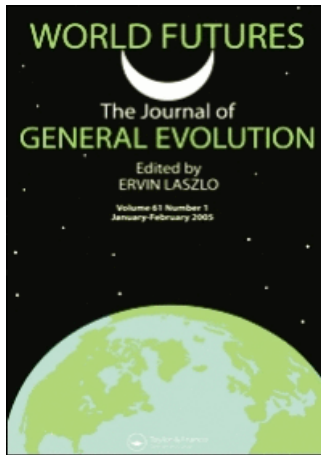


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EVOLVING APPROACHES TO CONSERVATION: INTEGRAL ECOLOGY AND CANADA'S GREAT BEAR RAINFOREST

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EVOLVING APPROACHES TO CONSERVATION: INTEGRAL ECOLOGY AND CANADA'S GREAT BEAR RAINFOREST

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This case study applies Integral Ecology to analyze the broad range of strategies environmentalists have undertaken to create protected areas and change forest practices in the Great Bear Rainforest, British Columbia, Canada. Rainforest conservation efforts in the region promoted holistic, trans-disciplinary solutions and fostered agreement among diverse stakeholders, modeling an Integral Ecology approach. Environmentalists worked locally and globally, engaging with economic, cultural, political, and scientific systems to create change. The campaign involved transformations at personal and cultural levels that have enabled negotiated solutions involving over twenty million acres of rainforest on British Columbia's coast.

KEYWORDS: British Columbia forests, environmentalism, Great Bear Rainforest, Integral Ecology, Integral Theory, rainforest conservation, spiritual activism.

INTRODUCTION

Ecology is pulling up a dandelion and finding that everything else is attached.

—John Muir

For humanity to flourish into the 21st century, the diverse cultures, communities, and peoples of the earth must learn to live within ecological limits. Although there is no quick fix for the myriad of ecological and social problems facing humanity, creative, holistic frameworks for solutions are emerging. Effective responses to managing the relationship of humans to nature will take as many forms as there are cultures and ecosystems. In this article I explore innovations developed by environmental activist leaders that model an Integral Ecological approach to the conservation of endangered temperate rainforests in the Great Bear Rainforest region of British Columbia, Canada.

Solutions to global environmental and social crises will require an extraordinary and unprecedented scope of cooperation between people with very different

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knowledge, perspectives, cultures, and values. Effective solutions will involve the integration and restructuring of existing social, economic, political, and scientific institutions and the creation of new institutions that operate at local, national, and international levels. Solutions must also promote cooperation between people holding conflicting perspectives, and foster the transformation of human consciousness, values, and behavior. Integral Ecology is a holistic framework to guide the development of such solutions.

Integral Ecology is a trans-disciplinary approach for solving complex, interlocking environmental problems and fostering long-term sustainability. This approach can be used to implement solutions that maximize whole-systems health for human and natural systems across many scales. Integral Ecology is used as a framework to understand, coordinate, and evaluate competing truth-claims or perspectives, and to provide holistic approaches to transformational change. Integral Ecologists consider and integrate the multiple dimensions of ecological problems (e.g., social, economic, scientific, spiritual, psychological, behavioral, cultural, political, institutional) into inclusive solutions that are win-win. Integral Ecologists also emphasize that more comprehensive human value systems and worldviews are required to solve environmental problems, and these are fostered through psychological and spiritual development.

In this article I assume a working knowledge of Ken Wilber's Integral Theory and his four quadrant, multiple level approach.¹ Integral Ecology is based on this framework, and is a meta-methodology for understanding and fostering ecologically beneficial change. It includes the four domains of subjective experience (Upper-Left quadrant: UL), behavior (Upper-Right quadrant: UR), culture (Lower-Left quadrant: LL), and complex systems including social, economic, and ecological systems (Lower-Right quadrant: LR), which make up Wilber's four quadrants, or the Four Ecologies (see Esbjörn-Hargens, this issue). The Integral Ecology framework illustrates that every event and object (or holon) has experiential, cultural, behavioral, and systemic dimensions, and that these dimensions are in complex, mutually evolving relationships or holarchies.² Subject and object are understood as interdependent and Integral Ecologists value the multiple methodologies and ways of knowing that disclose qualitative and quantitative knowledge (Integral Methodological Pluralism).

Building on the insights of dozens of developmental psychologists,³ Integral Ecologists view human subjectivity or consciousness as developmental. The developmental perspective of Integral Ecology acts as a "normative or analogical theory" that can inform timely and transformational action (Torbert and Reason, 2001, p. 10). Individuals are believed to co-evolve in relational exchange with other individuals, with cultures, and with the environment, at successively complex levels of organization or development. As new levels of development emerge in consciousness, culture, and living systems, they simplify and integrate system function and structure, while initiating new complexified and differentiated processes.

Wilber describes stages in the development of individual consciousness from birth (body) to pre-operational (symbol, image, feeling) to conventional-operational (rules, concepts) to formal-operational (reason) to vision-logic

(multiple perspectives, systemic thinking), to transpersonal levels of consciousness. Worldviews are believed to develop in response to increasingly complex life conditions, from egocentric/pre-conventional (Spiral Dynamics' Beige, Purple, and Red value memes⁴) to ethnocentric/conventional (Blue value meme) to worldcentric/post-conventional (Orange and Green value memes) to Integral/vision-logic/second-tier (Yellow, Turquoise, and beyond) (Wilber, 2001, pp. 17–27). As worldviews develop they become less partial and narcissistic, as the locus of care and concern grows to successively encompass self, humanity, and nature. According to Wilber, Integral Theory, “. . . [I]’s critical of the present state in light of a more encompassing and desirable state, both in the individual and the culture at large The Integral paradigm will inherently be critical of those approaches that are, by comparison, partial, narrow, shallow, less encompassing, less integrative” (Wilber, 2001, p. 2). When individuals are able to authentically inhabit multiple perspectives, discern which are more or less partial, and act in a comprehensive manner, they have reached Integral/second-tier levels of consciousness. Integral Ecologists hypothesize that to foster global sustainability, solutions must come from this Integral/second-tier level of consciousness.

CASE STUDY: THE GREAT BEAR RAINFOREST

The story of the Great Bear Rainforest and the environmentalists working for its protection provides a glimpse of a unique model for resolving complex environmental conflicts, which has many hallmarks of an Integral Ecology approach. On the remote pacific coast of British Columbia, Canada, just south of Alaska, is a temperate rainforest with wilderness valleys containing trees that are among the earth's oldest living organisms. Steep misty valleys hug rugged shorelines, and grizzly and wolves thrive with little contact from humans. The region has a human population of less than 35,000. Small communities, many home to the region's aboriginal or First Nations people, dot the coast, accessible only by boat or air. Known as the *Great Bear Rainforest*, this area the size of Ireland is the largest unprotected coastal temperate rainforest in the world (see Figure 1).⁵ In the late 1990s, as industrial logging proceeded in the region, the fight to save this rainforest grew to international proportions. It is now the site of an ambitious effort to preserve the ecological integrity of the rainforest, sustain aboriginal cultures, and develop new economic opportunities for coastal communities in British Columbia (BC).

I began working on this campaign in 1997, first with the Sierra Club of Canada, BC Chapter, and most recently with ForestEthics (2004). Although most of the environmentalists who are part of the Great Bear Rainforest campaign are not explicitly using an Integral Ecology framework, I have observed that their efforts model key elements of an Integral approach. Such coordinated activism embodies what Beck and Cowan (1995) call a “brain syndicate,” where people with diverse skills and worldviews come together to build holistic, integrative solutions. The decade-long campaign to protect the Great Bear Rainforest illustrates that successful conservation efforts must engage effectively with complex economic realities, diverse cultural values, evolving scientific knowledge, and the personal



Figure 1. Great Bear Rainforest and First Nation Communities.

and interpersonal dimensions of values conflict, negotiation, and transformation. This approach fostered and integrated transformations in the Four Ecologies of experience, culture, behavior, and systems, and depended on leaders' abilities to adopt and coordinate multiple perspectives—a characteristic of Integral/second-tier consciousness.

Historical barriers to sustainability in BC's coastal communities have no single answer, and will require decades and generations to address. However, the initiatives currently underway stand to bring the region closer to sustainability, with a scope that is unprecedented in British Columbia and unique in the world. Given

the complexity of the Integral Ecology framework, and of the elements of this campaign, the following analysis represents a simplification of both and is a snapshot of my own evolving and incomplete attempts to understand events through the lens of Integral Ecology.

BRITISH COLUMBIA'S COASTAL RAINFORESTS IN A GLOBAL CONTEXT

Short of a miraculous transformation in the attitude of people and governments, the Earth's remaining closed canopy forests and their associated biodiversity are destined to disappear in the coming decades. (Klaus Toepfer, Executive Director, UNEP, 2001, p. 1)

The ongoing depletion of the earth's closed canopy, native forests is a profound ecological loss. Forest ecosystems are a vital contributor to global climate stability and are vast storehouses of biodiversity. Many forests are also home to aboriginal peoples, linking forest conservation inextricably with cultural survival. Original or "frontier" forests are endangered globally, with less than 22% remaining worldwide. The remaining 78% have been converted, fragmented, or replaced with plantations. Russia, Canada, and Brazil contain 70% of what remains (Bryant, 1997). Coastal temperate rainforests are more rare and endangered than tropical forests, surviving only in fragments in Chile, Tasmania, New Zealand, Norway, Alaska, and British Columbia (Bryant, 1997). These rainforests once extended down the pacific coast of North America from Alaska, through BC, to Northern California. By the end of the 20th century, not one intact valley remained in Washington, Oregon, or California. Only Alaska and BC contain large intact areas of this forest type, and over one quarter of the total is found in British Columbia (Kellogg, 1992).

In the mid-1990s environmentalists created the name *The Great Bear Rainforest* in reference to roughly 8.5 million hectares (21 million acres) of temperate rainforest on the BC coast previously known by government and the forest industry as the *Mid and North Coast Timber Supply Areas*. The region is home to a documented 230 bird species and 68 different mammals, including a genetically distinct grey wolf, dense grizzly populations, and the white *Kermode* or Spirit bear, which numbers less than 400 and is unique to the region. Over twenty percent of the world's wild salmon population spawns in the Great Bear Rainforest. Most significantly, the region contains over 100 large intact valleys and many smaller ones, offering a rare opportunity for large-scale conservation and long-term protection of ecosystem integrity.

BC's economy is highly dependent on the export of wood and pulp products (primarily to the U.S., Japan, and Europe), and 94% percent of commercial forest lands are publicly owned by the Province of BC. The Government collects stumpage fees from logging and forest policies have historically been close in step with the desires of the major forest companies, a handful of whom control the majority of the logging rights. During the 1990s the government in power introduced a Forest

Practices Code and initiated multi-stakeholder Land and Resource Management Planning tables in most regions in British Columbia.

Many parties, including environmentalists and First Nations people, felt constrained at these planning tables. Environmentalists chafed against a twelve percent limit on protected areas, government's "talk and log" approach, and loopholes in existing legislation that prevented ecologically viable protection of fish streams, biodiversity, endangered species, and old growth forests. First Nations leaders resisted being classified as "stakeholders" as in 1997 the Supreme Court of Canada ruled that Aboriginal Rights and Title had never been extinguished, and that First Nations have unresolved claim to vast areas of land and resources in BC. These Rights and Title are the subject of ongoing treaty negotiations and litigation.

During the 1990s, the rainforests of British Columbia were the scene of great controversy. Increased mechanization and years of over-cutting created high levels of unemployment, and the export-driven nature of the forest industry exacerbated "boom and bust" regional economies. Government projections confirmed that regional rates of logging far exceeded long-term sustainable levels, and significant declines in the yearly amount harvested were inevitable throughout the region. Environmentalists campaigned for an end to the clear-cutting of old growth rainforests, and for protection of the coast's remaining intact wilderness valleys. Conservation campaigns fanned anger in resource-dependent communities, and environmentalists became scapegoats for the complex problems facing coastal communities.⁶

The Great Bear Rainforest campaign demonstrates a model that environmental leaders are using to create new forms of leverage and provide opportunities for large-scale, holistic conservation solutions. Wilderness protection efforts in BC had previously been characterized by individual valley-by-valley conflicts, until a more coordinated and high-profile campaign to protect Vancouver Island's Clayoquot Sound emerged in the early 1990s. During this campaign environmentalists built international boycott campaigns against BC wood products, and organized blockades that were the largest act of civil disobedience in Canadian history. After much conflict, forest companies and the BC government announced a ban on clear-cutting in the rainforests of Clayoquot, and initiated a local planning process that incorporated independent science and traditional ecological knowledge. Originated in Clayoquot Sound, and further developed through the Great Bear Rainforest campaign, environmentalists innovated several new tools and capacities, which have begun to embody an Integral approach. These include international markets campaigns, personal practices for transformation, expanded abilities to negotiate, legal and policy alternatives, new community economic development approaches, improved mapping technologies, and holistic ecosystem-based planning models.

Seen through an Integral Ecology framework, these approaches imply an evolution in environmental campaigns, which is confirmed by their effectiveness in securing protection of millions of acres of rainforest via consensus from multiple stakeholders. Environmental leaders in the Great Bear Rainforest campaign have engaged in the Four Ecologies of experience (UL), culture (LL), behavior (UR) and systems (LR) to develop sustainable conservation solutions

Upper Left (UL)		Upper Right (UR)	
<p>Individual-Interior <i>Experiences</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Identification of personal and ecological values ➤ Vision and commitment of campaigners ➤ Shift in self-perception to solution-builder ➤ Transformative states (e.g. meditation, prayer, therapy) ➤ Emotional awareness-building (moving from anger to love, working with burnout) ➤ Cultivation of non-attachment ➤ Integral strategic ideas and capacities ➤ Spiritual activism 		<p>Individual-Exterior <i>Behaviors</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Consumer boycotts ➤ Protests, other tactics ➤ Ritual and prayer ➤ Government lobbying, support from key individuals ➤ Education and outreach ➤ Behavioural change in key individuals ➤ Dialogue and negotiation ➤ Sustainable forestry practices 	
Lower-Left (LL)		Lower-Right (LR)	
<p>Collective-Interior <i>Cultures</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Creation of a "Brain Syndicate" ➤ Use of media to communicate values ➤ Activating environmental values of consumers ➤ Shift from conflict to mutual understanding in negotiations ➤ Cultural change in environmental organizations ➤ Cross-cultural understanding ➤ Group awareness practices, visualization ➤ Mapping and protection of cultural values ➤ Justice for First Nations 		<p>Collective-Exterior <i>Systems</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Expansion of focus to include other systems beyond ecological ➤ International markets campaigns ➤ Effective engagement with political cycles ➤ Investment in community development ➤ Scientific study and mapping of ecosystem ➤ Holistic ecosystem-based planning ➤ Implementation of sustainable forest management policies ➤ Legal and institutional support for conservation and First Nations Rights 	

Figure 2. Examples of Rainforest activism in the Four Quadrants.

(See Figure 2). Furthermore, environmental leaders (and some other parties involved in the initiative) have displayed Integral/second-tier capacities in arriving at negotiated solutions, derived from mutual understanding, that are win-win. International markets campaigns against products originating from endangered forests such as the Great Bear Rainforest have capitalized on changing cultural values, as people and markets begin to include more worldcentric/post-conventional concerns. This evolution in the cultural quadrant (LL) has been used to leverage change in the economic system (LR) surrounding the forest industry, where environmentalists formerly wielded little or no power.

Faced with little economic power to counter the economic rationale of ongoing industrial forestry, environmentalists developed international markets campaigns targeting the customers of BC wood products. Markets campaigns out-contextualized the regional economic rationale for logging in endangered forests, by creating a larger economic imperative for conservation, that is, the threat of contract cancellations. Environmentalists further engaged with economic systems by creating financial incentives for conservation, and by attracting investment capital for sustainable community development (LR). Such out-of-the-box thinking has been possible because of internal transformations in environmental leaders that changed their experience (UL) and their behavior (UR), cultivating their capacities to value and integrate multiple perspectives (LL) and to come to negotiated solutions around legal protection and new forest practices (LR). The emergence of new technologies and capacities to map and model ecological (LR) and cultural

(LL) values expanded the terms of debate beyond narrow industrial perspectives on forestry. These examples are elaborated on in the following sections.

MARKETS CAMPAIGNS AND ECONOMIC INCENTIVES FOR CONSERVATION

The development of international markets campaigns gave environmental leaders powerful leverage to promote conservation of the Great Bear Rainforest. Environmentalists often privilege ecological systems analysis, and do not adequately take into account the economic, political, psychological, and cultural systems they are trying to influence. This privileging of one dimension can lead to a lack of credibility and power. For example, environmentalists may discount or avoid discussing the real short-term economic benefits flowing to communities or corporations from environmentally destructive forestry activities, or they may privilege environmental values and insist that an ecological justification is all that is needed for conservation. People working from an Integral Ecology perspective foster solutions and strategies for sustainability from across disciplines, rather than privileging one discipline, set of values, or methodology. In the Great Bear Rainforest, environmentalists acknowledged diverse values, using various strategies to motivate different constituents, forging solutions that had economic, political, cultural, social, spiritual, and ecological dimensions.

From the mid-1990s until 2001 there was intense conflict over the fate of the Great Bear Rainforest between environmental groups, and those in support of the predominant industrial forestry model, including forest unions, various levels of government, and forest company executives. Between 1997 and 1998, roads were built into 13 wilderness valleys in the Great Bear Rainforest. By the year 2020, almost every wilderness valley was scheduled to be clear-cut (Sierra Club of British Columbia, 1999). This information fueled blockades by Greenpeace, Forest Action Network, and several sympathetic First Nations.

A coalition of environmental organizations waged a battle of public relations at home and abroad, spreading images of vast ugly clear-cuts, and labeling Canada “the Brazil of the North.” They targeted international customers of BC wood products in Europe, the U.S., and Japan. In response to these campaigns, the Premier of British Columbia branded environmentalists “Enemies of BC” in the media, fueling anti-environmentalist anger. Despite local backlash, the campaign met with great international success, securing commitments from dozens of companies to phase out forest products originating from endangered forests such as the Great Bear Rainforest. Companies included the world’s two largest wood retailers, Home Depot and Lowe’s; the world’s largest home furnishings company, IKEA; and Fortune 500 companies such as Nike, Dell, and IBM.⁷ Companies cancelled contracts worth over \$300 million with BC forest companies operating in the Great Bear Rainforest. Financial pressure achieved what blockades, media, and public education could not—securing a temporary moratorium on logging in the key ecological areas in the Great Bear Rainforest, while science-based planning could take place.

Between 1999 and 2001, amid ongoing controversy, negotiations took place between forest companies and environmentalists over the protection of the rainforest

and the future of markets campaigns. On April 4th, 2001, an agreement involving forest companies, environmental groups, First Nations, and the Province, protected 20 valleys (600,000 hectares), deferred logging in 88 more wilderness valleys (900,000 hectares), and agreed to ecosystem-based management principles throughout the region pending further planning. Environmental groups agreed to cease targeting companies operating in the Great Bear Rainforest through international markets campaigns. Signatories committed to mitigation and transition funding for workers and communities, and established a multidisciplinary team of experts to conduct region-wide biophysical and socioeconomic research to inform final decisions at regional land use planning tables. Furthermore, in an agreement that also included the Haida First Nation (of the Queen Charlotte Islands), eight First Nations governments supported ecosystem-based management in their traditional territories, and signed a protocol with the Province giving them the right to complete their own land use plans.

Environmentalists overcame their tendency to privilege ecological systems and avoid economic systems, successfully employing market campaign strategies that resulted in unprecedented levels of protection and ongoing, innovative planning in the region. They engaged in *multiple* systems within the Lower-Right quadrant, and wielded new forms of power by taking on the perspective of their adversaries in developing campaign strategies. Because of the export-driven nature of the BC economy, international markets campaigns created new forms of leverage on regional forest policies. By asking high-profile businesses and their environmentally conscious customers to stop buying wood from endangered forests worldwide, environmentalists operated at a higher level of the economic system that transcended yet affected the local economic rationale, forcing changes in policy. By leveraging global systems to protect specific regions, environmentalists innovated a new, more Integral approach.

Corporate commitments not only named the Great Bear Rainforest, but all endangered forests, which fostered global demand for wood products that were ecologically certified by organizations such as the Forest Stewardship Council, and creating a global, non-localized arena for leveraging protection of forests worldwide.⁸ One quality of Integral/second tier consciousness is that it is not limited to localized effects, and it can implement strategies that are both local and global/non-local. The success of markets campaigns was made possible by the cultural readiness (LL) of large portions of the population in Europe and North America to reject products from endangered forests. In order to create and successfully implement a marketplace strategy, environmentalists understood what would affect their adversaries, activating latent environmental values held by the public through mutual understanding (LL), and translating these values into consumer leverage upon the economic systems driving forest destruction (LR). As more local decisions are driven by the demands of the global economy, and corporations are decreasingly beholden to national laws, this evolution in social change efforts represents a critical strategic leap, by acting on multiple systems at local and global levels.

If international markets campaigns were the economic stick, then conservation financing and investment is the carrot. First Nations communities in the central and north coast regions of BC suffer from unemployment rates between seventy and

ninety percent. As part of solution-building efforts since 2001, environmentalists have used the international profile of this region to attract financial support for conservation and appropriate community economic development. Two initiatives have been spearheaded by activists to mitigate the loss of forestry income to the region—conservation financing for First Nations and socially responsible investment initiatives for resource-dependent communities. These initiatives represent risk-taking and new strategies for environmentalists in BC, further indicating their commitment to finding not just ecological, but economic, societal, and culturally appropriate solutions to enable conservation. Barriers to sustainable economic development in coastal communities are significant, but prior to environmental campaigns, there were no substantial financial solutions on the horizon for coastal communities, and the development of conservation financing and incentives is a positive step in a long process. These efforts stem from relationships built between environmentalists and First Nations leaders, and are the result of environmentalists recognizing the socioeconomic needs (LR) and cultural values (LL) of other stakeholders who are affected by conservation campaigns. This approach also shows respect for the rich cultural traditions (LL) of First Nations, and respect of their legal Rights and Title (LR).

MOVING BEYOND THE OUTSIDER—FORMER ENEMIES IN DIALOGUE

Saving the biosphere depends first and foremost on human beings reaching mutual understanding and unforced agreement as to common ends. (Wilber, 1995, p. 513)

As individual and cultural worldviews extend from egocentric/pre-conventional to ethnocentric/conventional to worldcentric/post-conventional to Integral/second tier perspectives, concern for justice, ecological health, and cultural diversity increases. When Integral/second tier capacities emerge, complex issues and diverse perspectives can be more readily integrated into holistic, long-term solutions. Leaders acting from Integral capacities act as cultural empathizers and transformers who operate dynamically across multiple worldviews, motivating people with diverse interests toward common ecological, economic, cultural, political, and social goals. Leaders with Integral perspectives can foster healthy ecological worldviews, enabling mutual understanding, and fueling individual and cultural transformations of increasing scope and depth.

In the past, fear and polarization predominated on both sides of environmental conflicts. The shadow side of North American environmentalism was well displayed in the 1990s by criticisms that were leveled at efforts of environmentalists. Small town British Columbia mayors made reference to “cappuccino-sucking urban environmentalists” who lacked understanding of the rural way of life, and did not care about community prosperity. Some First Nations resented “eco-colonial” attempts to lock up their traditional territory in parks, placing conservation ahead of hunting and other traditional uses, and ahead of the just resolution of Rights and Title. Forest industry executives accused environmentalists of being unrealistic and

economically naïve. Government felt environmentalists were manipulating their political processes, and were neither responsible to a constituency nor invested in a balanced solution. Although some of these accusations were public relations ploys to undermine environmental protection efforts, many of these perceptions were likely justified, illuminating some of the potential blind spots and areas of environmentalism needing a more Integral approach.

As their strategies for gaining negotiating power in the Great Bear Rainforest campaign met with success, environmental leaders were challenged to shed their polarized identities and behaviors (UL and UR), and shift from being outside agitators to being solution-builders. In so doing, they became less solely identified with their ecological perspective, and began to understand and respond to the differing values of the First Nations leaders, community representatives, governments, and forest companies with whom they were negotiating. Company executives and environmental leaders created the *Joint Solutions Project*, a working group for negotiations to occur that included the six major forest companies operating on the coast, and representatives from ForestEthics; Greenpeace; Sierra Club of Canada, BC Chapter; and Rainforest Action Network.⁹ Given the vitriolic history between conservation groups and forest companies, the creation of the *Joint Solutions Project* signalled that a remarkable shift toward dialogue and solution building had occurred for both parties.

Negotiations provided a venue where environmentalists embraced the Four Ecologies, by developing their analysis of the internal and external challenges faced by industry, First Nations, and local communities, and by addressing the full spectrum of issues critical for sustainability. Negotiations also enabled opposing sides to engage one another with humanity and mutual respect, fostering Integral/second-tier capacities of mutual understanding. For environmentalists, reactive campaigning was no longer required to protect the remaining valleys in the short term, and effort shifted to building long-term solutions to address sustainable community development, First Nations Rights and Title, political interests, corporate bottom-lines, and ecological integrity. Environmentalists involved in negotiations also had to address accusations from their own constituents that they were selling out by entering into dialogue. One of the ways they refuted this claim was by cultivating inner integrity and new moral frameworks to guide their efforts.

PERSONAL DIMENSIONS OF TRANSFORMATION

According to the theory of Integral Ecology, ecological (world- and planetcentric) values are a product of psychological and spiritual development. Despite the notion in environmental philosophy that the roots of the ecological crisis lie within consciousness and cultures, environmentalists most commonly focus on the external problems of economic and social systems, or on unsustainable behaviors (LR and UR), often ignoring their subjective and cultural dimensions (UL and LL), and rarely taking responsibility for personal transformation.

Integral Ecology's focus on internal development (UL) emphasizes the power of transformative practices of body, mind, and spirit in fostering the development of self, society, and culture (Wilber, 2000, p. 138). A commitment to spiritual growth

has been central to many leaders of social change, yet it is not highly ingrained in many cultures of activism. Environmentalists often experience disempowerment due to over-work, despair at the state of the world, and the feeling of being “outsiders” to anthropocentric and modern values. Transformative practices can be a powerful antidote to the subtle superiority, alienation, and despair that accompany activism. Integral Ecology challenges the claim that self-transformation can be put off until external injustices are fixed. Both this claim and its inverse—that one cannot act effectively or compassionately until one is “enlightened”—are fallacies. The Integral approach recognizes that internal transformations, behavioral change, cultural evolution, and social development occur interdependently and simultaneously. As activists cultivate Integral levels of development within themselves, they will increasingly facilitate holistic transformation in others.

Those of us involved in the Great Bear Rainforest campaign added meaning and depth to our work by framing the challenges we faced as part of our paths of personal and spiritual development. Facing backlash in the media and rural communities, and pushing ahead on complex new terrain, many campaigners leading conservation efforts faced burnout. During the years of intense conflict, we invested time to grow our capacities for personal leadership and authenticity, developing and sharing in spiritual and therapeutic practices.¹⁰ This commitment to personal development was grounded in the belief that our own state of being and consciousness was affecting the perspectives of our adversaries and the outcomes of our campaign efforts. We explored spiritual traditions, developed personal transformative practices, found new ways to dialogue with our adversaries, and worked with practices to shift our motivations or responses from anger and fear toward love and non-attachment. Several of the women campaigners who were in protracted negotiations began to practice loving-kindness meditations before entering into negotiations, and to visualize agreement in areas of difficulty. Many of us involved believe our commitment to personal development and the integration of spiritual practices into the campaign have greatly contributed to building relationships and achieving gains thus far.¹¹

NEW TOOLS FOR CONSERVATION: THE EMERGENCE OF INTEGRAL SCIENCES

Like the “out-contextualizing” effect of the markets campaign, new scientific approaches and technologies were used to expand and change the scientific and technical terms of debate. Satellite imagery and Geographic Information Systems (GIS) were used by Sierra Club of BC in 1997 to map the remaining coastal temperate rainforest and the extent of industrial clear-cutting on BC’s coast. Prior to the application of this technology, neither the degree of destruction nor the globally significant conservation opportunity on the coast were understood as clearly.

As part of the campaign to protect the Great Bear Rainforest, several environmental groups commissioned a Conservation Areas Design for the central coast region of BC.¹² Although the phenomenon of dueling scientists is not new in environmental conflicts, their intent was to contextualize the debate in terms of the extinction and biodiversity crisis facing the planet. The big-picture approach of

conservation biology provided a larger scientific perspective than the geographically narrow and technically focused forestry science that government and industry relied on to support ongoing industrial clear-cutting. Conservation biology incorporated historical data and cultural values into planning, which are important elements of an Integral science.

Due to the political and economic leverage environmental groups had generated from markets campaigns, this approach was integrated into official government planning processes. As an outcome of the 2001 agreements, an independent team of 17 scientists called the Coast Information Team (CIT) was tasked with identifying priority areas for conservation. Established by the BC government, First Nations, forest companies, and environmental groups, the CIT was to provide independent information on the region using the best available scientific, technical, traditional, and local knowledge to assist in ecosystem-based management planning.

The injection of new mapping technologies and more Integral sciences such as conservation biology and ecosystem-based management into the debate over forest management in BC undermined the narrow and technical science of sustained yield management, replacing it with a historical, multi-scaled and more holistic conception of ecosystems. These tools will increasingly enable people to make Integral decisions (UL) by synthesizing complex cultural (LL) ecological, social, and economic data (LR) into decision-making models and scenarios that support sustainable practices (UR).

The CIT conducted an *Ecosystem Spatial Analysis* (ESA) to identify priority areas for biodiversity conservation in order to protect representative ecosystems and native species; sustain ecological and evolutionary processes; and build a conservation network resilient enough to withstand environmental change (Coast Information Team, 2003). The CIT stated in their final report that 44–70% of the Great Bear Rainforest should be protected in order to meet conservation goals. In May 2004, a consensus recommendation was made to government for the central coast portion of the Great Bear Rainforest. It recommended that over 3.5 million acres, or 33% of the central coast be placed under some form of protection, and new forms of ecosystem-based forestry occur elsewhere. Although this fell short of the scientific recommendations, it was the product of gruelling multi-stakeholder negotiation for which consensus was reached, and it is a compromise solution that integrates multiple values. Final negotiations are also occurring at two other regional planning tables, covering more than 15 million acres, through 2004. By 2005, First Nations and the Province of BC will negotiate final land use decisions that will determine how much of the entire Great Bear Rainforest region achieves legal protection.

CONCLUSION

In responding to the multiple dimensions of the conservation challenge in the Great Bear Rainforest, environmental leaders have brought forth solutions that model an Integral Ecology approach. Given the region's size, its enormous cultural and ecological values, and the scope of efforts thus far, the Great Bear Rainforest is one of the most significant conservation opportunities in North American history. The

campaign to protect it offers a holistic model for the resolution of environmental conflicts and the implementation of large-scale ecosystem-based planning. Environmental leaders generated power to leverage conservation by developing campaign strategies with innovative and large-scale systems thinking that engaged the global marketplace, set the stage for conservation-based community economic development, and applied the highest scientific knowledge to conservation planning. New approaches to negotiation embodied Integral modes of consciousness and behavior. Environmental leaders cultivated mutual understanding and successfully motivated people from a variety of value perspectives to support holistic sustainable solutions. This required that campaign goals be extended from a focus just on rainforest conservation to include goals of conservation-based community economic development, relationship-building, social justice for First Nations, a transformation in the global trade of endangered forest products, and the personal transformation of those involved.

Given the complexity of the context in the Great Bear Rainforest, Integral approaches must be sustained and amplified in order to advance long-term solutions. Further attention is needed to ensure that policy changes, community development initiatives, protection, and ecosystem-based management will be comprehensive enough to ensure sustainability. This requires robust solutions that authentically address the needs of many people over time. The ecological integrity of the Great Bear Rainforest also faces continued threats from offshore oil and gas exploration, large carnivore hunting, over fishing, mining, and fish-farm expansion. These threats also require an Integral approach in order to be defused. Integral community economic development will be crucial to all future conservation success, and to date these efforts do not fully address the interior aspects of development. Sustainability in the region will need ongoing attention to holistic solutions, and increased capacities among leaders to bring forth Integral possibilities.

Integral environmental campaigns of the future must address the myriad of social, political, economic, cultural, psychological, spiritual, and ecological issues. As the ecological situation in virtually every region on the earth becomes more complex and troubled, the emergence of Integral awareness can transfigure global ecological problems from disasters into catalytic awakeners. May this awareness help all beings to flourish.

NOTES

1. See Esbjörn-Hagens (this issue); Wilber (1995, 1996, 2000, 2001).
2. Wilber describes this as the "tetra-evolution" of the four quadrants (2000, p. 183).
3. For a systematization of over 100 models of human development that includes psychological, spiritual, cultural, and social evolution, see *Integral Psychology*, Wilber (2000, pp. 197–217).
4. The color system refers to development of Spiral Dynamics value memes, after Beck and Cowan (1995).
5. For more on the natural history of the region, see Kellogg. (1992), McAllister et al. (1998) and MacKinnon and Vold (1998).
6. For more history on markets campaigns and forestry conflict in BC, see Austerm et al. (2002), Cashore et al. (2001), Stanbury (2000), and Wilson (1998).
7. For a complete listing of company commitments, see www.forestethics.org/purchasing/success_stories.html (Nov., 2003).

8. In 2003, after being targeted with markets campaigns, the 2 largest forestry companies in Chile agreed to stop the conversion of native forests into plantations, and enter into a *Joint Solutions Project* with environmental groups in an area covering one million acres of native forests. This success was modeled on the Great Bear Rainforest campaign. Similar efforts are now underway in the Canadian Boreal forests, the largest intact forest remaining on earth. See www.forestethics.org for more details (May 2004).
9. For more information see Rainforest Solutions Project (www.savethegreatbear.org), and the Coast Forest Conservation Initiative (www.coastforestconservationinitiative.com).
10. Much of this occurred through the Hollyhock Leadership Institute in British Columbia.
11. As documented in the film *From New Age to New Edge*, Across Borders Media (2003).
12. For the full Conservation Areas Design report, see Jeo et al. (1999).

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