purchased for millions of dollars. Shop owners lost their leases, local businesses moved away, and some residents were displaced. Though gambling was supposed to be located in existing buildings in the towns’ commercial zones, many 100-year-old buildings were not up to code and could not accommodate the industry. Residents complained during the construction summer of 1991 that the history of the towns was being carted away in dump trucks while external entrepreneurs constructed new

casinos that were out of scale with local landscapes. “We trusted our leaders to keep things under control,” said residents, but many town leaders were complicit in the problem because of their vested interests. As local business people who held town government positions, they were the residents most likely to open casinos or take jobs in the new industry.

The complaints were suggestive of a larger issue: economic development projects on this scale, especially those using community history and memory as a stimulus for growth, result not only in restructuring of the built and natural landscapes, but also manipulate symbolic aspects of community and place. While residents see their towns disappearing and feel a sense of community loss, the gaming industry believes that residents should be grateful for the infusion of money into public coffers, saving the town from a fate worse than reconstruction.

In October 1991, gaming began in Central City and Black Hawk, with 11 casinos in operation. Ten years later, there were 25 casinos employing about 4,850 staff (only 13 percent of whom lived in Gilpin County). The book *Riches and Regrets*<sup>1</sup> analyzes the early years of gaming development and operation and provides an overview of the effects. Several conclusions stand out relative to community conservation. First, economic development projects that attempt to protect community values must be on a scale appropriate to the community. Second, under conditions of rapid growth, local governments are likely to make incremental policy shifts that exceed their public mandates (Freudenburg and Gramling<sup>2</sup> termed this “bureaucratic slippage”); that is, governments begin to serve the emerging industry, rather than serving the public that elected them. Thus, residents must be vigilant about monitoring the development as well as the actions of local leaders. Third, public participation alone is not enough to keep a project on track: citizens may be vocal, but they also need power to challenge those who may have vested interests. The Colorado gambling developments offer a notable lesson for other rural communities: social capital—the features of community organization (such as norms of trust and networks of social relationships) that can improve collective action—is not merely an inheritance, but an ongoing process of community action.

1 Stokowski, Patricia A. *Riches and Regrets: Betting on Gambling in Two Colorado Mountain Towns*. Niwot, CO: University Press of Colorado, 1996.

2 Freudenburg, William R., and Robert Gramling. “Bureaucratic Slippage and Failures of Agency Vigilance: The Case of the Environmental Studies Program.” *Social Problems* 41, no. 2 (1994): 214-239.

## What Happened in Chicago? The Growing Relevance of Ethics in Restoration

Andrew Light

Assistant Professor of Environmental Philosophy, New York University

The late 1990s controversy surrounding the collection of ecological restorations known as the “Chicago Wilderness” (CW) continues to grow in significance. A collaborative, 34-agency public-private partnership, the CW has sponsored more than 50 restoration projects in Chicago since 1993. Most of these efforts have involved restoration of the Chicago forest preserves to something approximating the oak savannas that likely dominated the area before the point of European contact.

The forest preserves were established at the time of the city’s founding. Because of their long-term protection, they contain some of the few major patches of native species in all of Illinois. As Chicago grew, these old-growth preserves along its edge became surrounded by expanding suburbs. Over time, the forest preserves became polluted from illegal dumping as well as overcrowded by invasive exotic species such as the European buckthorn.

The CW has been successful in reestablishing more than 16,000 acres of native preserve, but perhaps its main accomplishment has been attracting the involvement of thousands of volunteer restorationists. Rather than being carried out by paid parks employees and landscape design firms, the restorations have drawn thousands of citizens to the preserves for hands-on conservation work. Volunteer involvement such as this arguably has helped to create a new “culture of nature”: a strong moral bond between the people and the land that may be a necessary condition for environmental sustainability. The CW restorations have been successful not only in terms of their technical proficiency, but also in their advancement of the moral priority of maximized public participation.

Oak-savanna systems are a hybrid of forest and prairie, so the restorations in Chicago have included substantial burning, tree girdling, and other activities that have considerably changed the nature of the forest preserves from what most Chicago inhabitants were accustomed to. In 1996, after many successful restorations, outcries by local critics (consisting mainly of animal rights groups and suburban neighborhood organizations) achieved the imposition of a partial moratorium on further activities in two of the county forest preserve districts. Most complaints suggested that the restorations were endangering the habitats of local species, both native and exotic. Furthermore, they argued that the removal of some exotic species of trees interfered with the preferred aesthetics of the neighborhoods bordering the public land and of the

private reserves encompassed in the restorations. Both arguments involved strong ethical claims about the “rights” of animals and the importance of local self-determination in the maintenance and appearance of local environments. The fact that the restorations were being performed primarily by volunteers, and not by scientific experts, was used as a launching pad for many of these criticisms. Since then, much has been written about the meaning of this backlash, especially in social science research sponsored by the U.S. Forest Service North Central Forestry Experiment Station.

This controversy has not only drawn the attention of the restoration community to the relevance of moral issues in its efforts, but it has also raised two key questions. First, would a separate professional ethic for restorationists help to mitigate controversies like those found in the Chicago example? Second, to what extent does public participation in these projects help or hinder the successful resolution of such controversies? My conclusion is that even though the volunteer basis of these restorations put the Chicago Wilderness in jeopardy, the very existence of the controversy surrounding the restorations has created a strong conservation benefit in the area. This benefit is not to be gauged so much in terms of environmental services, such as habitat for endangered species or recharge areas for local wetlands, but in the ability of the controversy to draw attention to the importance of the preserves themselves. By becoming the focus of public debate, the Chicago Wilderness restorations pushed the forest preserves into the forefront of an open, democratic discussion about the role of nature in shaping the human community of Chicago. Otherwise, the preserves would have remained relegated to the background of everyday activities, to be ignored or not by local residents without much consequence.

## Environmental Ethics

Environmental ethics is a branch of philosophy concerned with the moral basis for preservation and restoration of the environment. It has evolved as a series of debates among philosophers regarding the moral value of nature, rather than as a straightforward application of traditional ethical theories (e.g., utilitarianism) to environmental problems.

Since the inception of environmental ethics as a field of professional philosophy in the early 1970s, the principle question has been, “How can the value of nature best be described?” Two ways have been proposed. Nature can be described as “directly morally considerable” if it is believed to have some kind of unique value that must be respected (some intrinsic worth). Or it can be described as “indirectly morally considerable” because it is the source of things that humans need, such as natural resources. For example, if nature is directly morally considerable, our responsibility to protect a specific natural area from development would rely on the assumption that the site has an inherent value that merits our protection. We would not need to justify its protection based on a particular value it holds for humans.

The term “nonanthropocentrism” is usually applied when nature is viewed as directly morally considerable. Conversely, when nature is seen as indirectly morally considerable, we refer to “weak” or “broad” anthropocentrism. In philosophy journals such as *Environmental Ethics* and *Environmental Values*, writers argue the merits of these two approaches. Both notions conflict with others that would reduce the value of nature to narrow economic considerations alone. One of the biggest challenges for environmental ethicists today is to translate these different viewpoints into language that can more effectively influence public policy.



ABOVE: Diverse prairie vegetation in the Chicago Wilderness

LEFT: Volunteer cutting brush in Lincoln Park, Chicago



## The Nature of History Preserved

Robert L. McCullough

Lecturer, Graduate Program in Historic Preservation, University of Vermont

In 1995, a collection of essays titled *Uncommon Ground: Toward Reinventing Nature*, examined the many ways in which our natural environments are devised by culture. One, titled “The Trouble with Wilderness, or Getting Back to the Wrong Nature,” written by the book’s editor, William Cronon, argues that “wilderness” is an invention of past and present cultures. Unintentionally, Cronon raises profound questions for those of us who seek the preservation of built and cultural environments.

For example, if wilderness, the least human (or most perfect) of earth’s resources, is a cultural phenomenon, should this change our perspective when considering more mundane cultural resources? If cultural interpretations offer the clearest vantage points for considering natural as well as cultural environments, shouldn’t we do more to protect cultural resources? Finally, doesn’t the discipline that has developed methods for preserving cultural resources have something to offer conservationists? Today, any effort to sort out these complexities seems incomplete without the involvement of both disciplines.

Debate aside, a serious note of warning underlies Cronon’s arguments, one that rings true for both the historic preservation and conservation movements. If we defend wilderness and wild nature (substitute cultural landscapes and the built environment) while failing to address fundamental human problems (poverty, education, adequate housing, safe and healthy workplaces, overpopulation, transportation), our efforts are wasted. First, we fail to generate broad-based public support for

a conservation ethic. Second, we relinquish opportunities to build that support to those who would discard resources for short-term economic gain.

Cronon asks: “What is the true nature of wilderness?” Today we might ask: What is the true nature of the history revealed in our landscapes and buildings? Have we set the past apart, giving it a symbolism that disregards its practical human value? Are these symbols understood only by a privileged few? Cronon believes that we won’t find solutions to human problems in abstract ideals about nature (substitute history). Instead, we must find and confront a middle ground where a broad range of human problems can be addressed in visibly successful ways.

This quest for middle ground—by another name, community—should be as fundamental to historic preservation as it is to natural resource conservation. Trends suggest that those of us in historic preservation are moving in this direction. For example, in the spring of 2000, Richard Moe, president of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, addressed the National Press Club. His speech, “A New Pride in Our Past, a New Day for Our Cities,” offered cautious optimism to the nation’s urban centers. Moreover, a fair share of the credit, he believes, belongs to historic preservation.

Anticipating surprise from members of his audience, Moe explained that preservationists no longer consist of a vocal band of outsiders. Instead, the discipline has matured into a sophisticated national movement dedicated to the look and livability of America’s communities. Here, substitution of the word “community” for “city” is no casual proxy. Moe stressed that today historic preservation is all about building and preserving communities—by another name, middle ground.

The implications of Moe’s remarks loom large. Preserving community means engaging all aspects of community structure. In turn, this means establishing alliances, or at least working relationships, with the many disciplines that contribute to community: housing, commerce, transportation, education, social services, public utilities, conservation commissions. The list is a long one, and nothing less can be expected to truly solve human problems. This is precisely the point that Cronon is making.

In fact, the goals are so closely parallel and the task so enormous that one wonders why cultural and natural resource protection have remained separate for so long in America. Clearly, this is at least one of the central questions for any discussion about methods of reconstructing conservation. We should lose no time in beginning the dialogue.

Local schoolchildren tour the Robinson Mill in Calais, Vermont, believed to be the oldest surviving water-powered sawmill in the state.



## The Landscape of Village and Forest



Town hall and town forest, Gospel Hollow, Vermont

Protecting historic resources while continuing to use them for their historic purposes is a fundamental goal of historic preservation. This concept can be applied as easily to natural resources as to buildings. The village of Kent’s Corner in central Vermont is located within a few miles of three town forests, two of which are almost within sight of the village center. There, community and forest are intimately connected, united by a common bond of history.

Kent’s Corner is home to several historic buildings, including a well-preserved sawmill and a similarly impressive tavern. Less than a mile to the south of these buildings, near Old West Church, stands the Bliss Pond Forest. During the latter part of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth, the town actively managed this land as a hundred-acre woodlot to benefit its poor farm, selling timber for a variety of uses such as telephone poles. In 1926, when the parcel became a municipal forest, the town forester sold hardwood to the United States Clothes Pin Company in nearby Montpelier. Today, the Bliss Pond Forest’s cedar swamp is an ecological sanctuary, and the community is preparing a new management plan.

A mile east of the center of Kent’s Corner, the 41-acre Gospel Hollow Forest blankets a small hill overlooking the town hall. Several miles to the south of the town’s center, the 18-acre Chapin Forest is accessible via an old logging road. The Gospel Hollow lands were acquired by the town in 1932 and the Chapin Forest in 1940. Both parcels have been managed as municipal forests since 1955. For the first two decades, municipal foresters employed by the Vermont Department of Forests and Parks recorded the age and composition of the forests, recommended planting, conducted pruning and thinning, and supervised harvests. Today, county foresters continue much of that work, and recent harvests of red pine from the Gospel Hollow Forest have generated income for the local conservation commission.

The historic buildings and forests of Kent’s Corner illustrate a continuum of history kept alive through active use. Such a dynamic balance of cultural and natural resources is achievable when there are diverse patterns of activity on the land. The history visible in our built and cultural environments adds meaning to many aspects of community structure, whether sawmills, taverns, or town forests, and enriches our day-to-day experiences.

# New Values, Old Landscapes: The Emergence of a Cultural Landscape Perspective

**Nora J. Mitchell**

*Director, Conservation Study Institute*

Cultural landscapes have experienced increased recognition in the U.S. and other countries over the last decade.<sup>1</sup> This recognition reflects a fundamental shift in and expansion of our understanding of the relationship between people and their environment, and has implications for both conservation philosophy and practice.

## WHAT DO WE GAIN FROM THE RECOGNITION OF CULTURAL LANDSCAPES?

### A Historical Perspective

A comprehensive description of a landscape reveals the multiple values of its history, culture, and ecology. Its history offers insights into existing conditions, identifies change over time, and can help to plan for the future. William Hoskins, an English cultural geographer, noted that “the landscape, for those who know how to read it, is the richest historical record we possess.”<sup>2</sup>

### Recognition of the Familiar as Heritage

Landscapes don’t just blend into the background; they *are* the background to our daily lives and they reflect our history, beliefs, values, and way of life. “There are places in this country that we look at every day, but that we never really see. They are landscapes of heritage; places that seem so natural that they often go unrecognized, misunderstood, unprotected, and mismanaged.”<sup>3</sup>

### The Value of Traditions and Intangible Heritage

Cultural landscapes reflect the beliefs, attitudes, and values of their past and present inhabitants. The value of living cultural traditions, in particular, has achieved wider recognition through the concept of cultural landscapes. “The World Heritage Convention...brought some changes with the introduction of the idea of cultural landscapes. This provided the opportunity to incorporate intangibles such as sacredness into the vocabulary of the heritage professionals.”<sup>4</sup> Referring to their living sacred places, the Maori in New Zealand observed that “these places serve to link our past to our future, our everyday reality to our dreams and the supernatural. They travel with us through the centuries.”<sup>5</sup>

### Recognition of the Relationship between Nature and Culture

“The separation of...people from the environment [that] surrounds them..., a feature of Western attitudes and education over the centuries, has blinded us to many of the interactive associations...between the world[s] of nature and...culture. Yet an understanding of cultural

landscapes, the meeting place between humankind and the environment, reveals that there are often natural qualities of great value [that] have co-evolved with human society.”<sup>6</sup> In some areas, maintaining biological diversity is linked to sustaining traditional activities. A recent study of European landscapes found examples of humanized landscapes where centuries-old traditions have created environments rich in biological diversity.

### Models of Sustainability

Cultural “landscapes need to be identified, valued, and protected, not only as survivals from the past, but also because they can show us the way to a more sustainable future.”<sup>7</sup> Often, traditional practices can provide a framework for sustainable land use. Conversely, some cultural landscapes provide evidence of past unsustainable exploitation of natural resources; this, too, can be instructive regarding sustainability.

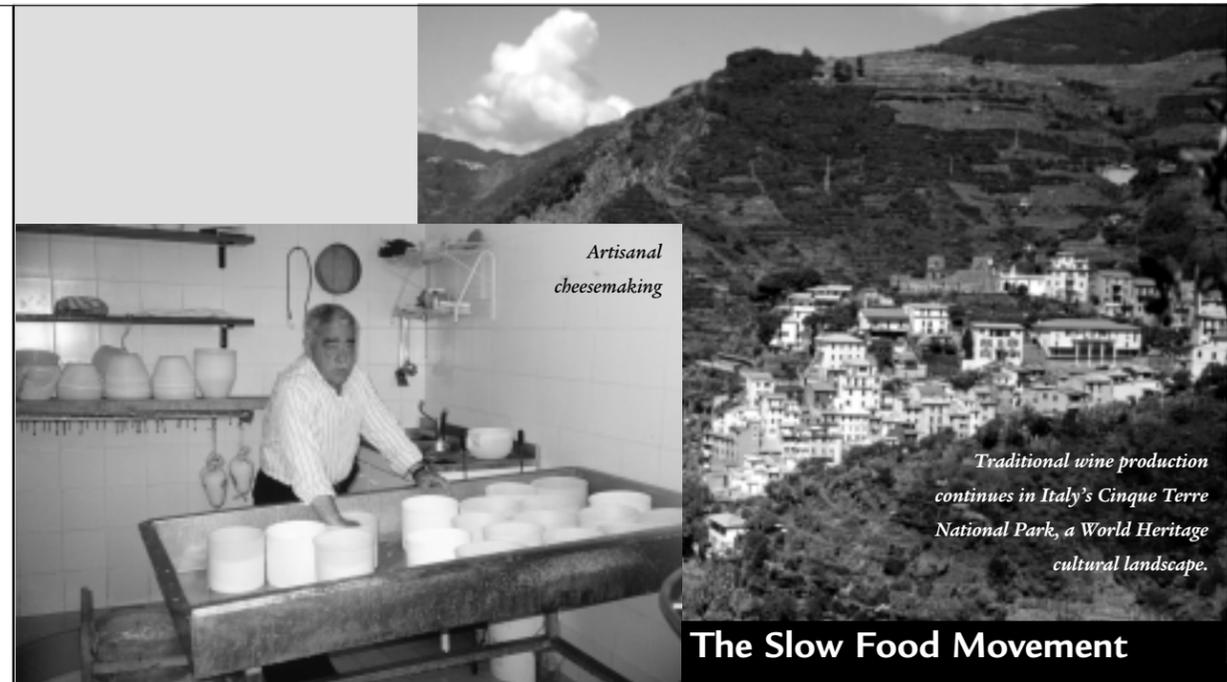
### A Stewardship Ethic

Stewardship is a practice that must be learned and fostered, allowing individuals and communities to develop responsibility and commitment to a common future. “As social beings we are responsible for the world we hope our descendants will inherit...Communities rely on compacts between the living, the dead, and the yet unborn. Faith in community, reaching into a past and a future beyond our individual selves, is a necessary religion. [But] stewardship is not an innate impulse, it needs to be induced and cherished.”<sup>8</sup>

## THE ROLE OF CULTURAL LANDSCAPES IN CREATING A NEW PARADIGM FOR CONSERVATION

Recognition of cultural landscapes gives value and legitimacy to peopled places, a fundamentally different perspective from nature conservation’s focus on wild areas and historic preservation’s focus on the built environment. This concept gives a voice to previously underappreciated and undervalued areas, acknowledges the significance of areas where human interaction with the environment has shaped the landscape and altered its ecology, and adds breadth to conservation efforts.

Cultural landscapes are usually large in scale, and often involve traditional management systems and multiple ownerships. As such, they require conservation strategies that are locally based and work across boundaries, respect cultural and religious traditions and historic roots, and focus on sustainable economies. Such community-based approaches are inclusive and promote



## The Slow Food Movement

Food is a cultural common denominator that can build social capital almost anywhere and is often closely linked with landscape management traditions. Begun in Italy in 1986, the Slow Food movement is an international response to our fast-paced fast-food culture, which has changed our lives and threatens our landscapes and environment in the name of productivity. Its aims are to rediscover the richness and aromas of local cuisines and fight the standardization of food. Slow Food emphasizes natural, organic, and traditional methods in food growing and preparation, and the careful stewardship and marketing of traditional food and wine products often cultivated or created by artisanal techniques.

Today Slow Food has gained large-scale international recognition, with 65,000 members in 45 countries, and is bringing together people passionately committed to landscape and agricultural stewardship, cultural diversity and tradition, craftsmanship, public health, and general well-being. Slow Food raises the profile of products and promotes local artisans, rootedness, and decentralization.

Through an approach it terms “eco-gastronomy,” the Slow Food movement strives to preserve the biodiversity of domesticated plants and animals just as conservationists have done for wild flora and fauna, believing that humans’ pleasure and environmental equilibrium depend on such efforts. Toward this end, Slow Food’s “Ark of Taste” project seeks to identify and catalogue products, dishes, and domestic animals that are in danger of disappearing. Slow Food also promotes dozens of other projects and activities.

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2 Hoskins, W. G. *The Making of the English Landscape*. Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1985.

3 Melnick, Robert, with Daniel Spohn and Emma Jane Saxe. *Cultural Landscapes: Rural Historic Districts in the National Park System*, 1. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1984.

4 Wijesuriya, Gamini. “Sacred Landscapes: New Perspectives in the Implementation of the Cultural Landscape Concept in the Framework of the UNESCO World Heritage Convention.” UNESCO Thematic Expert Meeting on Asia-Pacific Sacred Mountains, 5–10 September 2001, Wakayama City, Japan.

5 Wijesuriya, “Sacred Landscapes.”

6 Phillips, Adrian. “The Nature of Cultural Landscapes—A Nature Conservation Perspective.” *Landscape Research* 23, no. 1 (1998): 36.

7 Ibid, 37.

8 Lowenthal, David. *George Perkins Marsh: Prophet of Conservation*, 427–28. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000.

9 Phillips, “The Nature of Cultural Landscapes,” 37.

A highland village in Oaxaca



Composting latrine built from indigenous materials



Extension worker in Oaxaca

## Conservation and Culture, Genuine and Spurious

Luis A. Vivanco

Assistant Professor, Department of Anthropology, University of Vermont

The idea that successful conservation requires attention to culture has been gaining legitimacy. Increasingly, the different values of diverse cultures are being cited to explain how social differences influence the success or failure of conservation initiatives. Yet the Western conservation movement has continued to divide its work into natural and sociocultural realms, reflecting a basic separation made by Western philosophy between people and nature. Not only does this division sometimes clash with how other cultures perceive the boundaries between nature and themselves, but it also suggests inaccurately that conservation is simply about choosing which land to fence off and exclude humans from. Conservation is also an important arena in which we explicitly or implicitly reimagine social relationships and cultural institutions.

For this reason, it is important to consider the cultural theories embedded in conservation initiatives. Analysis reveals the unfortunate tendency to rely on stereotypes of what anthropologist Edward Sapir once called “genuine and spurious cultures.” Put simply, these stereotypes characterize genuine cultures as having a harmonious relationship between people and nature, whereas spurious cultures are portrayed as modernized, and people’s relations with each other and with nature are fragmented and destructive.

In the conservation movement, the “genuine cultures” paradigm exists in the romanticized ideal of the “ecological noble savage” and the image of indigenous peoples living in harmony with nature. As John Muir once said, “Indians walked softly and hurt the land hardly more than the birds and squirrels, and their brush and bark huts last hardly longer than those of wood rats, while their enduring monuments, excepting those wrought on the forests by fires they made to improve their hunting grounds, vanish in a few centuries.”<sup>1</sup> As recent research shows, this is historically simplistic, and overlooks the true heterogeneity of indigenous cultures and their environmental impact.

At the same time, the conservation movement embraces the idea of spurious cultures when it views nonindigenous rural people as “destroyers of nature” because they have no deeply held cultural basis for appreciating it. In rural Costa Rica, international funding for wilderness reserves that exclude human habitation was often justified by the belief that campesinos have a superficial relationship with nature as a result of poverty, greed, or ignorance. This belief not only simplifies the complex political and economic conditions

under which deforestation has happened in Costa Rica (for example, the international consumer-driven beef and banana economies have had an enormous influence), but it also ignores the important reasons why, based on their intimate knowledge of tropical landscapes, small-scale farmers did *not* cut down their forests. Instead, they conserved forests as resources for food, construction materials, and selective logging, and to create windbreaks and protect watersheds.

Conservationists will benefit from moving beyond these simplistic stereotypes of people and culture. This is happening in the southern Mexican state of Oaxaca, where the majority of the population is indigenous, and 16 distinct cultures coexist with remarkable biodiversity. The legacies of colonialism, state domination, and modernization, however, have generated significant environmental degradation. Indigenous peoples acknowledge that environmental problems will not be solved by simplistic appeals to tradition. Rather, conservation is viewed as an arena of intercultural dialogue and cultural regeneration. That is, indigenous peoples and conservationists collectively consider how conservation efforts can 1) be based on indigenous concepts and technologies involving appropriate human-nature interaction, and 2) serve indigenous efforts to regenerate and strengthen cultural autonomy and political self-determination. The result is a reduced emphasis on wilderness-focused conservation initiatives, in which the assumption that people must be separated from the landscape in processes managed by experts presents a fundamental threat to indigenous control of land. Alternatives include the implementation of simple technologies such as composting latrines constructed of local materials, which help communities prevent water pollution and overuse while regenerating agricultural soils and reasserting local control of waste management. Most importantly, such initiatives are undertaken through the authority of a community assembly and collective forms of voluntary labor. By relying on these mechanisms, conservation does not impose measures based on Western ideologies of the separation of people and nature, but instead strengthens local autonomy and brings about a healthy dialogue on diverse forms of human-nature interaction.

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Gary Paul Nabhan, “Cultural Parallax: The Wilderness Concept in Crisis” in *Cultures of Habitat: On Nature, Culture, and Story*, 156. Washington, DC: Counterpoint, 1997.

# Stewardship and Landscape Change: New Challenges and New Principles

**J. Glenn Eugster**

*Assistant Regional Director, U.S. National Park Service, National Capital Region*

## A PROFESSIONAL EVOLUTION

Two words reflect the changes that have occurred in landscape architecture—integration and context.

My professional training began as Earth Day was awakening the nation and Ian McHarg was advocating that landscape architects should “*Design With Nature*.”<sup>1</sup> Both of these influences challenged Americans to develop a new paradigm for understanding people and places.

Earth Day, along with the National Environmental Policy Act, brought great attention to the need for us to not only think about the environment but also to better understand how we integrate environmental information into decisions we make about people and the economy. The new paradigm called for us to recognize the earth’s values and functions as determining factors rather than as unlimited resources to be used, consumed, and degraded.

Ecology was brought to the forefront of landscape architecture. It reinforced the need to understand the context of the work we do. Attention to context gave landscape architects the ability to identify and understand the various connections and relationships among the physical, biological, and cultural elements of a landscape.

## THE INFLUENCE OF COMMUNITY-BASED CONSERVATION

Ian McHarg’s *Design with Nature* gave us a method for understanding “place” and a foundation for community-based efforts. It provided communities with a way to unite the separate perceptions of scientific disciplines, technical experts, and social organizations into a description of a single interacting system.

Community-based conservation provides us with the opportunity and the challenge to use interdisciplinary approaches. It encourages us to meld good science with good civics in order to achieve healthy communities and landscapes. It requires us to understand the environmental, social, and economic values of a community and how they function independently and as an integrated system. Such an approach compels us to assess the opportunities and constraints of a place and then design strategies to determine appropriate uses.

Community-based efforts have completely obliterated the old notion that different levels of government have different roles and responsibilities for conservation. They challenge us to look at new organizational arrangements as we recognize that every place is unique, has its own heritage, and is taking initiative in its own way.

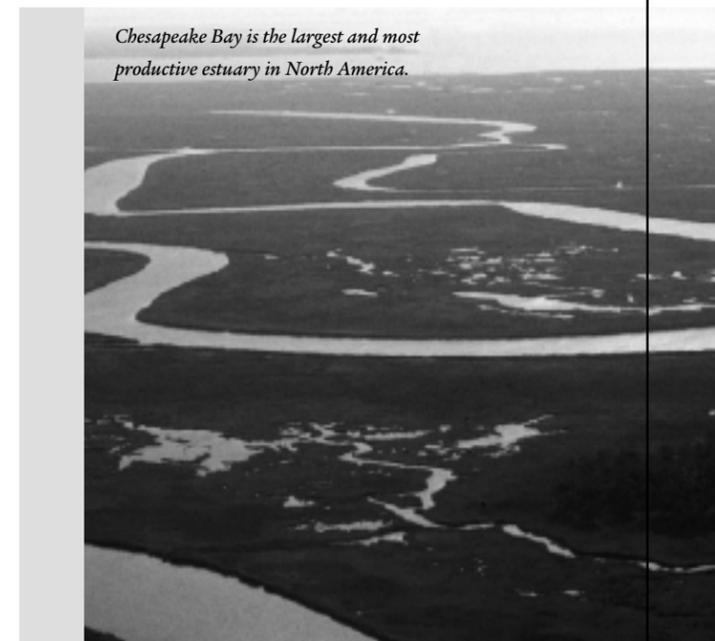
Community-based conservation does, however, challenge us to find ways to overcome “the tyranny of small solutions”—a series of small, apparently independent conservation decisions made by individual communities that may or may not achieve a predictable or desirable outcome. It is important to understand the interrelationships among these small independent efforts and the collective impacts they have on the land and its living resources.

## PRINCIPLES FOR RECONSTRUCTING CONSERVATION

The principles that reflect the evolution of conservation include:

Conservation planning and action must emphasize total landscapes and ecosystems, rather than one or more isolated portions of them.

The conservation process must be locally led, open to the public, inclusive, interdisciplinary, and objective. A dialogue that relies on stories, skills, and experiences—both personal and professional—helps participants get past their individual opinions to find common ground.



*Chesapeake Bay is the largest and most productive estuary in North America.*

All conservation partners are equally important. We must honor the special knowledge that each individual brings and understand his or her relationship to landscape values and functions.

All environmental, community, and economic values, and the functions they perform, must be recognized. Conservation efforts must maximize public and private benefits while producing minimal adverse effects on significant environmental, cultural, and economic values and functions.

The conservation process must be consensus-based, and agreement should be secured at the beginning as well as at every major decisionmaking point. Deter-

mining what is necessary to conserve landscapes, communities, and specific sites within them requires a thoughtful process to decide what actions should be taken, by whom, when, and how.

Conservation initiatives must recognize and build on existing local resource management approaches that rely on stewardship, partnerships, consensus building, and community initiative. Conservation approaches need to reflect techniques that have been “designed” and brought to a locality to be applied as well as those that have been “discovered” in the community and reflect traditions of successful cooperation.

<sup>1</sup> McHarg, Ian L. *Design with Nature*. Garden City, NY: Natural History Press, 1969.

## The Chesapeake Bay Program

The Chesapeake Bay Program provides a good illustration of the relationship between context and integration. The program is a unique regional partnership that leads and assists with the conservation, restoration, and protection of Chesapeake Bay, the largest and most productive estuary in North America. It involves four states and the District of Columbia, the Chesapeake Bay Commission (a tri-state legislative body), 25 federal agencies, 1,653 units of local government, and the private sector. The program seeks to protect the bay’s living resources—its finfish, shellfish, grasses, and other plants and animals; its vital habitats; and the water quality of the bay and its watershed.

To accomplish these goals, hundreds of decisionmakers from various government agencies, the private sector, and other organizations involved in its daily operations must function in context. The context includes not only the watershed, but also the region’s airshed and its migratory bird, shellfish, and finfish routes. Obviously, integration of the many entities involved is also central to the design and functioning of the Chesapeake Bay Program. In 1996, Dr. Lynn Desautels of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) prepared a report that described this idea of program integration from the viewpoint of EPA Chesapeake Bay Program Office managers and staff interviews. She developed the following summary definition:

“Program integration is a seamless approach to dealing with issues that cut across media, policy, [and] technical lines, and across the ecosystem itself. When a program is integrated, you can’t even see the seams.”<sup>1</sup>

The Chesapeake Bay Program is important for the work it accomplishes. However, it may be even more important as an example of an improved way of doing business—one that is proving to be more efficient, effective, and sustainable.

<sup>1</sup> Desautels, Lynn. “Chesapeake Bay Program: Program Integration Survey Findings and Recommendations.” Annapolis, MD: Environmental Protection Agency Chesapeake Bay Program Office, 1995.



*Annapolis waterfront, Chesapeake Bay*

## Key Themes from the Symposium Dialogue

After a series of presentations in Woodstock, symposium participants met twice in small-group sessions to share ideas and synthesize their thoughts. They were asked to consider the following questions:

Based on what you have heard over the past few days and what you know from your own practice, what is the current reality in conservation values and practice? What are the important current trends?

Based on the current realities and trends we have just discussed, what should be the principles that define conservation in the future?

The discussions focused on current themes and principles for conservation. It is important to note that these discussions were not intended to produce consensus on a set of principles nor a concise summary of today's trends in conservation. Even so, there were some key themes that emerged from these wide-ranging and open discussions. These seven themes (listed below) are described in the following pages. Selected quotes and possible follow-up questions for future dialogues serve to amplify the themes.

- *Conservation as a core value*
- *Many values under one umbrella*
- *Cultural and personal connections to the land*
- *Diversity and equity*
- *Expanded time and space horizons*
- *Civic participation and community-based conservation*
- *Partnerships*

## Conservation as a Core Value

There was general consensus that conservation is a social value. While conservation is already an important value in the United States, more needs to be done to make it more fully integrated into American culture. There often seems to be a “disconnect” between stated values and behavior.

### Selected quotes:

*“Conservation becomes accessible through appropriate language and participation. But first conservation must be relevant to people. It must be seen as essential to achieving a quality of life for all Americans.”*

*“We need to establish a bill of rights for people and living resources to have clean air and water and easy access to green space.”*

*“Despite increased funding and many successful grassroots efforts, conservation is still not seen by the general public as fundamental to our survival or essential to our life support systems. It’s ‘nice’ (for example, a national forest or wildlife refuge is seen as a vacation destination) but not ‘essential’ (we don’t need one in our community).”*

*“There is an increasing and widespread focus on education—schoolchildren regularly participate in recycling and other conservation efforts.”*

*“Americans need to embrace ‘natural’ values as essential to a healthy environment and society.”*

*“There are many good reasons why we have a ‘values disconnect.’ This phenomenon in our culture should be expected. Meanwhile, our inability to turn Americans’ stated values into practice is causing an on-the-ground fragmentation of our efforts.”*



### Questions for future dialogue:

How do we convince people that conservation is as essential to our survival as our health care and transportation systems? Can we create a conservation bill of rights? (One such example might be the 2000 Earth Charter, an outcome of the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro.) Do conservationists work to change values, or simply to ensure that conservation is inclusive and relevant to society and hope that conservation values are the result? What are the roots of the “disconnect” between our stated values and our behavior? How can we set up a system of incentives and support networks that enable people to act on their values?



## Many Values under One Umbrella

Participants observed that conservation is not a single value, but a multifaceted system of beliefs that incorporates many values (spiritual, ecological, biological, economic, recreational, historical, physical, social, cultural, aesthetic, etc.). This diversity may cause confusion and these values may be in conflict with one another; even so, diversity in values is a source of great strength for the movement.

Part of the discussion focused on how the role of scientific values has evolved in relation to the goals of conservation efforts. Science is often more “artful” than precise, especially when dealing with natural systems. Some participants posited that societal, cultural, and community concerns need to be given equal weight with environmental data and hard science. There are often tensions between programs governed by scientific interests and those that attempt to garner public participation. Many participants urged that conservation practices make every attempt to combine ecological principles and civic needs.

### Selected quotes:

*“There is an ever-expanding set of values relating to conservation—scientific, spiritual, ecological—giving us many more reasons for conservation. Some of these new values lead us to redefine traditional values, such as economic value and how it relates to sustainability. While this broad range of values resonates with many people, it is also very challenging to manage.”*

*“We have seen the emergence of conservation biologists talking about culture, and conservationists and sociologists talking about ecology.”*

*“Pluralism is not about getting other people to embrace your agenda, but to broaden their agendas.”*

*“We need to see the whole narrative of conservation history, rather than focus on the last 30 years. Leopold advocated for wilderness and sustainable agriculture and sustainable forestry.”*

*“We recognize that it is okay for different people to have different views of the important value of the landscape. At the same time, there is a shift toward managing land for specific values in specific places rather than managing for multiple use on one piece of land. This strategy enables us to achieve the highest level of a given value in a specified area. However, multiple uses*

*can result in a lower level of protection of many values.”*

*“Conservation gets portrayed as an either-or choice: jobs versus owls, people versus nature.”*

*“We need to be clear about the different goals of different kinds of conservation, whether wilderness, conserved farmland, or urban park. There is a matrix of conservation strategies; we have a variety of ways that we relate to our environment; we have to recognize the context of the conservation.”*

*“The term ‘environmental’ is fast disappearing because it has acquired a negative connotation of political activism. Hence, the term is no longer used by many nongovernmental organizations. In this rhetorical war, new and/or preferred terms include conservation, stewardship, community-based, and sustainability. Our missions haven’t changed, just the language we use.”*

*“Community goals and needs must be incorporated into conservation work but must not dictate it. Conservation should be defined by the broad needs and values of society as constrained by ecological realities.”*

### Questions for future dialogue:

Do our multiple values hold equal weight? If not, which values hold more weight? Who decides? How do we balance the information provided by science with societal needs and goals? How can we create an open public dialogue on multiple values? Are there ecological realities on which we can agree, and should we be using those realities to change behavior voluntarily or through regulation? How can we have national environmental policy if every state or region has its own set of values?



### Cultural and Personal Connections to the Land

There was widespread agreement and concern that, for many people, connection with the landscape has become abstract and faded—more virtual than real. There was also a sense of general acknowledgment within the conservation field that connecting or reconnecting individuals and communities to their landscapes is key to fostering a conservation ethic.

Some participants noted that recognizing the nature/culture relationship and valuing local stewardship traditions are essential to successful conservation. Stories that speak to the connections between humans and nature can be instrumental in developing a sense of place and a personal connection to the land.

Many also observed that access to nature and land is essential. Just as our “gray infrastructure” of roads is accessible to all, there needs to be a

“green infrastructure” of open space accessible to all. The trails movement is heading in that direction by bringing trails to every community, and in some places to every backyard.

**Selected quotes:**

*“Today there is recognition of cultural and working landscapes. Conservation has been placed in the broader context of overall community needs, rather than being held in isolation from them. We have begun embedding community within the landscape, rather than thinking about humans and nature as separate entities. This makes conservation work much more complex.”*

*“In the wake of the [September 11, 2001] attacks, Americans have experienced a rediscovery of the restorative value of nature.”*

*“Conservation provides an opportunity for people to act on their love for the land. Community gives us faith that there will be a path and a future that matter.”*

*“The notion of ‘ecological citizenship’ needs to be promoted. There can be no change in the natural ecosystem without concurrent change in the social ecosystem and vice versa.”*

*“Cultural and ecological dimensions of conservation overlap, but the mix is unique to each landscape. Every place has a unique mix of nature and culture, and every place changes the mix over time, at the same place. There is no formulaic description of nature and culture.”*

**Questions for future dialogue:**

How do we move from culture *versus* nature to culture *and* nature? Is there data to support the notion that connection with the land leads to support for conservation? Are primary experiences on the land key to the success of conservation, or can people support conservation in the abstract?

### Diversity and Equity

Discussions on this topic addressed the challenge posed by the need to embrace the diversity of peoples affected by conservation policies, actions, and decisions. Also, matters of equity and social justice are a growing concern as cultural diversity increases. Fortunately, there has been an emergence of socially, culturally, and ethnically conscious agendas in the conservation arena. If conservation is to be a multifaceted “core” value for our culture and for other cultures worldwide, it needs to be inclusive.

**Selected quotes:**

*“We are beginning to make the justice ‘connection’—connecting the success of conservation efforts to increased access to resources and social equity.”*

*“New patterns of immigration have altered who the ‘public’ is. The resulting diversified set of community values*

*demands a different context within which to discuss conservation.”*

*“Multicultural/multiregional perspectives on conservation have been recognized. We have a more complete view, especially about groups historically left out of history books and about the shameful parts of our history.”*

*“Actual diversity [in conservation] still seems woefully lacking.”*

*“We need to capitalize on the fact that ‘nature’ is a broad, diverse concept and is found in all cultures. For example, specific issues such as water quality bring to the table ethnic/racial communities that have historically not been a part of the conservation movement.”*

**Questions for future dialogue:**

What are the most effective ways to build culturally diverse coalitions for conservation? When we add diversity to our current agenda, how do our efforts change? How has globalization both hurt and benefited conservation interests?



### Expanded Time and Space Horizons

Participants observed that the work of conservation is set within the context of time and space, and that both of these scales are expanding. Overall conservation goals must transcend boundaries of scale. For example, there is a trend toward ecosystem management that is cross-boundary and large-scale (temporal and spatial).

Since in nature everything is connected to everything else, it requires that we live with ambiguity and unanticipated outcomes rather than expect standardization and specific outcomes.

Conservation needs to be a constant, steady priority even during times of political and economic volatility.

Global free trade agreements need to embrace sustainable practices. Following September 11, 2001, Americans became more aware of their responsibilities as global citizens. As a result, perspectives on conservation in relation to national energy policy and national security could change.

**Selected quotes:**

*“We should always consider what ‘one size larger’ looks like.”*

*“The complexity of the work increases as conservation becomes more inclusive and broad-ranging.”*

*“The new field of conservation biology is driving conservation projects to be more bioregional in nature. Our definition of ‘ecology’ is changing from an anthropocentric one to a biocentric one.”*

*“Community and ecology are not static; in their normal states they are dynamic systems. But the rate at which they are changing is rapidly accelerating, which is why we must keep looking backward to see where we’ve been.”*

*“In response to the trends of increasing loss of land and fragmentation of remaining lands and habitat, we are recognizing the need to take a larger bioregional view of our individual conservation projects, to consider long-term sustainability at a global scale.”*

*“Conservation—particularly of productive lands—must be flexible to accommodate changes in information, economy, and technology.”*

*“Land conservation efforts do not fare well in a rapidly changing economy, and we need to pay attention to the ability of conservation organizations to respond.”*

*“According to studies done in New Hampshire, a state well-endowed with forest resources, if development continues at the same pace, it won’t be possible for the state to be self-sufficient in forest products on its land base. Our current lifestyle and land use patterns will exceed ‘growing our own share.’ New Hampshire has four acres of forest per person; the global average is 1.5 acres per person. If we can’t be*

## KEY THEMES FROM THE SYMPOSIUM DIALOGUE

*self-sufficient, how can we expect the rest of the world to be?"*

*"In the international arena, security measures are key to enabling some communities to manage their conserved areas and enforce regulations."*

### Questions for future dialogue:

How are problems and opportunities addressed at the appropriate scale? How does conservation work at different scales? How do we best decide what jurisdictional level to use for various aspects of conservation? How can conservation be adaptive and flexible?

## Civic Participation and Community-Based Conservation

During the symposium discussions, participants noted that there is currently a trend toward devolution of federal and state conservation responsibilities to the local level. In simplistic terms, conservation started with the grassroots, was transferred to government agencies, and now is returning to the grassroots. While this pattern may be consistent with the perspective that the best conservation work takes place at the local level, there is concern that federal and state governments may abdicate their responsibilities. In addition, we may be reaching the limits of the regulatory/legal approach to conservation, which is producing an increase in voluntary and incentive-based approaches instead.

Citizen involvement and strong coalitions are often seen as critical to successful stewardship work. Conservation cannot succeed without a sense of ownership and responsibility on the part of the interested communities. Through participation, citizens learn about



the natural environment, gain increased awareness, and are motivated to take action. However, there may be limits to voluntary community approaches: community needs should be incorporated into conservation work, but they should not solely dictate outcomes, and major changes require enlightened leaders as well as enlightened citizens.

The "process of participation" needs to be carefully designed. There are ways to achieve the goals of broad participation while still involving leaders and experts, and this type of approach is beginning to be employed more widely. The traditional public hearing model, which can be self-selecting for those who have the time to participate and are comfortable with the format, is being replaced by well-facilitated workshops that create more opportunities for diverse voices.

### Selected quotes:

*"Conservation is not technical, but is a social process that builds a contract among people and between people and places. Conservation needs to be linked with ideals of community."*

*"Alternative economic approaches such as value-added products, green certification, community-supported agriculture, and ecotourism have emerged as new tools in conservation that promote sustainable economies. There is increased importance attached to locally grown products, and an increased emphasis on meeting our own consumer needs with local resources (living within our means)."*

*"Public participation contributes to the emergence and/or reinforcement of democracy. We don't make this connection as much in the United States because we have an established democracy, but other countries see this connection very clearly."*

*"There is a Catch-22—we feel we need science to solve global issues, but in the conservation community we know we need a pluralistic approach. This won't work from the top down. People are not motivated when they are told what to do. The poetry in conservation is finding and striking a balance between top-down and bottom-up."*

*"The power ought to be delegated to the lowest level possible, but some issues will only be fixed at the federal or global level (for example, acid rain)."*

*"Do you want to be democratic and take a risk by recognizing a broad set of values? The risk is that you get the golf course instead of the park."*

*"The early work of land trusts emphasized, understandably, land acquisition. Acquisition can be achieved with the involvement of only a few people. We need to broaden buy-in from communities to ensure stewardship of conserved lands."*

### Questions for future dialogue:

What are the powers and limitations of community-based conservation and of community participation in conservation planning?

What are the pros and cons of regulatory and incentive-based approaches?

How do we achieve the integration of good government and good community-based initiatives?

## Partnerships

Symposium participants described many conservation success stories that have resulted from partnerships. Therefore, it is not surprising that "partnership" is a common buzzword in conservation parlance these days. There is a growing reliance on partnerships among nongovernmental organizations, government agencies, and businesses, and the federal government is increasingly interested in supporting such arrangements.

Partnerships bring multiple funding sources to the table, build social capital, strengthen conservation efforts by combining diverse interests, and give conservation a louder political voice. More often, partnerships are the only avenue to achieve success. For example, today there are limited opportunities to create the "classic" model of a government-owned national park with vast tracts

of spectacular scenery; now we are often working with "cultural landscapes" with many landowners and many stakeholders. Partnerships are essential for dealing with the diverse range of cultural landscapes.

Yet partnerships require "care and feeding" and can consume significant amounts of time and energy. Conflicts sometimes arise when the ideals and goals of various partners collide. To ensure effective partnerships, "partnership skills" must be cultivated.

### Selected quotes:

*"Partnerships are a pain and a lot of work, and they add layers of complexity (increasing exponentially with the number of partners), but you get a better product and more ownership and responsibility for future outcomes. At a landscape level, partnerships are obligatory."*

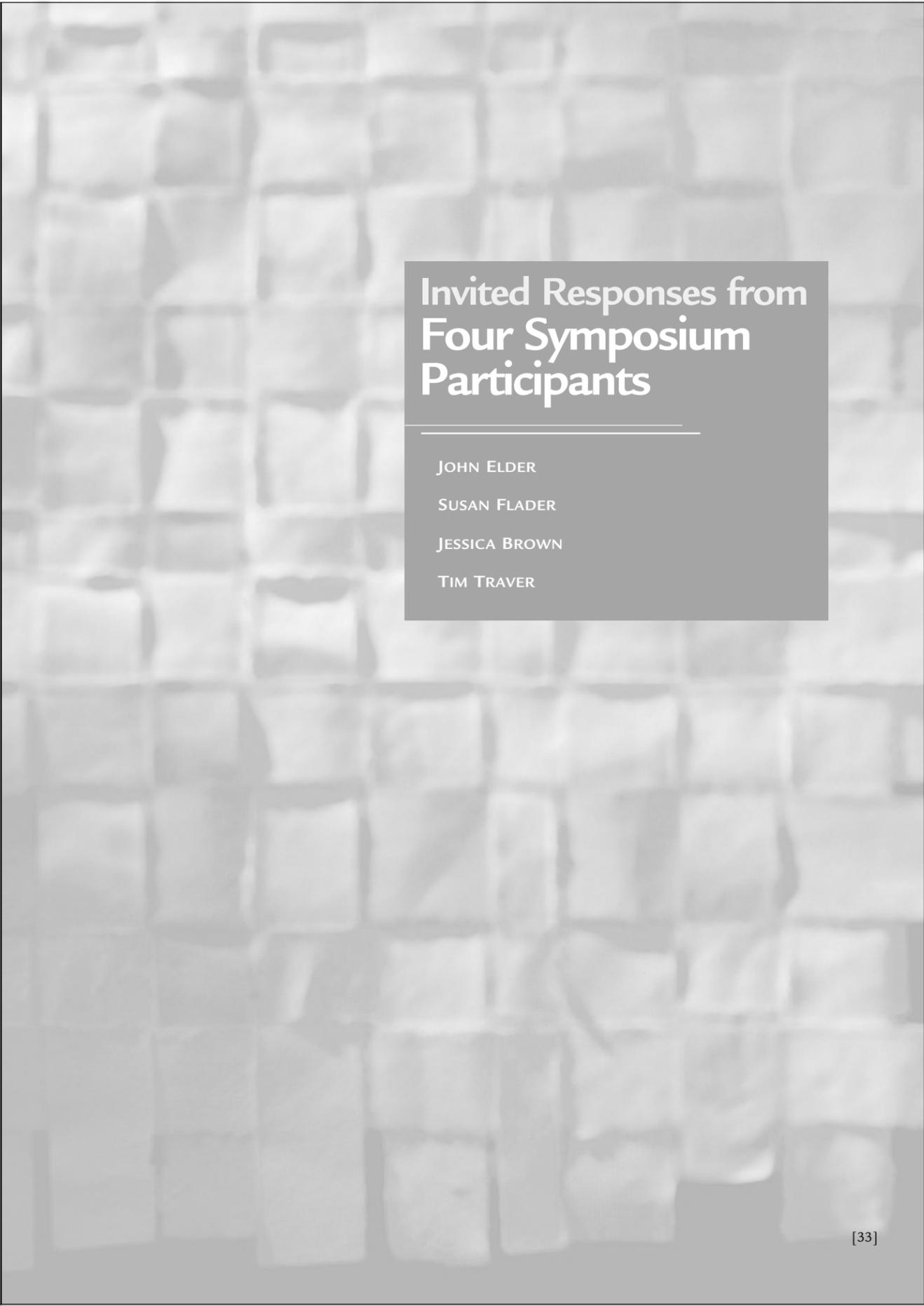
*"Linking all major public and private conservation agencies and groups will give us a louder voice politically."*

*"Research is becoming more collaborative than exploitative, especially in the social sciences arena."*

### Questions for future dialogue:

What do successful partnership models look like? What are the pitfalls to avoid? How can they be avoided? How do we maximize the efficiency of partnership approaches and avoid partnering for partnership's sake?





## Invited Responses from Four Symposium Participants

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JOHN ELDER

SUSAN FLADER

JESSICA BROWN

TIM TRAVER

## Conservation as Civic Participation

John Elder

Stewart Professor of English and Environmental Studies, Middlebury College

The theme that most struck me at this symposium was that of “Civic Participation and Community-Based Conservation.” For Rolf Diamant, this dimension of conservation was related to Robert Putnam’s concept of “social capital.” Diamant argued that conservation should help to connect individuals at the local level and offer them a broader historical and ecological perspective on the immediate choices facing them. Brent Mitchell reinforced this approach with his sense of a paradigm shift in protected areas. No longer are they “planned and managed *against* people”; increasingly, they are “run *with, for,* and, in some cases, *by* people,” and “managed with concern for local people’s needs, too.” Patricia Stokowski and Andrew Light discussed the influence of community involvement or the lack of it in case studies about conservation at the municipal and regional levels. Luis Vivanco, Darby Bradley, and Glenn Eugster all reflected on conservation’s impacts on communities, and on the fundamental values we attach to “social relationships and cultural institutions.”<sup>1</sup> Several of their comments related to what Robert McCullough, with his background in historic preservation, called “this quest for middle ground.”

The word “civic” is of equal importance to “community” in this discussion. There is an increasing tendency to conceive of conservation work within the context of participatory democracy. The great achievements represented by our national parks, national forests, and federally designated wilderness areas not only need to be complemented by local and regional conservation. They must also be more fully integrated into our nation’s ongoing civic discourse. A passive and uninformed people will not long retain its democratic franchise; a population that does not feel connected to the costs and benefits of conservation will neither know nor care enough to protect and extend the last two centuries’ advances in environmental legislation. As Rolf Diamant has stated in another context, conservation is—at the most fundamental level—about democracy.

Democracy should not be construed in too narrowly political a sense, however. Aldo Leopold, whose name was invoked more than any other at this conference, encouraged his readers to strive for an ecologically inclusive view of ethics and community. He insisted in *A Sand County Almanac* that unless we can “think like a mountain,”<sup>2</sup> transcending our assumed superiority to other forms of life on earth, we will never fulfill our evolutionary potential. To Leopold, conservation and democracy were both closely related to the science of ecology’s anti-hierarchical perspective. Several speakers at this conference echoed his sense that the environmental crises of

our day should be understood as an opportunity to rethink our basic cultural values, reaffirming some and discarding others. Such a thorough rethinking of community in the human and “more-than-human”<sup>3</sup> realms is, in Leopold’s words, “an evolutionary possibility and an ecological necessity.”

Finally, it will be important for conservationists in America to cultivate a global, comparativist outlook, especially as we explore the values of community. To put this another way, we need at once to gain sharper resolution on local cultural and political realities and to transcend a certain parochial and ahistorical tendency in American environmentalism. The international approach taken by Brent Mitchell and Luis Vivanco in their papers is worth noting here. In this connection, it may also be appropriate to recall the Vermonter George Perkins Marsh, whose 1864 masterpiece *Man and Nature*<sup>4</sup> was characterized by Lewis Mumford in his book *The Brown Decades* as “the fountainhead of the conservation movement.”<sup>5</sup> Marsh saw deforestation around his native Woodstock with fresh eyes after serving as a diplomat in Turkey and Italy and learning about the history of land management in the Mediterranean region.

1 Vivanco, Luis. *Conservation and Culture, Genuine and Spurious*. This phrase reflects Vivanco’s anthropological emphasis.

2 Leopold, Aldo. *A Sand County Almanac and Sketches Here and There*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1949.

3 Abram, David. *The Spell of the Sensuous*. New York: Pantheon Press, 1996.

4 Marsh, George Perkins. *Man and Nature*. David Lowenthal, ed. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1965.

5 Mumford, Lewis. *The Brown Decades*. New York: Dover Press, 1955.



Aldo Leopold

## Reflections on the Tensions of Citizenship and Professionalism, the Local and the Global

Susan Flader

Professor, Department of History, University of Missouri-Columbia

As we reconstruct the values and practice of conservation in the twenty-first century, one of the greatest challenges will be to retain viable elements of twentieth-century conservation without being limited by them.

Conservation practice in the United States was born in the Progressive Era and hence was infused with the values of efficient management by professional elites, who sought to control the environment in the interest of humans through rational, scientific means. The U.S. Forest Service was the quintessential progressive agency, but its values also permeated the work of civil engineers, landscape architects, public health officials, and other professionals in federal, state, and local agencies. Even citizen groups of sportsmen, hikers, clubwomen, and urban reformers shared progressive values and were only too willing to hand off responsibility to government professionals when they could.

The New Deal of the Depression thirties further enlarged the role of the federal government and its technical experts, especially in the realm of land management, and the outcry against pollution after World War II extended federal responsibility to air, water, and other realms that had earlier been regarded as state and local responsibilities. When the inevitable backlash came during the late 1970s to 1990s, it led to the emphasis on community-based conservation and empowerment of ordinary citizens that was the hallmark of this symposium.

Speaker after speaker called for a focus on ordinary people in particular places seeking to reconstruct their social and cultural as well as natural environments. Conservation is “an arena in which we reimagine social relationships and cultural institutions,” says Luis Vivanco with reference to Latin America. Brent Mitchell, from experience in Central Europe, describes how “stewardship builds civil society by offering people opportunities to participate in shaping their environments and therefore their lives.” But Andrew Light admits that the preponderance of ordinary citizens rather than scientific experts in ecological restorations made the “Chicago Wilderness” project vulnerable to criticism by other citizens. And Glenn Eugster cautions that we must “meld good science with good civics” and beware “the tyranny of small solutions.”

These examples from our own day, combined with the lessons of history, suggest that there are perils as well as promise in community-based approaches and that there may yet be a role for the professional expertise and higher levels of government that seem in such disfavor

today. As so many speakers at the symposium acknowledged, we may look to Aldo Leopold for guidance in approaching these issues. Though his life (1887–1948) spanned only the first half of the century, Leopold experienced deeply the tensions of professionalism and citizenship, the local and the global, that so bedevil us today.

Leopold subscribed fully to the progressive creed of environmental control through scientific expertise, not only as a Yale-trained forester in the U.S. Forest Service but even after he left federal service to lay the groundwork for a new profession, wildlife management. Yet, over time, he increasingly realized the compelling necessity of citizen participation in the conservation enterprise, even when it seemed to complicate the process or to counter professional judgment. Intensely conscious of place, he also became increasingly committed to building conservation on the land at the most local level while he was concurrently extending the arena of his concern to global matters of species extinction, overpopulation, war, and the implications of democracy.

By the last decade of his life, when he wrote his most enduring work, *A Sand County Almanac* (1949),<sup>1</sup> he had shaped for himself and for generations to come a philosophy that could guide the reconstruction of conservation. As one reads through the *Almanac*, one notes that he begins with the local, at his sand county farm, then branches out geographically and concludes with more philosophical, globally applicable essays. In the first two-thirds of the book, the citizens we meet are all non-human—the mouse in “January Thaw,” pines above the snow, the parrots of Chihuahua—and in the last essay, “The Land Ethic,” we are told that “a land ethic changes the role of *Homo sapiens* from conqueror of the land-community to plain member and citizen of it.” The ultimate citizenship, we learn in “Conservation Esthetic,” is a sense of husbandry, through which we build conservation on the ground with our hands rather than simply with our vote, a practice ordinary citizens share with professional managers. Conservation is no longer environmental *control* in the interest of commodity production for certain humans but a shared obligation to restore the health of the entire land community, or ecosystem.

When Andrew Light concludes that the controversy over restoration in Chicago was beneficial because it “pushed the forest preserves into the forefront of an open, democratic discussion about the role of nature in shaping the human community,” he acknowledges, with Leopold, the need for all citizens, amateur as well as

professional, to engage with conservation values and practice. When Glenn Eugster urges us to “honor the special knowledge that each individual brings” to the conservation enterprise, he echoes Leopold’s tenet that a land ethic “implies respect” for one’s fellow citizens “and also respect for the community as such.” And when he cautions us to “always consider what ‘one size larger’ looks like,” he joins Leopold and many speakers at the symposium in advocating an ecosystem-based approach that melds the local and the global.

There will inevitably be tension between levels of government and between citizens and professional experts, as there has been throughout our history, but such tension can be a force for creativity in an adaptive, ecosystem-based approach to restoring the health of the land community.

<sup>1</sup> Leopold, Aldo. *A Sand County Almanac and Sketches Here and There*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1949.

## Emerging Themes in Conservation: Diversity, Equity, and Civil Society

Jessica Brown

Vice President, International Programs, QLF/Atlantic Center for the Environment

Conservation is demanding more and more of us. This is not only because the challenges we face now, and those ahead, seem larger and more daunting than those of a few decades ago. Conservation approaches are also becoming more complex, requiring us to weave together the broad strands of culture and nature with a diversity of disciplines, and to embrace broader social goals. Increasingly, institutional roles have been turned around, with communities rather than government agencies taking the lead. While these new institutional arrangements present tremendous opportunities to build public support and social capital, they also raise new questions about participation, equity, and governance.

One clear theme emerging from the papers in this collection is the growing emphasis on community-based approaches to conservation. It is an enormously promising direction, offering the potential for broad-based and durable solutions rooted not in outside regulations but in local people’s knowledge of, and love for, the places where they live. Further, these place-based approaches provide one antidote to conservation’s growing com-

plexity, for by “going deep” and working at local and bioregional levels it is easier to integrate different fields and include diverse actors and concerns.

However, there is a dynamic tension between this trend and the pressing need to act as part of an increasingly global society. In embracing community-based approaches we risk the “tyranny of small solutions,” as Glenn Eugster notes, and we must therefore take care not to ignore larger problems that, through globalization’s reach, will soon catch up with us at home.

So we must look outward, too. As we link conservation with civics—as many writings here suggest—we should encourage a broader citizenship in which responsibility begins at home, but ultimately extends beyond the borders of community and country to include the planet we share with others. Conservation is strengthened when we view our work in a global context.

With this local-global perspective in mind, as well as the importance of community-based approaches, here is an expansion of three themes emerging from the papers and discussions that I believe will be central to conservation worldwide in the coming years.

### DIVERSITY

Diversity is conservation’s aim, and it promises to be its strength.

As we broaden our view of conservation to include culture, as Luis Vivanco and Robert McCullough suggest, we recognize that sustaining natural diversity relies on sustaining cultural diversity, and vice versa—an increasingly urgent goal in the face of forces homogenizing our landscapes and neighborhoods. As Nora Mitchell observes, traditional landscapes where “nature and culture are in some kind of balance” offer us important models for sustainable development.

Because, as symposium participants observed, conservation is not a single value but incorporates an array of values—among them spiritual, scientific, economic, cultural, and social values—and because it is interdisciplinary, it can touch an increasingly diverse array of people.

Diversity, like equity (discussed below) is implicit in the idea of inclusivity, a conservation trend that surfaces repeatedly in the papers and discussions. Conservation practice becomes richer as it draws on diverse perspectives and traditions, so that, for example, as Luis Vivanco writes, the forest stewardship practices of the small-scale campesino in Costa Rica can be valued along with those of the indigenous people in Mexico’s Oaxaca.



*Local fishermen support the Port Honduras Marine Reserve in southern Belize because they were instrumental in its establishment.*



## EQUITY

To the extent that conservation has always been concerned with what we pass on to our children, the idea of intergenerational equity is not new. Newer, perhaps, is the simple but radical idea, as expressed by the environmental justice movement, that everyone is entitled to clean air, clean water, and food, and that no population or group should bear unequally the environmental impacts of development. In many developing countries, where these concerns are paralleled, there is also growing debate over who bears the costs of conservation, particularly where people are denied access to traditional resources or territories and are asking, as Brent Mitchell writes, “protected for what?”

Globally, the issue of equity translates into concerns over glaring differences in consumption patterns and the uneven participation of nations in solving global problems. Equitable participation in conservation requires that we pay attention to diversity and recognize that communities are never homogeneous, but include an array of actors on a playing field that is rarely level for reasons of gender, socioeconomic status, race, and ethnicity, to name a few.

## CIVIL SOCIETY

Conservation that is inclusive, participatory, and concerned with equity is inherently democratic. My work in Central European countries over the past decade has convinced me that these approaches to conservation can help nurture civil society, especially in emerging democracies.

Several of the authors here view the link between conservation and civil society as central to the evolving role of conservation. Rolf Diamant writes about the importance of conservation activities in building social capital. Andrew Light describes the importance of public debate in the Chicago Wilderness restorations in fostering an “open, democratic discussion about the role of nature in shaping the human community of Chicago.” Glenn Eugster advocates for “melding good science with good civics,” and proposes processes that are open, transparent, and consensus-based. As Brent Mitchell writes: “Stewardship builds civil society by offering people opportunities to participate in shaping their environment and therefore their lives.”

Finally, in our reconstruction of conservation we must not ignore the changed context since September 11, 2001. How is community-based conservation relevant in a world where global security concerns are dominant? Let me suggest that we have an opportunity and an obligation to begin now to articulate a new definition of environmental security—one that makes the link between global security and a healthy environment, a strong civil society, and vital communities.

# Reconstructing Conservation from the Inside Out

Tim Traver

Science Writer and Nonprofit Development Consultant, Taftsville, Vermont

Several years ago I left the conservation field and began spending time trying to figure out where I had been living (my town, the world) for the past 20 years. I suffered from the distance created by my title, professional role, and institutional power. The rift between ordinary citizens and those who dwell in academia’s ivory tower is well-worn territory, but I suspect professional conservationists also experience that same separation. Becoming “deprofessionalized” (an “ordinary citizen”) has the advantage of anonymity.

Looking back, it seems as if old-style conservation was something we did, with enormous satisfaction, for other people and places, but not something ordinary people and places did for themselves. The new style of conservation (“reconstructed”) discussed in the symposium is altogether different; it is responsive to the ideals, visions, and passions of communities. Perhaps instead of “reconstructed” conservation we will have a “deconstructed” conservation—one where the organizational and institutional forms are disassembled and made adaptive, constantly responding to shifting needs at various scales: local, regional, national, and global. It seemed to be the shared experience of symposium attendees that tremendous progress could be made when resources of all types were made available to democratically designed and functioning communities (although a decline in community democracy is problematic). On the other hand, global ecological life-support systems are failing and we need to work cooperatively, using good science, to restore and manage these landscape-scale systems.

These two poles of necessary conservation action almost seem to cancel each other out. They dictate organization that can both order the world from the top and enable it from the bottom. They suggest, in light of the realities of cultural pluralism, competing values, and biological urges, that the key is not the structure of conservation, but whatever lies inside the structure. Several symposium participants touched on this. Rolf Diamant quoted Gus Speth: “The most important resource is human motivation—hope, caring....” The summary of key themes notes the disconnect between values and actions and touches on “inner being” issues and the problem we have when our so-called values and actions contradict. The conservationist who drives an SUV is acting on his values: he values that car and the image of himself driving that car more than he values clean air and someone else’s safety. Advertisers know well that, like almost everyone else, the conservationist’s values at work are separate from the rest of his or her life.

Whatever the structures of conservation and community life, they will run up against the current state of

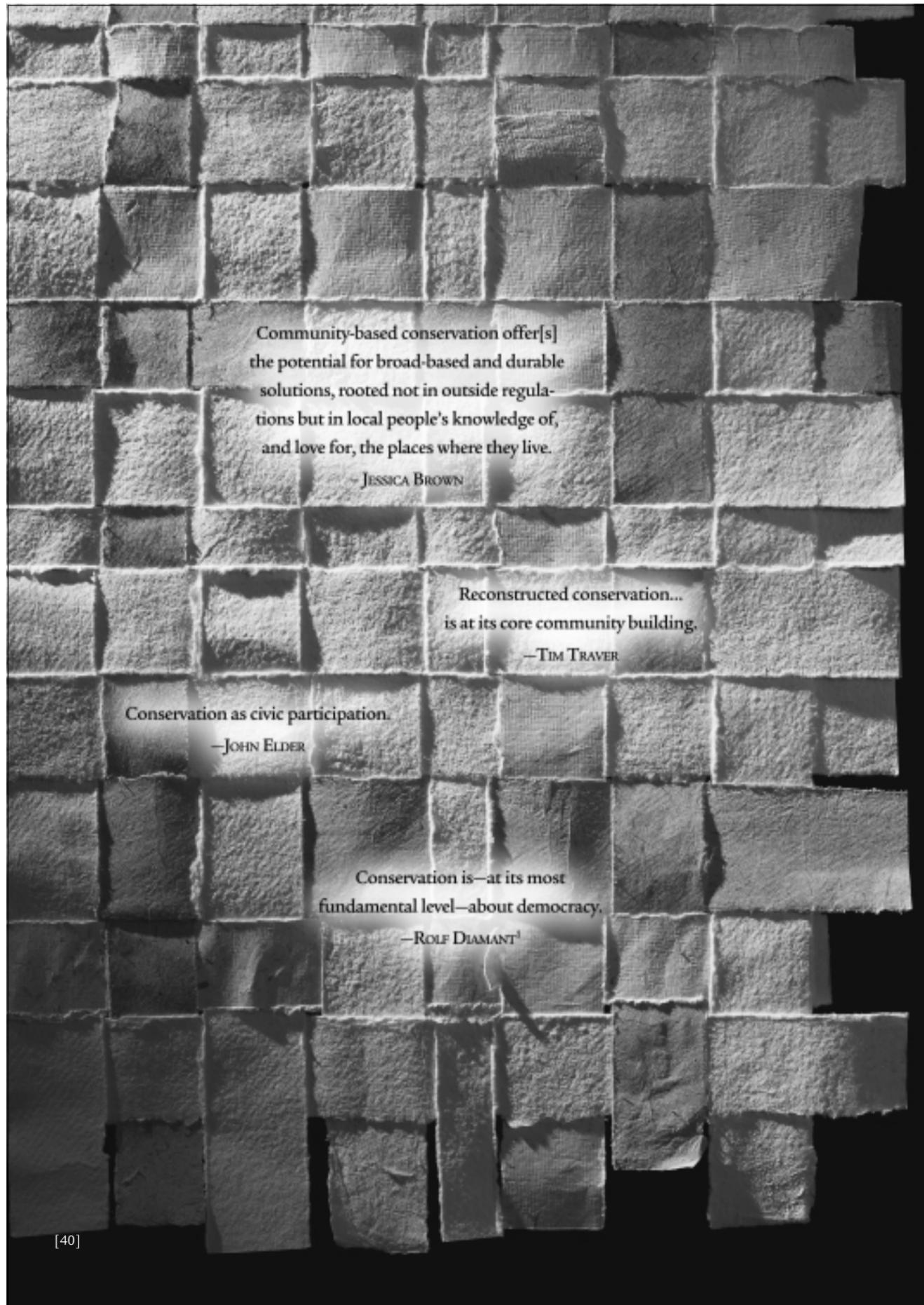
human consciousness. Oceanographer Sylvia Earle once described another dissonance. We have learned more, she said, through scientific inquiry in the past 25 years than in the total of all the preceding years of human history, and we have fundamentally changed or lost more in the last 25–50 years than in all of human history.<sup>1</sup> George Woodwell, former director of the Marine Biological Laboratory’s Ecosystem Center, made virtually the same observation. The world, he said, is laying itself out before us in a very lucid way, but the systems that support life on earth are on the verge of failing.<sup>2</sup> Apparently we’re good at learning, but not so good at applying what we’ve learned. We know what we are doing to the planet, yet we can’t seem to stop ourselves. Stepping bravely outside her scientific mind, Earle said we have to find a new center. Self-centeredness isn’t enough. Science isn’t enough. What will it take, she asks? Identification with a greater “self”? The 1992 Earth Charter reflects throughout the essential role of “inner reconstruction.” “After basic needs have been met, human development,” it says, “is primarily about being more, not having more.” In an 1832 address, George Perkins Marsh observed that “knowledge is truly power [when it] is allied to a condition of inward being, not a manifestation of outward action,” and that this inward being is “the indispensable condition of all right action.”<sup>3</sup>

We are a culture that is entering a period of deep soul-searching. Who knows what will come of it? Luis Vivanco suggests that we might begin by shedding our simplistic stereotypes of people and culture—to truly acknowledge one another and support on some level both the autonomy that every community seems to want (from Northeast Kingdom communities in Vermont to the communal villages of Oaxaca) and the universal cooperation that is required. Many at the symposium spoke of a “reconstructed conservation” that is at its core community building. Conservation is also at its core about growing human consciousness—our own—as we go about enabling conservation action in our communities and reshaping the world.

1 Earle, Sylvia. Comments made at a conference, “The Good in Nature,” sponsored by the Yale School of Forestry and Environmental Studies, Yale Divinity School, and The Wilderness Society, and held at Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, Spring 2000.

2 Woodwell, George. Comments made at the 25th anniversary symposium of the Ecosystem Center, Marine Biological Laboratory, Woods Hole, Massachusetts, November 2000.

3 Marsh, George Perkins. From a speech on “Knowledge” given to the Massachusetts Alpha Chapter of the Phi Beta Kappa Society at Cambridge, Massachusetts, August 26, 1847. Published in *Life and Letters of George Perkins Marsh*. Volume 1, Appendix 1. Caroline Crane Marsh, comp. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1888.



## CONCLUDING REMARKS

Nora J. Mitchell

Local knowledge, community building, civic participation, and democracy are concepts that have not historically been closely associated with conservation theory and practice. Yet these concepts were articulated again and again during the symposium, in the papers selected for this report, in the themes from the symposium dialogue, and in the respondents' essays.

Taken collectively, the ideas and the language of the symposium begin to articulate a revitalized vision that intentionally embeds conservation in the fabric of society. Like the warp and weft of a tapestry, this vision is constructed from tradition interwoven with innovation. The diversity of this conservation tapestry is a source of beauty and strength, creating a flexible fabric woven from experience and imagination, incorporating the best ideas drawn from many points of view.

A "sense of place" creates a connection between a wide array of people holding many values and their home landscape. Embracing this pluralism of values is a challenge for conservation, yet, as Jessica Brown points out, "by 'going deep' and working at local and bioregional levels it is easier to integrate different fields and include diverse actors and concerns." Robert McCullough writes of a "middle ground" and I write of "cultural landscapes," both concepts that bridge a deep divide between nature and culture and create a new relationship between people and their environment. Drawing on his experiences in Latin America, Luis Vivanco concludes that it is critical not to design conservation measures that impose Western ideologies with their "separation of people and nature," but rather to strengthen local autonomy and bring about a "healthy dialogue on diverse forms of human-nature interaction." Place can also be a locus of engagement, as Brent Mitchell observes. "Stewardship builds civil society by offering people opportunities to participate in shaping their environment and therefore their lives."

Participatory stewardship can also be described as citizenship of place. Susan Flader reflects on Aldo Leopold's notion of citizenship as "a sense of husbandry, through which we build conservation on the ground with our hands rather than simply with our vote, a practice ordinary citizens share with professional managers." Today, we can substitute the term "stewardship" for Leopold's "husbandry." Tim Traver points out that "the old-style conservation was something we did, with enormous sat-

isfaction, for other people and places, but not something ordinary people and places did for themselves. The new style of conservation discussed during the symposium... is something altogether different; it is responsive to the ideals, visions, and passions of communities." In this way, conservation becomes a shared obligation of a community.

This notion of community building is important at the global as well as the local level. John Elder emphasizes the importance of cultivating "a global, comparativist

*Like the warp and weft of a tapestry, this vision is constructed from tradition interwoven with innovation.*

outlook, especially as we explore the values of community." Jessica Brown notes that "as we link conservation with civics...we should encourage a broader citizenship in which responsibility begins at home, but ultimately extends beyond the bor-

ders of community and country to include the planet we share with others."

The "word 'civic' is of equal importance to 'community' in this discussion," according to John Elder. He imagines "national parks, national forests, and federally designated wilderness areas...more fully integrated into our nation's ongoing civic discourse." Rolf Diamant agrees and argues that conservation builds social capital, defined by Robert Putnam as "a dense network of reciprocal social relations."<sup>2</sup> Linking conservation with civics also provides the opportunity to "reimagine social relationships and cultural institutions" for Luis Vivanco. Both Susan Flader and John Elder remind us that Aldo Leopold reflected on civil society and ethics when he wrote about respect for fellow citizens and respect for the community (both ecological and human) and encouraged his readers to strive for "an ecologically inclusive view of ethics and community." For Jessica Brown, "conservation that is inclusive, participatory, and concerned with equity is inherently democratic."

This new, reenvisioned conservation ethic, championed by engaged "citizens of place," is making a vital contribution to the quality of our democracy. Conservation is more engaged, more relevant, and more inclusive—a conservation that better serves society and its changing needs.

<sup>1</sup> Rolf Diamant as paraphrased by John Elder.

<sup>2</sup> Putnam, Robert. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000.

## EPILOGUE

David Lowenthal

No brief statement could summarize this symposium's rich and varied insights. I start instead with one approach *not* explored. In 2001, the exhibit "American Sublime: Landscape Painting in the United States, 1820–1880," opened to widespread acclaim in London's Tate Gallery. Apart from a few snitty dismissals of New World creativity—"not bad for colonial daubers who had no Constable or Turner"—British reviewers were amazed by the awesome transcendence of nature as depicted by Americans from Thomas Cole to Frederic Church.

The felt transcendence of New World environments was implicit in "Reconstructing Conservation." But our discussions scarcely touched on the visual incarnation of nature in America, for most celebrants its quintessential aspect. Indeed, landscape became the national icon, landscape painting the most popular realm of art. Visions of "a dwarfing ineffable God-haunted Nature" set Americans apart, notes John Updike in "American Sublime."<sup>21</sup> From nineteenth-century landscape painters that vision was passed on to photographers, moviemakers, and abstractionists like Pollack and Kline, Motherwell and Still, Rothko and Newman. "American yearning for the sublime stems from our assumption, since the Puritans, of a favored-nation status 'under God,' as the disputed phrase of the Pledge of Allegiance has it. Under God, under the linnel, as perilously high as possible." Early Americans, engaged in carving out human shelter and enterprise in a wilderness "full of inconvenient distances and obstructive underbrush," spent little time in the pictorial contemplation, let alone admiration, of nature. "Who would want to buy a picture of trees, rocks, and poison ivy when the reality stretched for miles on all sides?" When, asks Updike, did Americans "begin to love their rugged interminable land?"

In the 1820s and 1830s artists first began to limn and laud what was distinctively American, against the oft-reiterated complaint (English and American alike) that such scenes lacked the picturesque impress of human history. Along with such writers as James Fenimore Cooper and William Cullen Bryant, painters like Cole and Church, Asher Durand and Jasper Cropsey, Worthington Whitredge and Thomas Doughy, Frederick Kensett and Sanford Gifford combined an enthusiasm for American nature as God had made it, uncontaminated by Old World crime and terror, with an expressly American mission to conquer and improve nature—and in the process to furnish if not destroy its transcendent glory.

American conservation thus traces back to early nineteenth-century observers who mourned the passing of

pristine nature, accepted its loss as an inevitable concomitant of progress, and expressed their ambivalence in art that domesticated Manifest Destiny. It took another half century to add to that nostalgic gaze an awareness of the economic costs of rapacious exploitation, and a century more for its ecological costs to become generally evident. Unlike earlier devotees of American nature, however, today's environmentalists often fail or refuse to acknowledge that conservation is not a discrete activity, but part of a larger dynamic process, mandating innovation and elimination along with retention and preservation. Instead, many conservation reformers seem besotted with the faith that they can turn the clock back and reclaim an Edenic state of nature. Like professional planners, they trisect time into a past when everything went wrong, a corrective present, and a future when everything will be perfect.

Two other singularly American traits, futurism and perfectionism, at once enliven and obstruct conservation stewardship. Countless observers have dwelt on Americans' obsession with the future. But our future-orientation is attenuated by brevity—the future we care about is narrowly our own, for tomorrow or next year, seldom for a longer term or a remoter posterity. Americans look to a future too near at hand to be socially creative or ecologically constructive. One reason for this is that they remain, for all their nostalgia, dismissive of past tradition. Only awareness of what we owe to our forebears engenders adequate concern for those who will come after us.

Perfectionism is likewise counterproductive. As in much of life, the best is the enemy of the good. Accepting free enterprise and private property rights as American articles of faith, conservation leaders have habitually forsworn general programs of land reform as unworkable. Instead they have focused on perfecting a few precious jewels they could control by purchase—federal and state forest reserves, national parks, and wilderness areas. Here they have sought, often with enviable success, to create exemplary sites of ecological, recreational, and scenic inspiration. But their exemplary function is a total failure. Instead of being viewed as models for privately owned lands, they are set apart as utterly unique. Americans are conditioned to think that only these special places are worth conserving, the rest of the country undeserving of attention. So we end up with a handful of superbly managed sites to visit on holiday or admire from afar, and a run-of-the-mill everyday landscape devoid of control or care. This dichotomy confirms the disastrous fallacy that only the unusual warrants saving; what is ordinary is worthless. It is

## FURTHER READING

socially as well as environmentally divisive, setting the rich against the rest, policed and gated elysiums against the unkempt disarray of everywhere else.

As many participants noted during the symposium, to become a viable goal conservation thus needs to become more inclusive in three senses: it must care for all locales, not just a select few; it must involve all the people, not just a select few; it must laud all creative acts, not just those that preserve some past. Above all, effective conservation requires not just immediate but sustained action, collaborative effort over many generations. Stewardship is an ideal much preached but little practiced, for it is felt to clash with the needs of the insistent present. Yet in reality stewardship not only benefits the future, it also enhances present worth: in caring for the well-being of our heirs and successors, we enrich the meaning of our own lives and strengthen our communal attachments. Instilling stewardship into the fabric of everyday life and thought is, in my view, conservation's most imperative task today.

*David Louenthal of Berkeley, California, is an American professor emeritus of geography at University College, London, and editor of the centenary reprint of George Perkins Marsh's Man and Nature. A new edition will be published in 2003 with an introduction by Louenthal, who is also Marsh's biographer.*

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# Appendices

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SYMPOSIUM AGENDA

SYMPOSIUM PARTICIPANTS

## SYMPOSIUM AGENDA

### RECONSTRUCTING CONSERVATION: HISTORY, VALUES, AND PRACTICE

November 2–6, 2001, Burlington and Woodstock, Vermont

#### NOVEMBER 2–3, UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT, BURLINGTON, VERMONT

##### Why “Reconstruct” Conservation History, Values, and Practice? Framing the Conversation

*An Evolutionary Perspective on Conservation*—  
John Elder, Middlebury College

*A Dialogue at a Crucial Time*—Nora Mitchell,  
National Park Service Conservation Study Institute

##### Revising the Conservation Tradition: Historical and Philosophical Approaches

*Writing Environmental History from East to West*—  
Richard Judd, University of Maine

*Regionalism, Pragmatism, and the Conservation Tradition*—  
Ben A. Minteer, Bucknell University

*Expanding the Conservation Tradition: The Agrarian Vision*—  
Paul B. Thompson, Purdue University

##### Reconstructing Conservation Philosophy

*The Implication of the Shifting Paradigm in Ecology for Paradigm Shifts in the Philosophy of Conservation*—J. Baird Callicott,  
University of North Texas

*Conservation: Moral Crusade or Environmental Public Philisophy?*—Bryan Norton, Georgia Institute of Technology

##### Reconstructing Conservation Politics

*Conservation as Convention: The Need for an Ecological Contract*—  
John Martin Gillroy, Bucknell University

*Nature and Progressive Politics: Scott Nearing’s Alternative Conservationism*—Bob Pepperman Taylor, University of Vermont

##### Conservation in the Face of Diverse Social Values: Empirical and Methodological Responses

*Reconstructing Conservation in an Age of Limits: An Ecological Economics Perspective*—David Bengtson, North Central Research Station, USDA Forest Service

*Social Climate Change: Integrating Public Environmental Values and Ethics into Public Land Management*—Bob Manning,  
University of Vermont

##### Ecological Restoration: Toward a New Conservation Ethic or the Wrong Turn of “Rewilding”?

*Good and Bad Nature: The Problem with Restoration*—  
Jan Dizard, Amherst College

*What Happened in Chicago: The Growing Relevance of Ethics for Restoration*—Andrew Light, New York University

## SYMPOSIUM PARTICIPANTS

**David N. Bengtson**  
North Central Research Station  
USDA Forest Service  
1992 Folwell Avenue

St. Paul, MN 55108  
Phone: (651) 649-5162  
dbengtson@fs.fed.us

**Tom Berry**

Office of Senator Jeffords  
30 Main Street  
Burlington, VT 05401  
Phone: (802) 658-6001  
tom\_berry@jeffords.senate.gov

**Darby Bradley**

Vermont Land Trust  
8 Bailey Avenue  
Montpelier, VT 05602  
Phone: (802) 223-5234  
darby@vlt.org

**Jessica Brown**

QLF/Atlantic Center for  
the Environment  
55 South Main Street  
Ipswich, MA 01938  
Phone: (978) 356-0038  
jbrown@qf.org

**Megha Budruk**

School of Natural Resources  
University of Vermont  
361 Alken Center  
Burlington, VT 05405  
Phone: (802) 656-3113  
megha.budruk@uvm.edu

**J. Baird Callicott**

Department of Philosophy and  
Religion Studies  
Institute of Applied Sciences  
University of North Texas  
Denton, TX 76203  
Phone: (940) 565-4846  
callicott@unt.edu

**Megan Camp**

Shelburne Farms  
1611 Harbor Road  
Shelburne, VT 05482  
Phone: (802) 985-8686  
mcamp@shelburnefarms.org

**Delia Clark**

Antioch New England Institute  
Antioch New England Graduate School  
P.O. Box 97  
Tataville, VT 05073  
Phone: (603) 357-3122 x 237,  
(802) 457-2075  
ddark@antiochne.edu

**Rolf Diamant**

Marsh-Billings-Rockefeller National  
Historical Park  
54 Elm Street  
Woodstock, VT 05091  
Phone: (802) 457-3368 x 15  
rolf\_diamant@nps.gov

**Jan E. Dizard**

Department of American Studies  
Amherst College  
Campus Box 2226  
Amherst, MA 01002-5000  
Phone: (413) 542-2742  
jan.dizard@verizon.net

**David A. Donath**

The Woodstock Foundation, Inc.  
P. O. Box 489  
Woodstock, VT 05091  
Phone: (802) 457-2355 x 13  
dloon@sover.net

**John Elder**

Middlebury College  
Middlebury, VT 05753  
Phone: (802) 443-5281  
elder@middlebury.edu

**J. Glenn Eugster**

National Capital Region  
Room 350, 1100 Ohio Drive, SW  
Washington, DC 20242  
Phone: (202) 619-7492  
glenn\_eugster@nps.gov

**Virginia Farley**

Conservation Study Institute  
173 Old Route 100  
Moretown, VT 05660  
Phone: (802) 223-0870  
virginia\_farley@nps.gov

**Susan Flader**

Department of History  
University of Missouri  
Columbia, MO 65311  
Phone: (573) 882-8264,  
(573) 442-1058  
fladers@mizzouri.edu

**Peter Forbes**

Knoll Farm  
700 Bragg Hill Road  
Waitsfield, VT 05673  
Phone: (802) 496-5686  
peeter.forbes@ppl.org

**Eric T. Freyfogle**

University of Illinois College of Law  
504 East Pennsylvania Avenue  
Champaign, IL 61820  
Phone: (217) 333-8713  
efreyfog@law.uiuc.edu

**John Martin Gillroy**

Environmental Studies Program  
Bucknell University  
Coleman 100/103  
Lewisburg, PA 17837  
Phone: (570) 577-3464  
gillroy@bucknell.edu

**Leslie J. Hudson**

Conservation Consultant  
70 Forest Avenue  
Orono, ME 04473  
Phone: (207) 866-2271  
leshudson@prexar.com

**Philip B. Huffman**

Conservation Consultant  
P.O. Box 1420  
Waitsfield, VT 05673  
Phone: (802) 496-4569  
phuffman@madriver.com

**Beth Humstone**

Vermont Forum on Sprawl  
110 Main Street  
Burlington, VT 06401  
Phone: (802) 864-6310  
ehumstone@vwsprawl.org

**Deb Jones**

Conservation Study Institute  
54 Elm Street  
Woodstock, VT 05091  
Phone: (802) 457-3368 x 16  
deb\_jones@partner.nps.gov

**Richard W. Judd**

University of Maine  
Department of History  
5774 Stevens Hall  
Orono, ME 04469-5774  
Phone: (207) 581-1910  
richard\_judd@umit.maine.edu

**Christopher B. LaPointe**

School of Natural Resources  
University of Vermont  
Burlington, VT 05405  
Phone: (802) 865-5016  
christopher.lapointe@uvm.edu

**Daniel Laven**

Park Studies Lab  
School of Natural Resources  
University of Vermont  
330 Aiken Center  
Burlington, VT 05405  
Phone: (802) 656-3095  
daniel.laven@uvm.edu

**Steve Libby**

School of Natural Resources  
University of Vermont  
2975 Hinesburg Road  
Richmond, VT 05477  
Phone: (802) 434-2592  
srlibby@together.net

**Andrew Light**

Applied Philosophy Group  
New York University  
246 Greene Street, Suite 300  
New York, NY 10003  
Phone: (212) 998-5636  
andrew.light@nyu.edu

**Bob Linck**

Vermont Land Trust  
P.O. Box 850  
Richmond, VT 05477  
Phone: (802) 434-3079  
blinck@vlt.org

**David Lowenthal**

Professor Emeritus of Geography  
University College, London  
1401 LeRoy Avenue  
Berkeley, CA 94708  
Phone: (510) 549-2625  
lowenthal@earthlink.net

**Robert E. Manning**

School of Natural Resources  
University of Vermont  
356 Aiken Center  
Burlington, VT 05405  
Phone: (802) 656-3096  
robert.manning@uvm.edu

**Robert McCullough**

Graduate Program in Historic  
Preservation  
University of Vermont  
210 Wheeler House  
Burlington, VT 05405  
Phone: (802) 656-9773  
robert.mccullough@uvm.edu

**Curt Meine**

Wisconsin Academy of Sciences,  
Arts, and Letters  
1922 University Avenue  
Madison, WI 53705  
Phone: (608) 263-1692  
curt@savingcranes.org

**Ben Minteer**

The Earth Institute  
Columbia University  
32540 South Biosphere Road  
Martin Building  
Oracle, AZ 85623  
Phone: (520) 896-5058  
bm2087@columbia.edu

**Brent Mitchell**

QLF/Atlantic Center for  
the Environment  
55 South Main Street  
Ipswich, MA 01938  
Phone: (978) 356-0038  
brentmitchell@qlf.org

**Nora Mitchell**

Conservation Study Institute  
54 Elm Street  
Woodstock, VT 05091  
Phone: (802) 457-3368 x 17  
nora\_mitchell@nps.gov

**Peter Newman**

Department of Natural Resource  
Recreation and Tourism  
233 Forestry Building  
Colorado State University  
Fort Collins, CO 80523-1480  
Phone: (970) 491-2839  
peter.newman@colostate.edu

**Bryan G. Norton**

School of Public Policy  
Georgia Institute of Technology  
Atlanta, GA 30332  
Phone: (404) 894-6511,  
(770) 947-2850  
bryan.norton@pubpolicy.gatech.edu

**Rick Paradis**

Natural Areas Center  
University of Vermont  
153 South Prospect Street  
Burlington, VT 05401  
Phone: (802) 656-4055  
richard.paradis@uvm.edu

**Nancy Shea**

The Murie Center  
P.O. Box 399  
Moose, WY 83012  
Phone: (307) 739-2246  
muriecenter@wyoming.com

**Barbara Slaiby**

Conservation Study Institute  
54 Elm Street  
Woodstock, VT 05091  
Phone: (802) 457-3368 x 25  
barbara\_slaiby@partner.nps.gov

**Patricia A. Stokowski**

School of Natural Resources  
University of Vermont  
305 Aiken Center  
Burlington, VT 05405  
Phone: (802) 656-3093  
patricia.stokowski@uvm.edu

**Bob Pepperman Taylor**

Department of Political Science  
University of Vermont  
509 Old Mill  
Burlington, VT 05405  
Phone: (802) 656-4289  
robert.taylor@uvm.edu

**Bill Swift**

Grand Teton National Park  
P.O. Drawer 170  
Moose, WY 83012-0170  
Phone: (307) 739-3390  
bill\_swift@nps.gov

**Sarah Thorne**

Society for the Protection of  
New Hampshire Forests  
54 Portsmouth Street  
Concord, NH 03301  
Phone: (603) 224-9945  
sthorne@spnhf.org

**Tim Traver**

Science Writer/Nonprofit  
Development Consultant  
P.O. Box 45  
Taftsville, VT 05073  
Phone: (802) 457-4886  
ttrave@sover.net

**Stephen C. Trombulak**

Department of Biology and Program  
in Environmental Studies  
Middlebury College  
Middlebury, VT 05753  
Phone: (802) 443-5439  
trombulak@middlebury.edu

**Luis A. Vivanco**

Department of Anthropology  
University of Vermont  
512 Williams Hall  
Burlington, VT 05405  
Phone: (802) 656-1184  
luis.vivanco@uvm.edu

**Jennifer Waite**

Vermont Rivers and Trails Program  
National Park Service  
54 Elm Street  
Woodstock, VT 05091  
Phone: (802) 457-3368 x 21  
jennifer\_waite@nps.gov

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**CONSERVATION STUDY INSTITUTE**

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR  
National Park Service  
Conservation Study Institute  
54 Elm Street / Woodstock, Vermont 05091  
Tel: (802) 457-3368 / Fax: (802) 457-3405  
Web: [www.nps.gov/csi](http://www.nps.gov/csi)