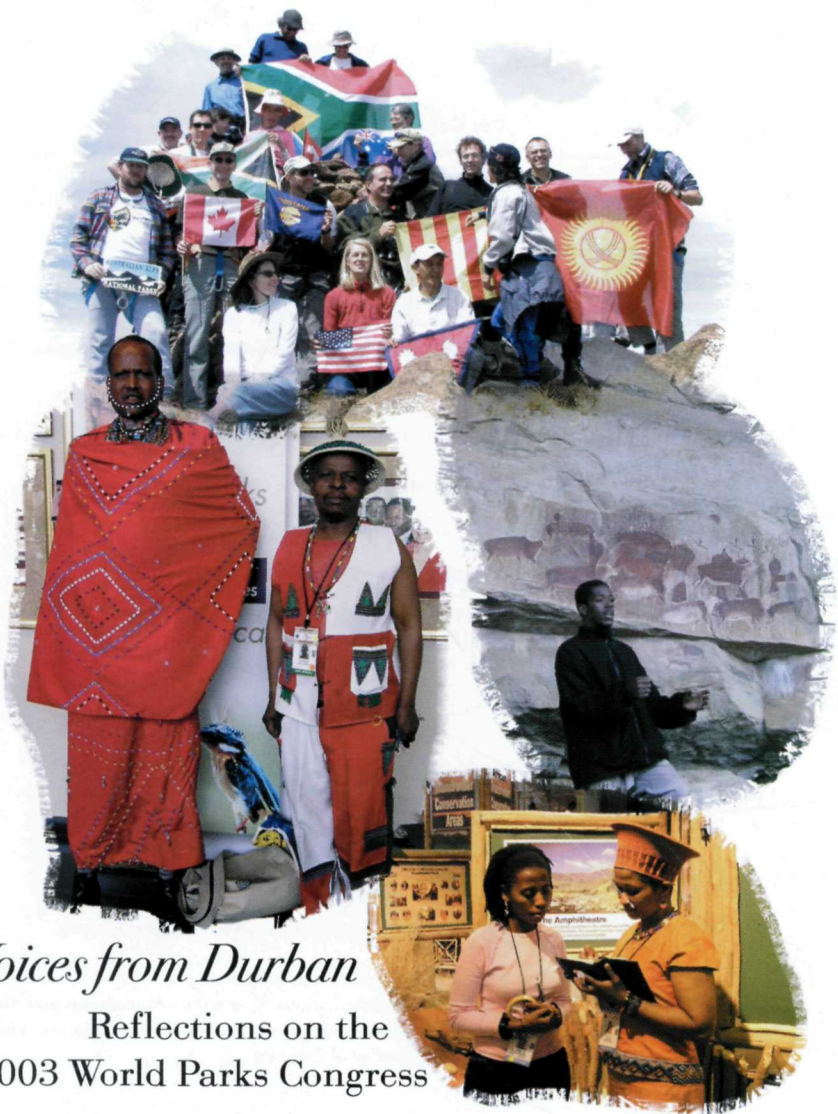


The George Wright
FORUM

volume 20 number 4 • December 2003



Voices from Durban

Reflections on the
2003 World Parks Congress



Origins

Founded in 1980, the George Wright Society is organized for the purposes of promoting the application of knowledge, fostering communication, improving resource management, and providing information to improve public understanding and appreciation of the basic purposes of natural and cultural parks and equivalent reserves. The Society is dedicated to the protection, preservation, and management of cultural and natural parks and reserves through research and education.

Mission

The George Wright Society advances the scientific and heritage values of parks and protected areas. The Society promotes professional research and resource stewardship across natural and cultural disciplines, provides avenues of communication, and encourage public policies that embrace these values.

Our Goal

The Society strives to be the premier organization connecting people, places, knowledge, and ideas to foster excellence in natural and cultural resource management, research, protection, and interpretation in parks and equivalent reserves.

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The George Wright Society is a member of
US/ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites—U.S. Committee), IUCN—The World Conservation Union, and The Natural Resources Council of America

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On the cover (clockwise from top):

Participants at a pre-Congress mountain protected areas workshop did a “peace climb” in the Drakensberg Mountains to celebrate international solidarity (*courtesy of Mervyn Gans, The Mountain Club of South Africa*); a guide from the adjacent community of Kamberg explains San rock art at Game Pass Shelter, uKhahlamba–Drakensberg World Heritage Site (*courtesy of Mervyn Gans*); two Zulu delegates in the Exhibition Hall (*courtesy of Nora Mitchell, University of Vermont*); two delegates in traditional dress at the Convention Center (*courtesy of Nora Mitchell*).

Society News, Notes & Mail

GWS Board Meeting Report

The GWS Board of Directors held its annual meeting November 14–15 in Oakland. After the various committees of the Board met, the first order of business was to count the ballots from the election. As is noted in more detail below, Dwight Pitcaithley and Dave Parsons were re-elected for a second and final term. Officers for 2004 also were selected. Pitcaithley was elected the new president, Abby Miller and Gillian Bowser will continue as vice president and secretary, respectively, and Jerry Emory was elected treasurer. Ethics requirements for government employees serving on boards were reviewed.

As always, much of the discussion focused on the Society's finances and operations. We are glad to be able to report that the Society is in good financial shape, thanks to the success of the 2003 conference. This set the context for a review of the GWS portfolio and how our investments should be allocated. This past summer, after consultation with a financial advisor, funds not needed for operations were consolidated into several Vanguard mutual funds, following a balanced, fairly conservative investment approach. The Board continues to count ourselves extremely lucky with the Society's staff, Executive Director Dave Harmon and Emily Dekker-Fiala, and commended them, including their efforts on the conference. The Board also recognized continued volunteer services by Bob Linn, which are critical to the day-to-day operations of the Society.

The 2003 conference in San Diego was well received by participants. The 2005 conference in Philadelphia will be at a smaller venue that will accommodate fewer concurrent tracks. The Board agreed with many commenters that there should be an effort to increase the papers on science and scholarly topics at the next conference. Issues of concern expressed in the committee reports and other business were the lack of success to date in building a capital fund to provide for long-term sustainability, and the need to increase Society membership. Expanded participation by new NPS employees and non-NPS employees, especially USGS employees, is desired. All agreed that the conferences are the best means to do this and tasks were assigned to take advantage of opportunities presented by the 2005 conference. Additionally, the use of potential appointed Board members to help meet this, as well as other objectives, was discussed at length.

The Board discussed and made plans to follow up on several other issues, including increased involvement with the Ecological Society of America and its program aimed at minorities in science; renewal of the Cooperative Agreement with the National Park Service and the need to have one with USGS; topics for the *Forum*; a policy on Society publication of manuscripts, in response to a request to publish; and formalizing criteria for GWS awards.

International issues were another focus. The Board supported having a 2005 conference workshop on defining IUCN's protected area categories, to make them more useable and useful. Four Board members were at the World Parks

Conference in Durban, South Africa. These participants shared their reactions—both positive and humbling. The lack of interest by some GWS members in international *Forum* articles and conference sessions on international issues was recognized. The Board would like to help increase the sense of connectedness among protected area advocates worldwide, as well as the ability for us both to assist and learn from others, internationally as well as from nongovernmental organizations in general, where much of the conservation action is centered. After these discussions, the Board adopted a change to a portion of the Society's strategic statement to that effect.

The final order of routine business was to bid a fond farewell to the outgoing president, Denny Fenn, who is stepping down after completing his two terms. Denny was presented with a small gift in recognition of the excellent leadership he has provided to the GWS over the last two years.

Parsons, Pitcaithley Re-elected to Board; Nominations for 2004 Election Open

In the 2003 GWS Board of Directors election, David Parsons and Dwight Pitcaithley were each re-elected to a second three-year term. They bested Costa Dillon in a well-contested three-way race for the two available seats. Parsons, who directs the Aldo Leopold Wilderness Research Institute, and Pitcaithley, who serves as chief historian of the National Park Service, were first elected to the Board in 2000. Another Board member, Denny Fenn of the U.S. Geological Survey, is finishing his second and final term in 2003. He holds an appointed position on the Board; as of this writing, his replacement has not been decided.

Nominations are now being accepted for the 2004 election. It is for two seats: one, an open seat that is currently held by Rick Smith, who will be completing his second term and is ineligible to run again; the other, for the seat currently held by Abby Miller, who is eligible for re-election and has indicated that she intends to run again. We are now accepting nominations from GWS members who would like to be candidates for these seats. The term of office runs from January 1, 2005, through December 31, 2007. Nominations are open through July 1, 2004. To be eligible, both the nominator and the potential candidate must be GWS members in good standing (it's permissible to nominate one's self). The potential candidates must be willing to travel to Board meetings, which usually occur once a year; help prepare for and carry out the biennial conferences; and serve on Board committees and do other work associated with the Society. Travel costs and per diem for the Board meetings are paid for by the Society; otherwise there is no remuneration. Federal government employees who wish to serve on the Board must be prepared to comply with all applicable ethics requirements and laws; this may include, for example, obtaining permission from one's supervisor, receiving ethics-related training, and/or obtaining a conflict of interest waiver. The Society can provide prospective candidates with a summary of the requirements.

The nomination procedure is as follows: members nominate candidates for possible inclusion on the ballot by sending the candidate's name to the Board's nominating committee. The committee then, in its discretion, determines the composition of the ballot from the field of potential candidates. Among the cri-

teria the nominating committee considers when determining which potential candidates to include on the ballot are his/her skills and experience (and how those might complement the skills and experience of current Board members), the goal of adding and/or maintaining diverse viewpoints on the Board, and the goal of maintaining a balance between natural- and cultural-resource perspectives on the Board. (It also is possible for members to place candidates directly on the ballot through petition; for details, contact the GWS office.) To propose someone for possible candidacy, send his or her name and complete contact details to: Nominating Committee, The George Wright Society, P.O. Box 65, Hancock, MI 49930-0065 USA. All potential candidates will be contacted by the nominating committee to get background information before the final ballot is determined. Again, the deadline for nominations is July 1, 2004.

Work on 2003 Conference Proceedings Nears Completion

Nearly 100 papers from the GWS/CR2003 joint conference will be included in a proceedings volume that will be available soon. The book, which will be published in paperback and on CD, is being jointly edited by Dave Harmon, Bruce Kilgore, and Gay Vietzke. It is expected to be ready sometime in February. Full details and ordering information will appear in the next *Forum*.

Henry Honored with GWS Special Achievement Award

At its November 2003 meeting, the Society's Board of Directors decided to honor Dr. Wes Henry, wilderness program manager for the National Park Service, with a George Wright Society Special Achievement Award. This award is bestowed by the Board on an occasional basis to recognize outstanding individual efforts related to our core mission. Although Henry has dedicated his entire NPS career to protecting natural resources of his beloved national parks, the George Wright Society is recognizing him for specific achievements dating back to 1990. These achievements relate largely to the success Henry has had in bringing recognition and protection to natural soundscapes and wilderness resources and values of America's national parks.

Henry began his NPS career in the Washington budget office, where he had responsibility for shepherding natural resource budget requests. In this role, he was responsible for helping to obtain funding to address congressional concerns about aircraft overflights at Grand Canyon National Park. This was the first funding ever for natural sound protection in the National Park System.

In 1990, Henry transferred to the ranger activities division, where he became responsible for both the aircraft overflight/natural sound program and for wilderness. There, he oversaw the development and delivery of a major 1994 NPS report to Congress on aircraft overflights ("Report on the Effects of Aircraft Overflights on the National Park System"). This report provided the first comprehensive assessment of the effects of overflights on visitors, wildlife, cultural and historic resources, and the natural soundscapes of the parks. Partly as a result of these efforts, there are now new regulations requiring air tour management plans for national parks. Henry also played a major role in the development of the NPS Director's Order 47 (Soundscape Preservation and Noise Management) and its accompanying manual. He managed to address concerns about aircraft overflights and increase the recognition of natural sound values

while also coordinating wilderness issues, until a separate program and funding were secured in 2000 for the current natural sound program and he could devote full time to wilderness.

Since the early 1990s, Henry has provided dedicated leadership to the fledgling NPS wilderness program. During a time when few higher-level NPS managers believed that wilderness was a priority issue or concern for the agency, Henry was an enduring advocate for appropriate wilderness stewardship. He literally salvaged all of the NPS records related to wilderness when he first reported to duty as the wilderness coordinator—in a well-meaning attempt to provide him with a clean office upon his arrival, the files had been taken out of his office and stacked in the hall to await disposal.

He organized the first NPS wilderness task force and coordinated its 1994 report on improving wilderness stewardship in the NPS. This report made recommendations related to wilderness leadership, planning, management, and accountability that continue to provide targets for the agency. In 1996, Henry was the driving force behind establishment of the NPS's national wilderness steering committee. This committee, the actions of which he continues to help coordinate, has addressed specific wilderness management challenges faced by the agency, produced annual NPS wilderness reports, and, most recently, drafted an NPS wilderness action plan for consideration by the director. Henry also was one of the chief architects of NPS Director's Order 41 (Wilderness Stewardship) and Reference Manual 41 (Wilderness Stewardship Guidance Materials). Finally, Henry has long advocated for interagency dialogue regarding wilderness stewardship, serving as the NPS representative on the interagency wilderness steering committee since its formation in 1994, and lending support to the Arthur Carhart Wilderness Training Center and the Aldo Leopold Wilderness Research Institute.

As a result of Henry's efforts, both natural sound protection and wilderness stewardship are now receiving significantly higher levels of attention within the National Park Service. With such attention, it is hoped that more sustainable funding for these programs may be achieved in the near future. Without the dedication, perseverance, and talents applied by Henry, these important resource values would not be receiving the attention that they have today.

2005 Awards Round Underway

The GWS is now accepting nominations for the 2005 round of its awards program. Every two years at the conference, we recognize excellence in the park professions by bestowing awards for cultural and natural resource management, communications, and career-long achievements. The award includes peer recognition at a high-profile event at the conference, and free attendance at and travel expenses to the conference itself. To learn more about the awards or to make a nomination, visit www.georgewright.org/awards.html.



INSIDE THE GWS: Why Should I Join?

I am often asked two questions: the first by my fellow retirees who wonder why I serve on the Board of Directors of the George Wright Society since I am no longer an active National Park Service employee. The second question comes from rangers, the profession into which I entered when I began my career with the NPS. Why serve on a board whose members are primarily resources managers, researchers, and academics, and what does it have to do with the interests of rangers?

My answer to these questions is related to what I feel about the protected areas of the USA. As an employee, I always said that I owed my loyalty, not to an agency, the National Park Service, but to an idea, the National Park System. Remember how the Congress described that idea in almost poetic language?

Congress declares that the national park system, which began with establishment of Yellowstone National Park in 1872, has since grown to include superlative natural, historic, and recreation areas in every major region of the United States, its territories and island possessions; that these areas, though distinct in character, are united through their inter-related purposes and resources into one national park system as cumulative expressions of a single national heritage; that, individually and collectively, these areas derive increased national dignity and recognition of their superb environmental quality through their inclusion jointly with each other in one national park system preserved and managed for the benefit and inspiration of all the people of the United States....

I joined the George Wright Society and serve on its Board because I

believe that it is an organization dedicated to giving life to these words. Its mission statement reads, *The George Wright Society advances the scientific and heritage values of parks and protected areas. The Society promotes professional research and resource stewardship across natural and cultural disciplines, provides avenues of communication, and encourages public policies that enhance these values.* I like the phrase “protected areas” because it demonstrates the inclusiveness of the Society. The Society aims to accomplish its mission, not just in the U.S. National Park System, but also within those systems managed by our partners in world conservation.

I also like the Society’s stated goal: *The Society strives to be the premier organization connecting people, places, knowledge, and ideas to foster excellence in natural and cultural resource management, research, protection, and interpretation in parks and equivalent resources.* This ambitious goal takes direct aim on preserving and protecting the world’s patrimony. This is a goal that we can all support, active employees, rangers, or retirees alike. It’s a great reason to join the Society. I know it’s why I did.

Rick Smith has served on the GWS Board since 1999.

***INSIDE THE GWS** is a new regular feature that highlights communications from the Board of Directors. The idea is to open up another channel of communication with GWS members and the Forum's readership. We are always interested in hearing from you—tell us how we can serve you and your profession better. Contact the GWS executive office or any Board member; details are on the inside front cover.*



Voices from Durban:

Reflections on the 2003 World Parks Congress

[Ed. note: Quite a few GWS members attended the Fifth World Parks Congress (WPC) in Durban, South Africa, which was hosted by IUCN–The World Conservation Union in September 2003. This is the world’s largest conference on protected areas, and is held once every ten years. The theme of this Congress, “Benefits Beyond Boundaries,” emphasized IUCN’s interest in highlighting the contributions protected areas can make to people’s well-being in everyday life, not just when they are visiting parks. The WPC had an ambitious schedule of meetings, press events, festival activities, and field trips. The four main products were: (1) the Durban Accord, a consensus statement on the values and principles undergirding protected areas; (2) a set of recommendations, which, in many countries, are regarded as guidelines for protected area policy; (3) a ten-point action plan, with targeted outcomes from the international to the local level; and (4) a communiqué to the next meeting of the signatories to the Convention on Biological Diversity, which is emerging as the major international treaty affecting protected natural areas. For a summary of the Congress, go to www.iucn.org/themes/wcpa/wpc2003/.

Here, we present a compilation of brief personal observations from GWS members who were there. We hope you’ll take a few minutes to listen to these “Voices from Durban.”]



“I Feel Roots Here”

Jessica Brown
*QLF/Atlantic Center for the
Environment*

A particularly exciting aspect of the Congress was that broad recognition—and a good deal of discussion time—was given to the important role of communities in creating and managing protected areas. While this subject has been explored in past Congresses, in Durban it was on the agenda as never before, integrated into the workshop streams and addressed in many plenary discussions and in Congress products such as the recommendations and Durban Accord.

Rather than a side topic, the role of indigenous and local communities has become part of the mainstream debate on protected areas and their future. This is a significant development.

Of course, this integration came about largely by design, thanks to the vision of the WPC steering committee and the efforts of several working groups. “Communities and Equity” was a cross-cutting theme of the Congress, and the theme drew on experience from all over the world. For well over a year members of the core group of TILCEPA (the Theme on Indigenous and Local Communities, Equity, and Protected Areas, an IUCN working group) had worked together to ensure that the theme would be well integrated into the Congress plenary program and seven workshop streams. I served as a liaison with Stream 1,

“Linkages in the Landscape and Seascape,” where sessions addressing the cross-cutting theme included a panel on “The Role of Communities in Sustaining Linkages in the Landscape,” and multi-session workshops on “Human-Wildlife Coexistence” and “Protecting Landscapes and Seascapes.”

The participation of so many community leaders greatly enriched the Congress as a whole and our discussions. For me the workshops were the heart of the Congress, and I was fortunate to be involved in several sessions that drew on the experience of indigenous and local leaders. Our panel on the first day featured several case-studies by mobile peoples from diverse regions, describing how they practice conservation in the landscapes they inhabit. This is a fresh perspective for many of us, requiring a new way of

looking at communities and conservation. Disappointingly, a group of women we had invited from a community group in Kosi Bay, South Africa, to share their story of co-managing marine and coastal resources in a protected area could not participate in the panel because they lacked the photo IDs necessary for entry into the Convention Center. They had planned to follow their case study presentation with singing in traditional style. But we heard stories from other community leaders, including representatives of the Huaorani Nation in Amazonian Ecuador, and pastoralist communities in western India. There were many nomadic and pastoralist community leaders at the Congress, giving the term “mobile peoples” a new meaning as they traveled from remote communities to the Congress site! Favorite images include



Members of the “Mussel Monitoring Team” at St. Lucia Wetlands Park explain their activities to a field trip group. The team monitors the local mussel harvest, working with people in the community to manage the harvest and reseed the mussel beds. *Photo courtesy of Nora Mitchell, University of Vermont.*

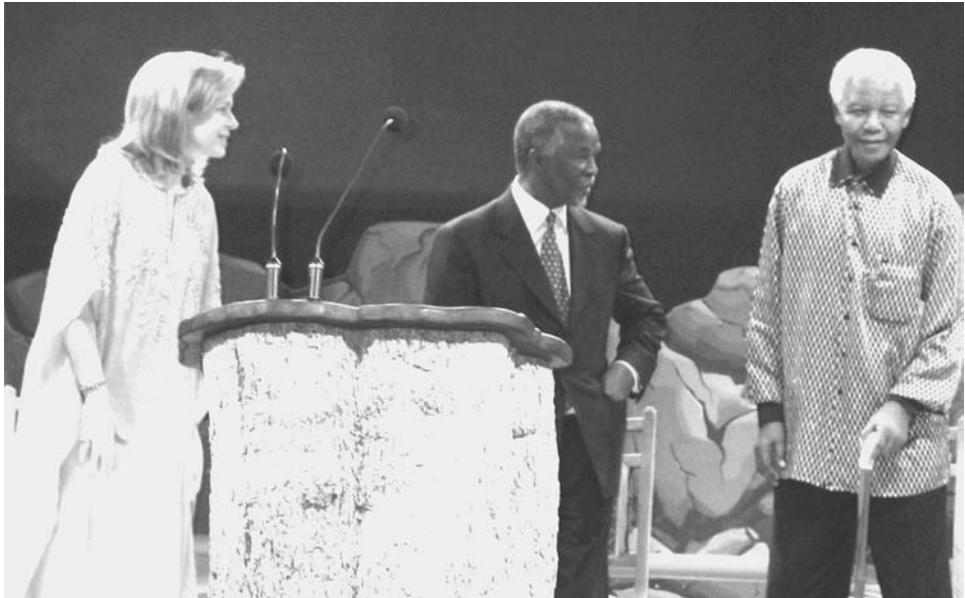
the stately Masai in traditional dress (who I frequently saw talking on his mobile phone—yet another twist on that term), and “Uncle Sayyad” Soltani, representing the Qashqai Turkic Nomadic Confederation of Tribes (Iran), who spoke none of the three official languages of the Congress but always greeted one most eloquently, touching his hand to his heart and offering a beautiful smile.

A surprising part of my experience at the Congress was the sense of community I felt there, this despite the large number of people participating, and the cavernous feel of the Convention Center! One reason was that many of us had spent time together in preparation for our contributions to the Congress. Advance meetings, like the ones held by the Protected Landscapes Task Force (PLTF) in the U.K. in late 2001, and by the TILCEPA core group in India earlier this year, helped us to work together more effectively across the distance of geography and culture. Once in Durban, there was a good deal of space for many different communities of interest to come together, whether through formalized task forces and working groups, or *ad hoc* meetings being held in places like the Community Park, or countless side meetings. I was delighted to see the PLTF energized by Durban, and to watch new working groups emerge from the Congress, focusing on topics such as Human–Wildlife Coexistence and Islands and Coastal Areas, all drawing on members with diverse experience from many different countries.

An anecdote from our workshop on Protecting Landscapes and Seascapes captures this sense of community, illustrating how people from diverse backgrounds can quickly learn how to solve problems together—at least small ones. The workshop,

which I co-chaired with Nora Mitchell of the United States and Bob Wishitemi of Kenya, stretched over two days, and had a core of some 30 or 40 participants who came to all three sessions, joined by others who came for one of the sessions. Due to poor acoustics in the workshop rooms, we had been asked not to applaud after presentations. The participants spontaneously devised a novel way of expressing their appreciation, throwing their hands up in and giving a fluttering sort of wave (with variations including an emphatic thumbs up gesture favored by a delegate from Ireland). Everyone beamed as they looked around the room to “hear” the applause. Apparently other workshop groups independently had arrived at the same solution. When I returned home I learned that American Sign Language (ASL) uses this wave gesture to indicate applause.

Finally, a particularly exciting aspect of the Congress for my husband, Brent Mitchell, and me was the active participation of some 20 alumni of QLF’s international fellowship programs, many of whom we had nominated to participate in the Congress. Taking advantage of this rare opportunity to bring together so many of our international alumni and partners, QLF hosted an alumni reunion dinner during the WPC, which brought together past Fellows from Latin America, the Caribbean, and Central Europe. The atmosphere was convivial, as past Fellows reconnected with each other after many years, while meeting colleagues from other regions for the first time. There were animated conversations along the length of the table, some toasts at the end, and a good deal of laughter. Even in the short evening together people started to connect in the way we see at our longer workshops. As an alumnus from Belize said, “I feel roots here.”



Queen Noor of Jordan, current South African President Thabo Mbeki, and former South African President Nelson Mandela opened the Congress. *Photo courtesy of Gary Tabor, Wilburforce Foundation.*

Parks, Poverty, and the Conservation of Biodiversity

Tom Cobb

*Minnewaska State Park Preserve &
Palisades Interstate Park*

While park managers in the United States and other industrialized nations are variously coping with acid rain and smog, encroachment of second-home developments, an array of motorized recreational vehicles, and a host of other environmental stresses of affluence on the scenic and ecological integrity of our state and national parks, our counterparts in less-developed countries of the world are being called upon to help confront a vastly different, yet difficult and immediate set of social and economic conditions that arise from poverty. These entail people with a low standard of living

who are generally characterized as residents of destitute rural villages seeking security and equity in the distribution and use of timber, water, land, and wildlife resources from parks or other types of protected areas in close proximity to their homes.

In the course of identifying this issue at the opening ceremony of the World Parks Congress in Durban, South African President Thabo Mbeki emphasized that people living near parks must be able to see how they benefit from protection policies for conservation campaigns to work. "Mere exhortations to poor people to value and respect national parks will not succeed," he said. "It is critically important that alternative means of livelihood be found for the poor of the world, so when driven by hunger and underdevelopment, they are not forced to act in a manner that undermines the global effort to protect these ecosystems."

The notion that protected areas can

and should contribute to poverty reduction and sustainable development was addressed at the Congress by a working group concerned with building broader support for conservation. Under the lead of IUCN's Chief Scientist, Jeff McNeely, this group came up with recommendations that would facilitate effective involvement of the poor in planning and decision-making processes, and called upon governmental and non-governmental organizations alike to adopt several principles for advancing conservation and sustainable development in impoverished areas. The requirement that "no net loss" of biodiversity must be balanced with "no net impact" on the livelihoods of the poor was the first of these principles. Another was that "Biodiversity must be recognized and managed to support local livelihoods as well as a global public good."

The example of the Makuleke people in South Africa was seen as a model for site-level design and management, as well as for enhancing job opportunities and empowerment of the poor. Driven from their ancestral lands in Kruger National Park by the former apartheid regime in 1969, ownership of 100 square miles was reinstated in 1998 after negotiations with South Africa's new government. Instead of returning, however, the 15,000 Makuleke opted to remain in their villages outside the national park, and to establish leaseholds in the form of safari lodges to be built and largely staffed by the Makuleke. They would also receive a share of the profits of this ecotourism venture, and in 30 years gain complete ownership.

Although this is but one example, and a brief outline of an initiative to help alleviate poverty and promote sustainable development affecting one of South Africa's premier tourist destinations, as well as one of Africa's

greatest wildlife preserves, it serves to demonstrate the type of linkages between parks, poverty, and biodiversity conservation that resource managers and conservation biologists throughout the world should become more adept at making. It also suggests another rationale for nature conservation and resource management agencies to extend their capacity to undertake socially responsible conservation onto the scale of the larger landscape of which our parklands are not separate from, but very much a part.

Place-based Ocean Conservation Has Arrived

Gary E. Davis
*Ocean Programs,
U.S. National Park Service*

Marine issues emerged throughout the World Park Congress program. That's the good news. The bad news was that conservation in the ocean lags a hundred years behind land conservation.

Remoteness and apparent isolation no longer protect ocean parks. Recent advances in marine transportation technology have dramatically accelerated public access to once remote ocean conservation sites. New "ground effect" vehicles now provide day-use access to the entire 2,000-km-long Great Barrier Reef Marine Park (Australia). When it was established in 1975, the speed (8–10 knot) and capacity of vessels limited day use to small groups near major ports. Today, ultra-fast (100–200 knot) ground-effect vehicles departing from the same ports provide large groups daily access to 95% of the park. While providing wonderful opportunities to connect people to coral reef environ-

ments, this new technology requires that stewardship strategies explicitly protect resources. Traditional reliance on remoteness for passive "protection" no longer works.

The newly human-dominated Earth is changing faster and in ways never seen before. Consequently, park managers must plan strategically, while maintaining daily operations. The environment, people, and institutions need new and greater capacities to cope with these changes or they will lose touch with their heritage and greatly diminish options of future generations. In that light, the concept of "ecological integrity" needs to be added to "biodiversity" and "species of concern" as a goal of stewardship. Ecosystem resilience is an emergent property of systems with high ecological integrity. It is a symptom of healthy ecosystems and a characteristic, or an outcome, of successful conservation management.

Ocean conservation is in crisis. Triage requires treating symptoms of environmental stress, such as coral bleaching, and acting to prevent extirpation and extinction as a tactical matter. People must also simultaneously increase understanding of ecosystems to deal strategically with underlying causes of such stress and subsequent changes recognized as "unhealthy," such as loss of integrity and resilience. Since so many environmental stresses operate at global scales, the resolution of these stresses requires a global network or system of protected areas to resolve the issues. It is the only way to learn how these systems work and how they will respond to future environmental stresses.

Parks provide societies with common ground that can help to resolve differences generated by "us and them" perceptions of environmental issues. At the Congress, we heard how transfrontier parks in Africa have

helped defuse border disputes and bring nations together by overcoming objections of military, agricultural, immigration, and health concerns. *The Full Value of Parks*, a Rowman & Littlefield book launched at the Congress, explores these intangible values of parks. Presentations and discussions at the Congress showed a remarkable commonality of issues among highly diverse parks, park systems, and cultures, as reflected by the program streams (Management Effectiveness, Capacity, Finance, and Network / System Design). Paradoxically, the Congress also revealed a wide range of different cultural and political perceptions of national park values among nations. An apparent divide, driven by social and economic factors such as poverty, seems to separate heritage and legacy values from values of parks as local economic engines. In some places, parks that do not generate net income (profit) may be judged unworthy of preservation and receive inadequate resources to assure protection of heritage and legacy values. To assure that all park values are protected, adequacy of protected area budgets needs to be grounded in measures of performance, such as trends in biodiversity, visitor satisfaction, and ecosystem integrity, and scaled to local (national) standards as established by professional third parties to assure objectivity and to engender trust.

While an inherently inefficient medium of exchange, the Congress may be the best way to share observations, experiences, and analyses of common issues and concerns. It surely invigorated participants with a passion for caring for special places by seeing and hearing how many others are similarly engaged for the common good.

Listening to Africa

David Harmon

George Wright Society

As several others in this compilation of reflections on the Congress mention, there were something like 3,000 voices to be heard in Durban—voices from every corner of the world, representing almost every conceivable viewpoint on parks and protected areas. I spent much of my time in South Africa just listening. Here is a little of what I heard.

I heard Nelson Mandela open the Congress with what was, to my mind, a standard political speech. But that didn't matter. His voice was magnificent—deep and with a touch of gravel,

the vowels sonorous and rounded—and his presence electrifying. He is a person of immense moral authority, and it added depth to all the subsequent deliberations just by his having been at the opening ceremony.

I heard one of Mandela's fellow citizens, a Zulu woman living near the Hluhluwe-Imfolozi Park, tell us how selling crafts at a specially designed sales center in the game reserve made a big difference to the income of her family—an excellent example of a protected area contributing to "community upliftment," as our hosts at the Ezemvelo KwaZulu Wildlife agency put it.

I heard Ian Player, a legendary figure in African conservation and the founder of the wilderness movement in South Africa, after walking slowly to the podium with the aid of a cane, turn



San Rock art depicting an eland hunt at Game Pass Shelter, uKhahlamba-Drakensberg World Heritage Site. The San (also known as Bushmen) are the aboriginal inhabitants of southern Africa. Photo courtesy of Mervyn Gans, *The Mountain Club of South Africa*.

to us and say, “We must dispel the nonsense that wilderness is against people. Wilderness does not lock people out. It unlocks the human spirit.”

In contrast, I heard a professor from the social sciences declare, provocatively, that “National park agencies are too often predatory on local communities of people.”

In a major plenary session, I heard the CEO of one of the largest mining companies in the world say—and he was claiming this as a significant achievement—that many of the world’s biggest mining companies are going to demonstrate their commitment to parks and the environment by voluntarily refraining from mining inside of World Heritage Sites. Then I heard the person next to me mutter, “Pathetic, absolutely pathetic.” She was right.

In the halls or in small-group meetings or out in the city I heard people speaking Russian, Catalan, Xhosa, French, Mandarin Chinese, Dene, Swedish, San, German, Afrikaans, Spanish, Swahili ... and many more languages I couldn’t even begin to recognize.

I heard numerous indigenous people embrace protected areas *if* they respect their culture and concerns. I also heard several others, speaking with complete conviction, predict an impending downfall for Western culture and an end to 500 years of domination by Europeans and North Americans—an apocalyptic payback from the Earth for hubris and willful ignorance—and a resurgence of indigenous power.

On three occasions, I heard beautiful community singing by (materially) poor rural Africans who came out to greet us as honored visitors during field trips. I heard them ask us to please help them find more money for their local community conservation projects. I heard several of them tell

us, matter-of-factly, about the HIV/AIDS epidemic that threatened their communities’ existence.

Last but not least, I heard the eerie call of wild helmeted guineafowl as day broke across the lodge we were staying at in Hlulhuwe—a reminder of an even more primal set of voices, voices that still can be heard, against all odds, in the Africa of the 21st century.

Joining Hands in New Partnerships

Nora Mitchell
Adjunct Faculty,
University of Vermont

“Only through partnerships can protected areas be made relevant to society and part of a sustainable future.... We must ensure that national parks are transformed—we need to break with traditional thinking, catalyze a new vision, and to join hands in new partnerships.” — Nelson Mandela

With these words, Nelson Mandela opened the Congress, challenging us to craft a new conservation, responsive to our current challenges with an inspiring vision for the future. The deliberations at the conference answered this challenge and the “Durban Accord” describes a new paradigm for protected areas—one that is inclusive of all stakeholders, links protected areas in a broader landscape, and integrates conservation with sustainable development in an equitable way.

South Africa provided a perfect venue for these deliberations. Here in the decade after Mandela’s election, parks have become a cornerstone for reconciliation and a public symbol of access and the re-integration of socie-

ty. The vision of South African National Parks is “To be the pride and joy of all South Africans” and the mission statement for Cape Peninsula National Park is simply and eloquently, “A park for all, forever.” The natural and cultural resources of their park system are truly outstanding. We visited the fynbos on Table Mountain and the Cape Peninsula, one of the world’s most diverse ecosystems, and were astonished by close encounters with penguins, giraffes, hippos, wildebeests, springboks, waterbucks, and rhinos in Greater St. Lucia Wetland Park, a World Heritage Site, and at Imfolozi Reserve. On the conference tours, we were introduced to people in the local communities who are working with the park on restoration of forest ecosystems and sustainable economic initiatives such as traditional crafts, mussel harvesting, and small-scale ecotourism. This demonstrated on the ground a comment in the opening plenary by South Africa’s President, Thabo Mbeki: “[W]e need to protect natural ecosystems and ensure sustainable livelihoods ... it’s key to combine environmental and social goals.” While in Cape Town, Greg Moore (executive director of Golden Gate National Parks Conservancy) and I visited several of the townships with Xola Mkefe, a conservationist and educator who grew up there and has dedicated his career to bringing conservation home. We visited a wetland area that had been restored by the township communities through his leadership and now serves as a park and educational resource for the surrounding neighborhoods.

This was the most diverse conference I have ever attended—over 2,700 people from 154 countries—coming from major urban centers and small villages, and every environment in between. I co-chaired a series of workshops on protected landscapes and

seascapes (IUCN Category V) with colleagues Jessica Brown (QLF/Atlantic Center for the Environment, USA) and Bob Wishitemi (Moi University, Kenya), designed to explore linkages with the larger landscape and with neighboring communities. In these sessions and others at the conference, I was inspired to see the commitment, the innovation and quality of work, as well as the progress being made by so many people in so many parts of the world, many in very difficult circumstances. Many speakers reminded us that over half the world’s population now lives in urban areas. So it was appropriate that, for the first time, the World Parks Congress included a series of workshops on urban parks. This track generated a great deal of enthusiasm and participants from San Francisco, Cape Town, Sydney, Rio, and other cities with national parks agreed to form a network to share experience in ways to effectively reach the increasing numbers of urban dwellers and engage them in conservation. Her Majesty Queen Noor of Jordan reminded us of our fragile, war-torn world and the contribution that protected areas and collaborative conservation can make: “[T]here is an important role for transboundary protected areas in promoting peace and security ... and I therefore urge increased international cooperation.” Youth delegates from Africa provided hope for the future through their comments: “Protected areas are sacred places important for life on earth” and “African youth lack not interest, but opportunities to be involved [with protected areas].” Participating in this Congress reconnected me to a vision of an international community working together for a sustainable world—and I was privileged to be part of it.

Looking Beyond Our Own Lifetimes

Peter Newman
Colorado State University

As a kid, I grew up hearing stories of Africa and living in a house filled with African masks—constant reminders of my father's Peace Corps experience in West Africa in 1963. My experience at the World Parks Congress in South Africa forty years later brought together my father's legacy in an adventure of my own.

The World Parks Congress gathered over 2,500 people from 154 countries with a single mission of working toward something better. I mingled with people in all forms of cultural dress, speaking languages I had never heard, and tasted indigenous African food. These interactions emphasize the importance of cross-cultural exchanges of ideas, understanding, and friendships, in a world where these concepts seem foreign in daily news bulletins.

Outside the protective walls of the Congress lay a harsh reality. South Africa is a country barely a decade removed from apartheid, ravaged by HIV/AIDS, yet is rich in human spirit. I felt the racial tensions among the diverse indigenous, Indian, and Afrikaner populations. The statistics on HIV/AIDS are staggering. In the region we visited, there is a 40% infection rate. We were told that in KwaZulu-Natal Province, natural resource leaders are training twice as many students in protected areas management due to the high HIV mortality rate. Protected area managers must even deal with people poaching timber to build coffins.

The people of South Africa are

some of the most beautiful I have met. Music and dance are an integral part of life. People such as Hugh Masekela graced the Congress and played tunes of hope and empowerment. His music infuses incredible passion and African rhythms with remnants of American jazz.

But like Masekela's music, the American park idea has been infused into the context and landscape of South Africa, and it has morphed, in many cases, to deal with external pressures such as population growth, cultural strife, and equity issues. Many of my students from Colorado asked, "How do we even talk about the development of protected areas in the context of disease, inequality, poverty?" This question was a part of most conversations at the Congress. What I truly believe is that protected areas are a necessity in any context. Basic conservation biology teaches the need for core areas to protect our wild fabric. We must also look beyond our own lifetime and believe that we can restore and re-wild areas stressed by current conditions. In establishing protected areas, we create reservoirs of core ecological values as well as core social values that help sustain the cultural and ecological landscapes that heal, teach, and provide nourishment for the human spirit.

Personal Connections and Politics in Durban

David Ostergren
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The Vth World Parks Congress (WPC) was an incredible opportunity to participate in and (from political scientist's perspective) watch politics

set a protected area agenda. My primary responsibility was to organize a three-day workshop titled "Building Political Support." This workshop was designed to identify particular strategies to build the political support for protected areas. As I sat in my sub-session and watched the ebb and flow of audience participation, several speakers started to repeat an observation: "Why aren't there more people in this session?" And I thought to myself, "Why didn't many of the speakers stay for more than 2-3 sessions?" In many cases it was because rather than devising strategies for creating political support, they were out creating political support.

The WPC was an extraordinary example of multiple agendas being promoted simultaneously. The overall intention of the Congress was to forward the cause of protected areas throughout the world, but, as any observer would agree, that means very different things to such a wonderfully diverse gathering. For example, humans are only welcome as visitors in the wilderness areas of many countries, while wilderness (i.e., a wild or natural area) is "home" and a source of sustenance in many other countries. Preserving the biodiversity of a park may include very specific measures to protect a species, while forwarding global biodiversity may require influencing governments. These issues and many more emerged and re-emerged as forty-plus sub-streams held three days of talks refining recommendations to the Durban Accord.

I am low on the food chain of people who influence international policy (any policy for that matter) so I listened for a *big*, take-home message. I believe the big message is that indigenous and mobile peoples are a permanent part of the political landscape and will be part of many, if not all, protected area policies and decisions in

the future. In addition, all protected area neighbors will be part and parcel to many more plans and practices in the coming years. As plenary speaker Nelson Mandela indicated, restricting economic activity or the distribution of protected area benefits to a few people will not serve South Africa (nor any nation) in the long run. At first such rhetoric may be disquieting to those who place a premium on biodiversity values or wilderness characteristics (e.g., pristine and untrammelled landscapes, solitude). However, as an optimist, I foresee a opportunity. Regardless of how any culture *eventually* changes and adopts the practices of the global socioeconomic forces, indigenous and mobile peoples resist the *imposition* of an "outside" culture upon their own. That is, they resist the forces of global/Western/capitalist cultural change washing over those values and traditions deemed central to their identity. Similarly, protected areas resist the imposition of monoculture crops, development, exotics, and the myriad threats that challenge ecological integrity. In the face of larger encroaching forces, both humans and nature stand to lose that which makes them unique.

My impression is that indigenous and mobile peoples are not an emerging entity on the political landscape, but an emerged entity. The many entities that constitute IUCN will incorporate the humans who most intimately live with the consequences of protected area decisions. I also believe that the indigenous and mobile peoples of the world will find advocates and allies among the many interests that support protected natural areas for nonhuman species. Similarly, those who are advocates of preserving biodiversity and feel that biodiversity must be saved *from* human demands will find that the two political entities share much in common.



Table Mountain and other sections of Cape Peninsula National Park. *Photo courtesy of Nora Mitchell, University of Vermont.*

Participants at the WPC were doing politics. Politics is about power and who gets to share in the decision-making process. The face of protected area leadership is changing. When the director general of IUCN awarded the Youth Conservation Award he stated (and I paraphrase) that the future of protected areas stands before you (he spoke to us the audience). The two youths before us were young black women from Africa. The majority at many head tables were not young black women from Africa (or young people from South Asia, Southeast Asia, South America, or non-Western nations). The future looks different. Regardless of their origin, the people who will be directing future protected area policy will have very different worldviews than the decision-makers of the 20th century. As we devise new political strategies (as we do politics),

the challenges will demand high levels of dedication and energy for several more decades. The WPC was an excellent opportunity to witness and participate in the continuing struggle to maintain and preserve the remaining biodiverse areas and unique cultures throughout the world.

Balancing Sustainable Development and Ecological Values

David J. Parsons

Aldo Leopold

Wilderness Research Institute /

George Wright Society

Board Member

I found the Vth World Parks Congress in Durban, South Africa, to

be a vivid reminder of the differences in conservation programs and priorities between the United States and the rest of the world. I have the strong feeling that most U.S. land managers are simply unaware of much of what goes on outside of our boundaries. I was humbled by the magnitude of the issues faced and the interest, sincerity, and dedication of nongovernmental organization (NGO) and government scientists and conservationists I met from such diverse places as Bhutan, Ecuador, Nepal, Pakistan, Trinidad and Tobago, and Uganda. From the importance placed on the definitions of IUCN protected area categories (virtually unrecognized by the U.S. land management agencies), to the emphasis on local community involvement in park management, to the struggles to make resource protection meaningful in the face of threats posed by extractive industries and even war, I found the international conservation movement to be largely disconnected from the issues that drive national park and forest managers in the U.S.

The dominant themes I heard at the Congress focused on the interface between science, resources management, and politics. There was abundant discussion about the number and size of protected areas around the world (generally attributed to now be as much as 10–12% of the Earth's surface), and the Congress included announcements of major new park designations in Brazil, Gabon, and Madagascar. But there was generally too little discussion of the distribution and effectiveness of existing protected areas. Elaborate studies of the importance and challenges of preserving biodiversity, including establishment of transfrontier protected areas and transnational corridors (e.g., the Meso-American biological corridor in Central America), were balanced by abundant discussion of sustainable

development and community involvement. These discussions were often heated, with ecologists claiming that the emphasis on sustainable development (often explained as essential to attract the funds necessary to support large conservation projects) has compromised some of the world's most valued natural resources (e.g., there was passionate debate over the negative impacts of large mining operations on the edges of tiger reserves in India). In addition, numerous sessions focused on issues related to cultural values and local community involvement, including the needs and rights of indigenous populations. Unfortunately, I found the lack of awareness (or sympathy) of some indigenous representatives to the biodiversity values that are critical to so many protected areas posed significant obstacles to the discussions needed to bring these diverse interests together.

Many in the United States are unaware of the extent to which international conservation efforts are dominated by NGOs, including Conservation International, the Wildlife Conservation Society, the World Wildlife Fund, Plant Conservation International, The Nature Conservancy, and the Global Environment Facility. In Durban, the conservation interests of these organizations were often pitted against the reality of needing to attract the funding necessary to provide even minimal protection for established protected areas. This, no doubt, helps to explain the visible, although controversial, role at the Congress accorded to multinational extractive industries (e.g., Shell International, British Petroleum, and the International Council on Metals and Minerals were featured in a full plenary session).

Based on what I heard in Durban, it is my distinct impression that *the* major international conservation

issues of the coming decade will focus around the inevitable conflicts and compromises needed to balance (1) biodiversity needs with sustainable development interests, and (2) cultural values and the needs of local communities with ecological preservation. There was clearly a concern among many delegates that the growing influence of sustainable development and local uses threatens to over-ride the more traditional ecological values associated with many protected areas.

Given my special interest in wilderness (IUCN category 1b), I was particularly pleased to see the acceptance of a new IUCN Wilderness Task Force (WTF) under the auspices of the World Commission on Protected Areas. The WTF (<http://wtf.wild.org>) sponsored several organizational meetings as well as selected presentations during the Congress. Since wilderness has often been perceived as a largely Western construct, IUCN's acceptance of the wilderness concept is significant. It was also encouraging to hear commitments were made from representatives from the U.S. National Park Service, the U.S. Forest Service, and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service to support WTF's efforts to organize the 8th World Wilderness Congress, scheduled for September 2005, in Anchorage, Alaska.

The serious opportunities for information exchange and deliberations on the challenges and trade-offs facing the future of protected areas that dominated the Congress were gratefully broken by a series of cultural events (music, dance, food, and crafts) as well as opportunities to escape the confining atmosphere of Durban (a city of 2.5 million that was unsafe to wander about) on a variety of field trips. These provided valuable opportunities to visit the magnificent parks of KwaZulu-Natal as well as meet and mix with colleagues from

around the world (154 countries were represented among the over 3,000 participants). Despite its social challenges, South Africa provides a great role model for the world's efforts to protect its natural heritage.

A Human Ecosystem of Caring

John Reynolds
*George Wright Society
Board Member*

How to describe the World Parks Congress in Durban?

Optimism. There cannot help but be a pervasive feeling of optimism left after such a gathering. Park and protected area people from all over the world absolutely dedicated to preserving, protecting, and sharing the places and ecosystems that are so dear to them. One of the greatest things about the conference was meeting these people in settings of all kinds, and connecting their love of these places to my love, now not just of the places that I know but to their places as well. Forming a human ecosystem of caring, understanding, awe and commitment that entwines with that of nature.

As an example, I met a Saudi Arabian wildlife biologist. I was in Saudi Arabia in 1982. He did not know of the park we had proposed ... and I was awed to know that there is now a corps of wildlife biologists there that did not exist then! Optimism. Positive steps forward. An increasing cadre of professionals dedicated to protected areas and professionalism in the name of conservation, growing worldwide.

Relationships. More than partnerships. Intellectual relationships formed magically every day and evening of the conference. The educa-

tional sessions spewed out thoughtful, exciting things being done here, there, everywhere. People, quietly but appropriately proud of their achievements, shared them ... and shared their quest for the next step, the next evolutionary mutation of ideas to apply to accomplish the goals of conservation, most often in concert with others. Relationships. Begun and nurtured also in the hallways in electric conversations and exchanges of business cards. Eyebrows raising and inflections changing as realization that a new connection has just been made ... intellectually, politically, educationally ... just by listening and questing. New relationships, all in the spirit of saving and sharing our natural birthright in this world.

Intellect. What a pleasure to be surrounded by intellect that pours into you! From around the world, intellect

brought together to share, to quest for new beginnings and new approaches. Learning and teaching, all taking place virtually spontaneously, both in sessions and out. Science, politics, educational outreach, sacredness, culture, a kind of nearly automatic consilience trying to take place. A wholeness working to form from the variety of specific examples available.

Youth. A pervading theme was for conservation to constantly and seriously include youth, both educationally and as they grow in our professions. It is they who will carry on. The trust that they not only can, but will, with passion and distinction, was deeply apparent Durban.

Oneness. Bobbie (my wife) left with a feeling of oneness with the others in this world who care enough to devote their lives, their passion, their minds, their souls to this most pre-



Congress workshop on "Indigenous Mobile People." Photo courtesy of Nora Mitchell, University of Vermont.

cious place in whose ecosystems we live.

Protecting and Respecting the Protectors

Rick Smith

*International Ranger Federation /
George Wright Society Board
Member*

Prior to my trip to Durban, South Africa, to attend the Fifth World Parks Congress, a meeting held every ten years, as a representative of the International Ranger Federation (IRF), I was concerned about three issues about which the rangers of the world were worried. The first of these is personal safety and security. The incidence of rangers and their families threatened, attacked, or killed in the world's protected areas is alarming. The conservation community must find a way to protect the protectors. The second is that of training and professional development. In many countries, the rangers are at the absolute bottom of the food chain when it comes to training. This is curious as these are the employees who are the ears and eyes of park management. They are important links in the inventory and monitoring programs. They have the most intimate contacts with people living in and near our protected areas. They are our ambassadors to the visiting public and our first responders to emergencies and other special incidents. Yet, they have been virtually ignored in many parts of the world. Finally, I was concerned about the conditions under which many protected area agencies ask their rangers to live and work—poor housing, unsanitary conditions, little or no

equipment, minimal salaries, and little public support.

What particularly troubled me is that not one of these issues was addressed in the draft recommendations posted on IUCN's website prior to the Congress. I knew that if the IRF were to ask the delegates to modify the recommendations to address our concerns, it would have to be done during the Congress itself. As many George Wright Society members know from our own conference, an individual's opportunity to shape the outcome of a conference is rather small. Imagine a conference the size of the Fifth World Parks Congress—2,500 delegates, three times the size of our last meeting in San Diego. Then, add three official languages and who knows how many other regional or local languages, and you have some idea of the complexity of IRF's task.

Luckily, 39 ranger/delegates were able to attend the Congress in support of IRF goals and objectives. These people worked night and day, lobbying delegates, staffing the IRF booth in the exhibition hall, and presenting papers during workshop and plenary sessions. The response of our fellow delegates was heartwarming. They listened, and more importantly, they acted. As one small example of what they did, I would like to cite a part of recommendation 5.2 from the Congress: The delegates recommend that those charged with managing protected areas "*provide all protected areas staff (in particular rangers, wardens and forest guards, who face hardships and threats in carrying out their jobs) with adequate living, working, health and safety and security conditions by providing management support, appropriate equipment and training....*"

GWS members ought to be happy with this outcome. In much of the world, rangers provide the logistical

and staffing support for on-going research projects in protected areas. If they are better trained and equipped, they will be able to support researchers more effectively and efficiently. Moreover, since rangers have almost daily contact with the resources we preserve and protect, they can be valuable allies in our monitoring programs. They will be the first to detect changes in resources or in visitor or local community behavior. Researchers and resources managers need well-trained rangers. If agency managers implement the recommendations of the Fifth World Parks Congress, the science and research community will soon have them.

From Denali to Durban

Mike Tranel

Denali National Park and Preserve

Durban, South Africa, is about halfway around the world from Denali National Park and Preserve, Alaska. It would be difficult to find a more distant point in the inhabited world. But when it came to discussions about managing protected areas, I was struck by the similarities as much as by the differences. A few examples: the importance of involving local and indigenous peoples in protected area planning and management, the need to strengthen partnerships, and the challenges in protecting ecological integrity in a rapidly changing world.

I found the World Parks Congress to be fascinating and the best conference I've ever attended. I participated in the workshop stream on "Building Broader Support for Protected Areas" and presented a session on resolving conflicts involving competing values

in parks and protected areas. Equally educational, if not more so, were the conversations I had with South African park managers in particular and the opportunity to see some of the country's best protected areas, such as the uKhahlamba-Drakensberg Park, a World Heritage Site. The field trip to Hluhluwe-Imfolozi Park gave us the opportunity to experience the richness of the Zulu culture. After these field trips and more travel after the conference, my major impressions of South Africa were the diversity of the country, the incredible disparity in wealth, and the richness of its culture.

These characteristics are inextricably linked with South Africa's turbulent history. Yet despite serious and immediate problems, the outlook now is one of hope. This emerged many times, such as at the end of the special ceremony on the sacred dimension of protected areas at the Congress, and at the event called "Africa Night."

A couple of the other delegates and I were checking with some of the local employees at the Congress about what was in store for "Africa Night." They informed us that Hugh Masekela would be playing, which for them meant an event not to be missed. I didn't immediately confess to my lack of knowledge of Hugh Masekela's music, but my new South African friends were happy to fill me in that evening on the "story behind the music."

When "Bro' Hugh" and his band took the stage that evening, we were given a demonstration of some of South Africa's contributions to the music world in the past few decades. I wondered how many others in the audience knew who he was and of his background: traveling outside his native country, because of apartheid, to further his musical career, essentially being a "musician in exile."

Similarly, on the other side of the world in Denali National Park and

Preserve, the context and the “story behind the scenery” is what truly gives it meaning. While we have our share of challenging issues, we don’t have to worry about removing a military fence, as park managers do in Kruger National Park in South Africa. In fact, we don’t have fences at all, as do the African protected areas, and we don’t need them to protect the integrity of a natural ecosystem.

It is equally gratifying to see hope for Africa’s best—but also most threatened—protected areas as to know that our American national park sites stand out among the best in the world.

Benefits Beyond Boundaries: Thoughts from the WPC

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Among the unforgettable images of Africa and the World Parks Congress (WPC) was our field trip to the savannah woodlands of Hluhluwe-Imfolozi Park and nearby villages. The park is managed by Ezemvelo KwaZulu Wildlife (whose acronym, KZN, refers to its being the nature conservation service of KwaZulu-Natal province) and has an impressive array of “charismatic megafauna.” We saw giraffes gliding gracefully above the bush, impalas, nyalas, kudus, wildebeest, and zebras herded up on the grasslands. Then, we came on a pride of lions—with bellies full of the aforementioned herbivores—basking lazily on a river sandbar. One had to smile at their indolent top-of-the-food-chain posture. We also saw more than our share of black and white rhinos (the

park is Africa’s most important source for the reintroduction of both into other conservation areas and private game parks), Cape buffalo, and a huge bull elephant. Meanwhile, warthogs, hyenas, baboons, and other supporting actors added to species richness and the number of pictures snapped through half-clean bus windows. We traveled mostly on paved roads through a dry-season countryside that reminded me of an over-grazed BLM allotment, arriving at one of several “camps” by late afternoon. Each had comfortable lodges (total overnight visitor capacity = 324), electricity, hot water, good food, and entertainment. We were attended to by hospitable KZN officials.

Even though humans are prey in Imfolozi, and not often allowed to get out of their vehicles or leave camp unless accompanied by armed rangers, and even though one-third of the park is managed as roadless wilderness, I never felt like I was in the wild or that it awaited me there. The reason: Imfolozi has a 10-foot-high electrified fence around its entire perimeter, and just across that fence is rural sprawl as far as the eye can see in all directions (albeit mostly traditional Zulu homes). The combination had jaundiced my view. The reasons for the fence and adjacent settlement patterns is a complex story for another day, but the current reality is that the park has become a large island of biodiversity—functional for now—but surrounded with an abrupt ecological gradient that will eventually challenge its integrity. There is no buffering from multiple-use lands or community conservation areas, no place to put a corridor that might connect to other protected areas or allow flora and fauna a chance to flow out into portions of an agricultural landscape for use by locals. Culling takes place within the park instead. Hundreds of animals are

now rounded up and sold to generate revenue for the park.

Cut to the local school where Zulu children read poetry and sang to us (a cappella) with incredibly strong, beautiful voices. They danced with tremendous energy and athleticism, portraying the well-established prowess of Zulu hunters and warriors. They wore the skins of animals that their fathers and grandfathers had traditionally taken from the Imfolozi savannahs and forests. Later, grim reality broke the spell when one of their teachers asked me, candidly, what should *we* do about the fact that 40% of them are HIV-positive. I marveled at their spirit in the face of such odds. I wondered how long that spirit could survive, now cut off from any real interaction with the landscape that gave it much of its substance for so many millennia. Although, at the urging of Ian Player and others, some school children visit the park and their mothers can sell handicrafts to (mostly white) visitors there, I wondered why the Zulu could not be allowed part of the annual culling, a pilot traditional management area, or at the very least, the ability to continue their ceremonial hunts during the year where the next generation of young people might be included. As I pondered this with my colleague Peter Newman, it occurred to us that wilderness is also in the heart and the option to experience it must be present if it is to engender our long-term support and protection.

Fortunately, our conversations with KZN managers proved that the challenges of providing “Benefits Beyond Boundaries,” maintaining genetic diversity, and landscape-scale process are on their minds as well as ours. We thank them for sharing their parks with us and wish them all success as their strategies evolve. We thank the Zulu people for opening their communities to us and openly sharing their

continuing struggle for a sustainable life. The experience was indelible.

A Time to Celebrate, a Time to Despair

Stephen Woodley
Parks Canada /
George Wright Society
Board Member

It was Africa Night at the Parks Congress. Three thousand delegates from every corner of the world were taking a break from a frantic run of plenary sessions, workshop streams, side events, and book launches. The host government of South Africa had provided a great venue for the delegates to relax with some of the hottest bands in the country. Like protected areas, the music had a universal appeal and the whole crowd was moved to dance. Arabs danced with Melanesians and Native Americans with Kurds. It was the whole world dancing, and like the whole World Parks Congress, it was powerful in both symbol and content.

The Congress was a time to celebrate. Over 11% of the planet's land area now has some kind of protected status. The protected areas movement is stronger, more science-based, and more pluralistic than ever before. Heady announcements for more protected areas, as well as landscape connections, were made at the Congress by both government and nongovernmental organizations. In fact, the nongovernmental organizations brought much of the innovation to the Congress, perhaps best embodied by Conservation International's announcement to raise 1 billion dollars to support their “biodiversity hot spot” initiative.

The Congress was also a time to despair. Despite the achievement of 11% of lands in protected areas, there was the strong evidence that much of the gain is on paper only. Many protected areas are designated, but not effectively managed or, in fact, protected at all. The estimated global shortfall to effectively manage existing protected areas over the next five years is 25 billion dollars. The Congress had much to say on management effectiveness and conservation finance, but the path ahead will be arduous.

Globally, while we have made advances on land, we have failed in protecting the oceans and large freshwater ecosystems. Only 1% of the oceans is protected and all of that in coastal areas. High seas protection, especially in critical biodiversity areas such as seamounts, is almost completely lacking.

Perhaps the greatest stir at the Congress was the spirited debate over the equitable sharing of benefits from protected areas, one perspective on the Congress theme of "Benefits Beyond Boundaries." In the gover-

nance stream, there were hours of discussion on the role of protected areas in poverty alleviation, gender equity, and social justice to local, aboriginal, and mobile peoples. To me, this debate illustrates how much protected areas have emerged into the mainstream. They have grown from being the passion of a few into the vital interest of many. For conservation this must be a good thing.

The Congress set a huge agenda for the future, embodied in the formal conference outputs of the Durban Accord, the Durban Action Plan, and workshop stream recommendations. Perhaps the most immediately relevant Congress output is the Message to the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD). At the 7th meeting of the Conference of the Parties to the convention (to be held February 2004 in Malaysia), the role of protected areas in conserving biodiversity will be a key part of the agenda. In the message to the CBD, the voices from Durban will be heard, and, I predict, will make a difference.



Men from communities near St. Lucia Wetlands Park greet field trip arrivals. They hold traditional Zulu shields. *Photo courtesy of Nora Mitchell, University of Vermont.*



Through the Fog of War in Iraq: Lessons Learned in Heritage Preservation

The news of the looting of the Iraqi National Museum on April 10–12, 2003, was shocking. To professionals involved in heritage preservation it was more than shocking—it shook us to the very core of our existence. It was a violation of what we held sacred. Our hearts reached out to our Iraqi colleagues, and we were frustrated that our hands could not immediately do the same. Donny George, director general, Department of Research and Studies, Iraqi State Board of Antiquities and Heritage,¹ later shared his feelings upon seeing the destruction in the museum: “It felt like I was bleeding, like I had a deep cut in my heart.”²

Even at this early stage in the evolution of the Iraqi National Museum tragedy, some lessons in heritage preservation are emerging from the “fog of war.” Whether the lessons are new to the reader, or old lessons reinforced, they are worthy of study. This essay summarizes the events at the National Museum and the response of professionals in the United States and internationally, and then elaborates on the circumstances that prompted the emergence of the lessons.

A Response to the Looting

Both before the war and in the weeks that followed, professionals had urged their governments and national and international organizations to address looting. Pre-war, several professional societies contacted the Department of Defense about the risk of looting. In January, archeologists, collectors, and curators met with the defense deputy assistant secretary for stability operations to alert him to the risk of looting at Iraqi monuments, museums, and archeological sites. They cited the looting that had occurred at regional museums and archeological sites following the 1991 Gulf War.³ In February, National Public Radio interviewed archeolo-

gists who worried that antiquities would be lost during war.⁴ The Society for American Archaeology sent a letter to the secretary of defense requesting compliance with the 1954 Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict (although the United States is not a party to this convention). It noted that “the artifacts held in museums and that remain to be found in archaeological sites are the documents of a people’s history. Those documents connect people to the past and in so doing connect them to the future.”⁵ In March, the Archaeological Institute of America (AIA) issued and sent its “Open Declaration on Cultural Heritage at Risk in Iraq” to the Department of Defense, stating: “The extraordinary significance of the monuments, museums, and archaeological sites of Iraq (ancient Mesopotamia) imposes an obligation on all peoples and governments to protect them. In any military conflict that heritage is put at risk, and it appears now to be in grave danger.”⁶

In mid-March, the Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance (ORHA), charged with helping to rebuild Iraq, sent documents to senior US officials listing 16

institutions that “merit securing ... to prevent damage and pilferage.” The first of those was the national bank; the second was the museum.⁷ In April, a cultural anthropologist with the U.S. military said in a formal press briefing that potential looting is of concern and that the military is interested in coordinating with organizations that are dedicated to the task of preservation.⁸

The fears of the professionals were realized. Looters and vandals ransacked the museum. They also looted the national library, provincial museums and libraries, and archeological sites throughout Iraq. The National Museum, which is the subject of this discussion, received the most immediate and extensive press coverage and became a symbol for critics of the U.S. military efforts to protect Iraqi cultural heritage.

Military spokesmen said that Iraqi forces used the museum as a defensive position. Neighborhood residents corroborated the charges, acknowledging that the Americans had been attacked from inside the museum grounds and that fighting in the area was heavy. When the fighting was over and the Iraqi forces had abandoned the building, looters entered. A museum archeologist, who stayed on the museum grounds during the fighting and the looting, said the looting began when a group of seven men broke the museum’s glass front door and went inside. On the third day of looting, museum staff secured the building and U.S. military personnel arrived four days later.⁹

Reserve Marine Colonel Matthew Bogdanos, who was appointed to investigate the looting and coordinate recovery efforts with museum officials, has proffered that the thieves of the museum items appear to fall into three categories—those who sought specific pieces and took some of the most valuable items from the public galleries;

those who stole indiscriminately from the more accessible storage rooms; and those who, with intimate knowledge of the museum and its storage practices, targeted high-value items in unmarked cabinets.¹⁰ The U.S. attorney general has said that evidence indicates a strong case for organized criminal groups doing some of the looting.¹¹ Museum officials agree that some looters sought certain types of items¹² but said that there was no indication that the culprits were officials connected with the antiquities department or the museum.¹³ Additionally, some looters took office equipment and generally vandalized the offices.¹⁴

The New York Times reported the following on April 13:

The National Museum of Iraq recorded a history of civilizations that began to flourish in the fertile plains of Mesopotamia more than 7,000 years ago.... [I]t took only 48 hours for the museum to be destroyed, with at least 170,000 artifacts carried away by looters.... [A] full accounting of what has been lost may take weeks or months.... [W]hat officials told journalists today may have to be adjusted as a fuller picture comes to light.¹⁵

Such dramatic reports galvanized museum and library professionals and archeologists to action. Immediately, UNESCO (the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization) asked American and British authorities to take prompt measures to protect Iraqi archeological sites and institutions.¹⁶ On April 14, the president and CEO of the American Association of Museums (AAM) wrote to the AAM Board saying that the association had been inundated with e-mails and calls asking what can be done. He said that the AAM was working through the

Department of State to try to establish direct communication with museum staff in Iraq to learn of the needs. The secretary of state promised that the United States would embrace the international law that requires an occupying army to safeguard cultural patrimony and retrieve stolen items or prevent them from leaving the country.¹⁷

Within a week, the United States Committee of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (US/ICOMOS), joined by 22 other professional organizations, including the George Wright Society, sent a letter to President George W. Bush calling for protection of sites, protection of Iraqi colleagues, plans to recover stolen artifacts through international cooperation and import/export interdictions, and funds for post-war recovery to support cultural resources. The United Kingdom Committee of ICOMOS (ICOMOS-UK) sent a similar letter to Prime Minister Tony Blair.

On April 15, the U.K. culture secretary announced formation of a culture coalition with specialists from the British Museum and other institutions with large Iraqi holdings, including the Louvre, Berlin Museum, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art.¹⁸ On April 29, the British Museum hosted a meeting of international museum professionals that was attended by Donny George, who, in addition to British Museum officials who had just returned from Iraq, gave a detailed account of the Iraqi National Museum.¹⁹

In the United States, the president of the National Trust for Historic Preservation wrote to the secretary of defense to “strongly urge the Coalition Forces to take full responsibility for safeguarding Iraq’s remaining museum collections and monuments.”²⁰ The Heritage Emergency National

Task Force, a coalition of national government agencies and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), called for immediate assessment of needs and priorities through consultation with Iraqi professionals, followed by a fact-finding trip. Some, including the American Anthropological Association, urged the U.S. administration to offer amnesty and monetary rewards to encourage the return of items.²¹ The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) announced that it would hunt the museum’s stolen art.²²

Less than a week after the looting ended, international experts met at UNESCO in Paris. They agreed to send an emergency fact-finding mission to Iraq and called for securing of sites, a trade embargo on Iraqi cultural objects, and the development of a list of missing objects to facilitate prevention of illegal export.²³

By the end of April several organizations had established databases to track Iraqi cultural property, including the United Kingdom Department of Culture, Media and Sports²⁴ and the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago, which assembled a “hot list” of missing items from information contributed by institutions with archival records of Iraqi artifacts.²⁵ In a May meeting at the Interpol headquarters in France, international experts coordinated strategies for recovering Iraq’s looted heritage. They listed the types of artifacts protected by legislation; those banned from export, import, and sale; and those favored by the illegal antiquities markets. The resulting “Emergency Red List of Iraqi Antiquities at Risk” is on the International Council of Museums website.²⁶ It is a tool for customs officials, police officers, art dealers, collectors, and museums to use in recognizing objects that could originate from Iraq.

On April 23, U.S. officials reported

that although many valuable pieces were lost, others remained in storage, and many stolen items had been returned via local mosques.²⁷ U.S. military officials worked to establish priorities with Iraqi museum officials who requested replacements for lost equipment, digital cameras, scanners, and computers, as well as conservation supplies.²⁸

Congress is considering two bills relative to the protection of Iraqi cultural heritage. H.R. 2009, introduced in May, provides for the recovery, restitution, and protection of the cultural heritage of Iraq by imposing indefinite import restrictions on archeological and cultural materials that were illegally removed from Iraq since August 2, 1990. It also amends the Convention on Cultural Property Implementation Act (implementing the 1970 UNESCO Convention in the United States) to change the time limit for emergency import restrictions on archeological and ethnological materials under bilateral agreements from five to ten years, and allows emergency import restrictions to be applied to countries that are not party to the 1970 UNESCO Convention. The minimum age for covered archeological materials changes from 250 to 100 years. Other proposed legislation, S. 1291, introduced in June, authorizes the president to impose emergency import restrictions on Iraqi archeological or ethnological materials until normalization of relations between the United States and the government of Iraq, but no later than September 30, 2004. The archeological community generally supports H.R. 2009, whereas the AAM sees H.R. 2009 as supplanting the established process for protecting cultural antiquities and supports S. 1291.

In May, the U.N. Security Council adopted Resolution 1483 lifting Iraqi economic sanctions and giving mem-

ber states the responsibility of taking all possible measures to facilitate the safe return of Iraqi stolen cultural property and other items of archeological, historical, cultural, rare scientific, and religious importance to Iraqi institutions and prohibiting trade in or transfer of such property.

During May, June, and July, the press was filled with wildly disparate reports on the numbers of National Museum items looted and recovered. Recoveries included items returned under the amnesty program established by Colonel Bogdanos, items seized, and items found secure where they were put for safekeeping by the museum staff. For example, staff placed the Treasure of Nimrud and objects from the royal cemetery at Ur in a Central Bank vault in 1990, before the Gulf War. The basement of the bank flooded, and it was not until a *National Geographic* reporter arranged to pump the water out of the building that the items were confirmed to be safe.²⁹ The press gave increased attention to the thousands of archeological sites subject to unabated looting. The losses of items from sites are basically unknown and generalized in the tens of thousands. Headlines indicated that looters had “riddled ancient sites with holes.” Additional information emerged regarding looting at provincial museums, such as at Mosul, and damage at the National Library and provincial libraries. The National Library and Archives burned beyond recovery, but staff estimated that 50 percent of the collection was safe and held in three separate locations. The inventories were destroyed.³⁰

Worldwide professional response to the looting and devastation of museums, libraries, and archeological sites in Iraq was spontaneous and strikingly swift. Meetings and fact-finding tours continue. U.S. authorities and the museum staff are daily revising the

inventory of missing and recovered objects. Additional assistance is on the horizon. The Department of State has announced several U.S. initiatives, including, at an appropriate time in the future, the establishment of a U.S. overseas research center in Baghdad and a special institute to train Iraqi graduate students for museum and library careers. U.S. government agencies are offering grants and other support for projects to document, preserve, and revitalize Iraq's museums, libraries, and archeological sites.

The National Endowment for the Humanities has announced a grant program to assist in preserving cultural collections and rebuilding Iraq's cultural heritage infrastructure. The National Endowment for the Arts will partner with other federal agencies and NGOs to restore Iraq's artistic legacy, including the documentation, preservation, and exhibition of works of art. The Institute for Museum and Library Services will support American librarians and museum professionals in partnership with their Iraqi counterparts to create and share digital content and develop educational resources. The National Science Foundation is offering support for the identification, recovery, preservation, and conservation of scientifically relevant archeological and other cultural heritage artifacts. The U.S. Agency for International Development will establish a prioritized list of buildings (including museums and libraries) and equipment to be reconstituted. The Library of Congress will coordinate the effort of libraries to re-build Iraqi collections and modernize Iraqi library systems.

Now that plans for recovery are beginning to take shape, we can step back and consider, from the viewpoint of a cultural heritage professional, what new lessons might be learned, or old lessons reinforced, from this

tragedy.

Some Lessons Learned

After lending a helping hand in a disaster, a natural response is to consider, "What if this happened to us? How would we fare? What lessons can be learned?" Professionals managing museums, libraries, archeological sites, and other heritage resources, who ask these questions and look through the "fog of war" in Iraq, will find many poignant lessons emerging. Beyond the six lessons suggested below, additional heritage preservation lessons will emerge for those who seek them from the events in Iraq. Whether the lessons are new or old, they are worthy of review and contemplation in the context of the preservation of Iraqi cultural heritage.

Lesson 1: Museums, libraries, and sites are symbols of authority.

As symbols of the ruling authority, museums, libraries, and historic sites are targets for those fighting against that authority. Although personal profit motivated much of the looting at the Iraqi National Museum, anger at Saddam Hussein's regime and the Ba'athist Party was also a factor. As Donny George said:

The people saw the Americans firing on the gates of Saddam's palaces and then opening the doors to the people and saying: 'Come and take this stuff, it's yours now.' So they started, and it became a sort of rage as they attacked every government building. I don't make excuses but, you know, after 30 years of a regime like that, pressure builds up on people. Most of them were not educated, and to them the museum was just one more government building. They didn't just take antiquities but 95% of the office furniture, all computers, most of the cameras. My office was two

feet deep in papers; my desk was broken into three pieces and I found my chair 100 yards away.”³¹

As symbols of authority throughout history, museum collections have been traditional war booty. Saddam Hussein demonstrated this lesson when, six weeks after invading Kuwait, Iraq seized collections from the Kuwait National Museum and shipped them to Baghdad for storage in the Iraqi National Museum.³² Iraq subsequently returned the collections under terms of a United Nations resolution.³³ After castles, many of which have become museums, museums became the traditional place to store a national treasure. There can be little doubt that they are symbols of the ruling authority.

Similarly, archeological sites are part of a country’s cultural patrimony; they are protected by law and are symbols and targets. Saddam Hussein left little doubt about his understanding of this principle, when he rebuilt the ancient cities of Babylon and Nineveh in an attempt to validate his regime. When he learned that original Babylonian bricks were stamped with the name “Nebuchadnezzar II” and the equivalent of “605 BC,” he wanted a similar statement on reconstruction bricks acknowledging his role. They say, “In the reign of the victorious Saddam Hussein, the president of the Republic, may God keep him, the guardian of the great Iraq and the renovator of its renaissance and the builder of its great civilization, the rebuilding of the great city of Babylon was done in 1987.”³⁴

Following the events of September 11, 2001, the U.S. National Park Service (NPS) greatly increased the security at its iconic sites, such as the Statue of Liberty, Independence Hall, and the Washington Monument, which are highly vulnerable symbols

of the United States. In recent years, managers of museums and national sites have needed no reminding of this vulnerability. Likewise, the museums in Iraq learned this lesson long ago. The staff has evacuated the collections of the National Museum many times, beginning with the Iran–Iraq war in the 1980s.³⁵ Although U.S. museums and sites have increased their security, few would be able to implement evacuation plans on the scale of and in the timeframe demonstrated by the Iraqi National Museum.

Lesson 2: Early news of war or disaster is often wrong (in unpredictable ways). “It is very common for the first information following a crisis to be wrong, and when I say wrong, I mean wrong. So let us all try to be responsible in how we speak about this issue until we know the facts, and let us dedicate ourselves to gathering the facts as expeditiously and efficiently as possible,” said the secretary general of the International Criminal Police Organization (ICPO) –Interpol when he addressed the May 6 meeting on cultural property looting in Iraq.³⁶

Acting precipitously based on early news can be a political liability, a step in the wrong direction that will have to be retraced, and a catalyst for disharmony with other parties who are critical to the resolution. All of these mistakes occurred in the Iraqi National Museum case.

The first news reports, on April 12 and in the weeks following, erroneously reported that looters had taken 170,000 artifacts from the National Museum. This figure was followed by reported figures of 50,000, 270,000, 90,000, 200,000, 1,200, 10–15%, and fewer than 100 before U.S. and Iraqi museum officials clarified the original misunderstanding. By mid-May Colonel Bogdanos called 170,000 a “gross, if dramatic, exaggeration.”³⁷

Museum authorities were reported as “blaming shoddy reporting amid the ‘fog of war’ for creating the impression that the majority of the institution’s 170,000 items had been looted.”³⁸ As Donny George explained:

There was a mistake. Someone asked us what is the number of pieces in the whole collection. We said over 170,000, and they took that as the number lost. Reporters came in and saw empty shelves and reached the conclusion that all was gone. But before the war, we evacuated all of the small pieces and emptied the showcases except for fragile or heavy material that was difficult to move.³⁹

Following these announcements, the numbers on missing items that U.S. and Iraqi museum authorities cited were similar, and evolving at the same rate. As of the end of July, that figure was estimated at 13,500⁴⁰ and remained at that level into September.⁴¹

Within a week of the looting, three members of the president’s Cultural Property Advisory Committee had resigned. The chairman’s letter of resignation cited “the wanton and preventable destruction” of Iraq’s National Museum of Antiquities.⁴² Immediately, following the first news, scholars sought to explain the magnitude of the looting of the National Museum by comparing it with other major cultural disasters. It was called the greatest cultural disaster of the last 500 years. Several scholars said that not since the Mongol invasion of Baghdad in 1258 had there been looting on this scale.⁴³ The American Schools of Oriental Research compared the museum looting to “the sack of Constantinople, the burning of the library at Alexandria, the Vandal and Mogul invasions, and the ravages of the conquistadors.” One commenter

said it is “a tragedy that has no parallel in world history; it is as if the Uffizi, the Louvre, or all the museums of Washington DC had been wiped out in one fell swoop.”⁴⁴ Now that the figures have been drastically revised downward and the “fog” is beginning to clear, some have expressed second thoughts about these comparisons.⁴⁵

Some journalists—and, according to reports, at least one professional colleague—have been critical of the Iraqi museum officials for not correcting the misunderstanding about the 170,000 items sooner. A defensive backlash from some parts of the press sought to discredit both the Iraqi museum authorities and the scholars who had commented on the early news, and even pit one against the other. A few individuals took the bait and some strong words were exchanged. One journalist reported, “[Donny] George is now quoted as saying that that items lost could represent ‘a small percentage’ of the collection and blamed shoddy reporting for the exaggeration.” A scholar, who heard Donny George speak at the British Museum at the end of April, commented, “Is it not a little strange that quite so many journalists went away with the wrong impression, while Mr. George made little or no attempt to clarify the context of the figure of 170,000 which he repeated with such regularity and gusto before, during, and after that meeting.”⁴⁶ Other scholars responded in letters to the editor:

[The reporter] would have us believe that unscrupulous, Ba’athist curators of the Iraq museum in Baghdad have deliberately overplayed the pillaging and destruction on April 9-11.... At no time did George claim ... that the entire contents of the museum had gone ... our high opinion of the character of Dr. George and his

colleagues has been formed over two decades of working with them.... George deserves the world's praise, not its condemnation, for saving so many of Iraq's treasures....⁴⁷

Cultural heritage professionals are in the position of both releasing information to the press, as the Iraqi museum authorities did, and reacting to information that others release, as American, European, and other scholars and professionals did in response to the news of the Iraqi museum looting. Care must be taken not to succumb to the immediate questions of the press seeking to fill the public's 24/7 appetite for facts, figures, and opinions, especially ones that create "shock and awe" and will make headlines. Knowing that the first news is often wrong, waiting for the "fog of war" to lift before making definitive decisions or statements may be prudent. If, however, a statement is incorrect or misinterpreted, an immediate correction is in order to avert the ballooning of misunderstandings and hard feelings. In addition, designating a single person or office in the museum as a primary point of contact with the press is essential to ensure consistency of information.

Lesson 3: Complete and updated documentation that is duplicated and dispersed is essential for accountability. We now understand, from press reports, that the Iraqi National Museum has 170,000 entries on its inventory. In addition, we have learned that the museum housed thousands more artifacts that had either not yet been catalogued or had been set aside in a ground-floor "study collection" storeroom for researchers to examine. One of the looted ground-floor storage rooms included about 10 steel trunks containing as-yet unnumbered material from recent digs.⁴⁸ The total collection may consist of 500,000

objects (plus or minus), due to lot cataloguing wherein one inventory item, or lot, may account for multiple items.⁴⁹

First reports implied that inventory records were lost. Some said the museum records were burned.⁵⁰ Museum officials countered that they have good records and the reports are not true: "A lot of our paper records are safe. Most of the computerized data we had backed up."⁵¹ One report noted that creating a reliable inventory is complicated by the museum's lack of detailed records.⁵² Another stated that the museum staff is methodically going through the catalogue of the collection—index card by index card—without benefit of computers.⁵³ Questions have arisen as to when objects may have disappeared from the museum. Reports have suggested that some missing objects may have disappeared long before the looting on April 10–12.⁵⁴ Although the institutions that have partnered with the Iraqi National Museum on archeological projects are working to reconstruct databases that may assist the museum in its inventory, it appears that the index cards at the museum are the most complete record of the collections.

Documenting the loss of an item that is not inventoried on a list is virtually impossible. Documenting the loss of an item that may be on a list but is not catalogued, described, photographed, or illustrated is challenging. Catalogue records and inventory lists must be updated each time information about the object changes, such as its condition or location. Museum record-keeping tasks are enormous and on-going. Similar documentation needs apply to the recording of archeological and other cultural sites, although the items buried in the sites remain unrecorded until the site is excavated, and their loss, prior to sci-

entific excavation, is particularly poignant.

Cataloguing refers to assigning and applying a unique number to an object or group of objects and recording descriptive and documentary data on a museum catalogue record that is maintained in both electronic and paper copy. The cataloguer may supplement the record with photography, and digital images can be maintained with the electronic record. Copies of the electronic and paper records should be stored in at least one off-site location. Museums should do annual inventories that involve a verification of the objects and their records. For example, an annual inventory might involve a 100% survey of the most significant and high-value items and a random sample of the remainder of the collection. Such annual inventories help to spot damage and losses that may have occurred without the curator's notice. They also serve to eliminate suspicions that missing objects may have gone unreported prior to a disaster such as the looting of the Iraqi National Museum, which requires a full accounting.

When disaster strikes, having electronic and paper copies of the catalogue records (or archeological site records) that can be recalled from another location is critical to recovery. Most museums maintain this kind of duplication, but often in the same city. With a widespread disaster, such as struck the Iraqi National Museum, duplicates in other locations in Baghdad may not have helped. Multiple copies and wide dispersal of such copies are advantageous. Depending on the risk, museums may need to entrust these copies to museums in other countries.

Placing catalogue records and images on the web for public access is one way to duplicate and disseminate catalog information. Although sensi-

tive information, such as provenience data, and management information, such as maintenance cycles, are not appropriate for public access, basic identification, dates, descriptive information, and photographs are of great educational benefit in providing public access to the collections. They also support recovery efforts if items are missing. Had such a website existed for the Iraqi museum collections, the lists needed by the police, customs, military, and the press would have been instantly available. Similarly, the posting of statistics about the collections on the web can help to eliminate misunderstandings during the "fog of war," or the "fog" of other disasters. The website would need to be mirrored on servers, or backed up on high-capacity tapes, in additional and remote locations to avoid catastrophic loss of data and address loss of power and functionality at the primary site.

Lesson 4: An emergency operations plan is critical. An emergency operations plan is critical to ensuring that emergencies do not turn into disasters. Not only do staff and visitors need to know what to do and where to go, but also staff needs to know how to protect the collections. Parts of emergency operations plans are often confidential, so that other professionals and the public are unlikely to see the full scope of a museum's plan. Sometimes evacuation is appropriate, sometimes protecting the collections in place is best.

The staff of the Iraqi National Museum is experienced in both evacuating and protecting collections in place. As the museum authorities noted, the experience of recent wars had made them experts in safeguarding antiquities. They evacuated the museum many times. Their strategy was never to tell other staff—"not even the minister of culture"—when or where they were moving items. In the

past, only 10 people who were under oath knew. This time, five were under oath.⁵⁵ In the 1970s and 1980s, the collections of the National Museum of Beirut largely survived the fighting because of the successful strategies of deception and physical protection that the museum's director adopted: he announced the removal to safe storage of material that was still, in fact, in the museum's basement.⁵⁶ The Iraqi museum staff removed easily portable items from the galleries, and secured and padded others. The staff also moved some items from museum storage to off-site locations. Clearly, the damage and loss would have been much greater had all the collections been housed in the museum.

Large museums are vulnerable. They are big targets and evacuation is challenging. Museums must identify, in advance, evacuation locations and means of transportation to those locations. If they can disperse their collections into multiple locations as a part of their regular operations, they lessen the risk of a catastrophic loss. The architecturally imposing building that generally houses the exhibits is the symbol of authority and the prime target. Storage and work areas that are physically separated from the main building are at lower risk. Museums also spread their risk by lending large portions of collections to other institutions on a long-term basis for use in exhibits and research.

Lesson 5: A broad-based constituency reduces risk of loss. Citizens who have a sense of pride and ownership in a museum, library, or archeological site are more likely to protect it than attack it. Even if they do not visit the museum or read the library's books, they may appreciate its role in the community and the cultural heritage that it preserves. When the librarian at Basra's Central Library knew she had only a few hours left to

salvage the remaining books that had not yet been systematically evacuated, she turned to the owner of the empty restaurant next door and asked for help. He and his brothers and employees, and soon other shopkeepers, began moving the books and ancient manuscripts into the restaurant and other shops. The library later burned, but 70 percent of the collections had been saved. The librarian said, "The people who carried the books, not all of them were educated. Some of them could not write or could not read, but they knew they were precious books."⁵⁷ Likewise, the Baghdad neighborhood that guarded boxes of manuscripts clearly had a sense of ownership in its cultural heritage.

At the pillaged archeological site of Nimrud, a U.S. sergeant asked a guard, "Why, now that people are liberated, would they want to destroy the history of Iraq?" The guard's response: "We asked them the same thing. They said this nation gave them nothing. They cursed its history."⁵⁸

The message is clear. Cultural heritage preservation depends on its ability to serve and build constituencies in the population at large. No group should feel disenfranchised or left behind. Cultural heritage preservation, to be successful, must have meaning for everyone and be the concern of all.

Lesson 6: When all else fails, follow your heart. In Baghdad, many were motivated to steal because they could not bear to watch the destruction of their history. Just over two weeks after the looting, Donny George reported that up to 50 objects a day, which local people "removed for safe-keeping," were being returned to the museum.⁵⁹ Early reports said that museum staff members took some of the more valuable items home and returned them as the situation began to stabilize,⁶⁰ but Donny George later

clarified that staff members had not taken items to their homes for protection.⁶¹

Perhaps the story that best illustrates the lesson of following your heart is that of a 33-year-old Iraqi pianist who watched in horror as looters ransacked the museum. He said he decided to do the same—not for personal gain, but to hide the antiquities until they could be safely returned. He said he remembered lessons in Iraqi history from his school days. He recognized the statue of Assyrian King Shalmaneser III. It lay in fragments, which he collected. He and two relatives filled two vanloads. At home he wrapped the objects to protect them, then called Donny George, who told him to keep them until the museum was secure. “I am so happy,” said George, patting his heart with affection for the pianist.⁶²

Lessons Applied

The mission to preserve the world’s cultural heritage is a daunting race against time. War, pests, and environmental factors take their toll. The role of the cultural heritage professional is to minimize that toll so that the greatest number of generations can enjoy and benefit from the record of the past. We have heard of the Basra librarian who passed books over a

back wall as the war surrounded her, the Baghdad citizens who kept a neighborhood watch on boxes of manuscripts, and the difficulties in recovering items when inventories are missing or incomplete.

These lessons remind us that complacency, born of familiarity with our shortcomings, is not acceptable. We may advance the preservation of the world’s heritage if we take these lessons to heart and act upon them. Can we afford to tolerate a backlog of sites to be surveyed and recorded or collections to be catalogued when we know that looting and theft are occurring even without war? We have learned our lessons and we know the answer. As cultural heritage professionals we need to share these lessons from Iraq with government leaders, those who sponsor heritage preservation work, and the general public and ask them to help us to shorten the gap in the race against time.

Author’s note: The information for this article has been taken from press releases and news articles through September 2003. As the “fog of war” lifts, some of the reports may prove to be inaccurate or misleading. I trust that the lessons learned will remain valid although the examples continue to evolve.

Additional Sources of Information

The following websites provide reports and links to other websites with information on Iraqi cultural heritage.

- AAM: www.aamus.org/hottopics.cfm?mode=list&id=24
- AIA: www.archaeological.org/webinfo.php?page=10129
- ICOM: <http://icom.museum/iraq.html>
- UNESCO: www.unesco.org/culture/iraq

Endnotes

¹ Donny George is now acting director general, Museums Department, Iraqi State Board of Antiquities and Heritage.

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- 20 Richard Moe, "Letter to Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld about looting in Iraq," The National Trust for Historic Preservation, April 16, 2003.
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Alleviating Multiple Threats to Protected Areas with Adaptive Ecosystem Management

The Case of Waterton–Glacier International Peace Park

Managing a protected area to achieve the purposes of its organic act is difficult and challenging. In the United States, the National Park Service Organic Act (16 U.S.C. §§ 431–433) requires national parks to be managed so as “to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wildlife therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations.” The ability of national park managers to achieve the dual mandate of conserving resources and providing for public use and enjoyment in perpetuity is stymied by multiple external and internal threats. Cumulative effects of threats are additive over time and/or space, and occur when seemingly minor management actions are made or minor events occur in an ecosystem that eventually have major social, economic and ecological consequences (Meffe et al. 2002). Management actions for alleviating multiple threats are best devised using a long-term, regionally based, stakeholder-inclusive approach known as adaptive ecosystem management (AEM). This article describes an AEM framework for alleviating the multiple threats facing protected areas with special reference to Waterton–Glacier International Peace Park.

Background

In 1932, the American and Canadian governments passed legislation creating Waterton–Glacier International Peace Park, the world’s first such park. The peace park symbolizes “peace and goodwill between the United States and Canada” and “represents the need for cooperation and stewardship in a world of shared resources” (Waterton Lakes National Park Resource Guide 2002). The peace park consists of Waterton Lakes National Park in Alberta, Canada, and Glacier National Park across the border in Montana, United States (see Figure 1). Both parks are UNESCO biosphere reserves, and the peace park

is a World Heritage site (Flathead Basin Commission 2001; Montana’s Flathead Valley 2001). Waterton Lakes is 52,540 ha (129,728 acres) in extent, and Glacier is 410,506 ha (1,013,594 acres). The peace park is the centerpiece of the Crown of the Continent Ecosystem (CCE), which includes the mountainous regions of northwestern Montana, southwestern Alberta, and southeastern British Columbia.

In 1980, the U.S. National Park Service (NPS) reported that national parks in the United States faced 4,300 threats (Dilsaver 1994). More than half of the threats to aesthetic qualities, cultural resources, air and water quality, plants, and wildlife came from

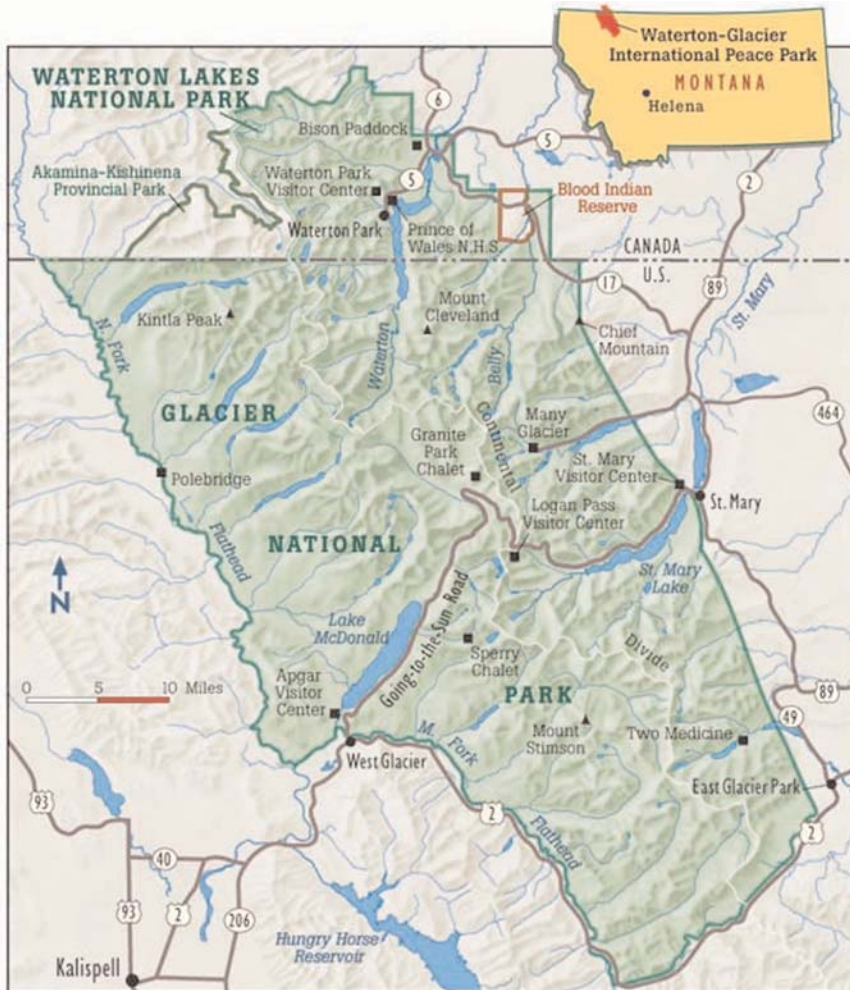


Figure 1. Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park. Source: National Parks Conservation Association (2002b)

sources outside the parks. The report documented only about 25% of the threats. Glacier National Park faced an above-average number of threats: 56 for Glacier vs. 13.5 for the 326 park units that existed at the time. The National Parks Conservation Association (NPCA) identified several internal and external threats to the peace park (NPCA 2002b). They are: (a) proposed highway expansion; (b) conversion of working ranches and forests to residential, commercial, and

resort developments; (c) clearcut logging; (d) growth in sightseeing air tours; (e) invasions of non-native species into parklands and waters; (f) legalized hunting for gray wolf in Alberta; (g) potential extraction of oil, gas, coal, and hard-rock mineral resources; (h) global warming and airborne chemical pollutants; and (i) shortages of personnel and operating funds for monitoring wildlife populations, completing archeological research, maintaining historic struc-

tures and museum collections, and providing high-quality visitor services. Most of these threats are caused by events and circumstances external to the peace park. On a scale of 0 to 100, NPCA gave the peace park scores of 83 for natural resources, 52 for cultural resources, and 52 for stewardship capacity. Low scores for cultural resources and stewardship capacity indicate that improvements are needed in these areas.

Impacts of threats to the peace park include: (a) fragmented, degraded, and destroyed habitat for several wildlife species; (b) severe limitations on the movement of wide-ranging species such as bears, wolves, deer, and elk; (c) reduced populations of native fish that are unable to compete with invasive non-native species; (d)

potential water quality degradation; (e) high likelihood of total absence of glaciers in 30 years; (f) potentially severe impacts to alpine, floodplain, and wetland systems; and (g) degradation and loss of native vegetation. Table 1 lists the threats and impacts, and Figure 2 summarizes the nature, location, and impacts of the threats to the peace park. Other protected areas in North America face similar threats and consequences.

AEM for Protected Areas

Making specific management prescriptions for threats to the peace park and other protected areas requires detailed site-specific socioeconomic and ecological assessments that are beyond the scope of this article. Moreover, socioeconomic and ecolog-

Table 1. List of threats and impacts to Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park and the Crown of the Continent Ecosystem

Threat	Impact
Proposed highway expansion (external)	Fragmented, degraded, and destroyed habitat for several wildlife species
Conversion of working ranch and forests to residential, commercial, and resort developments (external)	Severe limitations on the movement of wide-ranging species such as bears, wolves, deer, and elk
Clearecut logging (external)	Reduced populations of native fish that are unable to compete with invasive non-native species
Growth in sightseeing air tours (external)	Potential water quality degradation
Invasions of non-native species into parklands and water (internal and external)	High likelihood of total absence of glaciers in 30 years and potentially severe impacts to alpine, floodplain, and wetland systems
Legalized hunting for gray wolf in Alberta (external)	Degradation and loss of native vegetation
Potential extraction of oil, gas, coal, and hard-rock mineral resources (external)	
Global warming and airborne chemical pollutants (external)	
Shortage of personnel and operating funds for monitoring wildlife populations, completing archeological research, maintaining historic structures and museum collections, and providing high-quality visitor services (internal)	

Note: There is not necessarily a cause-and-effect relationship between threats and impacts listed in the same row. Source: National Parks Conservation Association (2002a)

Threats to Park Resources

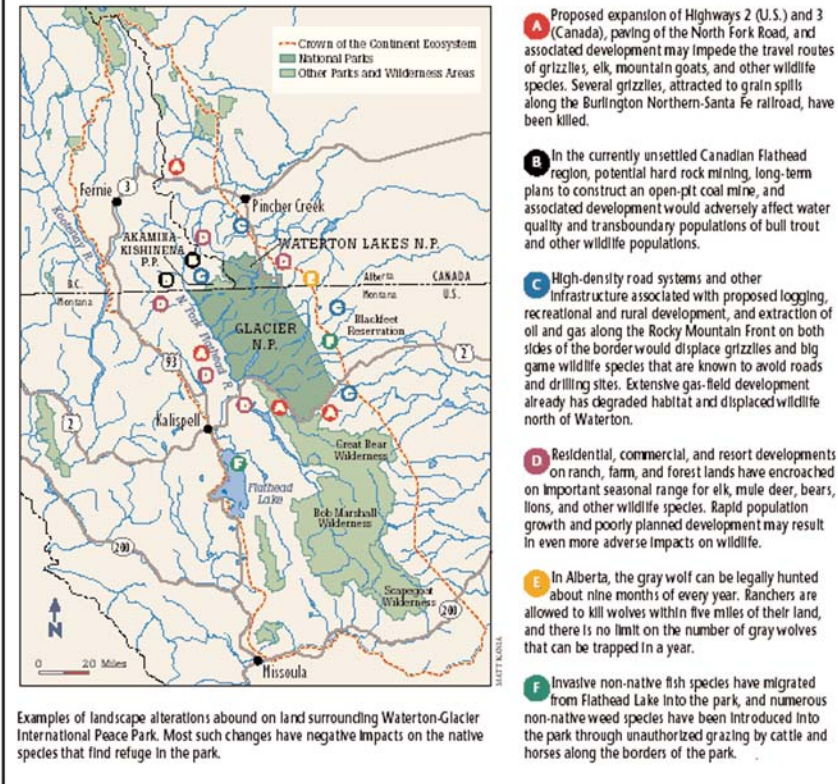


Figure 2. External threats to Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park. Source: *National Parks Conservation Association (2002b)*

ical conditions in protected areas change often enough that management prescriptions have a short shelf life. The proposed AEM approach for alleviating threats to protected areas is based on the following six general principles (see also Table 2).

1. Wide-ranging threats to protected areas cannot be alleviated with a single management action. Actions such as increasing the amount of a park's budget and personnel devoted to monitoring wildlife populations or improving the maintenance of historic structures would do little to reduce landscape fragmentation in the CCE. Therefore, alleviating multiple

threats or impacts requires a suite of well-designed and coordinated management actions. This does not mean, however, that management actions aimed at seemingly unrelated problems are totally independent. In the above example, part of the additional budget and personnel used to monitor wildlife populations could be used to monitor and evaluate how wildlife populations respond to habitat loss and degradation from landscape fragmentation.

2. It is easier to alleviate internal threats than external threats. The two national parks that comprise the peace park could make a coordinated

request to their respective agencies (Parks Canada and USNPS) for additional personnel and equipment to monitor threatened and endangered species, complete archeological research, maintain historic structures and museum collections, provide high-quality visitor services, and reduce the spread and adverse ecological impacts of non-native species in the park. By comparison, it is more difficult for managers to alleviate external threats to the peace park from proposed highway expansion, continued fragmentation of working ranches and forests, and logging and mineral extraction on nearby lands. Managers have virtually no control over global warming and airborne chemical pollutants originating in far-off places.

Differences in the ability of park managers to deal with internal versus external threats arise because the environmental, socioeconomic, and demographic drivers of external threats are, for the most part, independent of the mandate to conserve park resources and provide for public enjoyment. These drivers are regional economic development, supply and demand for wood and minerals, global emissions of carbon and chemical pollutants, and other events beyond the control of park managers. This situation does not imply that peace park managers should focus only on reducing internal threats to the exclusion of external threats; quite the contrary. Not only are most threats to the peace park external (see Table 1), but alleviating them is likely to require more planning and collaboration than internal threats.

3. Formulating and evaluating management actions in an ecosystem management (EM) framework accounts for interdependencies among social, economic, and ecological values of protected areas. An EM approach requires integrating science-

based ecological knowledge and socioeconomic perspectives and values in a collaborative decision-making framework designed to enhance long-term sustainability of protected areas. EM represents a fundamental shift in the philosophy for managing people and natural resources to incorporate larger spatial scales, longer time periods, and more variables than commodity-based resource management (Thomas 1997) and strives for sustainable productivity of the entire ecosystem (Franklin 1997; Schowalter et al. 1997; Prato 2003; Prato, in press). An EM approach requires threats and impacts to be addressed in a manner that harmonizes social, economic, and ecological values at the CCE scale and accounts for the interdependencies among those values. For example, proposed highway expansion and commercial/resort development in gateway communities would improve the quality of visitor services outside the peace park, but threaten the park's ecological integrity. Similarly, using more of the peace park's limited budget to monitor wildlife populations and complete archeological research and less to reduce habitat loss/fragmentation and controlling the spread of non-native species involves trade-offs.

4. Adaptive management (AM) allows managers to handle uncertainty regarding the likely impacts of alternative management actions on social, economic, and ecological values of protected areas. While outcomes of some management actions are fairly certain, outcomes of other actions are uncertain. Clearcut logging and mineral extraction in areas adjacent to the peace park have a high likelihood of impairing the movement of wide-ranging species, increasing soil erosion and the spread of invasive species, and contaminating water. In contrast, impacts of global warming on

alpine, floodplain, and wetland systems and impacts of legal hunting for gray wolf in Alberta on wolf recovery in the United States are more uncertain. AM is specifically designed for managing natural resource systems under uncertainty (Holling 1978; Walters 1986; Walters and Holling 1990). It rests on the basic tenet that "if human understanding of nature is imperfect, then human interactions with nature [e.g., management actions] should be experimental" (Lee 1993).

There are two forms of AM: passive and active. Passive AM formulates predictive models of ecosystem responses to management actions, makes management decisions based on model predictions, and uses monitoring data to revise model parameters (Walters and Hilborn 1978; Hilborn 1992). While passive AM is relatively simple and inexpensive to implement, it is nonexperimental and, as such, lacks statistical validity and does not provide reliable information for making decisions (Hurlbert 1984; Wilhere 2002). Active AM evaluates management actions using an experimental design (Halbert 1993). Experimental results are used to test hypotheses about whether alternative management actions influence achievement of desired outcomes, such as recovery of threatened and endangered species. Since experiments incorporate replication and randomization of management actions (treatments), active AM yields reliable information about how management actions influence socioeconomic and ecological conditions (Lee 1993).

5. Protected area managers are likely to have greater success in alleviating the impacts of threats by working collaboratively with a broad range of stakeholders to establish and achieve common goals. A stakeholder is defined as

"anyone who has an interest in the topic at hand and wishes to participate in decision making" (Meffe et al. 2002). Stakeholders for protected areas include private landowners and businesses, First Nations, community planners, residential and commercial developers, resource extraction firms, public land management agencies, natural resource/environmental interest groups, and the general public. Effective cooperation among stakeholders requires establishing and maintaining collaborative relationships with them, and involving them in a more comprehensive and integrative way than is done in traditional management approaches.

Several organizations have been established to raise stakeholder awareness and understanding and facilitate collaboration on natural resource issues in the CCE. The Crown of the Continent Ecosystem Education Consortium (COCEEC) has as its goals to: (a) encourage and support coordination and cooperation among individuals and organizations that educate about the human and natural resources of the CCE; (b) promote a sense of community among citizens of the region, a comprehensive view of the landscape, and an ethic centered on personal and community stewardship; (c) provide balanced educational leadership on emerging concepts of ecosystem stewardship, biological diversity conservation, and ecosystem sustainability; (d) encourage the development and dissemination of information and educational materials for presentation to diverse audiences in a variety of settings; and (e) cooperatively seek private and public support and partnerships for activities which further its mission (COCEEC 2002).

The goal of NPCA's Glacier Field Office is to build grassroots community support for park conservation among diverse interests in the

Waterton-Glacier region (NPCA 2002a). A collaborative organization whose geographic domain includes the CCE is the Yellowstone to Yukon Conservation Initiative. The goal of this initiative is to ensure that the region's rich and diverse wilderness, wildlife, native plants, and natural processes continue to function as an interconnected web of life, capable of supporting all the natural and human communities within it for present and future generations (Yellowstone to Yukon Conservation Initiative 2003).

Transboundary cooperation between parks is especially important when the political jurisdictions have conflicting natural resource management policies. For example, hunting for gray wolf is not permitted in the United States portion of the CCE because the wolf is a protected species. Hunting for wolf is permitted across the border in Alberta, Canada. Such divergent policies can slow the recovery of gray wolves in the United States.

6. Success in alleviating threats to protected areas is increased by integrating knowledge about (a) cultural, social, economic and ecological values; (b) institutional arrangements influencing management and operations; and (c) state-of-the-art decision-making approaches. Complex dynamic processes operating in natural resource-based protected areas such as the peace park makes these areas difficult and challenging to manage. In order to alleviate threats to the peace park and other protected areas, managers need to continually develop and evaluate management actions that harmonize multiple social, economic, and ecological values. This requires integration of knowledge about the multiple values of the park, the institutional setting in which resource management and other decisions are made, and various approaches for

making decisions. Such integration can be accomplished using an AEM approach that incorporates the six principles proposed here.

Designing and Evaluating Management Actions

Well-designed management actions can alleviate one or more threats to the peace park. Management actions are discussed first for external threats and impacts, and then for internal ones. Park management actions aimed at reducing one external threat or impact can influence another such threat or impact, as well as social, economic, and ecological values. For example, a management action that bans clearcut logging in national forests in the CCE might not only increase the movement of wide-ranging species across their home range, but also improve habitat for endangered fish species outside the park by reducing sediment delivery to streams. Banning clearcuts is likely to have a negative impact on regional income and employment in gateway communities if it is more profitable than other forms of logging and the ban causes some timber operations to shift to areas outside the CCE that allow clearcutting. Any reduction in regional income and employment attributable to a management action is a social cost and needs to be weighed against the fish and wildlife benefits of the ban.

Similarly, management actions to reduce internal threats are likely to generate benefits and costs in the regional economy. For example, a management action that reduces congestion in park campgrounds and roads by limiting the number of vehicles admitted to the park would improve the quality of visitor experiences (internal benefit), but reduce gate receipts (internal cost) and decrease regional income and employment in gateway communities (exter-

nal cost). Decreases in regional income and employment have adverse economic consequences on gateway communities. Other examples of management actions aimed at reducing internal threats to the peace park that have external impacts are reconstructing Going-to-the-Sun Road and revising the commercial services plan for Glacier National Park. Both actions ultimately improve the quality of visitor services, but have potentially significant economic impacts on gateway communities.

The preceding discussion illustrates the advantages of evaluating management actions for the peace park using an AEM approach. Such an approach requires protected area managers to consider the long-term impacts of management actions on the CCE, in which the park resides. EM requires managers to consider how a ban on clearcut logging affects not only wildlife species that have a significant portion of their home range in the park, but also water quality in streams outside the park and income and employment in gateway communities. Ecological and economic impacts to the greater ecosystem are just as important to consider as those within the arbitrarily defined boundaries of the park. Evaluating management actions in a long time-frame is just as important to AEM as taking a regional perspective. Hence, the long-term social, economic, and ecological trade-offs involved in, say, replacing clearcut logging (even-aged management) with selective cutting (uneven-aged management) or reconstructing Going-to-the-Sun Road using the quickest, lowest-cost alternative rather than longest, highest-cost alternative need to be considered.

AEM recognizes the uncertainty regarding the social, economic, and ecological consequences of management actions. For example, it is rea-

sonable to expect that disallowing clearcut logging in national forests in the CCE would benefit large carnivores because they are area- and edge-sensitive species. However, this benefit could be partially offset by other factors that influence carnivore populations, such as food supply, natural disasters, weather, and climate change. Not only are ecological effects of logging methods and climate change confounded and hence difficult to separate, but logging releases carbon to the atmosphere, which contributes to climate change.

Implementing AEM

The Crown of the Continent Managers Partnership (CMP) is a group of public and land resource management agencies in the CCE whose goal is to develop “management tools, data management and science (research/inventory/monitoring) at the ecosystem scale in cooperation with academic institutions” (CMP 2002). To illustrate how adaptive ecosystem management might work in the CCE, let us suppose CMP were to be given the authority and responsibility to implement it, and in response created an adaptive management working group (AMWG) for the purpose of developing management actions to alleviate threats to and impacts on the peace park, based on the six principles listed in Table 2.

Membership in the AMWG would best be determined based on the criteria of inclusivity, self-selection, and diversity of representation. *Inclusivity* means that all interested stakeholders or their representatives would be invited to participate in the AMWG. Being inclusive helps “people with different views recognize and understand their common interest in working together” (Meffe et al. 2002). *Self-selection* means AMWG members would be free to choose how involved they

Table 2. Principles for designing management actions to alleviate threats to protected areas

Principle	Management Implication
Wide-ranging threats/impacts cannot be alleviated with a single management action.	Alleviating multiple threats or problems requires a suite of well-designed and coordinated management actions.
It is easier to alleviate internal threats than external threats.	Alleviating external threats is likely to require more planning and engagement with stakeholders than alleviating internal threats. In dealing with external threats, planners and managers should focus on those posing significant risks to ecological integrity.
Formulating and evaluating management actions in an AEM framework accounts for interdependencies among social, economic, and ecological values.	An AEM approach requires integrating scientific-based ecological knowledge and socioeconomic perspectives and values in a collaborative decision-making framework designed to enhance long-term sustainability of natural and cultural resources.
Adaptive management allows managers to handle uncertainty regarding the likely impacts of alternative management actions on social, economic, and ecological values.	Adaptive management requires more planning, research, and coordination than traditional management approaches.
Managers are likely to have greater success in alleviating the impacts of threats by working collaboratively with a broad range of stakeholders to establish and achieve common goals.	Collaboration requires managers to interact with stakeholders in a more comprehensive and interactive way than traditional top-down management.
Success in alleviating threats is increased by integrating knowledge about: (a) cultural, social, economic, and ecological values; (b) institutional arrangements influencing management and operations; and (c) state-of-the-art decision-making approaches, concepts, and methods.	AEM is a suitable integrating framework that allows consideration of these elements.

become in particular issues. The degree of stakeholder involvement in an issue depends on how that issue affects each stakeholder and the manner in which the AMWG would address the issue. In other words, AMWG members would not be equally interested in all threats and impacts. *Diversity of representation* requires that AMWG members would have to reflect a broad spectrum of interests and concerns. Meffe and co-workers (2002) provide an excellent treatment of successful community-based conservation based on these and other principles. Based on these criteria, members of the AMWG would likely include scientists, private landowners, First Nations, businesspersons, devel-

opers, community planners, environmental groups, and other stakeholders.

The primary objectives of the AMWG would be to: (a) identify desirable outcomes for the ecosystem and management actions for achieving them; (b) compare the social, economic, and ecological consequences of management actions using AEM; and (c) select preferred management actions. An AMWG should identify management actions that are likely to provide sustainable and efficient social, economic, and ecological outcomes (Prato 2003). For instance, a desirable ecological outcome for carnivores is to have sufficient habitat to sustain viable populations, especially

for threatened and endangered carnivores that have a portion of their home range in the peace park.

One of the principles discussed earlier is that wide-ranging threats and impacts cannot be alleviated with a single management action. Neither can desirable outcomes be achieved with one management action. This does not mean that a single management action influences only a single threat or impact. For instance, buying conservation easements on ranchland might not only alleviate adverse ecological impacts of landscape fragmentation, but also improve movement of carnivores and water quality (ranches generate less sediment and chemical-laden runoff than built-up areas) and reduce losses in native vegetation.

An AMWG should identify alternative management actions to alleviate threats and impacts. Management actions that provide desirable outcomes can be compared and ranked using a multiple-attribute decision-making approach (Prato 2003). For instance, appropriate social, economic, and ecological attributes for management actions designed to alleviate adverse impacts of landscape fragmentation on carnivore populations are: (a) local and regional income and employment, (b) landscape patterns that enhance habitat suitability for carnivores, (c) movement of carnivores, and (d) water quality. Impacts on income and employment can be estimated using the IMPLAN model (Lindall and Olson 1993). Other management actions that an AMWG might consider are land donations, land purchases, cooperation with land trusts, land exchanges, zoning, and so on (Brown 1999).

Selecting preferred management actions using multiple-attribute evaluation requires knowledge of the relative importance to stakeholders of the social, economic, and ecological

attributes of the actions being considered. Not all stakeholders will attach the same relative importance to attributes. The ranking of management actions according to stakeholders' preferences requires: (a) calculating stakeholders' utility scores for management actions using a simple additive utility function that combines the values of attributes for management actions and the relative importance (weights) of attributes, (b) ranking management actions based on those scores, and (c) resolving stakeholder disagreements about preferences for management actions using group decision-making techniques.

Suppose an AMWG is able to distinguish between management actions (or elements of them) that have relatively certain outcomes, and those that have relatively uncertain outcomes in terms of alleviating the threats to and impacts on the peace park and CCE. Management actions with relatively certain outcomes should be addressed using passive AM, and, if feasible, management actions with uncertain outcomes should be addressed using active AM.

Two hypothetical management actions may be used to illustrate implementation of passive and active AM. The first is a ban on sightseeing air tours in the peace park. This action would eliminate the visual and auditory disturbances caused by these tours, the option of seeing the park from the air, and the income and employment generated by air tours. While there is some uncertainty regarding the extent to which banning sightseeing air tours would enhance the experiences of on-the-ground visitors, most elements of this management action have relatively certain outcomes. Hence, an AMWG should evaluate the elimination of sightseeing air tours and similar management actions using passive AM.

The second management action is

to have a land trust buy conservation easements on working farms and ranches in the vicinity of the peace park in an effort to reduce further landscape fragmentation. Uncertainty regarding this management action stems from two sources: whether the location and spatial extent of easements will be sufficient to reduce landscape fragmentation, and whether the likely reductions in landscape fragmentation will significantly improve wildlife habitat. Due to these uncertainties, an AMWG should evaluate conservation easements and similar management actions using active AM.

Conclusions

Multiple internal and external threats to protected areas can be alleviated using an AEM approach based on the six general principles enunciated here. AEM establishes desired outcomes or future conditions for a protected area ecosystem, and ranks efficient and sustainable management actions for achieving those outcomes based on stakeholders' expressed preferences for the multiple attributes of actions. Elements of management actions having relatively certain out-

comes are evaluated using passive AM and, if feasible, elements of management actions having uncertain outcomes are evaluated using active AM. AEM is best implemented by a working group of stakeholders that is constituted based on inclusivity, self-selection, and diversity of representation of stakeholders.

Application of AEM is challenging because it requires: (a) specification of the number and scale of experimental units (in the case of active AM); (b) spatial replication of certain management actions, which may not be possible when larger-scale environmental processes, such as climate change, affect localized experimental responses; (c) accounting for complex transient responses (delays, sharp increases followed by slow decline, cycles, etc.); and (d) the presence of stakeholders who are willing to accept experiments that could yield unacceptable social and economic outcomes (Walters and Holling 1990). Despite these challenges, AEM holds promise for alleviating internal and external threats to protected areas in general and the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park in particular.

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How Attitudes and Values Shape Access to National Parks

Introduction

This article investigates how dominant Western societal attitudes and values have shaped access to national parks both historically and currently. Parks and protected areas are powerful cultural and spiritual icons epitomizing Western ideals of freedom and independence for many North Americans (McNamee 1993; Primm and Clark 1996). Ecological integrity provides a sound foundation upon which parks are established. Recreationists participate in a diverse range of leisure activities in parks, partly because of access to the ecological richness that parks provide. These images of ecosystem health coupled with visitor satisfaction are perpetuated by park agencies keen to engender public support. However, this view of national parks does not mirror reality.

National park agencies worldwide have responded to Western societal beliefs and values in the development of park policies and programs. Over time, and in response to these shifting values, park agencies have expropriated local peoples, uprooted communities, and inflicted significant socioeconomic damage (Berg et al. 1993; Stevens 1997; Straede and Helles 2000). User fees have been instituted restricting the access of low-income and other visitors. The physically challenged are subject to unique constraints that limit participation in park activities (Henderson 1991). The income level, gender, and physical ability of park users is rarely taken into consideration by park planners (Kraus 1987; Toth and Brown 1997). This article explores how access to national parks has been shaped by prevailing Western attitudes and values.

Attitudes and Values that Shaped Access to Parks

The concept of a park, as a natural area delineated and controlled by

humans, originated in Mesopotamia in 1500 BC (Bailey 1978). Spiritual values, based on the need to connect the individual with the divine, shaped the creation of these earliest parks. The Kirishnauru or, "The Park in the Centre of the City," was a 600x1500-foot natural area connected to a temple complex that was established and used for rituals. Parks in ancient China were created to serve similar purposes. Henneberger (1996) writes:

The large 'Numinous Preserves' of the Han were thought of as micro-representative of the Chinese cosmic order. These 'parks as empire' stemmed from the prototypical divine parks of the mythical Golden Age that held symbolic meaning for the Chinese in their control over nature. They were practical, earthly paradises where sacrifices to the gods were performed to assure an orderly world (p. 128).

The creation of these parks for reli-

gious purposes reflected the values of these early societies. Access to the earliest “parks” was closely linked to the spiritual values of the ruling class. While ostensibly accessible to pilgrims, the Kirishnau were designed and maintained by holy men for their own activities. These “parks” were established as bounded natural spaces set apart from other areas. Designed as sanctuaries, these “parks” reinforced the spiritual priorities of the religious ruling elite.

Cultural attitudes towards nature later shifted and nature, *for its own sake*, became an integral aspect of parks. In Egypt and Persia, rulers built garden reserves for the purposes of hunting, fishing, and achieving enlightenment. These reserves also acted as a repository for exotic animals brought to the monarch as spoils of war (Henneberger 1996). The utilitarian value of parks, provided primarily through the usage of wildlife, gained in significance, although spiritual values were still important (Nelson 1993). With these prevailing attitudes, parks were accessed only by people of distinction in society.

In Britain, game reserves and parks established by royal charter proliferated throughout the medieval period and emphasized the concept of park as playground. Most of these parks were enclosed areas used for hunting by royalty and members of the landed gentry (Cantor and Hatherley 1979; Henneberger 1996). Access to game reserves was granted by invitation only and extended to the favored few. Illegal entry to these reserves by members of the lower classes was subject to strict punishment. Poachers caught snaring rabbits in the game reserve served as a rude intrusion on the tranquil world of a country gentleman (Lawrence 1991). These game reserves were pleasure-grounds for the gentry who controlled and manipulat-

ed natural space and all of the elements contained within it. For the majority of British society, game reserves were a place where subsistence activities could be conducted. Those who transgressed these metaphorical and physical boundaries were not only guilty of trespassing on private property, but, more significantly, of flouting societal attitudes and values.

The later development of the middle classes and shifts in attitudes towards recreational and social pursuits stimulated the establishment of the “landscape park” of country homes and towns. Landscape parks, designed for the edification and delight of residents and visitors, were incorporated into English and French towns and cities in the 18th century (Malcolmson 1973; Nelson 1993). These parks were more accessible to all members of society than were the earlier game reserves (Chadwick 1966).

In moving from private to public space, parks in towns theoretically became more accessible to a greater number of citizens. Public gardens and boulevards were established to allow promenading residents the opportunity of putting themselves on display (Chadwick 1966; Thomas 1983). Colorful and artfully designed botanical gardens were a dominant element of these early parks, but clearly their primary function was sociocultural. These gardens represented public space, but the upper classes claimed the space as their own. Although few regulations applied, restrictions on access to these areas were imposed by the prevailing moral code. Dress and deportment were monitored informally by visitors and those not adhering to this moral code could be encouraged to leave (Taylor 1999).

Values in the "New World"

When Europeans immigrated to the United States in the late 17th and 18th centuries, many brought with them the attitudes and values of a "civilized" society (Nash 1982). Although some people settled in established towns such as Boston and New York, most pioneers in the "New World" were confronted with an unfamiliar and harsh environment (Nash 1982). Survival was seen to be dependent upon asserting control over the elements of nature (Dillard 1993).

The mistrust of the hostile landscape experienced by these pioneers was also manifested through a fear of aboriginal peoples. According to Hendee et al. (1978): "Clearly, the wilderness was a barrier. It hindered movement, it harbored Indians, and it frequently possessed little that could help settlers prosper" (p. 356). The unfamiliar customs, appearance, and sense of oneness with the wilderness displayed by aboriginal peoples were foreign to the settlers. The attitudes and values of the European settlers towards the "New World" did not embrace the value systems of aboriginal peoples.

The pioneering desire of the settlers to modify the landscape was displayed through the exploitation of natural resources and by driving aboriginal peoples from their traditional lands. Inherent in the settlers' goal to establish new colonies and vanquish the wilderness was the attitude that the land belonged to them. By staking a claim and working the land, the settlers believed that the land was rightfully theirs. In reality, the "New World" that the settlers set out to conquer was new only to them.

Many early pioneering settlements in the United States were carved out of the wilderness. Access to the land was gained through conquering nature and this was accomplished through

the exploitation of natural resources (Hendee et al. 1978; Nash 1982). In securing their claim on the land, these settlers also sought to deny access to the original aboriginal inhabitants.

Prevailing attitudes in the dominant society towards the landscape continued to shift. In immigrating to the United States, settlers sacrificed security and familiarity as well as a direct connection to their culture. Once the land was "conquered," settlers wished to preserve the scenic vistas of the "New World" that reminded them of the grandeur of Europe (Nash 1982).

The Romantic period in 18th-century Europe was significant in influencing attitudes towards nature. According to the works of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, cultures previously deemed primitive and untamed were idealized and wilderness was represented as paradise on Earth. In the early 1830s, American artist George Catlin depicted aboriginal peoples as "noble savages" driven from their homelands by white conquerors. Catlin asserted that aboriginal peoples should remain on their traditional lands and argued that the cultures of aboriginal peoples were under attack (Hendee et al. 1978; Berg et al. 1993). Catlin advocated for the creation of a park where both natural elements and human beings were present.

By the 19th century, urbanization within American towns was becoming more prevalent and planners incorporated natural elements such as green squares and tree-lined streets in towns. The landscape designer Frederick Law Olmsted sought to encourage residents to engage with natural settings (Taylor 1999). As the originator of the greenbelt concept, Olmsted's ideas were instrumental in introducing natural elements into urban areas throughout North America (Stormann 1991). According

to Rybczynski (1995), "This naturalization of the city represents an unconscious move away from Europe and toward the American Indian urban model, in which architecture was subordinated to the landscape" (p. 52).

This shift in societal attitudes towards nature was also evident in contemporary literature. The works of American Transcendentalists, including Emerson, Thoreau, and Fuller, extolled the spiritual wonder and delight to be found in natural spaces. Writing in the mid- to late 19th century, they celebrated the beauty of natural environments and portrayed humans as insignificant beings (Thoreau 1966; Emerson 1982; Fuller 1982). Nature was still heralded as a haven for those seeking spiritual fulfillment, but greater emphasis was placed on the wilderness as a sanctuary for *all* individuals rather than solely for the upper classes.

The publication of *Man and Nature: or, Physical Geography as Modified by Human Action* in 1864 by George Perkins Marsh detailed how humans negatively affected the natural environment and helped to marshal public support for the park ideal. The works of the Transcendentalists and others such as Marsh heavily influenced the activist John Muir. Muir founded the Sierra Club and became one of the most powerful and outspoken advocates for protected areas in the United States. Muir's works are permeated with a sense of wonder and galvanized American society upon publication (Hendee et al. 1978).

Sax (1998) states:

Proposals to preserve scenic places followed a period of romantic idealism that had swept the country—the religious naturalism of Thoreau and Emerson, romanticism in the arts and early nostalgia for what was obviously the end

of the untamed wilderness, already in submission to the ax, the railroads and the last campaign against the Indians (p. 113).

Attitudes and Values that Shaped the Creation of North American National Parks

In response to vigorous lobbying by John Muir and public support for parks, in 1864, Yosemite was designated as the first public park in the United States. Since Yosemite was deeded to the state of California, Yellowstone, designated in 1872, is considered to be the world's first national park (Stevens 1997).

The creation of Yellowstone National Park reinforced societal beliefs that the protection of outstanding natural landscapes was of public benefit. However, the creation of Yellowstone also reinforced the concept that parks possessed practical value (Sax 1998). According to Glick and Alexander (2000): "From its inception, Yellowstone National Park has been viewed as a treasure trove of natural wonders on the one hand, and as a cash cow on the other" (p. 185).

Created as a public park, Yellowstone was accessible to all citizens. However, due to the constraints imposed by a lack of transportation infrastructure, lack of leisure time, and high traveling costs, physical accessibility to the park was limited. The Northern Pacific Railroad became the principal means of accessing Yellowstone and other parks (Glick and Alexander 2000).

In Canada, the origins of the national park system were also related to the conservation of natural features *and* economic benefits (McNamee 1993; Carter-Edwards 1998). In 1885, Banff was established as a national park. In 1887, park boundaries were expanded and Banff became known as Rocky Mountain

Park. Although Prime Minister John A. MacDonald supported the concept of protection, he was first and foremost a pragmatist. He stated: "The Government thought it was of great importance that all this section of country should be brought at once into usefulness" (Brown 1969:49). Canada's early national parks, including Banff, focused on attracting wealthy visitors as well as protecting natural features. Access to Banff was provided through the establishment of a railway system. However, for the average citizen, the costs of traveling to Banff were still prohibitive and it is likely that most early visitors to both Banff and Yellowstone national parks were members of the upper classes.

Early national parks in North America reflected 19th-century societal beliefs that parks were valuable because they protected outstanding natural features and generated income. However, these parks also reflected earlier ambivalent attitudes towards local aboriginal peoples. According to Achana and O'Leary (2000):

The Yellowstone model of national parks that views parks essentially as instruments of conservation with minimal human involvement has not been enthusiastically embraced by adjacent local communities. Tensions that originate from the adoption of some exclusionary natural science-based park management policies are translated in local communities as a failure to address their transboundary concerns (p. 75).

In the late 1800s, these exclusionary policies (based on Western ideals of protection) extended to evicting aboriginal peoples from their communities within areas proposed as national parks. This policy was enforced even if these peoples had lived in the

area for generations before park boundaries were imposed (Berg et al. 1993). One example of the spurious treatment of aboriginal peoples by the National Park Service is the case of the Havasupai people in Northern Arizona. Living in the Grand Canyon area from at least the 12th century, the Havasupai way of life was based on farming, hunting, and gathering. Summers were spent in watered areas below the rim of the canyon and winters were spent on the plateau (White 1993). The traditional territory of the Havasupai extended from the south rim of the Grand Canyon to Flagstaff, Arizona. In 1882, at the behest of the United States government, the Havasupai people were confined to a reservation in the village of Supai only 518 acres in size. Prior to 1882, the Havasupai used the village of Supai as only one of several summer farming areas. White (1993) states:

Confinement to such a small area and exclusion from the area that became the Grand Canyon National Park led to a tense relationship between the Havasupai tribe and the National Park Service.... The confinement also eliminated many of the Havasupai's traditional activities, which over the past century has taken its toll socially, culturally and economically (p. 341).

Contemporary Attitudes and Values Shaping Access to Parks

Access and local peoples: the Canadian context. As indicated, some national parks have been established on lands traditionally inhabited by aboriginal peoples, and in several cases these peoples have been forcibly removed and their access to traditional activities and resources denied (Hodgins and Cannon 1998). In Canada, it was government policy to

expropriate local residents (aboriginal and non-aboriginal) and dissolve communities located within the boundaries of proposed national parks. For example, more than 200 families were expropriated to create Forillon National Park in Quebec and 1,200 residents were removed from their land in the establishment of Kouchibouguac National Park in New Brunswick (McNamee 1993).

According to McNamee (1993), "Until the 1960's, there was little mass resistance to expropriation for national parks or other purposes. However, society began to reassess its relationship with those elements that exercised authority over daily life. This manifested itself in mass resistance by the residents affected by government plans to establish Kouchibouguac National Park" (p. 27). As a result of the organized public outcry, an inquiry was launched into the expropriations at Kouchibouguac. This inquiry condemned the governmental practice of expropriations of local peoples for the purposes of national park establishment. Following the inquiry, the government modified its practice of removing local peoples before the establishment of a national park.

This revised policy was evident in the process leading up to the establishment of Gros Morne National Park, Newfoundland. In 1970, the Family Homes Expropriation Act was passed by the Newfoundland legislature and stipulated that none of the 125 families affected by the park would be forced to move. Today, seven communities are contained within the boundaries of Gros Morne National Park (McNamee 1993). The federal government also amended its policy in 1979 to prohibit the expropriation of private landowners in areas where it wants to establish new national parks. Private land can now only be acquired for the establishment of parks if the

owner is willing to sell the land to the government. In addition, traditional activities and uses of the park by aboriginal peoples are allowed upon the negotiation and/or settlement of land claim agreements. This is most prevalent in Canadian national parks in the North, including Vuntut and Ivvavik national parks.

Access and local peoples: the international context. Lusigi (1981) contends that national parks are a Western idea introduced to developing countries by colonial powers and implemented under pressure from international conservation organizations. Not surprisingly, relationships between national parks and local residents in developing countries are typified by conflict (Hough 1988; Glavovic 1996; Straede and Helles 2000). While the goal of conservation of natural resources is laudable, the process of evicting local peoples from within park boundaries and otherwise marginalizing local communities has had adverse socioeconomic impacts for both the community and the park agency (Hough 1988; Stevens 1997).

The concept of strict protection causes particular challenges in developing countries which may be ill-suited to cope with and manage monitoring and enforcement of park legislation. Negative consequences for local communities include the restriction of access to traditional resources, the disruption of local cultures and economies by tourists, increased depredations on crops and livestock by wild animals, and the displacement of peoples from their traditional lands (Lusigi 1981).

Conflict may result in resentment towards park staff, leading to vandalism in the park itself, continued harvesting of natural resources, and other violations of park policies (Hough 1988; Nepal and Weber 1994). Many national parks in developing countries

are established in areas where communities are heavily reliant on local resource use. As the human populations in these areas increases, so too does the pressure to utilize natural resources. Park policies prohibiting traditional activities and restricting access to local peoples results in significant hardships for these communities. Thus, it is likely that these repressive policies will be violated. Conflict between parks and local peoples due to restricted access and other factors is recognized as an on-going challenge in developing countries (Nepal and Weber 1994; Glavovic 1996).

Access and affluence. In the 1990s, the national park systems in North America began implementing economic policies that dramatically affected the accessibility of parks for all visitors. Primarily due to an economic recession and the failure of both national governments to adequately fund parks, park agencies adopted a multifaceted policy of fiscal restraint. Park agencies adopted a "corporatist" philosophy based on demonstrating fiscal responsibility. As private and public sectors struggled to adapt to a changing economic milieu, the boundaries between these two sectors began to blur (Thurston and Richardson 1996). Government agencies, including Parks Canada and the National Park Service in the United States, began incorporating competitive business practices that had previously been relegated to the private sector (Johnson and McLean 1996).

One option implemented by national park agencies was to impose or increase user fees. Charging a user fee to enter and/or access park services evokes a powerful response in the general public (Aspinall 1964; Lowry 1993; Miller 1998). According to More and Stevens (2000): "Few recreation issues are as controversial as imposing fees for the use of public

lands" (p. 5). It raises fundamental questions regarding which among a country's resources should be provided free of charge and to whom parks belong. Laarman and Gregersen (1996) state:

In many settings, access to public wildlands has been everyone's right, particularly for dispersed uses of lands not privately claimed. If the use of public lands is everyone's right, then is it justifiable for a government to deny access to individuals who cannot or will not pay a fee? (p. 252).

Arguments supporting the imposition of user fees fall into one of three categories: equity, revenue generation, and efficiency. Parks Canada and other agencies uphold the imposition of user fees on the grounds that they promote social equity (Leclerc 1994; Miller 1998). Parks provide services, such as protecting natural resources and raising environmental awareness, for all citizens. However, parks also provide services that only benefit park visitors. According to Parks Canada, user fees promote equity by shifting the burden of financing these activities from taxpayers in general to those who benefit directly (Leclerc 1994). Additionally, proponents of the user fee system assert that user fees recover costs and provide revenue to improve overall park services during periods of economic restraint (More 1999). Lastly, user fees enable recreation resources to be allocated more efficiently through shifting use between sites and so avoiding user conflicts to some degree.

Park user fees discriminate against those individuals with lower incomes, since fees constitute an obstacle to park access (Leclerc 1994; Scott and Munson 1994). Some park professionals believe that people with low

incomes have a greater need for government park and recreational services (Taylor 1999; More and Stevens 2000). Constraints on park visitation for those with low incomes include distance from parks and limited access to transportation, fear of crime, and poor health. Income is the single most significant constraint to park visitation (Scott and Munson 1994). Some who favor user fees state that lower-income individuals are already priced out by high travel and recreation equipment costs and that resource-based recreation ranks relatively low among the priorities of lower-income individuals (More and Stevens 2000).

According to Laarman and Gregersen (1996), a flexible system of different user fees can be instituted that is tailored to fit each situation. For example, general fees can be maintained at a low level to ensure that no visitor is turned away and individual services and facilities can be priced at cost. However, this system poses considerable operational challenges.

Access and the physically challenged. Physically challenged individuals face barriers related to access to parks—barriers that are both physical and metaphorical (Potter 1989). Physical barriers include uneven terrain and steep slopes throughout the park, as well as trails unsuitable for wheelchairs, limited wheelchair accessibility to park facilities, signage that is not interpreted into Braille, and lack of hearing devices for the hearing impaired (Waldichuk 1989). Physically challenged visitors may also be constrained by the attitudes of park planners who may design parks and park services with the young and able-bodied park visitor in mind.

In recent decades, greater emphasis on recreation and leisure planning for the physically challenged has occurred. Burdge (1996) states that natural resource agencies are increas-

ingly confronted with a diverse clientele as a result of shifting demographics and changing societal attitudes. According to Waldichuk (1989): "Planning for the physically challenged is a very new concept. Only in recent years have actions been taken to allow physically challenged persons to participate in society both socially and physically" (p. 107).

Today, there is a rise in the number of active, physically challenged individuals in society. For example, in the United States, approximately 42% of the population would benefit from services and facilities provided for those with physical impairments (Park 1985). These individuals are increasingly vocal and organized politically. Advocates have been successful in lobbying for the rights of the physically challenged. In the United States, the rights of the disabled are now guaranteed due to recent legislation. In 1990, the Americans with Disabilities Act stipulated that people with disabilities must be allowed to participate in all aspects of life, including employment, transportation, communication, public services, and accommodation. Physically challenged persons cannot be discriminated against or treated separately due to their disability (Porter 1994). This act has had significant ramifications within the National Park Service regarding park programs and facilities. Strict compliance and monitoring systems within the National Park Service ensure that the act is adhered to (Stensrud 1993; Lose 2002).

Despite this legislation, providing specialized park access to the physically challenged remains a contentious issue. Park advocates argue that increased accessibility for the physically challenged impacts negatively on a park's natural resources, while advocates for the physically challenged assert that accessibility for visitors is of

greater or equal priority as conservation. It is unlikely that this debate will be easily or quickly resolved due to the conflict between values and diverse attitudes towards park accessibility.

Conclusion

This article has explored how Western societal attitudes and values have shaped access to national parks. In adopting a chronological approach, I have demonstrated how access to parks has been controlled by powerful groups representing the dominant value system. These groups established park boundaries and determined how the park would be used and which individuals could have access to the park. Historically, these "gatekeepers" emerged from religious orders, the monarchy, and the gentry. In the United States, "gatekeeping" responsibilities later devolved upon early settlers, whose concept of the natural landscape excluded aboriginal peoples. During the 20th and, now, the 21st centuries, national parks have been managed by park agencies. Reflecting societal attitudes and values, park agencies have constrained the access of local peoples, low-

income visitors, and the physically challenged.

This examination has focused primarily on how attitudes and values shape physical accessibility to national parks. However, as Lindsey et al. (2001) state: "Theorists have observed that the degree to which facilities such as parks truly are public and accessible depends on metaphorical as well as physical boundaries" (p. 332). Further research into how societal values and attitudes shape metaphorical access to national parks would likely yield interesting results. Other questions relating to access to parks remain to be answered: How does accessibility to national parks vary over the life span of a park visitor? How have values and attitudes shaped access to provincial/territorial parks or parks at other levels? How can "equitable" access to parks be defined and achieved? Does the fact that attitudes and values shape access to national parks affect the park itself? Ultimately, an examination of accessibility to parks must be reconciled with critical questions about the meaning and purpose of parks in contemporary society.

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The Deconstruction and Reconstruction of Conservation

From Uncommon to Common Ground

In keeping with the deconstructionist movement that has swept broadly across college and university campuses, substantive changes rippled through the environmental community in the 1990s. Of these, perhaps the most significant was the appearance of a set of high-profile critiques questioning the very foundations of environmental thought and practice from the vantage point of the end of the 20th century. Led by William Cronon and his now well-known debunking of the American wilderness idea, these arguments generated more than a few sparks across a wide range of scholarly and professional fields associated with natural resources and the environment (Cronon 1996). Indeed, Cronon's and others' work seemed to issue an indirect, yet provocative challenge to scholars and practitioners engaged in the study and management of human-environment relationships.

Although the revisionist papers appearing in Cronon's oft-cited collection *Uncommon Ground* were focused more on coming to terms with the consequences of the cultural mediation of our knowledge of nature and models of ecological change in post-war environmentalism, Cronon's own dismantling of the meanings and images associated with the American wilderness idea suggested that the earlier conservation movement was also implicated in the broader critique. In particular, Cronon singled out the nature-romanticism of Henry David Thoreau and John Muir, and the primitivism of Frederick Jackson Turner, as examples of how American thinking about wilderness had been saddled with utopian myths that represented a flight from lived human history and an escape from the hard problems presented by modern urban and industrial life (Cronon 1996). If Cronon was right, it meant that our thinking about wilderness had been at best intellectu-

ally lazy in its acquiescence to these wrongheaded ideas about our place in the world. At worst, it had been morally irresponsible, especially in its neglect of urban and rural conditions and the men and women who toiled in the fields and in the factories away from an idyllic and imaginary "pristine" nature.

Cronon's criticism of the wilderness concept, and, more generally, the deconstructivist assessment of the commitments and strategies of late-20th-century environmentalism, are now part of the conservation canon. They have been joined by a growing and broadly sympathetic literature, including further interdisciplinary critiques of the wilderness idea (Callicott and Nelson 1998), attempts to demystify significant contemporary conservation concepts such as that of "biodiversity" (Takacs 1996), and projects exploring the historically neglected dimensions of class, culture, and authority in the management of parks

and wildlife (Warren 1997; Spence 1999; Jacoby 2001). For the most part, we believe this critical turn has provided a useful service. It has, for example, exposed the previously unreflective presuppositions of contemporary environmentalism, holding traditional and widely accepted interpretations of concepts such as wilderness and biodiversity up to the fire of critical scrutiny. Even though the academic and popular environmental community's response to Cronon and his followers has been at times overly defensive and less constructive than we might have liked, these critiques have nonetheless stimulated an important and potentially transformative debate about the conceptual foundations of conservation as we move into the first decades of the 21st century.

Yet, it is also true that these penetrating criticisms of modern American environmentalism have issued an undeniable challenge to those who would defend the "classical" conservation tradition—the period running roughly from George Perkins Marsh to Aldo Leopold (and perhaps to the publication of Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*)—as practically viable and intellectually relevant in the new "deconstructivist era." After all, the mostly unquestioned realism about nature during this time and the nascent, "modernist" ecological understandings of the era's principal thinkers would seem to make the tradition a prime candidate for systematic debunking and demythologizing. Nevertheless, we believed that there was still much of value in the tradition, even if we also conceded its very real philosophical and scientific limitations as a template to guide current and future conservation thought and practice. How, we wondered, should we go about reading the conservation tradition in this new, highly charged, and seriously self-conscious academic

environment? How shall we "reconstruct" conservation?

"Practical Intelligence" and "Intelligent Practice"

To address this matter, we decided to do what academics do best when faced with an intellectual crisis: we organized a symposium. In this we were also following the model established by Cronon and his colleagues, given that the papers appearing in his *Uncommon Ground* began their lives in a seminar held at the University of California-Irvine in the early 1990s. For our project, we wanted to create an appropriate forum in which both the scholarly and practitioner communities could come together and attempt to fill the deconstructionist void. We believed it was important to bring these two groups into an open dialogue with each other, and we hoped that the opportunity for increased traffic between the theory and practice of conservation would help achieve a balance of "intelligent practice" and "practical intelligence" at the symposium.

Our primary task was an ambitious one: to assess the meaning and relevance of our conservation inheritance in the 21st century, and to chart a course for revising the conventional narratives and accounts of the tradition so that a "usable past" might be uncovered that could inform present and future conservation efforts. In the fall of 2001, then, we organized and held an invited, interdisciplinary symposium in Vermont focused on the challenges of "reconstructing" conservation thought and practice in the wake of the earlier deconstructive efforts. The symposium participants were a select group of leading academics and professionals nationally and internationally known for their work in conservation scholarship or the practice of conservation in local com-

munities and on the landscape. They approached our project's goals with great intellectual seriousness and creativity, and their energy held steady over the nearly five full days of plenaries, panels, and roundtable discussions. This enthusiastic response suggested to us that we had managed to start a conversation not only compelling in its conceptual scope and orientation, but also timely in its asking of hard questions of the conservation tradition regarding its role as a guide for a new age's relationship with its environment.

"Dueling Dualisms" and the Search for a "Radical Center"

By taking part in this project, symposium participants were not only stepping into the breach with regard to the tensions that have marked the deconstructivist debate over wilderness and conservation, they were also entering a larger and, we think, ultimately more important discussion about the proper course of future conservation scholarship and action. This larger discussion, however, has also been marked by considerable academic and professional debate and divisiveness in recent years. Any careful survey of the scholarly and popular literature in conservation, for example, will reveal a host of conceptual and methodological polarizations that have worked to divide individuals and "camps" within the diverse fields of conservation thought and practice. A representative list of these oppositional elements, or "dueling dualisms," might include the following:

- Conservation versus preservation
- Conservationism versus environmentalism
- Anthropocentrism versus bio- or ecocentrism
- Instrumental value versus intrinsic value
- Utility versus aesthetics
- Efficiency versus equity
- Nature as construct versus nature as essence
- Moral pluralism versus moral monism
- Urban/rural environmentalism versus wilderness environmentalism
- Eastern (U.S.) versus western (U.S.) perspectives
- Regional focus versus national focus
- Working/cultural landscapes versus pristine nature
- Stewardship versus "hands off" management policies
- Grassroots action versus centralized approaches
- Citizen environmentalism versus expert/bureaucratic environmentalism
- Models of ecological disturbance versus models of ecological order
- Conservation theory versus conservation practice

Some of these tensions are captured in the aforementioned deconstructivist critique, though many speak to additional commitments and goals that are debated in academic and professional conservation circles. Of course, this list is by no means exhaustive. We also do not wish to suggest that a subscription to one or more of the commitments on the left or the right entails an endorsement of all the claims and tenets on that side of the aisle. But we do believe this list captures some of the major philosophical and strategic disagreements within conservationism, both past and present. And though some of these divisions seem to be slowly disappearing, or at least moving toward some degree of conceptual compatibility (e.g., the debate over equilibrium-based and "disturbance-based" ecological models), others remain firmly in place and even appear to have deepened in recent years (e.g., anthropocentrism

versus bio- or ecocentrism, the constructivist–essentialist debate).

We know that many of our participants probably believed they had a stake in one or more of these debates at the symposium, yet we were struck by the degree to which they attempted to move beyond these imposed categories and their entailments. Even when it was apparent that some of the presenters were interested in working along one side of an argument, for example, they sought to develop complementary rather than adversarial projects, or they worked to shore up weaknesses and fill conceptual holes in the conservationist literature. This is not to say that the divisions represented in the foregoing list were somehow magically erased in Vermont, nor to suggest that many of these opposing ideas do not provide a useful way of thinking about some of the real tensions in our understanding of conservation thought and practice. We only point out here that our participants were not beholden to “either–or” logic in the framing of their discussions and proposals for reconstruction. This independence was probably best demonstrated by the numerous pleas for philosophical compatibility and tactical cooperation at the symposium and by the participants’ awareness of the need to move beyond rigid ideological logjams and the constraints of historically entrenched positions and arguments in their respective fields. In the words of one of our symposium participants, we were all committed to the search for an inclusive “radical center.”

Principles for Reconstructing Conservation

Symposium papers (which are gathered in the book, *Reconstructing Conservation: Finding Common Ground*; Minter and Manning 2003) chart a wide-ranging but unbroken

course through the fields of history, philosophy, political theory, sociology, anthropology, conservation biology, economics, and the applied professions engaged in conservation practice. Clearly, our authors have much to say about the shape and substance of a reformed conservationism, and they have provided an impressive pool of ideas to draw from in our efforts to move forward with the larger project of reconstructing conservation. They have responded to the original challenge of providing a thoughtful assessment of the current theoretical and methodological trends in conservation thought and practice, and they have also given us a clear-eyed appraisal of earlier conservation traditions and their bearing on present and future work.

Despite the diversity of our authors and their subjects—academics and practitioners; multiple academic disciplines; wilderness, rural/agrarian, built environments; East and West; conservation icons and lesser known voices; domestic and international—we are struck by the degree to which the work of the symposium converged in a number of significant ways. This unity-amidst-diversity, or common ground, can be best demonstrated through a cataloguing of what we see as a set of emerging “principles for reconstruction” that issue from the symposium. While presented here as empirical claims about the structure and content of a revised conservationism in the academy and the professions, the principles also carry a significant normative weight. Taken together, we believe that they capture the symposium authors’ collective vision of the proper course of a reconstructed conservation for a new era of scholarship and practice. (The papers and quotes referenced below all appear in Minter and Manning 2003.)

1. A reconstructed conservation

will adopt an integrative understanding of nature and culture. Our symposium strongly endorsed a model of conservation that recognizes the importance of the linkages between natural and cultural systems. Much of this view may be attributed to our improved understanding, in recent years, of the history (and prehistory) of human modifications of the environment. As environmental philosopher J. Baird Callicott reminds us, no landscape is really free of anthropogenic effects. This is ratified by anthropologist Louis Vivanco in his statement that “recent archaeological, ethnohistoric, and ethnographic research have adequately proven that in important instances Western projections of unpeopled wilderness are in fact artifactual landscapes manipulated by the hands of people.” This conclusion is clearly supported by historian Richard Judd’s study of the Eastern conservation tradition of rural New Englanders: “The markers of eastern identity are more typically pastoral, distinctive not because of their natural *or* cultural attributes, but because these two are so inextricably combined.” Judd goes on to cite Henry David Thoreau in support of the linkages between nature and culture: “The eastern forest, with its legacy of disturbance and its explosive ecological succession, challenges the idea that nature and culture can be viewed as separate entities. Thoreau, for example, found the Maine woods authenticating in part because it invoked the lore of logging, hunting, guiding, exploring, and timber-surveying: it was a cultural, as much as natural place.”

The fusion of systems of human meaning and activity with the cycles and processes of the natural world also has a number of implications for our understanding of the boundaries of the larger conservation discussion,

one that challenges many of our previously held conceptual and professional categories. As historic preservationist Robert McCullough points out in his essay, if, as Cronon and others have suggested, nature is a cultural construction, then our conservation emphasis should be on cultural resources as much as natural resources, or, alternatively, on their intersection. In fact, McCullough suggests that “the goals are so closely parallel and the tasks so enormous that one wonders why cultural and natural resource protection have remained separate for so long.” Yet as Vivanco points out, the embrace of culture in conservation can be a very complicated move, especially when “culture” becomes inappropriately instrumentalized in the service of the conservationist agenda. “Thinking of culture as a mere tool to change behaviors,” he writes, “may undermine the very reason we might want to bring it to bear in conservation, which is for its ability to help focus attention on the highly specific and context-dependent processes and interactions that help determine why people relate with their natural surroundings in certain ways.”

2. A reconstructed conservation will be concerned with working and cultural landscapes as well as more “pristine” environments. Many of our symposium participants warned us (directly or indirectly) of the dangers of embracing a “wilderness first” view of conservation, one that discredits or ignores cultural and working landscapes in favor of an idealized “pristine” nature. The majority of our participants would presumably agree with the sentiments of conservation practitioners and National Park Service staffers Rolf Diamant, Glen Eugster, and Nora Mitchell, who suggest that the concept of cultural landscapes “gives value and legitimacy to peopled places, a fundamentally dif-

ferent perspective from nature conservation's traditional focus on wild areas...." In this sense, Judd's account of the "long lived-in lands" of the Northeast offers a corrective to this wilderness bias in environmental history, as it elevates "peopled" and transformed landscapes into the conservationist geography. As he puts it, "the oscillations of deforestation and reforestation, depletion and renewal, settlement and abandonment, and pollution and recovery suggest reciprocity, rather than nature-as-victim.... One era's ecological disaster becomes the next era's textured landscape." Jan Dizard, an environmental sociologist, is even more direct: "Undisturbed nature is an oxymoron.... Put another way, to argue that the undisturbed (by humans) is to be preferred to the disturbed is to court a serious and disabling teleology." The "altered lands" perspective is also on display in environmental ethicist Paul Thompson's portrait of the agrarian vision, one in which "human beings are hard at work in nature." Thompson's account shows us how this agricultural modification of the land also transforms individual character and community values, in the process establishing close ties between rural producers and their supporting environments.

The contemporary notion of "sense of place" and its inherent blending of nature and culture is at the heart of working and cultural landscapes as suggested by a number of symposium participants. Quoting the geographer E.C. Relph, environmental sociologist Patricia Stokowski writes that, "the relationship between community and place is a very powerful one in which each reinforces the identity of the other, and in which the landscape is very much an expression of communally held beliefs and values and of interpersonal involvements." In the southern Appalachian context,

Judd suggests that "mountain people saw the forest not simply as board feet, but also as a living matrix of plants, animals, and shared memories," and that their "folk knowledge in turn cultured a sense of ownership," and ultimately a sense of stewardship. In the agrarian tradition, Thompson notes that peoples' "actions shape and transform [nature] as surely as nature shapes and transforms them," and that communities evolved in this way "will see no tension between conservation of wild nature and the duties of the steward." Environmental philosopher Ben Minteer suggests that the origins of regional planning, as espoused by Lewis Mumford, Benton MacKaye, and others, may offer an appropriately expansive model of a reconstructed conservation: "The task of regional planning, according to Mumford, was ... more culturally and ecologically grounded than the approach taken by conservationists, which in his view merely attempted to protect wilderness areas from intrusion and sought to avoid the wasteful development of natural resources. Although he thought such a strategy was to be praised for protecting the rare and spectacular environments of the continent and for injecting efficiency measures into resource exploitation, he feared it was too limited in scope to serve as a guide for a true environmental ethic." Building on their legacy, Minteer concludes that "a reconstructed conservation philosophy needs to address the complex whole of human experience in the environment, including the urban, the rural, and the wild."

3. A reconstructed conservation will rely on a wider and more contextual reading of the conservation tradition. Several symposium authors suggested that we already have many of the intellectual tools and resources of a new framework for conservation

embedded in our history and culture; we need only to adopt a more expansive and more nuanced approach to the conservation tradition for these ideas and commitments to come into sharper focus. In his case for an “eastern” conservation history, for example, Judd writes that we must adopt a more regional and ethically textured understanding of the roots of the American conservation impulse, an interpretation that stands outside the conventional “western” environmental narrative. In his words, “plumbing the rhetoric of place in long-settled lands reveals a more nuanced set of motives behind the use of nature.” Similarly, in his attempt to recover the lost agrarian voice in conservationism, Thompson concludes that this tradition has been “so thoroughly neglected and forgotten that it is now possible to see it as something new, as an expansion of conservation thought that can play a significant role in its reconstruction.” Historian, conservation biologist, and Leopold scholar Curt Meine’s plea for another look at the “radical center” of the conservation vision of the Progressive Era, and Minter’s suggestion that we find a way to weave Lewis Mumford’s “pragmatic conservationism” into the intellectual histories of conservation philosophy, are further examples of this multivocal call for a contemporary rereading of conservation icons such as Thoreau, Marsh, Muir, Gifford Pinchot, and Leopold and for a revision and expansion of our received accounts of the tradition. “Any reconstructed conservationism of today,” concludes Minter, “especially one in search of a philosophical ‘usable past’ to inform and guide future thought and practice, could not ask for a greater intellectual inheritance.”

4. A reconstructed conservation will require long-range landscape stewardship and restoration efforts.

As geographer, historian, and Marsh biographer David Lowenthal writes, one of Marsh’s most enduring lessons is that “stewardship, indispensable for the common good now and in the future, needs to be ceaselessly nurtured.” Although Lowenthal finds in Marsh the notion that we need to take greater control of nature, he suggests that this celebration of human agency is checked by the frank acknowledgment of our ignorance regarding the long-term effects of our actions on the land. Yet despite this “imperfect knowledge,” Lowenthal concludes, following Marsh, that restorative actions designed to reverse severe human impacts are urgently needed and well-justified. In his essay on large-scale restoration projects, however, Dizard points out that such restorative activities may actually present formidable obstacles to effective conservation stewardship, barriers due in part to some restoration advocates’ absolutism about the “proper” methods and goals of environmentalism. Indeed, as we suggest below, a necessarily active and reconstructed conservation requires a pluralistic and robustly democratic context.

Other authors illustrate the importance of conservation stewardship not only for taking care of the land for future generations, but for building social capital and shoring up the realm of civil society as well. Stokowski writes that “conservation must also be about building community, so that people will be more likely to value others as well as value places.” Based on their wide-ranging program of international work, international conservation practitioners Brent Mitchell and Jessica Brown enthusiastically observe that “one of the most exciting elements of stewardship work is that it often leads to advances in other social areas. Stewardship helps to build civil society by giving people opportunities

to participate in shaping their environment, and therefore their lives.”

5. A reconstructed conservation will have “land health” as one of its primary socioecological goals. The notion of health emerges from several of the essays as an important overlapping normative goal of conservation, suggesting the need to understand and maintain the linkages between the reproduction of ecological and cultural processes over time. The essays by Callicott and environmental legal theorist Eric Freyfogle discuss how this unifying concept played a large part in Leopold’s thinking about the aims of conservation—that is, a harmony between productive practices and ecological processes (or, as Dizard puts it, “land capable of sustaining a robust variety of living things, including humans”). And in the agrarian context, as Thompson notes, “productive practices that cannot be passed down from parent to child fail to represent a heritable way of life, which (for an agrarian) is to say that they are no way of life at all.”

More strategically, Meine sees the goal of land health as uniting a broad coalition of interests, professions, and citizens. In his view, it is an area in which “where people who care about land and communities and wild things and places, whatever their political stripe, may meet to make common cause.” We should also not be too concerned that we will continue to grope for empirical definitions of “land health” (definitions that might best be formulated at the community level). Ecological economists David Bengston and David Iverson note appropriate analogues between the case of conservation and normative notions of “human health” in medicine and “justice” in law. Perhaps, as Leopold anticipated in these matters of higher aspiration, it is as important to strive as to achieve.

6. A reconstructed conservation will be adaptive and open to multiple practices and objectives. It is clear that our authors do not subscribe to a rigid, “one size fits all” model of conservation. Instead, they describe in various ways a more flexible and adaptive approach to conserving the landscape. As Vivanco writes, “we need a conservationist culture based on dialogue—not domination—that is not about simply facilitating an exchange of wisdom in order to convert people to some predetermined expectations of what conservation ‘should be.’ This dialogue should also include a process of mutual enrichment in which the means and ends of conservation themselves are open to new contingencies and intercultural negotiations.” The specific practices of a reconstructed conservation will vary. Thompson’s agrarian conservationist, for example, “would endorse parks and museums that memorialize farms and farming ways of particular note, but would find it ultimately of greater importance to bring working farms into the conservation ideal. Activities, such as farmer’s markets and community supported agriculture, which connect those who do not farm with those who do, could come to be understood as productive conservation activities.” Many of the symposium papers also suggest that we must find ways to accommodate multiple social objectives (as well as ecological constraints) in framing significant conservation policies. As social scientist Robert Manning writes in his essay, variations in ecological conditions, cultural patterns, and institutional structure may lead to environmental policies and conservation models that vary across the natural and cultural landscape: “Diverse environmental values and ethics offer empirical support for a correspondingly ‘patchy’ natural and cultural landscape.” As Manning notes, the

U.S. public land system offers a model of such diversity in the conservation mission, with national forests displaying more utilitarian commitments and the national parks embodying more preservationist sentiments on the landscape. Likewise, Callicott's updating of the three "paradigms" of conservation philosophy in light of changes in ecological thought supports a multidimensional model of conservation action, as does conservation biologist Steven Trombulak's discussion of "dominant use" designations across a spectrum of land uses from intensive human development to ecological lands managed to promote biodiversity and landscape-level processes. Diamant, Eugster, and Mitchell's example of the National Park Service river conservation program provides a compelling illustration of how such a broad-based, multi-objective, and multivalue conservation program can meet with great success in practice. Further, it seems likely that conservation will continue to evolve, for, as Bengston and Iverson write, "the history of conservation in the United States is a history of responding to changing social, economic, political, technological and environmental conditions." In this respect, the *process* of conservation—its adaptive and open character—may be as important as the final product. The adaptive environmental and policy framework outlined by environmental philosopher Bryan Norton, a process informed by science but considered within a multivalue, democratic context, may be a particularly appropriate model for this larger project.

7. A reconstructed conservation will embrace value pluralism. This endorsement of an integrated diversity of land use types and objectives is reinforced by many of the authors' advocacy of pluralism in environmental values. Bengston and Iverson, in

their defense of an evolving ecological economics against the traditional economic paradigm, argue that the latter is "inadequate to inform conservation thought and practice in the face of changed ecological and social contexts of the twenty-first century" because it is unable to comprehend and incorporate all the diverse values people hold for the environment, especially noninstrumental moral and spiritual values and the value of life-supporting ecological services and functions. This value pluralism toward nature (including nonmaterial and noncommodity values) is supported in the empirical investigations Manning presents in his paper, and in developing ecological science that, according to Callicott and Trombulak, recognizes "ecological services" (e.g., climate stabilization) as a natural resource as important as timber and other commodities, or more so. Such pluralism need not lead to political gridlock, however. Indeed, Norton's articulation of a "multi-criteria" approach to environmental valuation, one in which "good policies are marked by their robust performance over multiple criteria, which opens opportunities for win-win situations when one policy can support multiple values and goals," promises to offer a way out of the ideological logjams between intrinsic and instrumental values, conservation and preservation, and other rigid dualisms. In this way, according to Bengston and Iverson, "Natural resource planners, managers, and policy makers need to grasp and incorporate the full range of environmental values and learn to manage for multiple values rather than multiple uses."

8. A reconstructed conservation will promote community-based conservation strategies. One of the strongest points of consensus in the symposium is that the centralized, command-and-control conservation

approach is in many cases giving way to more grassroots and community-based conservation models. As Diamant, Eugster, and Mitchell write, "The emergence of community-based conservation has shifted the center of gravity from top-down management strategies toward more decentralized, localized, place-based approaches." An important consequence of this shift, one that Stokowski notes in her essay, is that it affords a more expanded conservation vision: "The emphasis on community-based conservation focuses attention on people as well as on nature, assumes that natural landscapes will not be privileged over historical and cultural settings, and draws its power from collaboration by local leaders and citizens."

This community-based conservationism is a theme picked up by many of our authors. Thompson, for example, notes that agrarian thought "holds great promise for the reconstruction of conservation and an empowering environmental philosophy emphasizing community-based practice." Minter's discussion of Mumford's approach to regional planning uncovers the latter's emphasis on the protection of human-scaled community values and institutions in the face of powerful metropolitan forces in the 1920s and 1930s. In her essay, environmental historian and Leopold biographer Susan Flader suggests that he would have approved of the new grassroots approaches: "As an inveterate organizer of local farmer-sportsmen groups and other grassroots efforts at land restoration, [Leopold] would be heartened by the myriad watershed partnerships, community farms and forests, land trusts, urban wilderness projects, and other community-based efforts that have been thriving in recent years." Leopold struggled professionally and personally with the tension between "scientist" and citi-

zen, and placed increasing emphasis and importance on the latter role as he matured. In a related manner, Freyfogle instructs conservationists to adopt a robust understanding and defense of community in the face of rampant moral individualism and the potential socially and ecologically corrosive effects of the market economy.

The international arena offers some of the most striking examples of successes and failures of conservation as it relates to community involvement. Vivanco writes that "as an applied concept, culture has become a key element in international development schemes, based on the recognition that local technologies and social institutions are often uniquely adaptive, and that programs succeed by building upon, not sweeping aside, local situations, needs, and traditions." Similarly, Mitchell and Brown caution us against "paper parks," and suggest that "managers of protected areas are turning instead to inclusive models, in which the interests of local communities are considered, resident populations are not displaced, and there is a high degree of local participation in planning and management of the protected area."

Like most dualisms in conservation and in public policy more generally, there is a productive middle ground to be found between local control and the legitimate interests of scientific experts, the regional and national context, and the financial aid and resources of centralized government. Conservation at any level should be informed by science, guided by larger-scale concerns about ecological health and integrity, and facilitated by government. As Stokowski observes, however, "newer participatory approaches reorient the work of conservation to local community settings and practices in which public resource protection and private development interests

intersect.” And on the front lines of conservation practice, Diamant, Eugster, and Mitchell like what they see: “Local initiative ... in partnership with government, has taken the form of land trusts, small watershed associations, greenway and trail groups, friends of parks, ‘Main Street’ organizations and heritage area coalitions.” Likewise, speaking as conservation practitioners, Mitchell and Brown conclude that “public agencies still have a role; it is just different, concerned more with guiding than with dictating, and it is especially concerned with carefully constructing institutional frameworks that grant genuine authority to appropriate community groups while ensuring that conservation efforts succeed in their primary objectives.”

9. A reconstructed conservation will rely on an engaged citizenry.

Directly linked with this turn to community-level conservation is the growing recognition of the relationship between conservation and citizen participation in conservation initiatives. Flader and Meine both find great inspiration for fostering individual initiative in conservation efforts in the thought and work of Leopold, who on both professional and personal fronts promoted various levels of citizen involvement in conservation. Minter’s account of Mumford’s civic model of regional planning suggests additional foundations of citizen participation in the earlier conservation tradition. Writing from their experience with the contemporary management scene, Mitchell and Brown, as well as Diamant, Eugster, and Mitchell, also observe how the central role of citizens in environmental stewardship builds much-needed social capital and bolsters civil society, suggesting that conservation and citizenship are in many respects mutually reinforcing. Contemporary communi-

ty-based conservation offers unlimited opportunities for all environmentally concerned citizens to become engaged: membership-based organizations, volunteer projects, informal consumerism, and the like.

10. A reconstructed conservation will engage questions of social justice.

It is clear that conservation in the 21st century will need to be more attentive to fundamental concerns of justice in environmental protective efforts. From the practitioner’s perspective, Diamant, Eugster, and Mitchell note that such questions of social equity are indeed becoming more critical in discussions within the conservation professions. McCullough observes how the growing emphasis on community in conservation activities effectively opens the door for considerations of social issues related to community welfare, including housing, transportation, education, and social services. It is clear that issues of social justice are increasingly recognized as critical elements of the new landscape of conservation planning and goal setting. Vivanco’s account of the struggles surrounding conservation efforts in Latin America illustrates just how central issues of justice are in these negotiations: “For many peoples of the South, nature conservation exists at a crossroads. Will it represent domination by a new set of elites, in this case scientifically-trained natural resource administrators united with government or nongovernmental interests external to rural communities, or will conservation activists find ways to unite their struggles for nature with local struggles for equity, justice, and autonomy at the community level?” Mitchell and Brown provide one indirect response to this question in their essay, observing that the prospects for greater equity and accountability in international protected area management seem to be

improving in many cases. As they write, a new paradigm for the world's protected areas is emerging, one "based on inclusive approaches, partnerships, and linkages, in which protected areas are no longer planned against local people, but instead are planned with them." Meine's impassioned call for a revived Progressivism in conservation—one built around a "radical center" that appeals to all peoples and interests—offers the hope that conservationists can construct a more tolerant and inclusive community focused on shared goals rather than partisan values and preferences.

11. A reconstructed conservation will be politically inclusive and partnership-driven. In step with Meine's arguments, many symposium papers describe and defend a "big tent" approach to conservation, one characterized by multisector approaches, public-private partnerships, and new and creative relationships among organizations and institutions. Flader notes that Leopold anticipated (as he did many things) this collaborative model in the first half of the 20th century. One of the driving forces behind these shifts toward partnerships appears to be an increased concern with producing measurable, tangible results on the landscape. "It is more important to be successful in conservation than it is to be in charge," write Diamant, Eugster, and Mitchell, suggesting that meaningful collaboration focused on real outcomes is part of strong conservation leadership. As Mitchell and Brown point out, however (and as stated earlier), this shift toward cooperative models does not retreat from nor does it preclude the role of government in the conservation enterprise. There will always be conservation matters of scale or institutional complexity that require strong government leadership. The ecosystem-oriented and large-scale dimen-

sions of many emerging conservation activities work to stimulate organized cooperation among different parties, including government, as Bengston and Iverson, Mitchell and Brown, and Trombulak discuss in their papers. Furthermore, McCullough's essay demonstrates how the conceptual revelations about the cultural dimensions of conservation also play a part in this redrawing (and erasing) of divisions between the academic and professional fields involved in conservation efforts, and supporting his proposal to build "new green bridges of a collaborative nature" between the nature conservation and historic preservation communities.

12. A reconstructed conservation will embrace its democratic traditions. Diamant, Eugster, and Mitchell write that "we will need a conservation community that is ethical, democratic and humanistic in the broadest sense...." We believe that one of the most significant conclusions to be drawn from symposium essays is that a reconstructed conservation needs to embody the democratic values and commitments found in the best parts of its intellectual inheritance. On this score, Flader and Minter suggest that Leopold and Mumford provide useful models for fashioning a democratic approach to conservation from the intellectual resources of the tradition. But this project is not as easy as it might seem. As political theorist Bob Pepperman Taylor points out, "A reconstructed oppositional conservationism, if such is to be found, must embrace the imperfections, even the modesty, of democratic political life." This democratic humility does not seem to have been demonstrated by Scott Nearing's conservationism, the subject of Taylor's essay. In fact, Taylor's conclusions about Nearing's stern moralizing and his failure to engage citizens in a broader, critical

form of conservationism stands as a lesson to those conservationists tempted by either a moral purism or an overzealous scientism in their work. In a related vein, Dizard's postmortem of the controversy surrounding the Chicago Wilderness Habitat Project suggests how the dogmatism of restorationists undercut their political objectives. "If the goal of environmentalists is to create as large a constituency as possible committed to environmental stewardship," Dizard writes, "the Chicago experience should be read more as a cautionary tale than as a model. The plain truth is that people resented being told that the nature they appreciated was bad and that they were ignorant and misguided. The Chicago restorationists came to sound suspiciously like evangelists who knew the one true path and who insisted that anyone rejecting that path was an enemy of the earth."

To avoid these unproductive situations, we might subscribe to Norton's model of environmental valuation and policy argument, which focuses not on a defense of specific environmental commitments but rather on "democratic procedures designed to achieve a reasonable balance among multiple, competing human values derived from, and attributed to, nature." This embrace of a democratic politics in environmental valuation and goal setting finds support in Stokowski's discussion of deliberative approaches in community planning and development, and also in Manning's paper, which concludes that "it may not be productive to advocate any particular environmental value or ethic as a universal principle to be applied across a spectrum of people, places, or environmental problems." Instead, Manning writes, "environmental problem-solving must be inclusive and democratic, not peremptory."

Conservation as Process

If our symposium is any indication, the conservation tradition is in very good hands during this deconstructivist moment of conceptual upheaval and skepticism in environmental thought. This does not mean, however, that our authors are at all complacent about the challenges presented by such criticisms. If the percussive force of the deconstructivist critique has not completely razed the foundations of conservation, it has certainly prompted many observers, including our writers, to reconsider the continuing appropriateness of the tradition for guiding our understandings of human-environment relationships and for shaping our practices on the landscape. But the message that emerges from these reconsiderations of conservation is, we believe, a hopeful one. For even if we agree that the deconstructivists have at times shown the environmentalist emperor to have no clothes (or at least to have a few holes in his socks), the emerging consensus of our symposium suggests that this by no means warrants a slippery, "anything goes" relativism toward the natural world; it certainly does not imply a self-defeating nihilism about our conservation goals and commitments. Rather, we believe our contributors have demonstrated that a properly reconstructed conservation, one that is *pluralistic* in its value dimensions, *community-oriented* in its goals and methods, *pragmatic* in its focus on conservation coalition-building and its acceptance of sociophysical change and human fallibility, and *inclusive* in its policy agenda and intellectual temperament, possesses the moral and political resources—and the conceptual robustness—to lead citizens and professionals onto healthier and more sustainable development paths in the coming decades.

In many respects, then, our sympo-

sium may be read as attempts to cope with the increasing democratization of conservation thought and practice. From their rejection of privileged meanings, histories, and values regarding nature to their acceptance of multiple ways of knowing and prizing the landscape, from their elevation of citizens vis-à-vis experts in the responsibilities of conservation stewardship to the celebration of local community and grassroots action in environmental protection, our authors have provided many of the moral and empirical commitments of a more seriously democratic conservationism, one that draws its justification from the many converging arguments of a wide range of environmental fields, scholarly and

professional. In this, they are advancing not only the main tenets of a new view of conservation, but also some of the substantive content of a new generation's democratic values and commitments. It is our hope that this larger message—the faith in the capacity of citizens to respond intelligently and effectively to the evolving conservation challenge, and the accompanying judgment that this civic action is a critical part of a responsible conservationism in the 21st century—will continue to resonate from our symposium. In this sense, a reconstructed conservation in this new era will be as much process—open, inclusive, democratic, adaptive—as philosophy, policy, or product.

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