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"We Want Our Children to Grow Up to See These Animals:" Values and Protected Areas Governance in Canada, Ghana and Tanzania

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Abstract Environmental governance research has paid insufficient attention to scholarship on values even though environmental values is a well-studied field. This paper begins to unpack the relationship between values and governance with a particular focus on protected areas governance and in light of ideas such as the distinction between held values and assigned values. We report on research from four case studies in Canada, Ghana and Tanzania, each of which investigated the values, interests and objectives of people in a rural community and ways in which these are reflected, or not, in governance arrangements for an adjacent protected area. Despite very diverse contexts, two held values that were encountered in each of the four case studies could be described as responsibility toward future generations and respect for and appreciation of nature. The existence of what may be universal values does not negate the importance of culture and place: similar held values are translated, through the particular circumstances of different individuals, communities and cultures, into a diversity of assigned values, interests and positions. The attention that governance processes have given to local people's fundamental held values in three of the cases, and the ignoring of such values in the fourth, have had important implications for the relationship between community members and the adjacent protected area. We argue that systems for governance would do well to explicitly engage with values by supporting local articulation of values and by facilitating dialogue and deliberation amongst diverse stakeholders around their values.

Keywords Canada · Environmental governance · Ghana · Protected areas · Tanzania · Values

> "We realized that these animals were getting finished…. We decided to do this because we want our children to grow up to see these animals."
> - An executive officer of Kunlog Community Resource Management Area

Introduction

Values—enduring conceptions of what human beings see as preferable and which influence choice and action (Brown 1984)—are at the core of governance. Researchers who have examined ways of evaluating environmental governance have typically built evaluation frameworks around value-laden criteria such as equity, accountability, legitimacy, voice, inclusiveness, transparency, and fairness (Adger *et al.* 2003; Graham *et al.* 2003; Lockwood 2010). Nevertheless, while environmental values is a well-studied field (e.g., Brown 1984; Brechin 1999; Lockwood 1999), environmental governance research has paid insufficient attention to scholarship on values and much remains to be done to unpack the relationship between governance and values. For instance, one of the central challenges for protected area governance is how to articulate diverse values of various stakeholders, and how to then deal with the potential for conflict stemming from this diversity. Key questions also remain about the contextual specificity of environmental

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values and whether there are universal values, with important implications for environmental governance.

Three sets of insights from the literatures on values and governance are particularly instructive here. The first concerns the distinction between *held values* and *assigned values* (Brown 1984; Lockwood 1999). Whereas held values are principles and ideas that are important to people, including modes of behaviour (e.g., bravery, compassion), end states (e.g., liberty, happiness), and desirable qualities (e.g., justice, beauty), and are subjective and pertain to the conceptual realm (Brown 1984), assigned values pertain to "objects" that are valued—species, places, landscapes, activities, institutions, and so on (Brown 1984; Lockwood 1999).

The second set of insights relates to the important question of whether there are universal environmental values. Miller's (2006) analysis of international case studies suggests that people from diverse cultural settings value the environment but for different reasons. On the other hand, some authors (e.g., Schwartz 1994; Nussbaum 1999) argue that there are universal human values, and others have shown that environmental values, including belief in the intrinsic value of nature, are widespread and exist across cultures (Brechin and Kempton 1994; Schultz 1999; Winter and Lockwood 2004). These values can be powerful motivating forces (Uphoff and Langholz 1998). More common ground exists between local and external values and priorities than is commonly assumed, and represents a resource that conservation agencies do not take enough advantage of (Vermeulen 2007). Where anti-conservation sentiment exists, it tends to result from neglect of local priorities and abuses by conservation agencies, rather than from a genuine value orientation against nature (Hackel 1990; Sharpe 1998).

The third set of insights relates to value formation, which can be understood in relation to the distinction between held values and assigned values. The general view is that held values form the basis for assigned values, which influence behaviour (Brown 1984; Lockwood 1999). *Respect for tradition* can be understood as a held value which may influence the value that people *assign* to some specific tradition. Lockwood (1999) suggests a model of value formation and behaviour in which the general flow of causality is from social context to held values, which together form an overall value orientation, to cognitions (understandings) and assigned values, to intentions, and finally to behaviour. It is also important to recognize that people may hold values that are unformed and difficult to express (Fischhoff 1991; Gregory *et al.* 1993; Schkade and Payne 1994). Values, as conceptions of what is preferable, inform objectives, even when those values have not been articulated. Lockwood's model implies then that the most fundamental held values must be combined with each other, some being given more weight than others in an overall value orientation that then needs interpretation and expression as objectives and action in order for the values to be realized and translated from the mental realm into practical reality.

This understanding of values has implications for governance. Much of the literature on environmental governance over the past decade and a half makes a clear and deliberate distinction between *government* and *governance*: whereas *governments* are organizations, *governance* is a set of social functions that can be performed by governments but also by a variety of organizations, networks, institutions, and decision-making processes working individually or in combination (Young 1996). One of these social functions relates to setting direction (Graham *et al.* 2003), with some authors using terms such as "steering" and "guiding" societies and organizations (Williams 2001; Young *et al.* 2008). Another function relates to social coordination (Olsson 2007), including allocation of costs and benefits (Biermann 2008), resolving trade-offs (Waltner-Toews and Kay 2005), and managing complex interdependencies among actors (Young 1996), and is derived from the need for what Lockwood (2005) refers to as "value integration:" values and interests differ and there is a need to make decisions in light of these differences, and to make tradeoffs among them. In a social context characterized by diverse values, neither of these functions is straightforward. We argue that Lockwood's (1999) model, in unpacking the concept of values, provides some insights for conceptualizing and ultimately for designing governance.

The model describes values at an individual level and how values influence the behaviour of the individual. Governance, however, is social, and has to do with the collective decisions that precede actions. In understanding how decisions are deliberated and negotiated, *interests* and *positions* can also be important. Whereas *positions* are specific proposals advanced by stakeholders and *interests* are the expression of needs, desires, concerns and fears (Fisher and Ury 1991; Elias *et al.* 2004), values can be understood as conceptions of *why* stakeholders have these interests, as well as justifications for them. Typically, values will be more stable than interests and positions, although stakeholders can sometimes become wedded to particular positions (McKenzie 1998). For this reason, it has been argued that negotiation processes are often aided by uncovering the motivations behind various stakeholders' positions (Fisher and Ury 1991). When the stakeholders involved in negotiating a conflict or making a decision go one step further and engage with the deeply held values behind interests and positions this can lead stakeholders to change their perception of some particular policy or decision (Dietz and Stern 1988; McKenzie 1998; Jones 2005). For understanding the relationship between values and governance, therefore, we propose adding *interests*, *positions* and *collective decision-making processes* to Lockwood's model. Our model depicts the relationship of the individual actor, in terms of his or her values, interests and positions, to collective decision-making processes (Fig.1). As with Lockwood's (1999) model, causal relationships are assumed to be strongest between elements

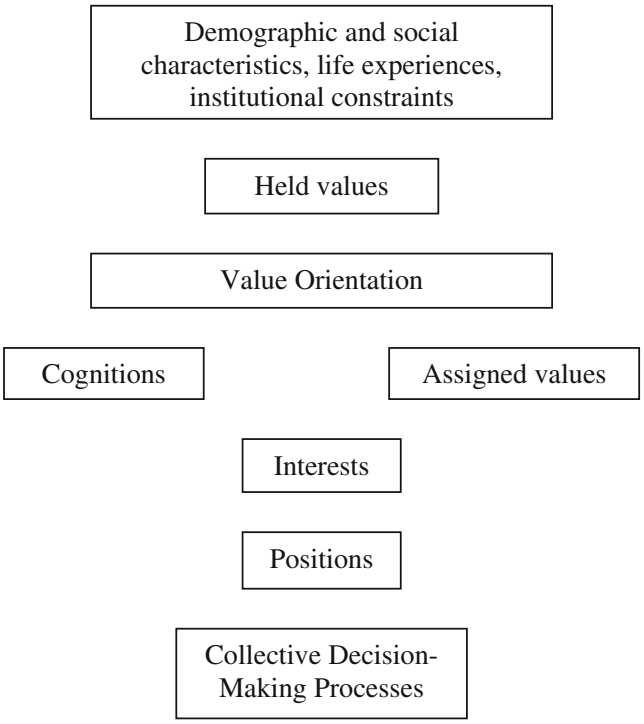

Fig. 1 Individual values, interests and positions in relation to collective decision-making process**es.** Adapted from Lockwood (1999)

closest to each other, and the general flow of causality is downward, although causal relationships may exist between more distant elements of the model and in the other direction.

Our aim in this paper is to examine the relationship between values and governance in light of these ideas and with a particular focus on protected areas governance. We describe four case studies, three of which were conducted as a part of the Protected Areas and Poverty Reduction (PAPR) project[1]: Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Parks in Canada, Kunlog Community Resource Management Area in Ghana, and the village of Rwamchanga in Tanzania. The fourth case study, the community of Lutsel K'e in the Northwest Territories of Canada, is included because of the choice by an indigenous Canadian community to actively negotiate for the creation of a national park in their traditional territory as an appropriate means for pursuing some of their values. All four case studies investigated the relationship between a rural community and one or more existing or proposed protected areas adjacent to the community, including people's values, interests and objectives and ways in which these are reflected, or not, in governance arrangements for the protected area(s). While data from only four case studies do not justify conclusive generalizations, our analysis adds credence to the idea that there may be some values that are universal across cultures. We conclude by arguing that when the structures and processes of governance assist stakeholders to articulate and deliberate on fundamental values and to identify commonalities while also respecting differences, governance functions of social coordination and setting collective direction are likely to be carried out more effectively.

The Case Studies

Kunlog Crema[2]

The Kunlog case study pertains to the village of Jilinkon in Sawla-Tuna-Kalba District in Ghana's Northern Region, and the community protected area that it has created, Kunlog Community Resource Management Area (CREMA). The CREMA was formed during 2007 and 2008. The field research was conducted over a period of three months from February to April 2010. It focused on the community of Jilinkon but also included interviews and meetings in other communities. Fifty-two (52) semi-structured interviews were conducted at local to national levels, and included 25 interviews with community members from Jilinkon and other communities, executives of Kunlog CREMA and other CREMAs, traditional leaders, and hunters as well as 27 interviews with personnel from formal-sector agencies including governmental and non-governmental organizations at the district, park and national levels, and representatives of donor agencies and academic institutions. Research methods also included focus groups, meetings, and workshops at the local level.

In 2000, the government of Ghana instituted its Collaborative Community Based Wildlife Management policy which outlined the Community Resource Management Area (CREMA) framework within which communities, individually or in groups, could organize and seek to be granted the right to manage wildlife resources within a specified local area. Interviews with executives from CREMAs and with the staff of NGOs working with CREMAs indicate that the primary focus and driving motivation for many stakeholders involved in CREMAs is the creation and expansion of livelihood opportunities. Conservation activities serve livelihood objectives, and the NGOs place much emphasis on ensuring that the livelihood function of the CREMA is viable. However we found a different mix of motivations acted as the primary driving force for creating Kunlog CREMA.

As with many of the communities in this part of Ghana, the people of Jilinkon taboo a particular animal—in this case, the bushbuck (*Tragelaphus scriptus*)—and place a very high cultural value on it. According to local custom, it may not be hunted or eaten within Jilinkon's territory either by residents or visitors. Over the years, however, bushbuck have become more scarce, perhaps because of hunting by outsiders, loss of habitat, or some combination

[1] www.papr.co.ca

[2] This case study and the methodology used are described in greater detail in Robinson and Sasu (in press).

of these and other factors. In the past, bushbuck used to be seen walking freely through the village—"just like sheep and goats" as a number of respondents told us—and the people of Jilinkon wanted to return to that situation. The CREMA framework provided them with the vehicle to do so.

Among other reasons cited for establishing and supporting the CREMA, livelihood benefits were mentioned but were not the most prominent. In response to open-ended questions, eleven different respondents cited the following reasons:

- So that children and grandchildren will be able to experience wildlife (8 respondents)
- Possibilities for tourism (4 respondents)
- Reinforcing the traditional taboo on bushbuck (3 respondents. In addition, respondents in one focus group, and numerous people in informal conversations emphasized this reason.)
- In order to continue to have opportunities to see wildlife (2 respondents)[3]
- To have future possibilities for accessing bushmeat (2 respondents)
- To protect the sacred grove (1 respondent)

While four respondents mentioned the possibility of attracting tourists if the numbers of bushbuck and other wildlife in the area increase, none of them identified tourism as the primary objective of the CREMA, which was rather to protect bushbuck and other wildlife for future generations. This same general pattern was reflected in informal conversations, focus groups and workshops. The reason given by one elderly resident for supporting the CREMA was typical of both CREMA executives and community members who are not part of CREMA management at all: "It is a good idea —the animals are going to increase in number and one day our children are going to get up and be able to see them."

Important assigned values have driven the development of the CREMA. Respondents repeatedly indicated that the bushbuck is valued in and of itself, and the taboo is also valued as an institution. Similarly the sacred grove is valued both as a piece of land and for the institution that the land represents. Behind these assigned values, however, are more fundamental held values of responsibility towards future generations and appreciation of nature. The creation of Kunlog CREMA appears to have been genuinely community-driven and based on traditional institutions and values held within the community (Robinson and Sasu 2012). An important element of this initiative is that the traditional institutions of the taboo on bushbuck and the sacred grove are explicitly referred to in both the CREMA constitution and bylaws. The core zone of CREMA territory, identified for the most stringent protection, encompasses the sacred grove. The chief of Jilinkon frequently described the formation of the CREMA in terms of the taboo: "We grew up here with a taboo on the bushbuck. We decided to go to the Mole [National Park] people to inform them.… 'Since they already have this taboo, why don't we just bring it [the CREMA concept] here so it would be active.'" It is reasonable to assume that the affinity to people's values and the incorporation of traditional institutions into the formal dimensions of governance for the CREMA have contributed to the strong support that the CREMA has among Jilinkon residents.

[3] Respondents were referring to their own rather than their children's opportunities to see wildlife.

Lutsel K'e and Thaidene Nene[4]

Lutsel K'e is an indigenous community (pop. 400) located on the East Arm of Great Slave Lake in the Northwest Territories (NWT) of Canada. In 1969, a national park was proposed in the traditional territory of the Lutsel K'e Dene First Nation[5] (LKDFN) (Griffith 1987; Ellis and Enzoe 2008). At that time, Chief Pierre Catholique, at the behest of his people, actively opposed the creation of the national park. Yet, in 1970, a land withdrawal of approximately 7,400 km^2 was put into place, creating an area where no resource exploration or extractive development could take place while discussions occurred. This land withdrawal remained in place until 2001, when the LKDFN contacted Parks Canada to re-open discussions around the creation of a national park or other form of protected area. In the subsequent years, an area of approximately 33,000 km^2 was identified by the LKDFN and Parks Canada and a new land withdrawal was created while negotiations occured. The LKDFN also put forward the name "Thaidene Nene" for the area, which in the local dialect of Chipeweya means "the land of our ancestors." In 2008, one of this paper's authors collaborated with the LKDFN on a project that explored the role of the national park or protected area proposal in the community's development, broadly defined. A series of 44 in-depth semi-structured qualitative interviews were conducted with indigenous community members (26), non-LKDFN community members (10), and external participants (8).

An extensive exploration of the benefits that the community perceives are possible or desired from the creation of a national park is available elsewhere (Bennett *et al.* 2010). Here we report on some of the values behind these perceptions and desires and how these have influenced ideas

[4] This case study and the methodology used are described in greater detail in Bennett *et al.* (2010).

[5] *First Nations* is a term referring to the various indigenous peoples of Canada, although usually excluding Métis and Inuit.

around potential governance structures for the proposed protected area. Embedded in the objectives which our Lutsel K'e respondents have been pursuing and the benefits which they desire from the park are a set of interests, cognitions, and values around the conservation of nature. The values include held values such as maintaining a respectful relationship with the natural world and respecting both past and future generations. Protection of the environment is, in the case of Lutsel K'e, an extension of these values.

The LKDFN state that "As the keepers of Thaidene Nene, the Lutsel K'e Denesoline have the responsibility to act as stewards of the land." Our respondents explained that this responsibility is seen as stemming from a deeply held appreciation of all that nature provides, as the following story illustrates:

> We were fishing and the sun was going down over the East Arm of Great Slave Lake. At one point, David [an elder from the community] stopped and looked at me and said, "What do you see when you look out there?" "It is incredibly beautiful," I responded. "That is what I worry about," he said, "that when the government officials and negotiators come here, that is all that they see. For me, it is so much more: it is the land that I was born into, it is my womb, it is my mother." (Field notes, June 14, 2008)

Respondents explained that for the LKDFN, the natural world is the source of social, cultural, spiritual, and physical sustenance. The continuation of land-based cultural activities such as hunting and subsistence harvesting are not only a practical imperative—for example, local subsistence harvest provides 68 % of households in Lutsel K'e with all or most of their meat and fish (Northwest Territories Bureau of Statistics 2004)—but also a valued part of cultural and social aspects of daily life:

> It is not just a matter of us going out hunting in that area but it is a matter of an essence of who we are. If we are going to go out hunting it is all in the preparation of doing so, it is all in the way that we pray and the way that we give thanks to the animals and the way we cut it up to bring it back to our families and the way that we share it in the community and that is what it is for us to be hunting. (Felix Lockhart, former chief)

The caribou, in particular, has been and continues to be central to what it means to be Dene. Prior to settlement, the LKDFN's nomadic lifestyle was defined by the movement of vast caribou herds (Ellis 2003). The spiritual connection of the LKDFN to the land is also an underlying value that influences how people conceive of their interests and objectives around the proposed protected area. For example, a large waterfall at the end of the East Arm called *Tsekue Theda* ("Old Lady of the Falls") is an important part of both pre-colonization spirituality and post-colonization reconnection. As suggested by Chief Stephen Nitah, "The importance of the Old Lady of the Falls and the spiritual re-connection is part of the recognition to protect that area as well."

Additionally, conservation is seen as a way of paying homage to the elders—for example, through calling the protected area Thaidene Nene—while also safeguarding a way of life and the environment as a bequest for future generations. As Gloria Enzoe, Thaidene Nene program manager for the LKDFN, stated, "The community sees it as protecting land and for future generations to come. That's what I've always heard in meetings especially from the elders. We need to protect the land for our children and our generations to come. So they can have a good life, so they can live good." Felix Lockhart echoes this sentiment when he says "some of our people are turning towards suicide, towards alcohol and drug abuse. There is no need for that. We can always do what our ancestors did, even today, even if it is a little different from how we did it we can always follow that way of life in a meaningful way, even today, into the twenty-first century." This held value is also demonstrated by the slideshows, often showing both community elders as well as children of the presenter, shown before presentations by members of the LKDFN on Thaidene Nene (e.g., Ellis and Enzoe 2008).

In this case the decision to proceed with negotiations towards the creation of a national park, rather than some other form of protected area, is a product of the interaction of these underlying held values with historical experience, people's understanding of (*cognitions* about) the current social and economic context of the community, and the constraints of national and territorial governance processes and structures. This interaction of values with context also forms the basis of assigned values towards the park and perceptions of benefit or consequence. Yet, how well either held or assigned values are (or even can be) recognized in Parks Canada legislation and policies is still a matter of some concern for the LKDFN as they proceed with negotiations. Additionally, how well these values will be reflected in governance structures and processes related to the national park is still to be determined. For these reasons, the LKDFN are still not fully committed to the idea of a national park but may push for another form of protected area. The outcome will depend, as Felix Lockhart suggested, on the meaningful participation and consideration of local people's values and the "opportunity for us to be able to put forward our concerns in a more meaningful way, [and a space where] we can talk about what is good for ourselves." Governance processes are aligning with this ideal as negotiations related to the creation of the Thaidene Nene protected area are currently proceeding based on a collective vision put forward by the LKDFN that was developed through a capacity building program and

funding arrangement with Parks Canada and other non-governmental organizations.

Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Parks[6]

The Tla-o-qui-aht are a group of indigenous communities on Canada's west coast that are part of a larger grouping called the Nuu-cha-nulth. The website for the Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Parks describes the parks as "watersheds in Tla-o-qui-aht traditional territory, managed to integrate human and ecosystem well-being, as taught by our ancestors and adapted to today's situation." The parks each encompass portions of the traditional territories of the Tla-o-qui-aht. Here we focus on Haa'uukmun, which was the second Tribal Park declared within Tla-o-qui-aht traditional territory, having been preceded 20 years earlier by the Meares Island Tribal Park. Haa-uukmun ("like an abundant feast bowl") includes the area the Tla-o-qui-aht regard as their place of origin. While wholly within the traditional territories of the Tla-o-qui-aht, Haa-uukmun is overlain with a patchwork of different tenures, including government owned land, Provincial parks, forest tenures, private lands, and small portions of Pacific Rim National Park Reserve. Since the 1930s the area has been heavily impacted by logging and, more recently, tourism. Our research was part of a larger partnership within the PAPR project and included three long interviews with people working on the Tribal Parks initiative as well as many informal interactions over the course of three years. It also included content analysis of Tribal Parks documents, in particular the land use plan for Haa-uukmun Tribal Park, which is one of the key documents for the park and which was completed in 2008.

Some of the values and goals behind the Tribal Parks initiative relate to responsibilities toward past and future generations. The orientation both to ancestors and to future generations, one respondent explained, creates a responsibility towards ecosystems as an inheritance that must be managed sustainably. In addition, a principal strategy used by those involved with Tribal Parks has been to make explicit use of concepts, teachings and values from the Tla-o-qui-aht culture and language in governance tools and processes, such as the Haa-uukmun land use plan and other management documents. Of these concepts, *hishuk-ish-tsa'walk* was most often cited by our respondents and is most prominent in Tribal Parks documents. It can be translated as "everything is one and everything is connected" and is used frequently by the Tla-o-qui-aht to describe their understanding of sustainability and the interconnectedness of human and non-human elements. It is mobilized to describe the vision of humans as part of ecosystems, and human social and economic activities occurring hand in hand with ecological processes. For example, the land use plan states:

> Traditionally, no distinction was made between human well-being and ecosystem well-being, so that human and community life and livelihoods were integrated into the local ecosystems. This way of being required careful stewardship of all naturally occurring ecosystem units, rather than separated areas for "wilderness" and human use and occupation. (2008:10)

The concept is also used to bridge traditional ways of understanding and Western knowledge. *Ecosystem integrity*, for example, can be understood as being based on *hishuk-ish-tsa'walk* (Interview #1). In addition, it guides objectives around helping people to reconnect with nature that were emphasized by our respondents and feature in the land use plan: "The purpose and outcome of development activity must include reconnecting humans to nature in the watershed ecosystem, such that it fosters improved human health, regard for the natural environment, and understanding that humans are part of nature" (2008:27). In terms of the model presented in Fig. 1, *hishuk-ish-tsa'walk* is at the same time both a cognition (an understanding of the way things are) and a held value (a principle or idea that is fundamentally important to people).

This understanding of interconnectedness shapes another key value, involving respect for nature and its beauty, that has informed the creation and ongoing governance and management of the Tribal Parks. In the Tla-o-qui-aht worldview, the person appreciating the beauty of nature is appreciating something that he or she is within and connected to. A respondent elaborated on *hishuk-ish-tsa'walk* and how one of the objectives for Tribal Parks is to help people, including Tla-o-qui-aht who have migrated away from the traditional territory, to reconnect to nature and the land:

> Well, I guess when I say "our people", [it is] regardless of borders, regardless of where they reside. A lot of our people live away from home. The majority of my family live in Port Alberni. They don't get a chance to see the beauty of our territories and enjoy the resources…. I don't know how to describe it. Words can't even describe the beauty of our territory…. And being out on the land, our people, our elders, teach us this, is healing in itself. It helps you figure out things without even talking to anybody. Just to be out there and it's really empowering. Strengthening.
> (Interview #2)

That such held values are central to the motivations driving the Tribal Parks initiative is not to say that the people involved with the Tribal Parks initiative do not also *assign* values to certain tangible and intangible "objects"—the land and its beauty, the emotional experience of being in

[6] This case study is described in greater detail in Murray and King (in press.).

nature, and the livelihood resources that nature provides are all *valued*. But those assigned values are founded on and shaped by particular held values and an overall value orientation. The people's held and assigned values together with what they know, believe and understand—their cognitions—lead to particular understandings of what is and is not in their interest and also shape both the vision for Tribal Parks and specific governance mechanisms. The land use plan, for example, states that, "Tla-o-qui-aht Hawiih [*hereditary chiefs*] wish to re-establish comprehensive management of the Haahuulthii [*all that exists within the traditional territory*], as the most effective way to restore the ancestors' teachings and legacy, take care of the present generation, and preserve the inheritance for the grandchildren and their grandchildren" (2008:9). It also states that Tla-o-qui-aht generations living today "are a link between our ancestors and future generations" (ibid:5). Ultimately, these values and the incorporation of values into governance mechanisms influence collective decisions. For instance, a jet-ski tourism enterprise was proposed for the area was eventually rejected as not consistent with the values and vision for the Tribal Parks, even though it could have made an important contribution to livelihoods.

Rwamchanga[7]

Rwamchanga is a village located in Serengeti District, Tanzania, close to Serengeti National Park and adjacent to Ikorongo Game Reserve. Accurate population figures are difficult to come by but as of 1999 the population exceeded 1800 (Emerton and Mfunda 1999). Field research was conducted over two periods in June and July of 2010 and August of 2011. It included 12 in-depth interviews with a representative sample of residents of Rwamchanga chosen according to sub-village and level of wealth/poverty, and interviews and meetings with village leaders, village game scouts and other groups within the village, and two workshops attended by people representing men, women, youth and opinion leaders from all four sub-villages. Interviews were also conducted with personnel from government and non-governmental conservation organizations.

Ikorongo Game Reserve was gazetted in 1994 creating a buffer zone between Serengeti National Park and villages such as Rwamchanga in the north-eastern part of Serengeti District. Rwamchanga is one of a number of villages that lost land when the Game Reserve was created. In 2002, Grumeti Reserves Ltd. obtained the rights to the hunting block that pertains to Ikorongo Game Reserve and since then the Reserve has, in effect, been managed as a joint venture between Tanzania's Wildlife Division and Grumeti Reserves Ltd. Relations between residents of Rwamchanga and the Game Reserve are poor to say the least. Our interactions with officials of government conservation agencies suggested that they tend to see residents of Rwamchanga and other villages in the area as having little concern for the environment and as being in need of "awareness raising" programs. The list of complaints that residents have against the Reserve is long and serious. Since 2002, enforcement of rules against poaching and other forms of resource extraction has become stricter, apparently resulting, according to NGO and government agency personnel, in a significant increase in wildlife numbers. Residents complain that predators such as hyenas regularly kill livestock, and that every year almost every farmer loses a significant portion of their crops to elephants from the Game Reserve. One hundred percent of respondents interviewed about their livelihoods said that they regularly lose crops and/or livestock to wildlife. Villagers claim that Game Reserve personnel put a very low priority on dealing with "the elephant problem," although they are swift to respond if wildebeest or buffalos cross from the Game Reserve onto people's farms. The reason, according to many respondents, is that Game Reserve personnel know that villagers will kill and eat buffalo and wildebeest that come onto their farms but that elephants face no such danger:

> It seems that they protect wildebeest because they know people will hunt them and they bring foreign currency. They have the ability to restrict elephants, too. A helicopter passes around the village threatening wildebeest to go back. But why not elephants? They, too, are frightened of the helicopter. They see their job as protecting wildlife from people, but they have no interest in protecting people from wildlife.
> (Comment made in community workshop)

With the creation of the Game Reserve, access to resources that residents formerly exploited was curtailed. Entering the Reserve, whether it is to take livestock to the riverside in the dry season, to harvest thatch for roofing or cut poles for construction, or to visit ancestors' graves, brings the risk of being fined, arrested, or beaten. And whereas prior to creation of the Game Reserve, hunting by local residents had been allowed on a controlled basis it is now illegal. While enforcement of the Game Reserve boundaries seems to have been relatively effective, there is nevertheless a perverse incentive created for people to poach. The logic expressed by many respondents is that, with agricultural livelihoods being threatened and in some years devastated because of the protected area, and with few opportunities for paid employment, some see little choice except to take the risk and hunt in the Game Reserve. Although many respondents said that they feel the risk is just too great and that only certain people within the community who poach, the feeling of being treated unjustly by Game Reserve personnel is

[7] This case study is described in greater detail in Robinson (2012).

almost universal. Nine of the ten respondents who were directly asked expressed negative opinions about the Game Reserve, a sentiment that was confirmed in informal interactions and in meetings and workshops. In describing the actions of conservation authorities and relations with those authorities, many respondents expressed values relating to respect and justice:

> It is biased because they value animals more than human beings. They protect animals and do not protect human beings. So people find it to be not fair. So animals are being allowed to go and destroy things in the communities and we are not allowed to benefit anything.
> (Interview #6)

Nevertheless, many respondents also expressed strong environmental values that would suggest they are not as heedless of environmental protection as some conservation professionals seem to believe. One important value we heard expressed relates to the responsibility that the present generation has toward future generations. They spoke of wanting their children and grandchildren to be able to experience nature. Several respondents spoke fondly of the time when Serengeti National Park used to take children from the village into the Park by bus to see the wildlife.

> If we didn't allow the game reserve to exist, even my children wouldn't have known animals like elephants or others. It is not only for national income, but also for heritage. It is not good for children just to hear stories that there were elephants, there were lions. But it is important that they should stay in their area and they should not only hear stories but should see them and see their environment intact. It is good for the future, it is good for the next generation. Not only for people who live today. Children should have been the first group of people in the community to enjoy and see the richness of our country so that they could become part and parcel of conservation.
> (Interview #14)

Another value that can be seen in such statements, and that is held by at least some residents, entails respect and appreciation of nature. For instance, some respondents, despite feeling that they have been treated unjustly by the protected areas, especially the Game Reserve, were nevertheless of two minds about conservation practices, stating that protection of the wildlife is very important and acknowledging that the Game Reserve is carrying out an important task although, they feel, in an unjust way. Several respondents argued that the land that was transferred to the Game Reserve in the 1990s should be returned to the village, pointing out examples from the past and present of how the community has managed resources effectively. On the other hand, three respondents expressed trepidation at the idea, emphasizing the importance of protecting wildlife and stating that the community might not be ready to police itself. Instead, these respondents spoke of wanting to improve relations with the protected areas and to be treated justly and equally as partners.

Values and Governance

Our research echoes other research (e.g., Callicott 1994; various contributions to Posey 1999; Berkes *et al.* 2000; Vermeulen 2007) that has made the perhaps obvious but nevertheless critically important observation that rural and indigenous peoples often have strong environmental values that are important to their worldview and not all of which are utilitarian or instrumental. We found aspects of such values that are unique to each case. On the other hand, these four case studies also add credence to the idea that some kinds of values are remarkably consistent across cultures. We cannot generalize solely on the basis of four cases studies, but this research raises the question of whether there may be some values that are essentially universal. The existence of universal values would imply that there are some common principles that could apply to community-based conservation programs around the world, such as the imperative to reflect and draw upon not only utilitarian and livelihood values but also on less tangible values. But this by no means suggests that any such principles can be applied without due consideration of the importance of culture and place, particularly if seen in light of the behavioural model presented in Fig. 1: these universal held values are translated, through the particular circumstances of different individuals, communities and cultures, into a diversity of assigned values, interests and positions. As noted above, not all values are easily articulated, and respondents in our four case studies had various ways of expressing similar or perhaps identical values. So, although the wording is ours and although this brief description cannot capture the nuances and richness of each of our cases, we suggest that two values encountered in all four could be expressed as *responsibility toward future generations* and *respect for and appreciation of nature*.

Although a number our respondents expressed the latter value in terms of the beauty of the landscape or of wildlife, to describe it simply in terms of attraction to the beauty of nature would seem to miss an important dimension in that this value is related to people's *connection* with nature. Whether this connection was a historical-cultural connection with a particular landscape, a connection based on personal experiences such as, for one respondent, seeing a leopard for the first time in his life while walking to his farm, or a connection based on livelihood and sustaining life, the

appreciation of nature is a principle and a way of thinking that is important to people in and of itself.

The held value informs values that people *assign* to "objects" such as particular species, landscapes, or sites. But at the same time, many of our respondents valued social constructions connected to the natural objects. Respondents in Jilinkon value both the bushbuck itself *and* the institution of the taboo and the tradition that it represents. Tla-o-qui-aht respondents value the land and its beauty, but they also value the culture that depends upon that land. For the Lutsel K'e Dene First Nation, caribou are valued as integral parts of their cultural identity, of traditional social activities such as hunting, and of social customs such as sharing. Interestingly, one type of social construction that does not seem to be strongly valued is the protected area as an organization: what is valued is the land, the wildlife, and nature in general. With the possible exception of the sacred grove in the case of Jilinkon, the protected areas in these cases are merely seen as tools for safeguarding values and pursuing interests pertaining to the land and nature.

The second value that we identified in all four cases was *responsibility toward future generations*, although here again this value is expressed through different contextual factors such as worldview. For example, in Jilinkon and Rwamchanga people spoke of wanting children and grandchildren to be able to grow up seeing wildlife. For the people of Lutsel K'e, concern was expressed about what it would mean for future generations to grow up without interacting with or relying on caribou. For respondents in both Canadian communities, a significant amount of attention was also paid to protecting nature as a whole, and nature and the land were explicitly understood as something that has sustained generations in the past and that will sustain generations into the future both through physical nourishment but also through cultural and spiritual connection. On the other hand, and surprisingly for us, a connection with past generations did not figure prominently in either of the African case studies. We found, though, that despite such differences, responsibility toward future generations is a value held in all four of the case study communities. In the Lutsel K'e, Tla-o-qui-aht, and Jilinkon communities, it was one of the primary motivations driving local conservation initiatives and support for a protected area. In the case of Rwamchanga it helps to maintain some support for protecting natural resources despite animosity toward conservation authorities.

In the Tla-o-qui-aht and Kunlog cases, furthermore, these two values allowed for common ground with other stakeholders such as government conservation agencies that facilitated the creation of a protected area. A similar dynamic may be taking place in the Lutsel K'e case. This begs the question of what happens when the values prominent in a community and values implicit within the government conservation agency do *not* align. Residents of communities such as Rwamchanga have few openings in the existing governance mechanisms for their values to be reflected. They see the governance system as imposed on them and not serving their interests and values, and thus feel they do not benefit by observing rules beyond the utilitarian calculation of how likely they are to be caught and what the punishment will be. And on the other side, the perception of the personnel of conservation agencies that these are problem communities is reinforced. In these cases, the governance system in carrying out its social coordination function has failed in its other function of finding common ground and setting a direction for collective action. This is unfortunate in that people in these communities, despite perceived injustices, may hold values that are similar or identical to those of conservation professionals.

This also implies that in some collective decision-making situations, parties can have positions and interests that are, or seem, diametrically opposed, even when many of their held values may be very similar. Often, perhaps typically, some types of fundamental held values are ignored in collective decision-making processes. Thus, while residents of communities such as Rwamchanga may hold some values that are remarkably similar to some of the values implicit in government conservation agencies and to those held by middle class Westerners, conservation organizations seldom seem to recognize this when they make decisions that affect these communities. The perception of residents of Rwamchanga that more powerful actors do not seem to recognize that they also care about the environment and would wish for their children and grandchildren to continue to experience the beauty of nature leaves an impression for these residents of not being treated as human beings. Despite complaining of harsh treatment, many residents of Rwamchanga emphasized wanting to have a friendly, constructive human relationship with managers and other personnel from the protected areas and alluded to values related to respect and justice. Yet, the spaces in which residents of these communities can discuss and deliberate on their fundamental held values with other decision-makers are extremely limited.

This research suggests, moreover, that if the NGOs promoting and supporting CREMAs in Ghana were to engage meaningfully with people's most fundamental held values this could perhaps lead to CREMAs that respond more comprehensively both to livelihood and to other kinds of values. The matter of why livelihood motivations were reportedly the main driver for other CREMAs in the country, rather than less tangible values, was beyond the scope of this study and merits further research. It may be that the kinds of values driving Kunlog CREMA were not as common among residents of those communities. On the other hand, it may be that NGO staff assume that only livelihood

values are relevant in poor rural communities or that donor agencies expect tangible, livelihood benefits for communities and that this shapes the way NGOs present the CREMA concept. Our findings do suggest, however, that engaging with the full range of people's most fundamental held values could help these NGOs facilitate the creation of CREMAs that are strongly anchored in local community life.

An important question that our research did not address is where these values come from. If some values are widespread or even universal, is it because they are somehow innate, because they are inevitable products of traditional ways of life that are closely tied to the land, or because they are deliberately created by internal or external agents? Many First Nations in Canada make conscious efforts to maintain and strengthen traditional values related to environmental stewardship, and our two African study communities have certainly been the recipients of pro-conservation messaging from NGOs and government agencies that aims ultimately to influence their views and behaviour. We suspect that the answer to the question is "both": there is some kernel of certain values such as *responsibility toward future generations* in all cultures but that the strength and specific expression of such values depends upon how and the extent to which they are nurtured and by whom.

Furthermore, as noted above, the behavioural model presented here is individualistic; however, values are also social constructions. What this model does not make clear, and what deserves further research, is the role that governance plays in social processes of value formation—research, in other words, that looks at values not only as inputs to governance but also as outcomes of governance. Given that people often hold some values that are unformed and difficult to express, processes of deliberation amongst diverse stakeholders should seek not only to bring values into discussions, but also to help stakeholders articulate values in a way that both allows for diversity and, where possible, facilitates expression of shared values. This view is consistent with the argument of Sagoff (1999) that valuation is a social process which, sometimes at least, is based on deliberation and democratic process. One strategy for engaging in deliberation around values can be conceived of as "tracing back" the chain of causation implied in Fig. 1, highlighting not only differences in various stakeholders' interests and negotiating positions but also exploring where those interests and positions come from, what values lie behind them, and identifying shared values. Engaging with values, especially fundamental held values, and promoting dialogue and deliberation about these values should open up greater possibilities for resolving and pre-empting conflict, and can be expected to contribute to the social coordination and direction setting functions of governance.

There are a variety of methodologies and frameworks that may be helpful, including, for example, appreciative inquiry (Watkins *et al.* 2001; Cooperrider and Whitney 2005), soft systems methodology (Checkland and Scholes 1990; Checkland and Haynes 1994) and the ecosystem approach to policy process (Robinson and Fuller 2010). An appreciation of the complexity of values also implies that policymaking and governance design need to do more than create new categories of organizations that can act as governing bodies (such as CREMAs), but also need to promote deliberative forums such as conferences, round tables, and multi-stakeholder policy dialogues that bring together stakeholders across sectors and levels of social organization to discuss, among other things, values.

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