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Love-infused development

In search of a development ethic to halt poverty and forest loss

Author information

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About the project

IIED is a policy and action research organisation. We promote sustainable development to improve livelihoods and protect the environments on which these livelihoods are built. We specialise in linking local priorities to global challenges. IIED is based in London and works in Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Middle East and the Pacific, with some of the world's most vulnerable people. We work with them to strengthen their voice in the decision-making arenas that affect them — from village councils to international conventions.

Executive summary

Love is profoundly at the heart of what makes life meaningful. Yet at the personal level its expression vies with more selfish tendencies. And at the collective level, it is often absent in business models and the governance structures of nation states. As individuals, businesses and nation states pursue legitimate values, love's perceptible presence, or absence, gives radically different trajectories to development: utopia or dystopia, heaven or hell. This paper was written as a discourse on love-infused development, with a particular focus on forests (though by no means applicable only to them). The hope is that it might lighten the gloom that has crept into the development community in the wake of recent international events such as the Copenhagen COP and Rio+20.

The world's forests – and the environment of which they form part – are in trouble. On-going forest loss, the substitution of diverse natural forests for plantations, and increasing outbreaks of the pests and diseases, fires and floods that go with extreme weather are symptoms of a system at risk. It might all be acceptable if forest loss was deliberately designed to deliver human utopia, but it is not.

This paper argues that it is an ethical problem. But it is not about what humans ascribe value to. There is broad consensus about what has intrinsic value: stewardship of natural and cultural heritage, health and material wellbeing, affirmative social relationships, present and future security, the creative fulfilment of potential and a sense of collective identity or purpose.

The problem lies in the *way* values are pursued by different individuals, businesses and nation states, not the values themselves (which most individuals share). It is that those values are often pursued selfishly, not selflessly, that is the problem. Personal ethics are in question. But more important still are the collective ethics of the constructs that act as legal individual entities (businesses and nation states). It is these that have been designed by human society, can be changed by society, and play a decisive role in shaping personal ethics. In this case at least – the means to the ends matters very much indeed.

This paper introduces the forest context and then explores both negative and positive drivers for each of the main values ascribed by humanity, the spectrum of polar vices and virtues linked to them, the business models and governance structures that follow, and the outcomes for society – the creation of utopia or dystopia. Recasting development as the pursuit of utopia, rather than more limited agendas linked to poverty reduction, sustainable landscape management or even a green economy, helps to clarify what changes to business models and governance structures might serve humanity best. From a forest development perspective, it is possible then to identify six more loving constructs – business models and governance structures to bring out the best in people. These can drive our pursuit of values towards utopia and not the converse. They complement one another and build on the best of what already exist in land use rights, enterprise, social organisation, judiciaries, education and peer-recognition:

- Local resource rights and land use planning
- Locally-controlled enterprise forms
- Federation to represent localised democracies
- Redistributive justice in natural resources
- Entrepreneurial education and support
- Service-oriented, gendered, business and peer rewards

Based on these constructs, it is then possible to develop a set of development criteria through which to screen different investment options. These can be used to design more effective development interventions.

In summary, the pursuit of value through business models and governance structures now needs an overhaul. But love-infused development cannot be enshrined permanently in particular constructs. The world is littered with the empty husks of business take-overs, co-opted national institutions and laws that have perverted to self-interest things once designed in love. That is not to say that such constructs are unimportant – merely that constant vigilance and creativity is needed to ensure they remain in line with love. As such, they are an important material sign of love, but not the real deal – so to speak.

Disclaimer and acknowledgements

The lens of love-infused development which I have developed in this paper is one of many potentially useful ways to approach development. I am not attempting to advocate a single approach, nor definitive categories of value, being well aware of the ways in which different approaches can be mutually complementary and categories of value overlap. Nor am I setting myself up as some 'love guru' – a preposterous notion. Close friends may wryly (and justifiably) query my credentials on that front. Indeed, it is often those least suited to champion a concept who end up mesmerized by it, and that is certainly the case here.

A field high in the Himalayas with sustainably produced charcoal briquettes, pressed by Nepalese women who are employee shareholders in the production company and retail outlets, destined for the Kathmandu market as an alternative to high-carbon fuels. Credit: Duncan Macqueen/IIED

Contents

1. Introducing the forest problem

Forests continue to disappear despite people valuing them. As a forester, this perplexes me. Humanity is at least partly ecological – formed in the intimacy of ecological interactions with other living things. The forest environment is, perhaps, where that interaction is at its most intense and profound, where we are dwarfed by, and immersed in, the full diversity of life. In declaring my forestry profession, I have scarcely, if ever, heard anything but appreciation of, and a concern for, forests as a highlight of our shared ecological heritage. This appreciation abounds despite some immediate issues for people living next to forest (such as forests harbouring crop pests, diminishing light, leading to structural subsidence etc.). Yet, as I describe below, forests are in trouble.

This paper explores why this is the case from an ethical perspective. Ethics attempts to apply scientific rigour to questions of value and principle. In terms of *value,* ethics explores what is worthy of 'moral consideration'. Moral consideration can apply both to entities (e.g. humans, living organisms, spiritual beings – which are considered to have 'intrinsic value' as a result) and to states of those entities (e.g. health and material wellbeing, reproductive security etc. – that are also therefore considered to have intrinsic value). Those with the capacity to extend moral consideration form the 'moral community'. Prevailing value judgements within moral communities provide the platform from which ethics derives *principles*. Principles deal with what ought to happen – what types of character, motive, act and consequences have 'instrumental value' and should therefore be invoked in pursuit of things that have intrinsic value. Ethics are useful in looking at the forest problem because they bring scientific logic to considerations of value and principle.

My past ethical exploration of forestry (see prior discussions in Macqueen 2004; 2005a; 2005b) was only partially satisfactory. That is because, until recently, I had attributed problems in forestry to 'differences in the ethics of different groups of people' – either what they value (e.g. deem worthy of moral consideration) or the way in which they derive principles from those value judgements. Consequently I, alongside many others, have worked on two broad approaches to ensure that: (i) the full value of forests is captured in decision-making, and (ii) the legal principles based on those values are developed and enforced in forest business and trade.

Carbon payments for reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation (REDD+), alongside many other options for payments for environmental services (PES) are an example of the former approach – i.e. ensuring that the full value of forests is captured. Legality Assurance Systems (LAS) within Voluntary Partnership Agreements (VPAs) linked to the EU Forest Law Enforcement Governance and Trade (FLEGT) action plan are an example of the latter approach alongside bodies of work on forest certification – i.e. ensuring that legal principals based on those values are sound and duly enforced.

Both approaches have been launched with considerable confidence and financial resources. But neither approach, nor their combination, seems to be solving the problem at hand. There seems to be more powerful forces at work. And in speaking with professional forest colleagues, I am not alone in this view. So maybe we need to look again at the problem.

1.1 The wrong forest rights

A first problem is that consumer rights rather than stewardship responsibilities have infected business models. Legal obligations to pursue shareholder profit are built into the architecture of corporate forest business. Governments feel compelled to deliver economic growth by cutting staff, legislation and taxes in forestry and in many other sectors. It is almost as though the right to govern itself is in question in the face of the growth imperative to deliver consumer rights.

With a global population rising from just over 7 billion in 2010 to 9.1 billion by 2050 (UN, 2005), there is ever-increasing pressure on forests to meet our demands for food, fibre, energy and water. Unfortunately, it is not just the number of people, but their level of consumption within the natural environment that is problematic (their ecological footprint). Despite strong evidence that material wealth doesn't make us happier above a relatively low threshold (Clark et al. 2008; Pretty, 2013) and evidence that materialism damages psychological well-being and health (Kasser, 2002), a US$450 billion

advertising industry tells us otherwise: we are what we consume and we have a right to consume. Personal aspirations become social phenomena. Governments pander to consumer rights and measure progress in terms of economic growth or Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Global GDP is expected to grow from about US$47 trillion in 2005 to up to almost US$100 trillion by 2030 (assuming constant prices) (Rademaekers et al. 2010).

The hunt is on for resources to fuel this growth. With government cuts, land use planning is woefully under-resourced in many national contexts. Forests are feeling the squeeze. In 2005, global forest cover stood at 3.952 billion hectares. According to the FAO (2009), the annual net rate of change fell from 8.9 million hectares of forest loss per year between 1990 and 2000 (-0.22%) to 7.3 million hectares per year of forest loss between 2000 and 2005 (-0.18%).

Yet, before heralding this as good news, it is worth noting that the aggregate figure tells only part of the story. Increasing rates of deforestation in biodiverse natural forests are hidden by afforestation in monoculture plantations elsewhere. China's phenomenal plantation programme single-handedly accounts for the global decrease in the rate of annual forest cover loss. We are not replacing like with like. Monoculture plantations (like their agricultural equivalents) produce more *useable* biomass per hectare per year than natural forests. They are often planted in large blocks. This is good if you are trying to squeeze more stuff out of increasingly small areas of land. It is less good if you want a spread of multiple economic, social and environmental benefits across the local population. It is also less good if you want forest ecosystems that are robust in the face of increasing extreme weather events, outbreaks of pests and diseases, and fires and floods that come with climate change (Perry and Maghembe, 1989; Dale et al. 2001). For example, in Indonesia, monoculture stands suffered disproportionate pest and disease outbreaks compared to more diverse natural forests (Nair, 2000). And there is now increasing confidence that climate change is indeed likely to amplify tree mortality across all forest types due to drought, heat and related outbreaks of pest and disease (Allen et al. 2009). It is not just the quantity but also the quality of forest that matters.

Producing more stuff, more cheaply often drives more mono-cultural production into poor countries where labour is cheap and environmental restrictions lax – ostensibly benefiting rich consumers and poor labourers alike. For example, developed countries reduced their agricultural land area, including pasture, by more than 412 million hectares (-34%) between 1995 and 2007. At the same time, they increased sourcing from developing countries which saw an increase in productive agricultural land of nearly 400 million hectares (+17%) (Gibbs et al. 2010). This offers some prospects for poverty reduction through employment and income generation, but only to the extent that what is produced feeds local rather than distant consumption patterns, and profits are reinvested locally rather than repatriated abroad. Environmentally, the implant of the ecological footprint in developing countries from distant consumption patterns is problematic – as it is in developing countries that the biodiverse tropical forests lie.

Large-scale Domestic Direct Investment (DDI) and Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) in agriculture, mining, energy and even services such as carbon sequestration happen at a pace and scale which is not readily compatible with local participation – the transaction costs of organising and skilling dispersed local people to meet national or foreign market demands are often seen as prohibitive. As a result poor people are frequently marginalised in land and resource grabs (Cotula et al. 2009), and this injustice further undermines the stability required for good governance.

1.2 Forest governance failure

A second problem is that governance processes are not addressing the problem of excessive consumption. Decision-makers have listened to arguments suggesting consumption-driven economic growth is good for the poor (e.g. Dollar and Kraay, 2003) despite more recent work which suggests that it is a most inefficient way of achieving it (Woodward and Simms, 2006). They have listened to arguments that consumption-driven economic growth is ultimately good for the environment (Kuznets, 1955; Beckerman, 1992) – despite the statistical foundation for this famous Kuznets curve being flimsy (Stern, 2004) and despite the fact that recent ecological footprint work contradicts it (WWF, 2010). Conversely, persuasive evidence that inequality within society is detrimental to just about everybody, using a wide range of indicators (Wilkinson and Pickett, 2010), has yet to shape a different approach. Democratic deficits, in which the plight of marginalised groups does not register in the ears of decision-makers, are a major problem. These deficits allow the whispers of the few to drown out the voices of

the many. Indeed, many attempts to dismantle labour unions have been seen as critical in reducing opposition to streamlined economic growth.

But economic growth generally follows the path of least resistance – converting risky, complex and costly systems (biodiverse natural forests) to simpler ones (e.g. monoculture soy bean, palm oil, biofuels, eucalypt plantations or mining etc.). It is true that you can try to avert this by paying for social and environmental services – either that accrue within complex production systems – and by insisting on restoration of degraded lands. It is also true that technology is helping us to use fewer resources to produce more ('relative de-coupling'). For example, from 2006 to 2007 India delivered a GDP growth of 8 per cent with only 3.7 per cent growth in its total primary energy consumption (Vermeulen et al, 2010). But it is not the efficiency with which we use resources that ultimately matters – it is the total scale of our resource use (Jackson, 2009). Population growth and rising affluence are massively increasing our total resource use, rapidly outpacing technological efficiency gains.

Rising resource use is undermining the 'system conditions' even private sector operators acknowledge as essential for sustainability[1] (see Natural Step Framework, 2013). 'Absolute decoupling' – where overall resource use falls as output expands – is not happening. Instead, we may be reaching environmental degradation beyond our technological capacity to adapt (Arrow et al. 2003). And it is not just that an economic growth model is unstable ecologically – increasingly there is evidence that it is unstable economically as well. For example, the response to the 2008 financial crisis involved deliberate courting in political circles of a potentially unsustainable expansion of credit, despite its causal contribution to that crisis, because it was seen as the essential mechanism to stimulate flagging consumption growth (Jackson, 2009). The situation reeks of governance failure.

Governance failure is apparent at both national and international levels. For example, the world's ecological footprint now exceeds the Earth's biocapacity (the area actually available to produce renewable resources and absorb CO_2) by 50 per cent – a fact that is largely attributable to an 11-fold increase in the world's carbon footprint since 1961 (WWF, 2010). There are large inequities in the national contributions to and the impacts from that footprint (Global Footprints Network, 2012) but international governance processes have so far not set out explicitly to counter inequities between nations. Failure for something not attempted might spare international governance blushes – but only on a technicality. Fair consumption and redistributive justice are simply much too low on the political agenda vis-à-vis economic growth for issues of international equity to register.

Perhaps the greatest hope for improvement in international governance of economic growth has been linked to binding carbon emissions reductions and / or compensation for those suffering from climate change. Yet these have not materialised at recent Conferences of Parties on climate change. Even the more limited resources necessary to eliminate 14 to 20 per cent of global emissions through reducing emissions from deforestation and degradation (REDD) are slow to materialise. While there has been considerable progress in improving legality within the forest sector through initiatives such as the US Lacey Act and the EU Forest Governance Law Enforcement and Trade initiative, there is less sign that such initiatives are delivering the equity required for socially or environmentally sustainable landscapes.

1.3 Inappropriate enterprise forms, investments and incentives

A third key problem for forests lies in the architecture of business and their patterns of investment that are complicit in fuelling excessive consumption. The counterweight to investments that result in forest conversion to agriculture, mining and the like are direct investments into forestry itself. The forest stays when its perceived value standing (whether through political will in establishing conservation areas of different forms – or through investment in sustainable forms of production) outweighs the perceived value of its conversion. Total annual investment in forestry worldwide between 1996 and 2005 was in the order of US$ 64 billion per year. Private direct investment in forests accounted for US$ 60 billion of this (of which domestic direct investments made up 90 per cent and foreign direct investment only 10 per cent). Private direct investments have therefore historically dwarfed Overseas Development Aid (ODA) by a factor of ten or more (Tomaselli, 2006).

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[1] The Four System Conditions, reworded as The Four Sustainability Principles, are stated as follows. In a sustainable society, nature is not subject to systematically increasing: (i) concentrations of substances extracted from the earth's crust, (ii) concentrations of substances produced by society; (iii) degradation by physical means; and (iv) people are not subject to conditions that systemically undermine their capacity to meet their needs.

Between 1996 and 2005, the bulk of the annual worldwide investment in forestry (US$ 46 billion out of the US$ 64 billion) was into downstream forest-based industry and trade – associated with the industries in established and emerging economies (Tomaselli, 2006). Only US$ 18 billion of this total annual worldwide investment in forestry was directed towards upstream forests and sustainable forest management (including investments in forestlands as a separate asset class through Timber Investment Management Organisations – TIMOs). The geographical focus of this investment has centred on the USA and Europe but broadening towards China, other Asian countries, the Russian Federation, Eastern Europe and Latin America where fast growth and low labour costs have proved attractive.

Developing countries with high natural forest cover have received little private sector investment. Investments there in forest protection and community forests have been provided primarily by ODA. Such ODA has increasingly moved towards payments for REDD+ readiness. This includes about US$ 2.3 billion from multilateral sources, US$ 4.8 billion from bilateral programmes between 2008 and 2010 and an additional US$ 4.3 billion in commitments to fast-start financing for REDD+ since 2010. Almost 70 per cent of these funds are destined to high forest cover countries (especially Brazil and Indonesia with 52 per cent of the global deforestation net area), with smaller countries with less forest missing out (Simula, 2010). The balance of ODA funding to large-scale industrial forestry or smaller locally-controlled forestry is unclear – but is in any case dwarfed by private direct investment.

The pattern of forest investment described above is generally towards large-scale industrial forestry and not generally towards smaller locally-controlled forests (despite some ODA initiatives). Yet the evidence that industrial forestry has contributed towards greater equity and poverty reduction is scarce (Mayers, 2006). Indeed it is locally-controlled forests (including Indigenous, community and smallholder family forest areas) that have been found generally to be positive forces for forest conservation (Molnar et al. 2007). They have also been found to deliver substantial household-level financial benefits (Kelleher 2011). But local people must have commercial interest in standing forest if they are to keep the forest standing (Carter et al. 2007). Recent evidence shows that community forest management is better at avoiding deforestation even than state protected areas (Porter-Bolland et al. 2012). Yet despite recent progress between 1985 and 2000 in which the forest area owned and administered by communities in developing countries more than doubled to over 380 M ha (White and Martin, 2007), there has more recently been a stagnation or even backlash against forest communities asserting their rights to forest lands where they have lived for centuries (RRI 2011).

1.4 A question of values?

The combination of poverty and forest loss or degradation has often been treated as a 'supply-side' problem. The focus of attention has therefore been directed towards changing the ethical values or principles that shape the action of subsistence agriculturalists, miners, infrastructure developers etc. whose current activities lead to conversion of forests to other land uses. Indeed even in recent work to assess demand-side measures, much recent activity is directed towards reforming production, not addressing consumption (Walker et al. 2013). Formulated as a supply-side problem, one might expect to find differences in the ethics of different moral communities. Let us take Group A (say, a moral community consisting of palm oil developers) and Group B (say, a moral community consisting of Indigenous rain forest people). We might expect to find competing visions of what is worthy of a degree of moral consideration (values), what ought to happen as a result (principles), and over what timeframe (duration). Purely hypothetically, perhaps Group A have little short term interest in the stewardship of natural or cultural heritage but instead strongly value the material wellbeing that comes from profitable plantations that they own. Group B might think differently, but have insufficient power to do anything about it. Prevailing business models and governance structures and incentives might therefore reflect the aspirations of Group A rather than Group B.

If this were true, we would need to find ways of bringing other forest-protecting values into the calculus of decision-making of Group A – what economists have called 'internalising the externalities' (Richards, 2010). If only Group A gave greater consideration to the full complement of values provided by forests, the problem described above would be solved – or so the argument goes.

As noted above, enormous effort and expense has been expended in pursuit of this argument. New efforts to include the values of Group B through processes of Free Prior Informed Consent (FPIC) have complemented investments in both (i) REDD+ which captures forest environmental values through new

carbon payment mechanisms; and (ii) FLEGT (and other demand-side measures) which negotiate principles and assurance systems for forest legality against which trade can be enforced.

2. Interrogating the sufficiency of key existing forest development approaches

REDD+ approaches

In 2007 the Stern review calculated that avoiding deforestation was likely to be relatively cheap in comparison with avoiding emissions elsewhere ($5-10 billion annually or US$ 1-2 per t/CO2) and that oversight costs would be tiny in the eight countries responsible for the bulk of deforestation, US$ 12-93 million annually (Stern, 2007). REDD therefore began to look attractive and became a term formally recognized in the international climate change negotiations in 2007 with a decision agreed at the 2007 UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) in Bali, Indonesia (decision 2/CP.13). In addition to deforestation, decision 2/CP.13 acknowledged that forest degradation also leads to emissions and needed to be addressed when reducing emissions from deforestation. Parties to the UNFCCC then agreed to consider policy approaches and positive incentives on issues relating to REDD in developing countries and 'the role of conservation, sustainable management of forests and enhancement of forest carbon stocks in developing countries'. It is this last clause on the role of conservation and sustainable management that has added the 'plus' in REDD+ discussions. Within REDD+, mechanisms to avoid forest conversion to other land uses (e.g. to palm oil development on peat lands) have been particularly hotly debated (van Noordwijk et al. 2010).

FLEGT approaches

Similarly in 2003, the EU adopted the EU Forest Law Enforcement, Governance and Trade (FLEGT) Action Plan describing various mechanisms for curbing illegal logging and fostering good governance in timber producing countries. Despite substantial progress in developing the EU FLEGT Action Plan, negotiating VPAs, shifting market sentiment through private sector efforts to clean up their supply chains, and alongside new public procurement policies – a review noted little work on the greater due diligence over finance and investment decisions which affect forests (Hudson and Paul, 2011). More recently there have been substantial developments relating to similar legality assurance systems for forest risk commodities (e.g. palm oil development).

The success of REDD+ and FLEGT in turning round the truculent global economic 'donkey' will stand or fall on whether the environmental payment 'carrot' of REDD+ and the legal-trade enforcement 'stick' of the FLEGT Action Plan are sufficient to address what is seen as a supply-side problem. Can REDD+ and FLEGT compensate producers sufficiently for forgone revenues and incentivise legal practices that recognise the broader contribution of forests to what humans' value?

Given the scale of finances involved and the importance of the outcomes for humanity, it is worth interrogating these solutions further. From an ethical perspective, two questions deserve further analysis:

- What is the full contribution of forested landscapes to what humans' value?
- To what extent might major forest approaches such as REDD+ and FLEGT lead to the inclusion of such values in decision-making?

2.1 The full contribution of forested landscapes to what humans value

In assessing countless government, NGO and private sector documents relating to forests I find a remarkable consistency in the way in which forests are perceived to contribute to what humans value. Since Maslow first outlined his hierarchy of physiological, safety, love, esteem and self-actualisation needs (Maslow, 1943) there have been several criticisms of his work, principally directed at the hierarchical, step-wise nature of his scheme, and cultural differences affecting what is valued within that hierarchy (see the review in Martins et al. 2012). Nevertheless, the idea that humans ascribe value variously has spawned a substantial literature in developing categories for what humans ascribe value to – and investigating how such values are prioritised in decision-making.

It was soon recognised that once an essential subsistence threshold had been met, continued prioritisation of physiological needs does not necessarily maximise human fulfilment (Lebret, 1961), and

that other categories to which humans ascribe value require greater attention (Sen, 1999). Inevitably, there a rich psychological literature has also developed, describing how such values might be used to exploit consumer behaviour (e.g. the AIDA model: 'Awareness – Interest – Desire – Action of Valkratsas and Ambler, 1999). Sociologists have also made much of the impact of social inequity in driving social comparisons in consumption. The greater the inequity – the greater the potential for consumption to act as a means of self-expression has become (e.g. niche products that cater to particular values and self-identity – see Warde, 1994) – an important driver of consumption growth.

Although there is still no real consensus in psychology or sociology as to where the boundaries of categories of value lie (see Alkire, 2002) it is possible to articulate an irreducible minimum of at least six categories of 'what people ascribe value to' (Macqueen, 2004) acceptable to major world faiths and other major world views (Macqueen, 2005a). These are incommensurate – not readily measured on any scale but their own (Macqueen, 2005b) – see figure 1. And as yet, the metrics to assess these values are desperately lacking (see Stiglitz et al., 2010). It is also important to note that 'what people ascribe value to' does not necessarily equate with personal drivers, guiding life principals and morals (and therein lies a problem we will address further below).
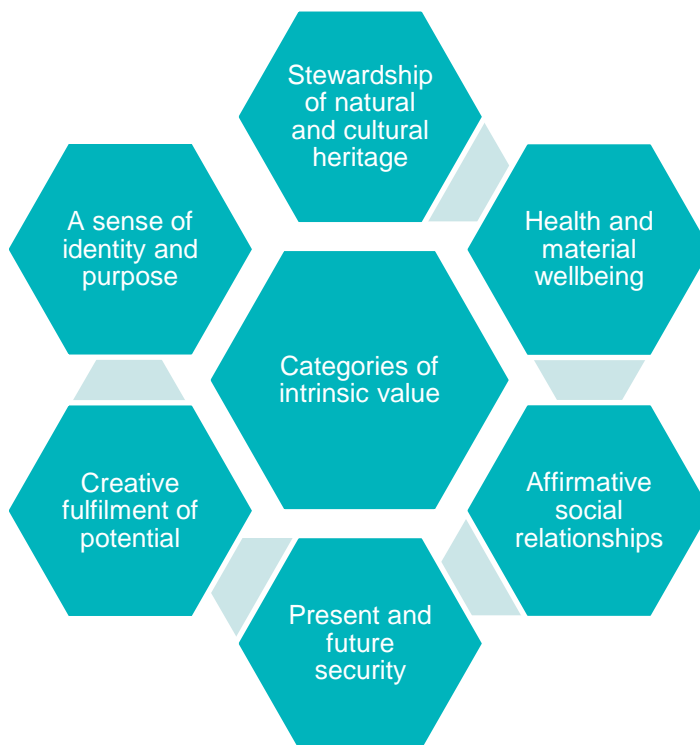
Figure 1. Six incommensurate anthropogenic categories of intrinsic value

The validity of these categories is seen, for example, by their articulation in the UN declaration on Human Rights (1948 – direct quotes in italics):

Value category 1. Stewardship of natural and cultural heritage – for *example "the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits… the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay".* Plus from more recent *declarations "the right to live in a world free from toxic pollution and environmental degradation".*

Value category 2. Health and material wellbeing – for example "*the right to life and liberty… the right to own property alone as well as in association with others… the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services… the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself*

and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection".

Value category 3. Affirmative social relationships – for example *"the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association … the right to marry and to found a family … without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status… the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives."*

Value category 4. Present and future security – for example *"the right to security of the person… to equal protection by the law… the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty"* and to be free from *"slavery and servitude…torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment… arbitrary arrest, detention or exile… the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution".*

Value category 5. Creative fulfilment of potential – for example *"the right to education… directed to the full development of the human personality…the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment… the right to equal pay for equal work…the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests".*

Value category 6. A sense of identity and purpose – for example, *"the right to freedom of opinion and expression…to hold opinions without interference … the right to a nationality… the right to change his nationality… the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance".*

Thought experiments quickly reveal that complete removal of any one of these categories of value would invalidate value in the other categories. For example, what value health and material wellbeing in the face of total despair over identity and purpose? What value creative fulfilment of potential in the face of complete destruction of natural and cultural heritage? And so on.

Moving from these broad categories of what humans ascribe value to towards the narrower ambit of what people ascribe value to in forest landscapes, one arrives at something with which most people instinctively agree (Table 1).

	Categories of value ascribed by humans	The contribution of forested landscapes
1	Stewardship of natural and cultural heritage	Forested landscapes are a source of natural beauty and cultural diversity for our contemplation and enjoyment
2	Health and material wellbeing	Forest products (food, fibre, fuel, medicines and cosmetics) help sustain health and contribute to material wellbeing
3	Affirmative social relationships	Sustainable forest management is a powerful agenda that bridges personal and national differences
4	Present and future security	Forest ecosystems help maintain vital atmospheric carbon, hydrological, pollination, seed dispersal and soil cycles
5	Creative fulfilment of potential	Sustainable forest enterprises provide opportunities to learn and work in harmony with the natural environment
6	A sense of collective identity and purpose	Forest stewardship contributes to identity and purpose (including spirituality) across diverse cultural contexts

Table 1. The contribution of forested landscapes to categories to which humans ascribe value

It is worth reiterating the fact that each of these categories of value is incommensurate with the others. In order to be separate categories of value that must be the case. In other words, these categories of value cannot readily be measured on each other's scales. The second category of value (health and material comfort) is most readily measured using financial metrics (or fairly simple proxies), but the

same cannot be said for the other categories. For example, it is not easy to quantify financially the value of stewardship of natural and cultural heritage, friendship, security, creative fulfilment or a sense of identity. Economists try (see for example recent attempt by Arrow et al. 2012), because there are perceived advantages to a single value scale, but the attempts are at best inadequate and at worst objectionable. Much better would be to develop independent scales for each category (e.g. using something approximating the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment for category 1 or some form of natural capital accounting and so on).

Idealism aside, capitalism restricts most political thinking to solutions that are articulated financially in the market. So we consider the adequacy of such an approach below.

2.2 The extent to which current approaches capture the full value of forests

Returning to look at the values ascribed by different moral communities – we would expect certain groups (such as Group B – Indigenous rain forest people) to readily endorse the full contribution of forests to what humans value. But can financial incentive mechanisms bring about change in the activities of moral communities who are perceived to be problematic for the future of forested landscapes (such as Group A – the palm oil developers)?

At first glance the omens appear to be good. Moral communities like Group A justify what they produce as a response to market demand, in other words what people want. It is because people want palm oil (for their material health and wellbeing) that such production occurs. If market or trade signals (i.e. financial incentives or procurement laws) can include other categories of value, such as natural and cultural heritage and so on, then it should be possible to shift the activities of Group A towards the provision of those values too. Indeed, this is what seems already to be taking place. Market and potential trade signals relating to consumer concerns over deforestation due to palm oil production have led to the formation of the Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). This body which represents at least part of Group A have developed principles and criteria for sustainable palm oil (RSPO, 2007) which now endorse at least partially each category of value listed above:

Stewardship of natural and cultural heritage: RSPO criteria for legal compliance relating to national laws on environment (e.g., wildlife laws, pollution, environmental management and forestry laws) and countries' obligations under international laws or conventions (e.g. the Convention on Biodiversity, CBD) plus criteria on not replacing since November 2005 any primary forest, identifying and conserving threatened or endangered species and high conservation value habitats.

Health and material wellbeing: RSPO criteria for legal compliance relating to health and occupational safety, pay and conditions, social impacts, grievance mechanisms, continuous improvement plans etc.

Affirmative social relationships: RSPO criteria relating to transparency and commitment to legal land use rights which are not legitimately contested by local communities and do not diminish the legal rights, or customary rights, of other users, without their free, prior and informed consent (FPIC), and compensation for land acquired where there is consent.

Present and future security: RSPO criteria relating to soil conservation, the quality maintenance of ground and surface water, agrochemical use in such a way as not to harm health or the environment, waste reduction, recycling and re-use, the reduction in pollution and emissions (including greenhouse gases)

Creative fulfilment of potential: RSPO criteria on adequate training of staff, the identification and mitigation of negative social impacts, open and transparent communication between growers millers, communities and other affected parties, pay and conditions for employees meeting at least minimum legal standards, respect for the right to join or form trade unions, the prohibition of any form of discrimination, fair dealing with smallholders and other local businesses etc.

A sense of collective identity and purpose: Criteria on the contribution to sustainable development and management plans that aim to achieve long term economic and financial viability.

Similar concerns over such values can be found across other moral communities that are perceived to be problematic for the future of forested landscapes such as pulp and paper plantation developers (IIED, 1996), the mining community (MMSD, 2002), and even the petrochemical industry (ICCA, 2006).

Now, just because some members of a moral community recognise values and develop principles such as those above, does not mean that all members recognise or abide by them (the problem of personal drivers, guiding life principles and morals noted above). For example, there are plenty of palm oil companies who are not RSPO compliant. But it does suggest that the recognition of such values within those moral communities is possible – and is encouraged by financial and trade incentives (as envisaged by REDD+ and FLEGT). Additional financial incentives for palm oil production that does not cause deforestation and degradation through REDD+ or legality assurance schemes for sustainable palm oil, if well designed, might be expected to further boost the consideration of broader human values with moral communities such as Group A. But will it be enough?

2.3 The sufficiency of key forest development initiatives: REDD+ and FLEGT

Questions over the adequacy of the two main channels of ODA finance REDD+ and FLEGT begin to resurface as soon as one revisits the underlying causes of the forest problem (described in Chapter 1). For here we find that, in addition to the problem of ODA being dwarfed by private sector investment – much of what is really alarming for future forested landscapes is the 'demand-side' problem. There is a growing elephant in the room that we might label Group C (worldwide consumers) soon to reach 9 billion strong and increasingly located in cities. Governments wedded to a philosophy of economic growth assume that meeting these wants affordably is best achieved by focusing on the second of the six categories of value (health and material wellbeing). They therefore fight to prosper this narrow expression of citizen value and facilitate a trebling of GDP towards an estimated US$100 trillion by 2030.

When the growth in numbers of worldwide consumers is considered (Group C), REDD+ and FLEGT seem less than adequate as a response. They assume that we can pay those governing problematic supply-side actors such as Group A (e.g. palm oil developers) – or incentivise them through trade restrictions – within finite forested landscapes for either (i) forgone production (perceived to be untenable given increasing consumer demand) or (ii) increasing production that has no detrimental impacts on other things that humans value such as the stewardship of natural and cultural endowments, affirmative social relationships, present and future security, creative fulfilment through education and work, and a sense of identity and purpose. With demand rising inexorably, that's a tall order.

There is undoubtedly some slack in the system in which promising agroforest and alternative land use practices can enhance carbon sequestration while also producing more of what Group C want (Dixon et al., 1994). Recent research highlights at a rather broad 1 x 1 km pixel size degraded landscapes where there is believed to be some potential for forest restoration in order to meet climate change mitigation objectives (Laestadius et al. 2010). But it is not at all clear if this land is available for forest restoration when consideration is given to the growing demand for food, feed, fuel and fibre which will require, for example 70 per cent more food production by 2050 (FAO, 2010).

The global agro-ecological assessment (Fischer et al., 2002) asserts that enough food can be produced to meet the needs of 9.3 billion people in 2050 on currently cultivated land (1.5 billion hectares out of a total reserve of 2.5 billion hectares of land suitable or very suitable for cultivation) *if* sustainable management and adequate inputs are applied. Should an expansion in cultivable area occur, some 0.6 billion hectares of the total reserve of suitable and very suitable cultivable land is currently under forest, and this would have severe environmental consequences. Fischer et al (2006) note that in the developing world estimates of cultivated land in official statistics may underestimate use by 10-20 per cent (which would equate to as much as 0.35 billion hectares across the globe). Cotula et al. (2009) also question the treatment of shifting cultivation in the original assessment of 2002 and calculate that if a ratio of five plots under fallow to one plot under cultivation was used, the cultivated land would exceed the total reserve of cultivable land. More recent work to model land use scenarios backs this up. The omission of shifting cultivation and wood harvest and choice of start date had a greater impact than the choice of emissions scenario in determining outcomes (Hurtt et al. 2011). In other words, there may be some 'unutilised' cultivable land in regions such as Africa, but not much.

Recent reports have sounded a more cautionary note, suggesting limited availability of additional high-quality land for food, feed, fuel and fibre sectors. More emphasis is now placed on the uncertainty

regarding viability of using marginal land with growing risks of yield damage due to extreme weather episodes and widespread negative climate change impacts after middle of century (Fischer 2009). While future expansion of agricultural land and loss of forest may not be inevitable – climatically tolerable emissions scenarios to stabilise forest loss would require *both* supply-side agricultural investment of approximately US$ 83 billion (FAO, 2010) *and* major demand-side measures such as dietary shifts (Hurtt et al. 2011) and reductions in food waste (Parfitt et al. 2010; Foley, 2011). REDD+ and FLEGT are simply not set up to deliver the scale of finance and spread of legal enforcement that is required.

A twofold conundrum gives further pause for thought: (i) current human want already exceeds the sustainable carrying capacity of the natural environment (WWF, 2010) and (ii) current economic systems leave 925 million people hungry (FAO, 2011). These facts hint at the importance of making progress on the demand-side elements of the forest problem – not just the supply-side elements. Growth for all is simply not possible – and no amount of internalising externalities or legalising trade will make it possible.

In moving forward there will have to be contraction for some as well as convergence for others (especially in areas that contribute minimally to actual value). There will need to be a much more efficient pursuit of what humans ascribe value to across all six categories to make required contraction not only palatable but attractive.

3. Re-examining the problem

In the preceding section 2.1, this paper introduced six categories of what humans ascribe value to. It argued that these values had considerable endorsement in human rights legislation. It also asserted that these values were widely supported even by those considered problematic for deforestation and degradation. Yet the subsequent sections argued that getting these values better reflected in decision-making while possible, and useful, was not sufficient to halt forest loss. How do we explain the destructive patterns of human-environment interaction when almost everyone appreciates and has concern for forests?

3.1 Polarity in the pursuit of values

If it is not what people value, then it must be how people *pursue* those values, which is decisive for the perplexing state of the world. It is here that the issue of selfishness must be addressed. As noted above principally in relation to health and material wellbeing, it is not that people value health and material wellbeing that is problematic, but that people want too much of it selfishly, and structure business and nation states to acquire it for them, indifferent to the carrying capacity of the planet or those in more urgent need. This introduces to the demand-side problem questions of morality that we need to address.

Nor is it just excessive pursuit of health and material wellbeing that requires moral attention. For each of the other categories to which humans ascribe value there are similar moral dimensions. For example, there is nothing intrinsically wrong with valuing stewardship of natural and cultural endowments. But when such wants are pursued selfishly, this can quickly lead to annexation of natural environments critical to the survival of others or cultural imperialism in which alternative worldviews are dismissed (see for example the review of 'green grabbing' by Fairhead et al. 2012). Similarly, there is nothing intrinsically wrong with valuing affirmative social relationships. But the selfish pursuit of like-minded alliances can quickly lead to protectionism and the securitisation of resources in favour of those groups. Likewise, there is nothing intrinsically wrong with valuing security. Yet the selfish pursuit of security for ourselves or people like us can lead to injustice for those less powerful. Again, there is nothing intrinsically wrong with valuing creative fulfilment through education and work – but selfish pursuit of the same can lead to the introduction of entry requirements and frontiers that discriminate against those outside out group. Finally, there is nothing intrinsically wrong with valuing a sense of identity and purpose – but anchoring such identities and purposes to selfish ends can lead to fundamentalism, imperialism and social breakdown.

How people pursue values has also been the subject of considerable empirical analysis – particularly in relation to 'bigger-than-self-problems' that require collective action (see Crompton, 2010). For example Schwartz (1992) assessed universals in the content and structure of values with empirical tests in 20 countries. The result was a diagram of ten types of universal that involved striking and distinct polarity – between 'self-enhancement' and 'self-transcendence': i.e. the pursuit of 'personal achievement' and 'power' at one extreme (with a suite of other values associated with those), and the pursuit of 'benevolence' and 'universalism' at the other extreme (plus a suite of other values correlated with those). In other words, polar differences in the way different people pursue different values are an empirical fact. Moreover, despite the fact that people often do not practice what they preach, this polarity clearly affects people's behaviour as they weigh up trade-offs within an integrated value system (Bardi and Schwartz, 2003).

Repeatedly, individuals and cultures that attach greater importance to values oriented towards 'self-transcendence' are more likely to be more concerned with both social justice and environmental protection (Crompton, 2010). Moreover, the more particular behaviours are encouraged with an orientation towards 'self-transcendence', the easier it is to activate other correlated behaviours (and vice versa). It therefore matter how development is framed within structured background of experience, beliefs or practices that constitute a kind of conceptual pre-requisite for understanding meaning (Fillmore and Atkins, 1992).

Understanding this polarity, and the need to carefully frame development, is useful because it forces a consideration of how to replace values and principles based on 'self-enhancement' in favour of 'self-transcendent' values and principles that reflect the collective good over agreed timeframes. Even in

evolutionary biology, the resurgence of group selection theory since the mid-1990s undermines any suggestion that humans are necessarily selfish (see Wilson and Wilson, 2008; Bourke, 2011). When problems emerge, when societal outcomes are observably meeting the aspirations of certain individuals in the short term rather than the longer term interests of the collective good (for example, the loss of forests on which local people and our planetary future depends), it is time to realign business models and governance structures more closely with ethical principles. One initial challenge is to frame development in such a way that it resonates with peoples of different cultural, political and religious persuasions – and this is why this paper turns now to a consideration of love.

3.2 Alignment between human values and three of the four loves

Love is a concept that spans cultural, political and religious divides. To biological science it is a core element of the mammalian drive (Haufe, 2008). In psychology, it is the three elements of intimacy, commitment and passion which help define behaviour (Sternberg, 1986). But there is also a fourth element to love that is found in Christian *agape* or 'loving-kindness', Islamic *birr* or 'deep kindness', Buddhist *mettā* or 'benevolent love' and Hindu *prema* or 'elevated love', Confucian *ren* or 'benevolent love'. The widespread acceptance of the importance of love is important. Putting it centre stage can help realign development frameworks towards the collective good, as we explore below.

In the following sections I opt to follow Greek philosophical thought on love as it captures the four elements commonly ascribed to love – noted above (see Lewis, 1960): (i) fondness through familiarity (Storge); (ii) relationship through common interest (Phileo); (iii) emotional or physical passion (Eros); and (iv) unconditional altruistic love (Agape). The first three of these form a useful way of grouping the different categories to which humans ascribe value (three main pillars of development) – while the fourth defines how those loves are pursued (the trajectory of development).

For example:

- Familiarity (Storge) – Issues of rights

    o Value category 1. Appreciation and stewardship of natural and cultural heritage. Change in this category is usually measured against the historical environmental and social context with which individuals have familiarity.

    o Value category 2. Health and material comfort. Change in this category is often measured against the standard of living with which individuals have familiarity.

- Relationship (Phileo) – Issues of governance

    o Value category 3. Affirmative social relationships. Change in this category is often described in terms of the evolution of shared interest or ties that define relationship.

    o Value category 4. Present and future security. Change in this category is often described by the strength, stability and sustainability of communities, recourse to justice, safety networks and so on ultimately based on ties of relationship (albeit some formalised into institutional structures – including the military).

- Passion (Eros) – Issues of enterprise

    o Value category 5. Creative fulfilment of potential. Change in this category is usually measured in terms of passions be they academic or professional or romantic.

    o Value category 6. Sense of identity and purpose. Change in this category is often measured in terms of passions be they for family, nationality, religious faith or other.

Change within the different categories of love and the sub-categories of value within them, are inevitably framed in individual terms, based on the exposure of individuals to the world around them. But it is important to note also that certain institutional constructs also take on the persona of individuals (notably companies and nation states) and that these may, and indeed do, aspire to and measure change. These constructs often aggregate or even supersede individual value sets. And because business models and the governance structures of nation states, like individuals, vary in: how they are made up, what relative weight they give to different values, and how they pursue them – it is vital that

we question the ethics of such constructs, in just the same way that one might question the ethics of an individual.

3.3 Introducing the fourth love – agape – within a framework to transform development

Although the first three loves can be used to frame the three central pillars of development (namely the values of social / environmental heritage, governance and enterprise that individuals, or corporations or nation states pursue) – it is the fourth love that defines how those values are pursued – the trajectory of development. For the fourth love, agape (or altruistic loving kindness) determines whether values are pursued for personal profit or for the collective good – for self-enhancement or self-transcendence to use the terminology of Crompton (2010). And while many have argued that systemic support for the pursuit of self-enhancement may result in the collective good, or may at least be the best system option available to us, it is both interesting and vital for humanity that we continue to interrogate the truth of that assertion.

A rich history of personal morality from both Eastern and Western traditions suggests a contrary argument – that striving / the pursuit of self-enhancement rarely leads to the collective good – and indeed may be diametrically opposed to it. Table 2 below represents a summary of that moral dichotomy as it pertains to the categories of 'what people ascribe value to' – and the very different developmental outcomes that result.

Sphere of action	Rights		Governance		Enterprise	
Basis of action	Storge / fondness through familiarity		Phileo / relationship through common interest or ties		Eros / passion through emotional or physical connection	
Value pursuit	Agape / Love / Self-transcendence					
Development outcome	Abundance and beauty for all	Healthy levels of material comfort	Trust and friendship	Law and order for social justice	Decent work, social stability and family time	Productive gender-balanced society
Social constructs	Local resource rights and land use planning	Locally-controlled health and business services	Federation to represent localised democracies.	Redistributive justice backed by fair judicial system protect poor	Public entre-preneurial education and family friendly support systems	Service-oriented gendered business and peer rewards
Virtues	Temperance / social behaviour	Prudence / empathy	Humility / respect for each other	Justice / charity	Creativity / self-expression / fidelity	Diligence / service / gender equity
What humans value	Stewardship of natural and cultural heritage	Material health and wellbeing	Affirmative social relationships	Present and future security	Creative fulfilment of potential	Sense of identity / purpose
Vices	Acquisitive, anti-social behaviour	Greed and criminal neglect	Pride / scorn for others	Injustice / oppression	Envy / career slavery / lust	Sloth / hedonism / sexism
Social constructs	Unplanned competitive approach to rights and land use	Capital-controlled health oriented corporations	Elites / lobbies control national decision-making	Corrupted officials, judiciary and armed forces protect elites	Limited private education and incentives for work stressed dehumanising industries	Status tied to awards based on wealth / position
Development outcome - Dystopia	Scarcity and restricted beauty	Illness and inequitable vulnerability	Mistrust and ghettoed securitization	Corruption and conflict	Drudgery, social unrest and family breakdown	Culture of listless, sexist escapism
Value pursuit	Ego / Selfishness / Self-enhancement					

Table 2. Framework for transforming development

A table such as the above will inevitably fall short in its attempt to condense complex realities into boxes. Its main purpose, however, is to draw attention to two important things:

1. The pursuit of the same values, but in different ways (selfishly versus selflessly) has profoundly different impacts. And this is true of whether those values are pursued primarily at individual or corporate or nation state level. Agreed and full valuation alone is insufficient as a means of ensuring desirable developmental outcomes. In other words, putting a price tag on, say, the environmental carbon benefits of forests will not necessarily guarantee a desirable outcome. Neither will ensuring systems of legality that have been unfairly negotiated. Broader reform is necessary.

2. Reform at the individual level can contribute, but is not sufficient to alter the developmental trajectory we are on. For that, we need also the reform of business models and governance structures of nation states.

All of this is rather obvious. Indeed, REDD+ and FLEGT initiatives have specifically attempted to reform forest rights, governance and enterprise – with not insubstantial attention to the political processes by which decisions for the collective good are made. Prior work of certification bodies such as the Forest Stewardship Council (FSC) and Programme for the Endorsement of Certification (PEFC) are two further notable and on-going attempts. Such initiatives have had considerable bite – and yet the forests are still in trouble – and not just the forests, but humanity too. Therefore, in the following and final section this paper explores how to implement a deeper transformation.

4. Implementing a new framework to transform development

This paper has described the forest problem, asserted that it cannot be addressed solely by better capturing the full valuation of forest in decision-making or the enforcement of legality (though both are important). It has advanced a framework to show how the pursuit of the same values in different ways can have radically different outcomes both for the forests and the people who depend on them.

4.1 Bridging the gap between personal morality and institutional constructs

This is where the challenge lies. Changing individual patterns of behavior are challenging enough but existing institutional constructs manifested in the business models and governance structures of nation states are deeply embedded. But can we really settle, for example, for introducing legality assurance systems (LAS) within FLEGT without changing manifestly unfair systems of resource rights, pushing sustainable forest management certification without questioning the legitimacy of forest ownership, rolling out REDD+ strategies and monies without deepening democratic accountability for them, investing in Monitoring Reporting and Verification (MRV) without questioning the entitlements we assess, pushing economic growth without any thought to whom it benefits, lauding those who have taken their own reward already?

Given potentially diametrically opposite outcomes for environment and development from love-infused versus selfish pursuit of the same value sets – it is important to take a sharp ethical look at the extent to which institutional constructs are delivering collective versus personal gains. This means applying standards of personal morality to business models and governance structures. For example, it is no use frowning on personal greed in consumption, while designing or accepting business models and governance structures that maximize profits for capital investors.

4.2 Six targets for a forest-development love-in

1. **Local resource rights and land use planning (towards stewardship of natural and cultural heritage)**

   Personal morality often denounces as anti-social the pursuit of one's personal values to the detriment of the multiple values of others. In the forest development context, local forest right-holders enjoy, through their proximity, the multiple contributions of forests to what is considered valuable. Yet frequently, the needs of distant capitalised consumers (e.g. for either food-fuel-fibre or forest conservation / recreation) exerted through market forces, monopolise these landscapes for a particular distant end – to the detriment of the local cultural values and practices. For example, agricultural investments in service of the global consumer frequently result in land grabs that marginalise local stewardship of natural and cultural heritage (Cotula, 2013). This is often bad both for local forest right-holders and the forests. Beyond the personal morality of humility and temperance, this pattern can be corrected through institutional reform relating to who is given forest rights and how land use planning takes place.

   Rights and processes of land use planning must reside at local level precisely because it is here that there is cognisance of and capacity to balance the multiple values ascribed to forests by local people with demands based on outside values. Of course it must be well-informed and governed. There needs also to be credible data and awareness at local levels of national and global imperatives that require consideration in local land use planning – but too often these distant imperatives have trumped local conceptions of value. In most pre-industrial contexts local rights and land use planning was the norm. The natural cultural and environmental endowment was managed locally to meet the needs of all members of the local community. But with the rise of nation states and post-industrial economies, local land use planning was often over-ridden by distant macro-economic decision-making which frames decisions in terms of optimal economic efficiency. This favours outcomes that concentrate production at its most globally competitive location, irrespective of the presence and values of local people. Local injustices are ignored in favour of global public goods. Decisions of this sort are not only unjust (see Macqueen, 2013a), they may also fail to deliver the global public goods used to justify them. Taking action is not easy. It often involves bravely

taking on powerful vested interests – using carefully gathered, credible evidence, that is then wielded by alliances of local groups who have worked to establish trusting links with the media – and simply not giving up. Yet when coalitions come together to put local rights and decision making in local hands, for example in the Guatemalan Petén or the middle hills of Nepal, both people and forests get a better deal (see Macqueen, 2013b).

2. **Locally-controlled enterprise forms (towards material health and wellbeing)**

Personal morality often denounces as greedy or even criminally negligent the selfish pursuit of one's own, or the careless, inattentive, neglectful or wilfully blind disregard for another's, health or wellbeing. Yet, in forest-rich countries in development there are huge inequities in the distribution of medical care, food, energy, and construction materials. These result in critical deprivation of material health and wellbeing for the many in favour of the few. A key problem is that the economic architecture of corporations creates a distance between the owners (often distance shareholders) and the impacts of the business' action. The legal construct with obligations on managers to maximise quarterly returns can too easily result in turning a blind-eye to broader impacts – that are much harder to ignore in locally-controlled enterprises. The results are visible in forest land grabs that fuel forest conversion for profit, while simultaneously ignoring the needs and predicament of local forest right-holders. Beyond appeals to personal morality for greater empathy, this pattern can be corrected through reforming incentives governing different business forms.

Business forms were designed by society – and can be changed to pursue societal ends. Forms in which the business is public (e.g. public health services), or private but not-for-profit, have markedly different outlooks from for-profit corporates. Similarly businesses that are majority owned and managed in a participatory way by the people who work in them (or who use their services, or who live in their environs) are more likely to be aware of the impacts on local health and wellbeing than forms based on financial shareholding alone. These forms (e.g. worker, consumer and housing co-operatives) are functional in most country contexts. They include many local co-op stores, but also some major success stories (e.g. Carl Zeiss, United Airlines, John Lewis and in the forest sector Södra) and some (e.g. Mondragon in Spain) have the highest labour productivity in their country. Yet their ethical advantages are unrecognised, and unrewarded, in legal or fiscal terms. Instead, profit-driven corporations, which thrive on the differential between producer and consumer for those profits, and manifestly contribute to global inequalities, are allowed equal terms. This needs to be turned around through concerted development intervention. While FPIC has usefully empowered the cause of those negotiating with conventional corporate business models and top-down government structures – a deeper transformation is needed such that there are fewer bad businesses and officials to negotiate with.

3. **Federation to represent localised democracies (towards affirmative social relationships)**

Personal morality often denounces as proud and self-serving attempts to impose one's own will, rather than that of the majority, through social manipulation. But the use of personal contacts, rather than due legal process, is in many parts of the world the norm in the commercial allocation of forest resources. The problem of lobbyists is common to most areas of public policy and the forest sector is no exception. Reviews suggest that the allocation of large commercial concessions, often behind closed doors, has done little to reduce poverty (see Mayers, 2006). While certification systems offer independent scrutiny of resultant forest management practices, they do little to ensure that processes of political decision-making are improved. A key problem is that local forest right-holders are remote from the centres of power – and often also geographically isolated from each other. The resources required to mobilise politically in order to address inequities in the allocation of forest resources are hard to come by. Beyond the personal morality of respect for others, this pattern can be addressed by strengthening democratic organisations that represent the collective interests of local right-holders.

Organisation is a key element of making the voice of local right-holders count. At local level the best options for organisation are around commercial opportunities linked to forest and farm production (see Elson, 2012). That is not to say that local groups cannot mobilise around social or environmental issues. Merely that continued organisation requires resources, and at local level, resources are often generated through cooperative business arrangements. With a firm financial footing in place, regional associations can often form to provide services to the constituent

cooperative business membership. And at national level federations can begin to articulate the types of desired change in forest land allocation and legislation might be required to prosper the grassroots membership (see section on local resource rights and land use planning above). There is also a crucial role for international engagement by such groups (e.g. at the UN level to define legislation protecting the rights of Indigenous people, shape the Collaborative Partnership on Forests, inform the design of REDD+ and FLEGT initiatives etc.). Social organisation / organised labour movements have a chequered history – and perceptions about them vary hugely with political persuasion – but there is no doubt that some form of organised structure is necessary to voice the will of remote local peoples to the seats of power.

4. **Redistributive justice for land and forest resources (towards present and future security)**

Personal morality often denounces as oppressive attempts to hold illegitimate gains through superior physical force. Yet in the context of forest development forest law enforcement often backs up illegitimate claims to forest land and resource use. Although the use of military force to secure resources is perhaps more pronounced in other sectors, a problem that the forest sector shares with other sectors is that accumulation, based on capital begetting capital, results in inequity. Without means of redistribution (e.g. taxation and welfare, land redistribution, inheritance laws etc.) the gap between rich and poor grows. Inequality is provably bad for society in terms of infant death rates, child wellbeing, high school drop-out rates, social mobility between classes, development aid per capita, trust, mental illness, obesity, incidence of drug use, homicide, criminal imprisonment rates and so on (Wilkinson and Pickett, 2010) and inequality is also linked to forest-related conflicts (de Koning et al 2008). Beyond the personal morality of charity these patterns require better institutional mechanisms for fairly creating and redistributing wealth.

There are tried and tested ways of ensuring such redistribution happens to maintain equity. Redistribution of forest rights and resources to local right-holder groups is a necessary first step. Land and commercial forest resource rights should be formally claimed and registered to those who have historically resided and made use of those resources – in either communal or private traditions. Such rights need to supersede any interim allocations. Local land use planning should ultimately determine the acceptable uses of both claimed and unclaimed land. Any unclaimed forest land should be made available for public auction – for ownership or lease - in line with the prescribed function of local land use plans. All children and spouses should be eligible to inherit land ownership or lease rights so as to ensure that wealth does not become unduly concentrated in the hands of the few (or have an unfair gender bias). Land that has been unlawfully claimed should be auctioned with priority given to local purchasers. Businesses making commercial use of land and forest resources should offer salaries with agreed multiplier limits – capping any salaries that exceed the agreed multiple of the basic wage. Differentiated taxes should complement the above measures in redistributing wealth – with particular attention to closing tax loopholes and other ruses that disguise true earnings such as 'business expenses'. There should also be measures to ensure that the full social and environmental costs of production are included in any taxation system.

5. **Entrepreneurial education and support (towards creative fulfilment of potential)**

Personal morality often denounces as enslavement the treatment of human beings as machines. In the context of forest development, many forest jobs are low paid, repetitive and dangerous – with commonplace separation from family and related health and social issues. The capacity to move beyond low paid wage labour is essentially 'business capacity' – the skillset required to identify a sound value proposition and deliver a product or service to a particular customer base efficiently. Amazingly, the skills required for business are largely neglected in primary and secondary education in most countries, and in tertiary education in all but dedicated courses. It is possible to complete a forest degree without any understanding of balance sheets, profit and loss accounts, and cash flow analyses or how to prepare an investment proposal. Most countries' forest extension services do not offer business support – if they exist at all. Beyond the personal morality of creative self-expression this pattern can be addressed by mainstreaming entrepreneurial education into public education systems and enhancing small forest enterprise support structures.

Entrepreneurial education is all about giving local forest right-holders the confidence and capacity to fulfil their own potential through business. It levels the commercial playing field – and thereby enhances competition and added value. The means of education might be through primary and

secondary education (building accounting skills into maths problems for example). It might also be through better agricultural and forest extension services. But education alone is insufficient – it must be complemented by a coherent body of legislation and institutional practice that unleashes entrepreneurial potential (see Vorley et al, 2012): simplification of small business registration and tax procedures, fiscal incentives to help small-scale operators to compete, accessible credit and guarantee / insurance programmes, strong anti-monopoly powers, infrastructure support for traditional markets, information systems, transport and storage facilities, procurement policies favouring local suppliers.

6. **Service-oriented, gendered, business and peer rewards (towards a sense of identity and purpose)**

Personal morality often denounces as despair or escapism the paralysis that undermines constructive engagement. Yet in many forest development contexts actors face a profound sense of futility. A caricature of wealth and power for reckless miners of forest resources, versus poverty and marginalisation for those championing social and environmental issues, would not be far from the truth in many contexts. Some efforts have been made to turn this around through award schemes (e.g. the Equator Prize, the WWF Switzerland Tropical Forest Challenge) but these often offer limited profile and financial input. Beyond the personal morality of recognising diligent service in others, this pattern can be addressed through more formal recognition of service-oriented business or peer recognition at the national and international level.

Changing peer-recognition of what constitutes success is no small task. Peer-support for those attempting to serve the public good is fundamental and practical. It could perhaps be backed by special 'collective business awards' for distinguished stewards of forest resources. More important, however, is to introduce better fiscal incentives for social and or environmental business models. For example, tax deductions for particular business types that have strong social and environmental benefits (that would otherwise have to be delivered through government), subsidies for start-ups and financial and business development service provision for those business models, public procurement and profiling (advertising) that builds market access for those businesses and so on. The challenge would be to create a system that confers genuine personal and business advantage (e.g. peer-support, personal honours, business awards, fiscal incentives and so on) with sufficient breadth, rigour and resources to re-orient the commercial system away from a selfish pursuit of profit towards a genuinely innovative and competitive quest for collective improvement. But there definitely needs to be a move away from rewarding those who have simply pursued personal and business profit – towards rewarding those who have forsaken personal and business profit to effectively deliver public goods.

4.3 New criteria by which to measure progress

How might it be possible to start to bring about this forest development love-in? One option lies in changing how progress is measured – which inevitably affects what progress is delivered. Measurement frameworks to monitor progress are various – often narrowly concerned with forest management (e.g. the Forest Stewardship Council principles and criteria for the certification of sustainable forest management – FSC, 2013) or sometimes broader development outcomes (e.g. the 5 Capitals toll for assessing the poverty impacts of value chain development – Donovan and Stoian, 2012). But few frameworks capture the breadth of transformative action described above.

One initiative that comes closer to a broad developmental framework is the recent 'Investing in Locally-controlled Forestry' initiative. This is built on a dialogue series between investors, forest experts and representatives of three forest rights-holder groups (the International Alliance for Indigenous and Tribal Peoples of the Tropical Forests, the Global Alliance for Community Forestry and the International Family Forest Alliance) where participants debated what investing in locally-controlled forestry (ILCF) meant, why it was good for forests and people, and how to bring it about (see Macqueen et al. 2012). It was the breadth of value ascribed to forests – and captured in business notions of ILCF – that proved inspirational.

The word 'investing' was interpreted broadly to include both enabling investments and asset investments in locally-controlled forestry (LCF). LCF was defined by the three right-holders groups to be:

> *"the local right for forest owner families and communities to make decisions on commercial forest management and land use, with secure tenure rights, freedom of association and access to markets and technology."*

This definition captures the desired outcome of many of the transformative changes described above. The 'Guide to Investing in Locally Controlled Forestry' by Elson (2012) outlined some of the ingredients and steps required for successful ILCF – but this again limits measuring progress to the development of successful investments. For broader development objectives a fuller framework is needed.

Early work to apply the ILCF framework with Pyoe Pin and civil society groups in Myanmar on a market-led approach to community forestry, and rethinking the Mozambique country strategy for the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) allowed further development. In Mozambique, it was possible to screen possible support options against pre-requisites for successful locally-controlled forestry (see Nhantumbo et al. 2013). In that assessment, four basic pre-requisites for successful locally-controlled forestry were advanced:

- Secured commercial forest rights
- Enhanced business capacity
- Strengthened enterprise oriented organization
- Accessed markets, technology and investment

But viewing these pre-requisites through the broader ethical approach to forest development described above there are three areas of deficiency – in part because ILCF is linked specifically to locally-controlled enterprise development – rather than 'love-infused development' more broadly. Perhaps it might be better to phrase this positively as three areas that need to be added to ILCF in order to:

1. Pursue necessary **redistribution** of concentrations of forest land and resources through illegitimate process;

2. Invest in **education** at all levels to unleash entrepreneurial creativity and competition that is locally controlled;

3. Install a better system of **business and peer support** to reward business and entrepreneurs for service to broader societal values rather than personal profit.

In figure 2, (see below) an attempt is made to broaden the ILCF concept into a broad framework of love-infused-development in line with the additions above.

Figure 2. The basic cyclic hexagram of love-infused development [2]

Operationalizing this framework could initially be carried out through screening potential development options. Each option could be assessed for its contribution to six institutionally loving constructs that together contribute to love-infused-development. Drawing on the work of the Forest Governance Learning Group captured by Mayers (2010) – this assessment could be broken down into potential contributory actions towards bringing about change in those institutionally loving constructs (see Table 3 below).

In other words, an initiative might not be able to install the totality of one of these institutionally loving constructs, but could nevertheless contribute to it in some way. Indeed, the ambition of an initiative could be measured by how far towards that installation an initiative planned to / or had actually gone. Broadly this would be in the following sequence:

1. Evidence and options assessed;

2. Safe space and process arranged;

3. Capacity of relevant actors enhanced;

4. Agreed options advocated;

5. Opportunities for change taken.

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[2] Key: central hexagon represents developmental goal (see reframing in 4.4); six contributory hexagons represent contributory value objectives to achieve that goal; text below represents goal / values to be pursued; text above represents institutional constructs that ensure that the pursuit of those values will result in the collective, not personal, good.

In the same way that a set of criteria can be developed for 'utopian' outcomes – a set of criteria could also be developed to measure 'dystopian' outcomes – but I have chosen not to pursue that course for fear that it would result in a culture of blame rather than constructive endeavour.

Creativity will be needed to establish and screen new business models and governance structures against this framework of love-infused development. Quite how to spark sufficient self-transcendent love to design, maintain and if necessary reform institutional constructs in the face of selfish ambition is a topic that merits serious analysis but is far beyond the possibility of this short paper. Needless to say ways must be found personally and communally to engage in the excellence that is human selfless capability.

The take home message is that it is not inherently wrong to pursue that to which we ascribe value – but that we must put aside selfish business models and governance structures if we are to deliver something better for all. Building institutions that can bring out the best in people – rather than working with business models and governance structures that do not – that is the challenge ahead.

Value objective	Institutionally loving construct envisaged to pursue that value	Criteria against which to measure development interventions
Stewardship of natural and cultural heritage	Land use planning based on local rights	1. Evidence on local land use rights and priorities procured 2. Safe space and process to discuss evidence arranged 3. Constituencies to negotiate priorities strengthened 4. Land use plan options developed and advanced 5. Opportunities to implement options taken
Material health and wellbeing	Locally-controlled enterprise forms	1. Options for local enterprise development assessed 2. Space for employee owners to discuss options arranged 3. Enterprise organization and roles agreed and formalized 4. Business constraints identified and articulated 5. Market access and returns improved
Affirmative social relationships	Federations for political voice	1. Basis of collective action established 2. Space and process to agree constituency facilitated 3. Federation structures and financing established 4. Advocacy evidence and messages refined 5. Legislative and institutional changes achieved
Present and future security	Redistributive justice for land and forest resources	1. Redistributive targets for land, resource, salary assessed 2. Partnerships and negotiation process established 3. Specific legal and fiscal options developed 4. Preferred options to address inequality advanced 5. Redistributive measures implemented
Creative fulfilment of potential	Entrepreneurial education and support	1. Educational entrepreneurship possibilities assessed 2. Training package development planned 3. Appropriate business training course developers assigned 4. Course materials piloted and revised 5. Course delivery partners prepared and unleashed
Sense of identity and purpose	Service-oriented business and peer rewards	1. Award categories identified and negotiated 2. Institutional responsibilities for awards assigned 3. Screening and judging partnerships created 4. Publicity strategy and award resources secured 5. Business and peer awards re-orient social drivers

Table 3. Criteria by which to screen forest development options

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Love is profoundly at the heart of what makes life meaningful. Yet at the personal level its expression vies with more selfish tendencies. And at the collective level, it is often absent in business models and the governance structures of nation states. As individuals, businesses and nation states pursue legitimate values, love's perceptible presence, or absence, gives radically different trajectories to development: utopia or dystopia, heaven or hell.

This paper was written as a discourse on love-infused development, with a particular focus on forests (though by no means applicable only to them). The hope is that it might lighten the gloom that has crept into the development community in the wake of recent international events such as the Copenhagen COP and Rio+20.

Project materials

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Theme
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Keywords:
Forestry, Ethics, Governance, Investment

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