

FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO RESOURCE CONFLICT:  
A STUDY OF RIDING MOUNTAIN NATIONAL PARK  
IN ITS REGIONAL SETTING

By  
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ABSTRACT

In the late 1960's and early 1970's, national park policy began to place greater emphasis on the preservation of natural environments in national parks. This policy shift changed the traditional relationships between Riding Mountain National Park and neighboring landowners, who had made use of Park resources. Recent increases in beaver populations within Riding Mountain National Park and increases in depredation on adjacent private lands have aggravated the strained relations between the Park and surrounding region. Efforts to communicate the nature and spirit of local concerns are perceived to have met with little success, further adding to local frustrations.

This study, which surveyed landowners, municipal councils, provincial employees (Department of Natural Resources), and Parks Canada employees, documents the existence, extent, and nature of conflict between Riding Mountain National Park and the surrounding region. Perceptions concerning resource use, positive and negative Park influences, the nature of communication linkages and group interactions are examined to determine whether these factors contribute to conflict between the Park and the region. A conflict management model is proposed as a method of dealing with Park region conflict.

The study reveals that both substantive and affective conflict, misperceptions, and poor communications exist primarily between local people (landowners and municipal councillors) and Parks Canada. The major differences in perceptions and attitudes which exist between groups concern (1) the nature, severity, and resolutions of Park

impacts that negatively affect the region, (2) the use and management of Park resources, (3) the benefits accruing to the region as a result of the Park, and (4) the degree of concern which Parks Canada has exhibited regarding its affect on the surrounding region. The proposed conflict management model was found lacking because of: (1) problems of financing, (2) lack of authority to institute change, (3) jurisdictional overlap with other agencies and groups, (4) difficulty in selecting capable and responsive group representatives, and (5) a lack of problems and issues as perceived by several government employees. While weakness exists in the proposed conflict model, a complete rejection of the concept is not recommended. Rather, a revised design, and further testing of its feasibility, would be useful.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

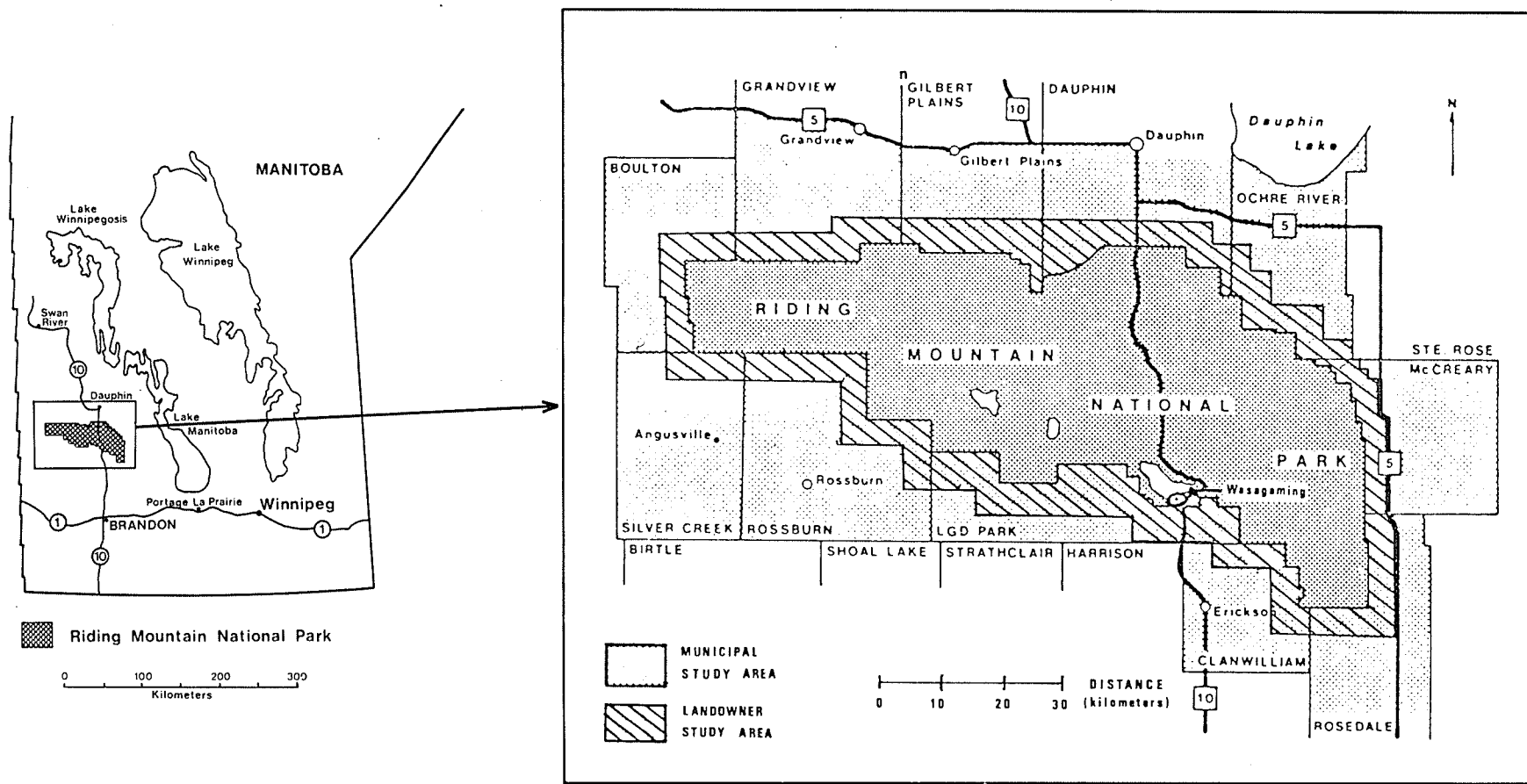
#### Study Objectives

This research is designed to document the extent to which differing and incorrect perceptions among landowners, municipal councils, provincial government employees, and Parks Canada contribute to conflict between Riding Mountain National Park (RMNP) and the surrounding region. The study has three primary objectives. The first is to document the extent and nature of Park impacts, measuring these from the perspective of each group. The second is to describe group perceptions of the severity of negative impacts, to identify solutions preferred by each, and identify which group(s) are perceived to be responsible for initiating action on issues. The third objective is to assess the existence of communication barriers among study groups and suggest whether or not they hinder efforts to resolve the actual problems generated by RMNP. A preliminary win/win conflict management model, proposed in the form of a liaison council, was tested to determine its acceptability and potential effectiveness in overcoming communication difficulties.

#### Background to the Study

Riding Mountain National Park (RMNP) is located in southern Manitoba near the Manitoba-Saskatchewan border, and lies approximately 256 km northwest of Winnipeg (Figure 1). The Park (Figure 1) intersects the boundaries of 10 Rural Municipalities (RM)

Figure 1 Regional Setting of Study Area



and one Local Government District (LGD).

Land surrounding the Riding Mountains was opened by the fur traders in the eighteenth century, but settlement did not occur until the railway was developed and the land homesteaded a century later. The Riding Mountains were valued as a source of timber, hay, and wild game by settlers. While the abundance of resources encouraged settlement of surrounding agricultural land, the pressure of human settlement simultaneously caused eradication of several wildlife species [e.g. marten (Martes americana), otter (Lutra canadensis), fisher (Martes pennanti), and grizzly bear (Urus arctos horribilus)] (Parks Canada, 1974).

In the 1890's the area was given special status as Riding Mountain Forest Reserve. By 1930 the Forest Reserve received Park status, and by the end of World War II cottage lots and a townsite (Wasagaming) had developed within the Park. Hay and timber cutting were unregulated while the area was being settled, but came under increasing regulation once the Forest Reserve and Park were established. Timber and hay-cutting privileges were eventually terminated in the early 1970's.

From 1930 to 1960 (approximately) federal policy allowed resource use within national parks. By 1964, however, increased recreational use and resource extraction created the necessity for placing preservation of park environments above other considerations. Since 1964, greater emphasis has been placed on preserving the natural ecosystem and allowing a minimum of human interference.

As part of this emphasis on restoring and preserving national park ecosystems, 28 beaver were introduced to RMNP in 1947 from Prince Albert National Park. An additional 24 beaver were transplanted in 1959. Whereas 12 active beaver colonies had been recorded within the Park in 1936 (Green, 1936) approximately 800 colonies were noted by 1971, 2,538 by 1973, and 3,312 by 1977 (Trottier, 1974; Andrews and Ladouceur, 1977; Rounds, 1980). In the 1950's, beaver were already becoming a nuisance in the western region of the Park. By 1966 the population was considered excessive, and, within five years, had caused considerable damage to the Park's internal road system. Evidence suggested that the beaver population was stabilizing within the Park and that movement of beaver onto surrounding land was increasing (Rounds, 1980). The emigration of beaver onto adjacent lands resulted in damage to roads and bridges, and to crops in Rossburn Municipality. Although annual rates of population growth may be declining, adjacent municipalities have sustained significant damage for more than a decade (Rounds 1980).

#### Development of Canadian National Parks Policy

The emergence of beaver depredation problems on lands adjacent to RMNP appears to have been enhanced by recent policy emphasis on restoring wildlife populations and preserving the environment within Park boundaries. Since national park policy has affected the relationship between RMNP and the surrounding region, it is important to review the factors which have caused Canadian national park policy to develop toward preservation. It

also is significant to consider the conflict which accompanies issues such as beaver depredation and cancelled resource extraction privileges in the Park. The 15-year delay in resolving the beaver depredation issue (Rounds, 1980) may be as much, or more, a source of conflict than the actual beaver problem.

Banff and Jasper National Parks were established in 1885 and 1907, respectively. Forest reserves and other national parks were subsequently established during the next four decades, then consolidated as a national parks system (The National Parks Act, 1930). Although Section 4 of the National Parks Act stated that "Parks shall be maintained and made use of so as to leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations," early development was oriented towards tourism. Townsite development, resort hotels, cottage developments, and resource extraction were permitted to ensure that national parks were politically justifiable in a period when nation-building and railroad construction were exacting high costs (Nicole, 1970). Thus, the "playground" concept of national parks was fostered in response to the economic and political constraints of the day. In RMNP, cottage lot development was encouraged in the 1930's in an effort to maintain visitations during the Depression.

With the end of World War II and renewed industrial growth in North America, leisure-time pursuits increased (Clawson, 1970). Demand on national parks rose through the 1950's and 1960's and, simultaneously, concern for preservation of the environment emerged. The desire to define Parks Canada policy in light of these trends

resulted in new policy statements being issued in 1964 and 1967. As stated in these documents "The development of this 'new' policy does not imply that a policy never existed but rather that policies had been developed piecemeal and had not been adequate to assure that the real objectives would be maintained or reached. Often policies were developed to correct a situation rather than avoid it" (Parks Canada, 1969:1).

In addition to establishing a classification and development scheme for the national parks system, policy statements reaffirmed the basic aim of preservation outlined in 1930. Resource extraction privileges were phased out and development de-emphasized in the early 1970's. The most recent (1979) Park policy document reaffirms the need for preservation in national parks, but expresses in greater detail the need and methods for planning and management. Reference to park master plans, management manuals, and public participation reflect the growing sophistication of planning strategies to reach goals.

The 1979 policy document also indicates a growing awareness, on the part of Parks Canada, of its influence in regions where national parks are located. As stated "Parks Canada will seek to integrate elements of the Parks Canada System with surrounding regions so as to have a positive social, economic, and physical impact" (Parks Canada, 1979:15). Similarly, another policy statement notes that "Public interest and support as well as the cooperation of provincial and territorial governments is essential for the establishment of new national parks..." (Parks Canada, 1979:38).



### Conflict Theory

Since control of natural resources was given to the provincial governments through the 1930 Natural Resources Transfer Agreement,<sup>1</sup> the expansion of the national parks system depends on the existence of good will between Parks Canada and the provincial and territorial governments. Participation by residents is also essential. This is evident from the example in New Brunswick (Kouchibouiquac National Park) where residents whose land was expropriated in 1969 to create the Park have moved back and are prepared to die fighting another eviction notice (Folster, 1980).

If those involved in conflict can assist in developing solutions (Harrison, 1978), the gains are greater than if a win/lose situation is allowed to persist (Hall, 1978). The involvement of the public in resource management decisions must, however, go beyond good intentions. Necessary public processes might include issue definition, information collection, analysis and evaluation, and decision implementation (Stankey et al., 1975).

Literature on conflict theory indicates that ignoring or withdrawing from conflict are unsatisfactory ways of dealing with problems. These passive approaches allow a conflict to fester and become worse over time. It is easy to arrange well-attended meetings and reach agreement on goals among groups that do not hold negative

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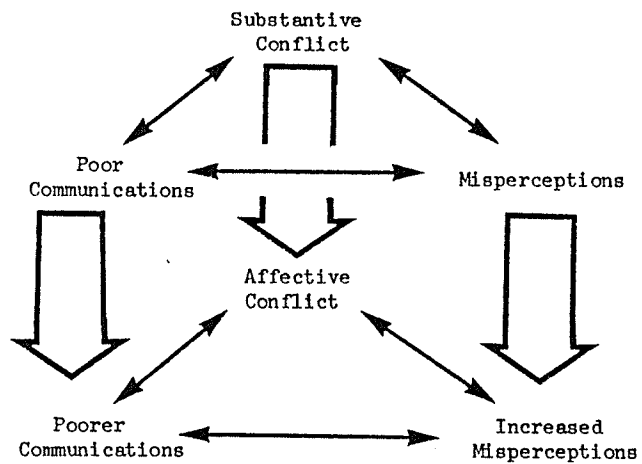
1. Natural Resources Transfer Act, 1930 (British North America Act, 1930).

attitudes toward one another. At the other extreme, conflict may create bitterness and hostility, impair communication, and negate conciliation. It is common in such situations that hostility exists not only towards the ideas of other groups, but also toward the individuals in those groups.

Strongly held, bitter attitudes do not evolve rapidly, but once created, they cannot be resolved quickly (Likert and Likert, 1976). Applying conflict management methods can nevertheless resolve such problems. General Motors, for example, employs "win/win" strategies which result in solutions satisfactory to all parties. Each party to the conflict wins something and problems are resolved constructively. Long-standing, suppressed hostilities are resolved.

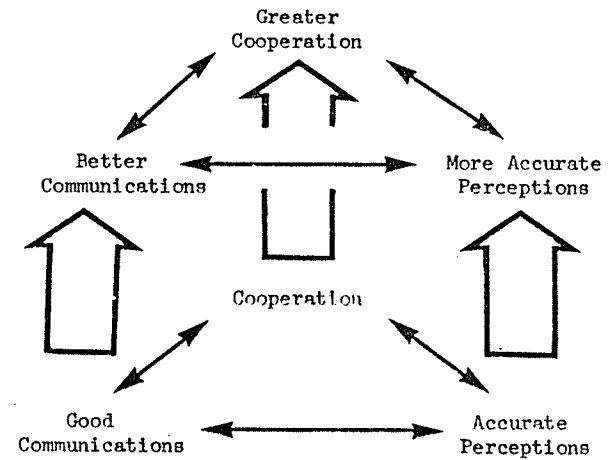
Conflict is defined as "the active striving for one's preferred outcome which, if attained, precludes the attainment by others of their preferred outcome, thereby producing hostility" (Likert and Likert, 1976:7). Conflict can be substantive, or affective (deriving from the emotional aspects of interpersonal relations) (Likert and Likert, 1976). Substantive conflict frequently generates misperceptions and poor communication. These in turn create further conflict, which ultimately becomes affective in nature. Significantly, this cycle appears to have the capability of perpetuating itself whether or not "new" substantive conflicts arise. Conversely, if time and effort are taken to ensure that good communications, accurate perceptions, and cooperation exist, healthy interactions between groups will be fostered. These two types of interactions are illustrated by the images in Figure 2.

FIGURE 2: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PERCEPTIONS, COMMUNICATIONS, AND CONFLICT



State of Deteriorating Relations

- relations become worse without effort as a result of poor communications, conflict, and misperceptions.



State of Improving Relations

- relations improve only through effort and the existence of cooperation, good communications, and accurate perceptions.

Although conflict may create poor communication, poor communication may also cause conflict. As noted by Robbins (1974:13) "there is considerable evidence to suggest that problems in the communication process act to retard collaboration and stimulate misunderstanding. Though not the sole source of conflict, communication is a major cause." For communication<sup>1</sup> to succeed, information must not only be imparted, but also understood. Efforts to communicate may fail because of indifference to the issue by one or more parties, conflicting meaning or use of terms, anger, and extraneous messages (Robbins, 1974).

Differing perceptions<sup>2</sup> also may impede communications. If perceptions are distorted, the distortions are reflected in behaviour:

The perceptual distortions occur not only with regard to the product each group produces but also are manifest in the perceptions of the other group. The members of each group develop and express hostile attitudes toward the members of the other (group). This in turn increases the hostility as well as the errors in the perceptions as to the feelings and behaviour of the other group members. Confidence and trust in them are obliterated, and any hostile distrust of the others' motives and behaviour remains. The perceptual distortion caused in a win/lose struggle greatly aggravates the conflict (Likert and Likert, 1976:6).<sup>3</sup>

---

1. Communication is defined as the dynamic transmission of meaning from one person to another (Robbins, 1974).

O'Riordan (1971) links individual perceptual development to information and the form of presentation, culture, technological development, the nature of a problem, previous experience, and personality.

- 
2. Perception (social perception) is defined as the impression one has of a social stimulus or set of stimuli, as coloured by a person's past experiences, previous experience with the same or similar stimuli, and state at the moment he is viewing the stimulus.
  3. Attitudes differ from perception in that an attitude is an organized set of feelings and beliefs which will direct an individual's behaviour (Schiff, 1970).

## CHAPTER TWO

### METHODS

#### The Survey Sample

Observation of Park impacts, those affected, and communication channels for complaint and discussion, identified four groups for study: landowners, municipal councils, provincial government employees (Manitoba Department of Natural Resources), and Parks Canada employees. To reduce research time and cost, sampling was limited to 55 landowners, 10 municipal councils, 12 provincial employees, and 14 Parks Canada employees.

The landowner sample was stratified by selecting five landowners from each municipality bordering the Park, and by limiting selection to those whose land was no more than three miles from the Park boundary. Group interviews were conducted with the municipal councils of Boulton, Clanwilliam, Dauphin, Grandview, Gilbert Plains, LGD Park, McCreary, Ochre River, Rosedale, and Silver Creek. An eleventh municipal council (Rossburn) declined an interview on account of active negotiations with the Province concerning measures to control beaver populations.

Provincial and Parks Canada employees were selected on the basis of familiarity with local Park issues, and in a manner that allowed representation of employees having field and regional experience. Sixteen individuals were initially selected from each government group. Some multiple interviewing was unavoidable: two provincial employees were interviewed simultaneously in two instances,

and three employees on another occasion. These were treated as individual interviews, reducing the sample size from sixteen to twelve. Similarly, three Parks Canada employees were interviewed together, yielding a total of fourteen, rather than sixteen, interviews.

Selecting an equal number of individuals to constitute each of the four groups was considered but eliminated for several reasons. To interview fewer landowners would have misrepresented landowner opinion. Similarly, to contact more municipal councils, provincial or Parks Canada employees, would have meant interviewing groups and individuals who were unfamiliar with the issues associated with RMNP.

In-person interviews were considered superior to telephone or mail surveys for eliciting information on perceptions and attitudes, and assured a high response rate from the limited sample. Preliminary in-person interviews with two or three individuals from each study group provided the information needed to construct a formal questionnaire. Pre-testing indicated that certain questions, for example those related to the types and cost implications of elk damage, needed revision to permit more generalized responses. An attempt to design a questionnaire likely to incorporate all possible replies was deemed unfeasible, and a general category was adopted for "unsolicited responses".

## Questionnaire Content

Three categories of information were sought from each study group (Appendix One). First, individual perceptions were documented regarding wildlife impacts experienced in the region as a result of the Park's development. Second, resource extraction impacts and issues were recorded, and third, comments on public use and miscellaneous concerns were solicited. Positive impacts, such as benefits from tourism, park employment or hunting opportunities, also were noted. Comments relating to wildlife were anticipated for elk, moose, beaver, coyote, wolf, and bear depredation. Prior observations indicated that timber and hay harvesting would be major resource extraction issues.

Group attitudes to negative Park impacts, possible solutions, government bodies responsible for problem resolution, and attitudes to resource use and management were ascertained. For example, respondents were asked to identify individuals or groups responsible for correcting wildlife impacts such as beaver-induced flooding, and crop damage caused by elk. The questionnaire was also designed to determine whether long-standing difficulties with wildlife may prejudice local people against the national park concept, and to gauge the strength of each respondent's views. The latter was done subjectively, by assessing the intensity of responses. Finally, respondents were asked to rate their satisfaction with inter-group communication and to react to the preliminary concept of the Riding Mountain Liaison Council (RMLC) (Appendix Two).



Data were classified as belonging to one of three categories:

- 1) park impacts (wildlife, resource extraction, public use and miscellaneous concerns);
- 2) attitudes to Park impacts (negative park impacts, solutions and responsibility to implement solutions, and resource use and management);
- 3) group communications and attitudes (communication channels, inter-group attitudes, and the Riding Mountain Liaison Council concept).

These categories were consolidated for each survey group, and compared and contrasted to determine the degree of uniformity among groups. Demographic information (Appendix Three) also was gathered from the respondents. This information provided further insight into the dynamics of inter- and intra-group perceptions.

## CHAPTER THREE

### RESULTS

#### Park Impacts

##### Wildlife Depredation

Results concerning damage by beaver, elk, bear, wolf, coyote, and moose were consolidated for each survey group (Table 1). The questionnaire was constructed so that multiple responses were possible and individuals who experienced no problems directly could, nevertheless, comment. Percentage responses on the various issues cited by a survey group, therefore, may exceed 100%.

Responses identified impacts from beaver as flood damage to crops and roads, culvert damage, cost and time spent removing beaver dams, and stream bank and land erosion (Table 1). Indirect losses attributed to beaver were waste of timber and hay within the Park due to flooding, and the perception that such flooding causes elk to migrate onto neighbouring farmland. Landowners' primary concerns were flood damage and time spent removing dams. Provincial government employees were concerned not only with the same issues but also with damage to roadways. Parks Canada employees appeared to be aware of most issues. While municipal councils recognized all problems, they consider the flooding of hay and timber within the Park, elk migration and road and culvert damage as the more significant aspects of the problem.

Group responses to elk impacts centered on damage caused by migrating elk and on dissatisfaction with current elk hunting licencing

TABLE 1  
GROUP RESPONSES REGARDING WILDLIFE IMPACTS ON LANDS SURROUNDING RIDING MOUNTAIN NATIONAL PARK

Wildlife Impacts <sup>1</sup>	Landowners (n=55)		Municipal Councils (n=10)		Provincial Government Employees (n=12)		Parks Canada Employees (n=14)	
	No.	% <sup>2</sup>	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<u>Beaver</u>								
No beaver problem .....	32	58	-	-	-	-	-	-
Few direct complaints.....	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	21
Number of complaints are far from Park.....	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	29
Big problem in opinion of landowner.....	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	21
Damming of waterways causing crop and other land damage plus loss of time.....	20	36	7	70	10	83	9	64
Flooding of timber and grass in Park causes waste and drives elk onto farmland.....	12	22	10	100	3	25	2	14
Cause costly road and culvert repair.....	11	20	7	70	10	83	-	-
Difficult to control privately.....	9	16	-	-	2	17	-	-
Tularemia (disease) in beaver could affect other animals and harm trapping economy outside of Park....	-	-	-	-	2	17	-	-
Improved water retention.....	8	15	2	20	-	-	-	-
<u>Elk</u>								
No elk problem.....	36	65	3	30	-	-	-	-
No response.....	-	-	-	-	5	42	-	-
Only a few complaints regarding elk damage.....	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	14
Ruin crops, hay, grain bins, and fences.....	21	38	8	80	7	58	7	50
Suffer damage but can't hunt elk.....	17	31	6	60	-	-	1	7
Elk hunters: safety hazard - property damage.....	14	25	2	20	-	-	-	-
Provincial compensation has solved many problems.....	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	29
Compensation not adequate.....	3	5	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hunting/Poaching opportunities offset losses to farmers. Damage and licensing procedure causing poor Park - landowner - hunter relations.....	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	29
	4	7	2	20	-	-	-	-
<u>Bear</u>								
No bear problem.....	28	51	4	40	4	33	5	36
Cause damage to grain (oats) crops and grainaries.....	18	33	3	30	4	33	5	36
Cause damage to beehives.....	11	20	4	40	7	58	3	21
Kill livestock	10	18	2	20	1	8	1	7
Potential injury to humans.....	-	-	1	10	-	-	-	-
No response.....	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	14
<u>Wolf/Coyote</u>								
No problems.....	45	82	9	90	-	-	3	21
Kill livestock.....	6	11	1	10	1	8	5	36
High fur prices have reduced populations.....	-	-	-	-	11	92	-	-
Coyotes favor open areas (not Park terrain).....	-	-	-	-	6	50	-	-
No response.....	4	7	-	-	-	-	6	43
<u>Moose</u>								
No problems	55	100	10	100	12	100	14	100

1. Since multiple responses were permitted, the sum within columns may exceed 100%.  
2. No.-Number of Responses; % - Percentage of Total Group Members.

procedures (Table 1). Twenty-one landowners (38 percent) considered their property susceptible to damage from migrating elk, and the majority of municipal councils considered this to be true for landowners within their jurisdictions. Most provincial and Park employees acknowledged that crop and property damage does occur. Seventeen landowners (31 percent) and six municipal councils (60 percent) registered concern about elk hunting and licencing procedures. This problem was noted by few provincial and Parks Canada employees.

Comments on bear depredation ranked concern for crop and livestock damage above hazard to human life. Twenty-eight (51 percent) landowners and four municipal councils (40 percent) indicated no problems with bear, but 18 to 33 percent of landowners reported individual problems to beehives, livestock, and crops. A third of provincial and Park employees were equally divided on the existence or absence of bear problems.

The majority of respondents from all groups felt that no wolf-coyote problem existed. Of those who recognized wolf and coyote impacts, responses related solely to livestock damage. Six landowners (11 percent), one municipal council (10 percent), one provincial employee (8 percent) and five Parks Canada employees (36 percent) noted that wolf-coyote attacks did occur on livestock. No concerns were recorded regarding moose.

Resource Extraction and Public Use Issues

Resource extraction and public use impacts differ in nature from wildlife impacts. Economic losses due to wildlife depredation result from the destruction of personal property. The denial of economic benefits which could be gained if such activities as hay and timber harvesting within the Park were permitted, however, is a contentious issue. The absence of timber harvesting in the Park has become a concern of landowners, municipal councils, and provincial employees (Table 2). Present Park policy, which dictates that timber shall not be harvested from national parks, is seen as creating a waste of resources, precluding a number of jobs, and contributing to the forest fire and disease potential of the Park.

Forty-eight (87 percent) landowners, ten (100 percent) municipal councils, and nine (75 percent) provincial employees felt that present Park management practises waste timber, and that over-mature and fire-damaged timber should be used. Only seven landowners (13 percent) did not indicate that timber harvesting was a concern or that use should be made of timber resources in the Park. Four provincial employees (33 percent) and eight Parks Canada employees (57 percent) indicated that the cancellation of past timber harvesting privileges has caused negative feelings toward the Park. The spread of disease and/or an increased wild fire potential in the Park was noted by a total of eight landowners (15 percent), five municipal councils (50 percent) and four provincial government employees (33 percent) (Table 2).

TABLE 2

## GROUP RESPONSES REGARDING RESOURCE EXTRACTION IN RIDING MOUNTAIN NATIONAL PARK

Resource Extraction <sup>1.</sup>	Landowners (n=55)		Municipal Councils (n=10)		Provincial Government Employees (n=12)		Parks Canada Employees (n=14)	
	No.	% <sup>2.</sup>	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
	<u>Timber Forests</u>							
Park policy creates waste of timber resources and jobs: should use timber.....	48	87	10	100	9	75	-	-
Not a concern - no need or have other timber sources.....	7	13	-	-	3	25	7	50
Cancellation of past cutting privileges has caused negative feelings.....	-	-	-	-	4	33	8	57
Park policy creates forest fire hazard.....	5	9	3	30	4	33	-	-
Park policy creates spread of insects and disease.....	3	6	2	20	-	-	-	-
Cancellation of past cutting privileges is a result of lumber company lobby.....	5	9	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>Grass Meadows</u>								
Grazing/hay cutting not a concern.....	19	35	3	30	2	17	3	21
Park grass meadows wasted, should permit use.....	16	29	3	30	-	-	-	-
Beaver flooding of hay meadows increases elk depredation.	15	27	-	-	3	25	-	-
Hay harvest would decrease elk depredation.....	9	16	2	20	-	-	-	-
Cancellation of hay cutting privileges has created negative feelings.....	-	-	-	-	5	42	8	57
Overgrown meadows contribute to fire hazard.....	2	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
No response.....	4	7	2	20	2	17	3	21
<u>Gravel Resources</u>								
Park use of municipal gravel causing depletion of local gravel resources.....	-	-	1	10	-	-	-	-
Could make use of gravel in Park.....	-	-	1	10	-	-	-	-
No response.....	55	100	8	80	12	100	14	100

1. Since multiple responses were permitted, the sum within columns may exceed 100%.

2. No.-Number of Responses; % - Percentage of Total Group Members.

Concerns regarding the use of grass meadows in the Park are similar to those noted for timber. Park policy prohibiting the use of grass meadows was viewed as wasteful and as contributing to fire hazard. Sixteen landowners (29 percent) and three municipal councils (30 percent) felt that grass meadows should be harvested, as opposed to 19 landowners (35 percent), three municipal councils (30 percent), two provincial employees (17 percent), and two Parks Canada employees (21 percent) who did not view the use of hay meadows as a concern. Landowners, local and provincial employees were of the opinion that harvesting hay meadows would reduce elk depredation. Eight Parks Canada employees (57 percent) believed negative attitudes regarding use of grass meadow had resulted from cancellation of previously held harvesting privileges. Gravel use in RMNP was noted by two councils.

Five other public use and miscellaneous concerns were noted by one or more of the study groups (Table 3). Five landowners (nine percent) and two municipal councils (20 percent) expressed a desire for the construction of a road through the Park that would link the municipalities of Rosburn and Gilbert Plains. Improved local access to the Park, plus improved regional travel and development opportunities were identified as reasons in support of the construction of this road.

Six landowners (11 percent) and two municipal councils (20 percent) expressed concern over the enforcement of fire burning permits<sup>1</sup>

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1. To control the burning of trash and to prevent fires from spreading into the Park, provincial legislation requires landowners residing close to the Park to obtain fire burning permits.

TABLE 3  
GROUP RESPONSES REGARDING PUBLIC USE IN RIDING MOUNTAIN NATIONAL PARK

Public Use and Miscellaneous Concerns <sup>1</sup>	Landowners (n=55)		Municipal Councils (n=10)		Provincial Government Employees (n=12)		Parks Canada Employees (n=14)	
	No.	% <sup>2</sup>	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<u>Grandview/Rossburn Road</u>								
Lack of road through Park obstructs regional travel, and local Park use.....	5	9	1	10	-	-	-	-
Lack of road inhibits regional development .....	-	-	1	10	-	-	-	-
No response.....	50	91	8	80	12	100	14	100
<u>Fire Burning Permits</u>								
Inconvenient for farmers and too strictly enforced.....	6	11	-	-	-	-	-	-
No response.....	49	89	8	80	12	100	14	100
Burdensome responsibility for municipal councillors.....	-	-	2	20	-	-	-	-
<u>Impoundment of Cattle</u>								
Impoundment of cattle that stray into Park should stop..	7	13	1	10	-	-	-	-
No response.....	48	87	9	90	12	100	14	100
<u>Water Drainage and Control</u>								
Flash flooding and siltation in Lake Dauphin caused by poor stream management in the Park.....	12	22	5	50	4	33	2	14
No response.....	43	78	5	50	8	67	12	86
<u>Development Pressures</u>								
No response.....	55	100	9	90	12	100	12	86
Attraction of Park is causing development pressures on surrounding region.....	-	-	1	10	-	-	2	14

1. Since multiple responses were permitted, the sum within columns may exceed 100%.  
2. No.-Number of Responses; % - Percentage of Total Group Members.

22



on private land adjacent to the Park. Landowners believe the enforcement of burning permits has been unreasonably strict in certain cases, adding inconvenience to farm operations. Municipal councils feel that legislation concerning fire burning permits places an enforcement responsibility on them that exceeds their administrative capability.

Seven landowners (13 percent) and one municipal council (10 percent) felt that the impoundment of cattle straying into the Park was an unfair practice. No comments were received from the provincial or Parks Canada employee groups on this topic.

Variable stream flows and the maintenance of stream channels emanating from the park were concerns noted by 12 landowners (22 percent), five municipal councils (50 percent), four provincial employees (33 percent) and two Parks Canada employees (14 percent). Flash flooding, siltation in Lake Dauphin (impairing the recreational quality of the lake) and damage to municipal drainage systems by debris carried downstream from the Park were identified as main problems associated with an absence of stream management in RMNP.

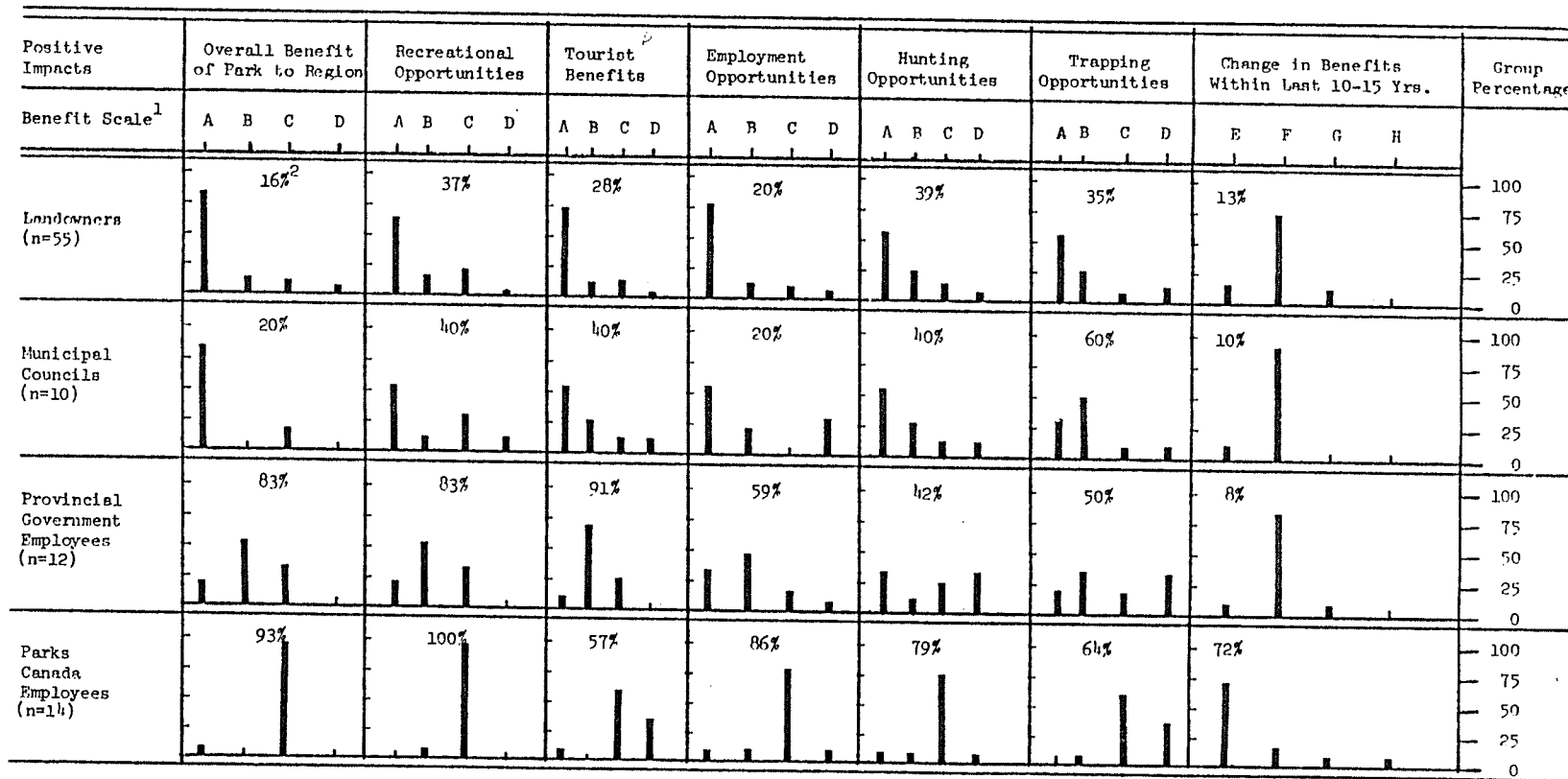
Finally, cottage developments adjacent to the Park were identified by two Parks Canada employees (14 percent) as creating development pressure on neighbouring municipalities and towns. This concern was shared by one municipal council (10 percent).

#### Positive Impacts

To determine the full extent to which RMNP affects the surrounding region, respondents were asked to comment on the positive impacts of the Park (Figure 3 and Table 4). Group members were asked

FIGURE 3

GROUP RESPONSES REGARDING POSITIVE IMPACTS ASSOCIATED WITH RIDING MOUNTAIN NATIONAL PARK



- Benefit Scale: A - No Benefits      E - Increased  
 B - Minor Benefits              F - Decreased  
 C - Major Benefits                G - No Change  
 D - No Comments                  H - Don't Know

2. Percentages represent combined values for B and C, or E.

TABLE 4

## OTHER UNSOLICITED COMMENTS REGARDING POSITIVE IMPACTS ASSOCIATED WITH RIDING MOUNTAIN NATIONAL PARK...

Positive Impacts	Increased Land Value		Water Supply		Access to Park from Adjacent Private Land		Aesthetic Value of Park	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Landowners (n=55)	11	2 <sup>1</sup>	11	4	7	33	60	-
Municipal Councils (n=10)	10	10	30	20	-	50	40	40
Provincial Government Employees (n=12)	25	-	25	8	-	-	25	-
Parks Canada Employees (n=14)	50	-	35	-	14	-	57	-

1. Percentage of Total Group

to respond to specific benefits outlined in the questionnaire and their evaluation was summarized by calculating the proportion who cited minor or major benefits. Thus, responses to "recreational opportunities" summarized the extent to which individuals within each of the four survey groups value the Park as a recreation facility. Similarly, "tourist benefits" refer to the perception of tourist dollars being retained by the local economy, and "employment opportunities" refers to employment generated by the Parks operation. Comments obtained regarding "hunting" and "trapping opportunities" measured the benefit of game harvests available outside of the Park and attributable to wildlife originating within the Park. Opinions were also gathered concerning change in the overall benefit of the Park to the region over the last 10 to 15 years.

Landowners' responses to the specific benefits cited in the questionnaire revealed that a low percentage of individuals identify the Park as a facility that generates regional benefits (Figure 3). Although landowners felt that the overall impact of the Park was negligible, recreation, hunting and trapping opportunities were identified as providing benefits by more than one-third of the respondents. An increase in benefits from the Park over the last 10 to 15 years was noted by only 13 percent of the landowners. The majority felt that benefits had decreased.

Municipal councils identified selected benefits from the Park rather than perceiving an overall benefit. Improved trapping, hunting, tourism and recreation traffic were identified as positive effects by 40 to 60 percent of councils, while 20 percent of councils

cited employment opportunities as a spin-off of Park development. Only two of the ten councils believed that the Park provided an overall benefit to the surrounding region and felt that general benefits had increased over the past 10 to 15 years (Figure 3).

The majority of provincial government employees interviewed mentioned that all categories of benefits described the present RMNP situation. Eighty-three percent of provincial employees perceive the Park as providing a general regional benefit. Most felt that recreational and tourism benefits had been generated for the surrounding region. Hunting, trapping, and employment opportunities were less often, but commonly mentioned. Contrasting with these views, however, was a low response to the fact that overall benefits had increased in recent years. The majority of Parks Canada employees identified benefits in all categories (Figure 3). Ninety-three percent of Park employees felt that, overall, the Park benefited the surrounding region, while all (100 percent) pointed to recreational opportunities as a regional benefit. A high percentage listed employment, hunting, and trapping as major benefits. Tourism was considered a positive aspect in the region by a majority of Parks Canada employees, and 72 percent felt that overall benefits had increased in the last 10 to 15 years.

Unsolicited comments from all groups focused on land values, water supply, and Park access (Table 4). Relatively few landowners noted benefits from increased land values and water supply, but a majority openly expressed their appreciation of the Park's scenic attractions. About one-third, however, believed that Park wardens

were too stringent in evicting landowners who had gained access to the Park from their own land.

Forty percent of the municipal councils ranked the aesthetic value of the Park as a benefit, while another 50 percent noted that restricted access from private land prevented local people from taking advantage of a privilege to which they were entitled. Councils were split as to the benefit gained and problems associated with water supply. One municipal council identified increased land prices as a benefit and one felt that the expected increases had not materialized (Table 4).

Approximately one-quarter of the provincial employees voluntarily suggested that benefits accrued to the surrounding region in the form of increased land prices and the aesthetic value of the Park. Direct access to the Park from private lands was not noted as a local benefit. More provincial employees felt that water supplies from the Park were a benefit rather than a deficit, although both views were expressed.

A high proportion of Parks Canada employees identified increased land values, improved water supply, and the aesthetic value of the Park as benefits to the surrounding region. A few Park employees noted access to the Park from private lands as a benefit accruing to those close to the Park (Table 4).

## Attitudes To Park Impacts

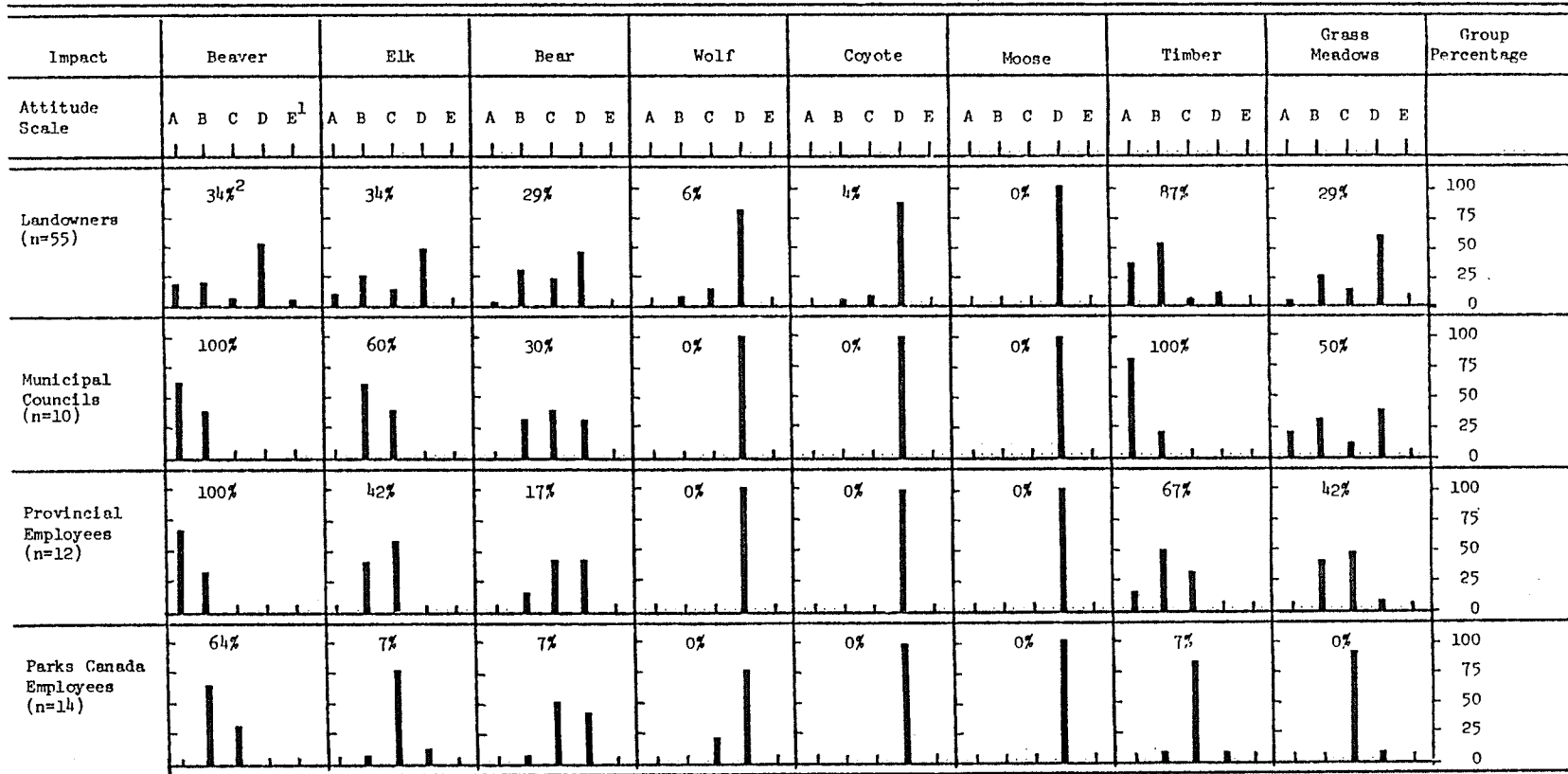
### Wildlife Depredation and Restrictions On Resource Use

Data presented documented the physical impacts which RMNP has had on the surrounding region, but no mention has been made of the attitudes which each survey group holds toward these impacts. Attitudes implied by responses to the issues outlined in the questionnaire were assessed according to an attitude scale. The scale ranks attitudes by the sense of urgency which individuals attached to problems' resolution. Numbers given in each cell in Figure 4 are the composite percentages for each group of type "A" and type "B" responses. Percentages represent the proportion of each survey group which identifies a problem as requiring either immediate or reasonably rapid action. Responses to the range of wildlife and resource impacts revealed that landowners viewed timber policies, and elk and beaver depredation as problem deserving immediate action. Problems relating to bear depredation and management of grass meadows were less urgent. Depredation relating to wolves, coyotes, and moose were not major concerns (Figure 4). Landowners, therefore, divided Park impacts into three groups according to urgency of resolution.

A high percentage of municipal councils felt that the effects of bear and elk, and restrictions upon timber and hay harvest, were serious problems. All municipal councils identified beaver depredation as a serious problem requiring immediate action. Other major concerns were elk depredation and hay harvesting privileges. Fewer councils felt that destruction of cattle and crops by bears required attention as rapidly as other issues, and no strong attitudes existed regarding

FIGURE 4

GROUP RESPONSES REGARDING THE SERIOUSNESS OF DEPREDATION AND RESOURCE USE IMPACTS



1. Attitude Scales:

- A.- Very serious problem, demands immediate action
- B - Serious problem, demands action in near future
- C - Occasional problem/inconvenience, no attention required
- D - No problem
- E - Benefit

2. Percentage represents a summation of categories A and B.



wolves, coyotes, and moose. Provincial employees attached priority to resolution of beaver and elk depredation, and grass and timber harvesting issues. All provincial employees felt that beaver problems demanded immediate action, and a majority regarded the need to implement timber harvests with the same degree of concern. In addition, 42 percent indicated that elk damage to crops and the absence of hay harvesting within the Park were significant problems. Only a few provincial employees attached priority to resolving the bear situation, and no concern appeared to exist regarding moose, coyote, and wolf depredation. Parks Canada employees identified only one impact, beaver depredation, as serious enough to warrant prompt attention. They expressed no significant concern regarding listed impacts. (Figure 4).

#### Solutions and Responsibility for Problem Resolution

Equally important to detailing Park impacts and group attitudes is the elucidation of proposed solutions (Table 5) and defining opinions as to the responsibility for achieving solutions (Tables 6 and 7). Landowners typically proposed controlled harvest of wildlife, hay and timber as solutions to wildlife depredation and the under-utilization of resources. Thirty-one of the 55 landowners felt that beaver flooding problems could be controlled by limited trapping within the Park by bonded trappers (Table 5). Eighteen landowners thought that elk damage could be controlled or compensated for by giving limited hunting privileges to landowners who personally experienced damage, and by issuing more hunting licences in general to reduce elk populations. Forty-seven landowners identified a limited,

TABLE 5  
GROUP SOLUTIONS TO PARK IMPACTS

Proposed Solutions <sup>1</sup>	Landowners (n=55)		Municipal Councils (n=10)		Provincial Government Employees (n=12)		Parks Canada Employees (n=14)	
	No.	% <sup>2</sup>	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<u>Beaver</u>								
Limited trapping in Park by bonded trappers.....	31	56	9	90	11	92	1	7
Wide scale removal of beaver and bush.....	2	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
No response.....	22	40	-	-	-	-	5	36
More assistance from Parks Canada for surrounding region....	-	-	1	10	-	-	-	-
Federal/Provincial cost sharing of control expenses outside of Park.....	-	-	-	-	2	17	5	36
Compensation payment to farmers.....	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	21
Buffer zone management outside of Park.....	-	-	-	-	2	17	-	-
<u>Elk</u>								
Limited hunting privileges for landowners with elk damage and increased number of licenses.....	18	33	3	30	-	-	-	-
Hunting within the Park.....	4	7	-	-	-	-	-	-
No response.....	33	60	3	30	2	17	5	36
Control beaver populations.....	-	-	3	30	3	25	-	-
Shorten length of hunting season.....	-	-	3	30	-	-	-	-
Buffer zone management outside of Park.....	-	-	-	-	2	17	-	-
Present provincial hunting/compensation program is adequate.	-	-	-	-	5	42	9	64
<u>Bear</u>								
Control bear population in Park.....	5	9	1	10	-	-	-	-
Allow landowners to control problem bears.....	2	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
No response.....	48	87	9	90	9	75	7	50
Present provincial compensation is adequate.....	-	-	-	-	3	25	4	29
No control possible due to Park policy.....	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	21
<u>Wolf/Coyote</u>								
Control populations in Park.....	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
No response.....	54	98	10	100	12	100	14	100
<u>Moose</u>								
No response.....	55	100	10	100	12	100	14	100
<u>Timber Forests</u>								
Limited selective harvest under Park control.....	47	85	9	90	10	83	2	14
Clear cut areas and reseed.....	4	7	1	10	-	-	-	-
No response.....	4	7	-	-	2	17	3	21
No control possible due to Park policy.....	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	64
<u>Grass Meadows</u>								
Change Park policy.....	-	-	-	-	3	25	-	-
Control beaver populations.....	2	4	6	60	3	25	-	-
Limited harvest under Park control.....	13	24	3	30	-	-	-	-
No response.....	40	73	4	40	6	50	4	29
No control possible due to Park policy.....	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	71

1. Since multiple responses were permitted, the sum within columns may exceed 100%.  
2. No. - Number of Responses, % - Percentage of Total Group Members.

selective timber harvest (under Parks Canada control) as a method of addressing their concerns regarding timber management, and 13 suggested limited hay harvests in the Park (Table 5). Few landowners proposed drastic solutions involving wide scale resource consumption within the Park. Most landowners did not offer suggestions regarding bear, wolf, coyote, and moose depredation.

Municipal councils favored control of wildlife populations and limited timber and grass harvests within the Park. Nine of the ten municipal councils proposed controlling beaver problems by means of limited trapping within the Park, three favored elk hunting privileges or beaver control (to prevent the flooding of elk grazing areas) to reduce elk problems, and one wished to see bear populations reduced (Table 5). Nine councils also favored selective timber harvest within RMNP and three favored harvesting of grass meadows. Six councils cited beaver control as another method of managing grass meadows.

Although provincial employees favored wildlife population control and controlled resource harvesting as methods of addressing resource issues, some suggested that existing provincial compensation programs already deal adequately with some of the problems (Table 5). Nearly all provincial employees favored controlled beaver trapping within RMNP and most favored a selective timber harvest. The provincial employees felt that trapping beaver within Park boundaries would either reduce meadow flooding (and waste) or elk migrations, while an equal number of provincial employees saw permission to harvest grass meadows as a solution to conflict over that resource. Provincial employees also identified cost-shared programs outside RMNP, or buffer

zone management, as methods to deal with beaver-induced flooding and elk migration and subsequent damage. Elk compensation programs were considered adequate by about half and bear compensation programs by one-fourth of those interviewed. Most members of the survey group did not propose solutions to bear, wolf, coyote, or moose problems.

Parks Canada employees viewed Park policies and provincial compensation schemes as adequate means of managing wildlife populations and resources, and of mitigating the effects of depredation (Table 5). Although one Park employee felt that beaver trapping within the Park would control beaver damage in the neighbouring region, one-third favored a joint federal-provincial control program outside the Park and several favored compensation payments to farmers as a method of resolving the issue. Permitting access to timber and grass meadows was generally held to be non-negotiable. Therefore, few Parks employees proposed solutions to these issues. No comments were made concerning wolf, coyote, or moose. A few Park employees indicated that controlled timber harvesting would provide a solution to concerns about wasted forest resources but most recognized that Parks policy was explicit on these matters.

Any discussion of solutions assumes that some body(ies) exist(s) to implement solutions. Groups were, therefore, asked to identify whom they perceived as having responsibility (Table 6). Also, each group was asked to identify whether or not it is capable or obligated to assume responsibility for developing solutions to the problems associated with the Park (Table 7).

TABLE 6

## GROUP RESPONSES REGARDING OTHERS' RESPONSIBILITY FOR PROBLEM SOLVING

Groups Perceived As Having Responsibility <sup>1</sup>	Landowners (n=55)		Municipal Councils (n=10)		Provincial Government Employees (n=12)		Parks Canada Employees (n=14)	
	No.	% <sup>2</sup>	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Parks Canada	29	53	10	100	5	42	-	-
Provincial Government	-	-	-	-	1	8	-	-
Municipal Government	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Landowners	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Parks Canada and Provincial Government	19	35	-	-	6	50	6	43
Provincial and Municipal Government	3	5	-	-	-	-	-	-
Municipal Government and Landowners	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	7
Provincial/Municipal Governments and Landowners	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	14
All groups	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	36
No idea	4	7	-	-	-	-	-	-

1. Since multiple responses were permitted, the sum within columns may exceed 100%.
2. No. - Number of Responses; % - Percentage of Total Group Members.

Results indicate that the majority of landowners identified Parks Canada, or Parks Canada and the provincial government, as the group(s) responsible for the resolution of Parks impacts (Table 6). All municipal councils identified Parks Canada as the responsible group. Nearly half of the provincial employees felt that Parks Canada has the sole responsibility for resolving Park-related impacts, and half believed responsibility was shared with the provincial government. Forty-three percent of Parks Canada employees felt that Parks Canada and the provincial government shared the responsibility of developing solutions, 36 percent felt all groups shared the responsibility, and 21 percent believed the other groups (Parks Canada excluded) were responsible for developing solutions to wildlife and resource concerns.

The extent to which each group perceives itself as responsible varied. Forty-five percent of landowners either felt helpless, or unable to exercise any control over the situation. Twenty-two percent felt they were able to demonstrate some responsibility by making their position known to others, controlling various problems privately, and talking to the Members of Parliament (Table 7). Five of the municipal councils felt that they had always been viewed as the body responsible for correcting local problems regarding Park impacts, but had had little power to do so. These councils did not want the current situation to persist, and two councils felt helpless to change the situation. Another four councils felt they could affect the situation by funneling complaints to senior levels of government or by raising funds that would permit them to organize and address the issues.

TABLE 7

## GROUP RESPONSES REGARDING THEIR OWN RESPONSIBILITY FOR PROBLEM SOLVING

Responding Group <sup>1</sup>	Comments By Group Members Regarding Their Responsibility For Problem Solving	Number of Responses per Group	Percentage of Total Group Members
Landowners (n=55)	- We are helpless to affect the situation	25	45
	- No response	10	18
	- Don't know	8	15
	- Can make position/problem known to others	6	11
	- Private control of problem on private land	5	9
	- Talk to Member of Parliament	1	2
Municipal Councils (n=10)	- We have always been the responsible body with no power to change things. This situation should not exist	5	50
	- Report complaints to senior governments	3	30
	- Nothing we can do to change situation	2	20
	- Gather funds to deal with problem	1	10
Provincial Government Employees (n=12)	- Act as intermediary between local and federal governments	8	67
	- Better beaver control program	6	50
	- Provide improved legislation and funding	5	42
	- Present wildlife compensation programs are adequate	1	8
	- No comment	1	8
Parks Canada Employees (n=14)	- Parks Canada not responsible for wildlife movement outside of the Park	4	29
	- Initiate wildlife studies	3	21
	- Accept more of the responsibility	3	21
	- Attend meetings/contribute money to beaver control programs	3	21
	- No problems, other than beaver problems	1	7

1. Since multiple responses were permitted, sums within columns may exceed 100%.

Provincial employees considered it their responsibility to act as an intermediary between local and federal governments and to develop better wildlife programs and legislation. Among suggested improvements in provincial responsibility were a better beaver control program, better legislation (to remove overlapping jurisdiction concerning wildlife, water, and land management), and increased funding to address problems. Two-thirds felt their prime responsibility was to act as an intermediary between the municipal and federal (Parks Canada) levels (Table 7).

Park employees appeared divided as to the degree of responsibility which Parks Canada should accept. Half of those interviewed believed either that Parks Canada has no direct responsibility for wildlife movement and depredation on land adjacent to the Park, or that additional studies needed to be conducted to measure impacts and determine the extent of responsibility. Most of the remaining employees suggested Parks Canada might accept more responsibility, and might assist in such ways as attending public meetings and funding local beaver control programs (Table 7).

#### Attitudes To Resource Use and Management

Survey responses to Park impacts, their solution, and group responsibility for solutions generate both detailed and conflicting data on specific issues. In anticipation of variation, all respondents were asked to express their overall attitude toward Park management. Group responses have been organized according to an attitude scale which ranges from very positive to very negative (Figure 5).



FIGURE 5  
 INTER GROUP COMPARISON OF ATTITUDES TOWARD PRESENT PARK USE AND MANAGEMENT

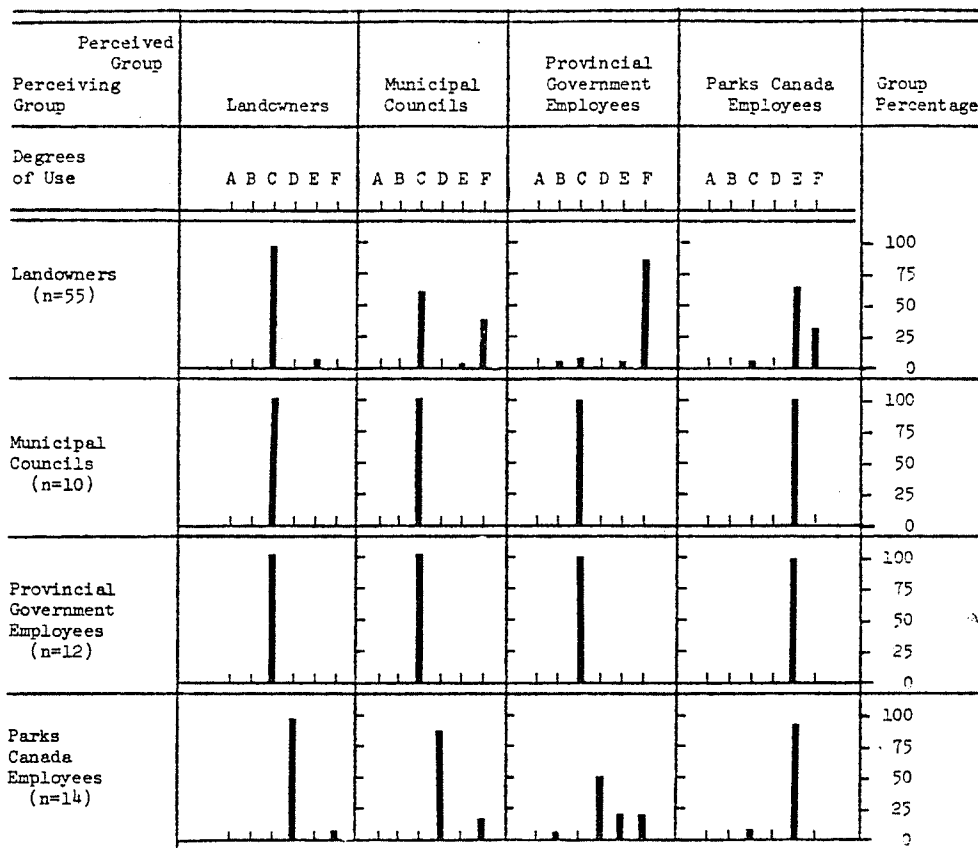
Attitude Group	Very Positive	Positive	Indifferent	Negative	Very Negative	Total Percentage	Total Number	Group Percentage
Landowners (n=55)	~1%	~2%	~5%	~25%	~15%	100%	55	100
Municipal Councillors and Reeves (n=10)	~5%	~2%	~2%	~2%	~50%	100%	52	100
Provincial Government Employees (n=12)	~0%	~2%	~5%	~25%	~20%	100%	12	100
Parks Canada Employees (n=14)	~10%	~40%	~2%	~2%	~0%	100%	14	100
Total Number	6	12	10	37	68		133	
Total Percentage	5%	9%	8%	28%	51%	100%		

Few landowners expressed either very positive or positive attitudes toward Park use and management practices and 80 percent held either negative or very negative attitudes. Similarly, all but three municipal councillors and reeves interviewed held negative or strongly negative attitudes toward present Park management. Ninety-two percent of the provincial employees also defined their attitudes toward Park management practice as being negative. Conversely, all but one Parks Canada employee held positive attitudes toward their management strategies (Figure 5).

An attempt was also made to determine whether a correlation exists between the intensity of negative feeling and age of landowners. Age groups were established in ten-year intervals beginning at age 25, and the expressed attitudes were numerically weighted. Although all groups hold negative attitudes, the strongest negative feelings were apparent in landowners between 35 and 44 years of age (see Table 12, Appendix 3).

General preferences were also elicited regarding the manner in which Park resources should be managed. Group responses were categorized according to a "degree of use scale" (Figure 6). Groups were asked to describe the degree of resource use they preferred to see permitted in the Park and to describe their perceptions of what other groups would prefer. Ninety-five percent of the landowners preferred limited use of Park resources and most felt that municipal councils also would favor limited use. The proportion unable to hypothesize the preferences of provincial employees was high. On the other hand, most landowners were able to hypothesize Parks Canada's

FIGURE 6  
 INTER GROUP PERCEPTIONS AND ATTITUDES REGARDING  
 THE PREFERRED USE AND MANAGEMENT OF PARK RESOURCES



Degree of Use Scale:

- A - Maximum commercial use of resources
- B - Moderate commercial use of resources
- C - Limited personal use of resources
- D - Resource use-type and degree not specified
- E - No commercial/personal use
- F - No idea

preference and 63 percent suggested that Parks Canada stressed no use of resources within the Park (Figure 6).

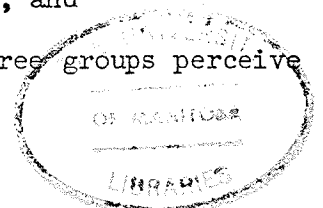
All municipal councils prefer limited personal use within RMNP as a form of resource management and perceive landowners and provincial employees as having similar views. Councils were also unanimous in their belief that Parks Canada employees favor no use of Park resources. Provincial government employees held identical views on resource use and others' preferences.

Park employees do not favor resource use. Half felt that provincial employees were of the same opinion. Parks employees did not specify the degree of use preferred by landowners or councils, but most believe that landowners and municipal councils would prefer some form of resource use as a means of managing resources.

#### Inter-group Attitudes

The extent to which groups feel RMNP affects the surrounding region, their consequent opinions as to the adequacy of current management practices, and the extent of their responsibility for implementing solutions are significant to document if problems are to be addressed. Many grievances are entrenched and it was hypothesized at the outset that the lack of past action, or the limited extent of past action, on issues has exacerbated regional feelings of irritation over disruption of local land use patterns. The survey, therefore, measured each groups' feelings as to other's past responsiveness to the issues. Data on this aspect of the conflict is presented in two ways:

- 1) each group's opinions of the other groups are given, and
- 2) each group's opinion as to how each of the other three groups perceive



them.

Landowners feel that municipal councils and provincial conservation officers have done everything in their power to expedite solutions to local problems, but are powerless as far as correcting the source of the problems. Although landowners view the provincial government with more favor than they do Parks Canada, animosity does exist concerning what is thought to be overzealous surveillance of the local population to deter poachers. While landowners acknowledge that some Park wardens are sympathetic and supportive of their concerns and suggestions, the majority are bitter because of inaction by Parks Canada.

When questioned as to how they believed other groups viewed their position, landowners responded that municipal councils support and empathize with their situation. Some landowners feel that the provincial government views all landowners as poachers, while others feel that government is supportive of landowners' concerns and requests. Most landowners, however, either do not know, or simply did not express an opinion as to the provincial government's view of them. One-third did not express an opinion as to the federal attitude toward their problems, but two-thirds felt it was negative. The most frequent response was that Parks Canada "doesn't give a damn" about landowners or their problems.

All municipal councils interviewed were supportive of and in agreement with the positions and views of landowners in their municipality. Although councils generally assessed the provincial government as being helpful and supportive of their concern about the

Park, three of the ten alleged that "buckpassing" occurs. Nearly all councillors described Parks Canada as "wasteful, bureaucratic, and self-serving". Although councillors feel they understand why Park policy has been designed in the way that it has, they nevertheless perceive the resulting underutilization of resources as incomprehensible.

Councils feel that landowners have a positive attitude toward councils, and that they share similar attitudes toward RMNP. Municipal councils also think that provincial government employees are sympathetic to their concerns and have a better understanding of the situation than Parks Canada. All councils believe that Parks Canada holds a negative opinion of them and cares little about the effect which the Park has on local governments.

Provincial employees were supportive of the claims of landowners and municipal councils regarding Park impacts and resource management within the Park. But provincial employees also felt that a lack of awareness of the complications of resource management have made it difficult for local people to accept the difficulties that result. Provincial employees were of the opinion that present Park policy reflects the influence of urban academics within Parks Canada, and that as such, is an impractical way to manage a Park. Provincial employees feel instead that policy should be flexible to fit local and regional situations.

One-quarter of provincial employees feel that councils and landowners believe the provincial government is doing what is possible to help solve certain problems. However, provincial employees are also aware that they might be viewed as shirking their responsibilities

concerning beaver problems. Most provincial employees are not able to identify how they are perceived by Parks Canada, although a few individuals believe that the tension which does exist between the two groups is due to differences in philosophical approach to resource management. Federal policy is seen as stressing preservation while provincial policy emphasizes population and environmental control.

Many Park employees share the concerns of landowners and councils in the sense that they recognize the importance of dealing with unresolved conflict. Park staff, however, doubt the validity of landowners' complaints because of the manner and infrequency of comments received.

Nearly three-quarters of the Park employees interviewed feel that landowners have a negative impression of RMNP. The main cause for negative feelings was identified as a lack of understanding of the objectives of Park policy. About half of the Park staff also felt that municipal councils held a negative view of the Park, although some felt that councils were actually indifferent to the effects of the Park on the region. Half of the Park staff feel that provincial employees are resentful toward Parks Canada because of past disputes over responsibility for wildlife problems around the Park, and on account of differences in resource management philosophies. On the other hand, approximately one-third believe provincial employees support Park policy, and that a good working relationship exists between the two groups.

## Group Communications

### Communications and Attitudes Among Groups

Information concerning the quality, type, frequency and suggestions for improving communications were collected during interviews. Each survey group (or individual) was asked to rate the present quality of communication between itself and other groups on a scale of excellent to poor (Figure 7). Landowners indicated communication between themselves and municipal councils was good to excellent. Seventeen percent felt that communication with provincial employees was in the good to fair range, and a majority felt communication with Parks Canada was poor. All municipal councils perceived communications with landowners to be excellent to good, eight of the ten councils felt communications with the provincial government were good, and all stated that communications with Parks Canada were poor.

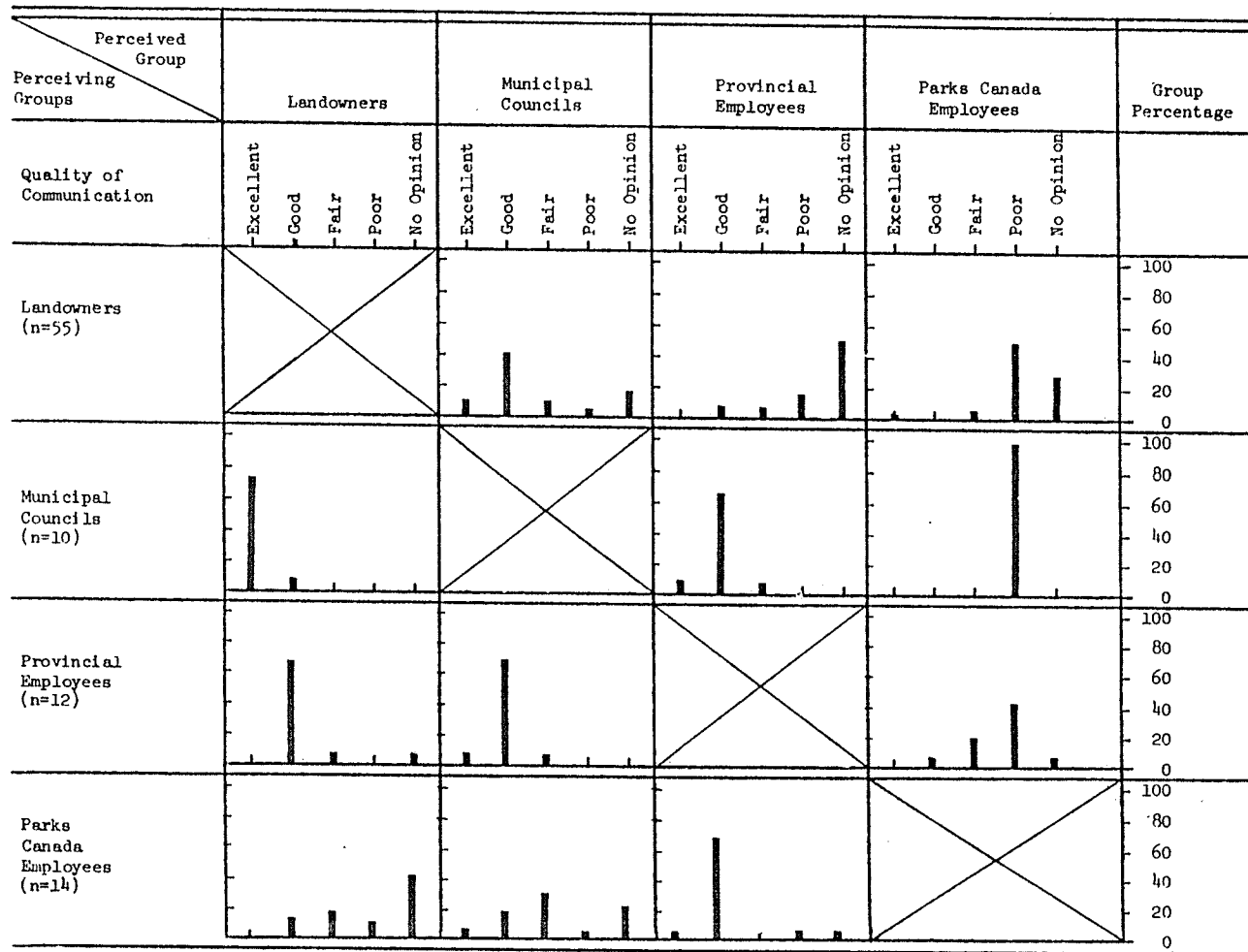
Most provincial employees indicated communications with landowners and municipal councils were good to excellent, but only eight percent ranked communications with Parks Canada as good. Among Parks Canada employees, a few individuals felt that communication with landowners and the municipalities were good to excellent. Nearly all employees believed the quality of communication with the provincial government was good to excellent (Figure 7).

Survey groups were also asked to indicate how they communicated with others. Responses were categorized into direct or indirect, and formal or informal. Informal communications are defined as telephone calls, person-to-person chance meetings and informal chance meetings between various government staff. Formal communications



FIGURE 7

INTER GROUP COMPARISON OF PERCEPTIONS REGARDING THE QUALITY OF COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN GROUPS



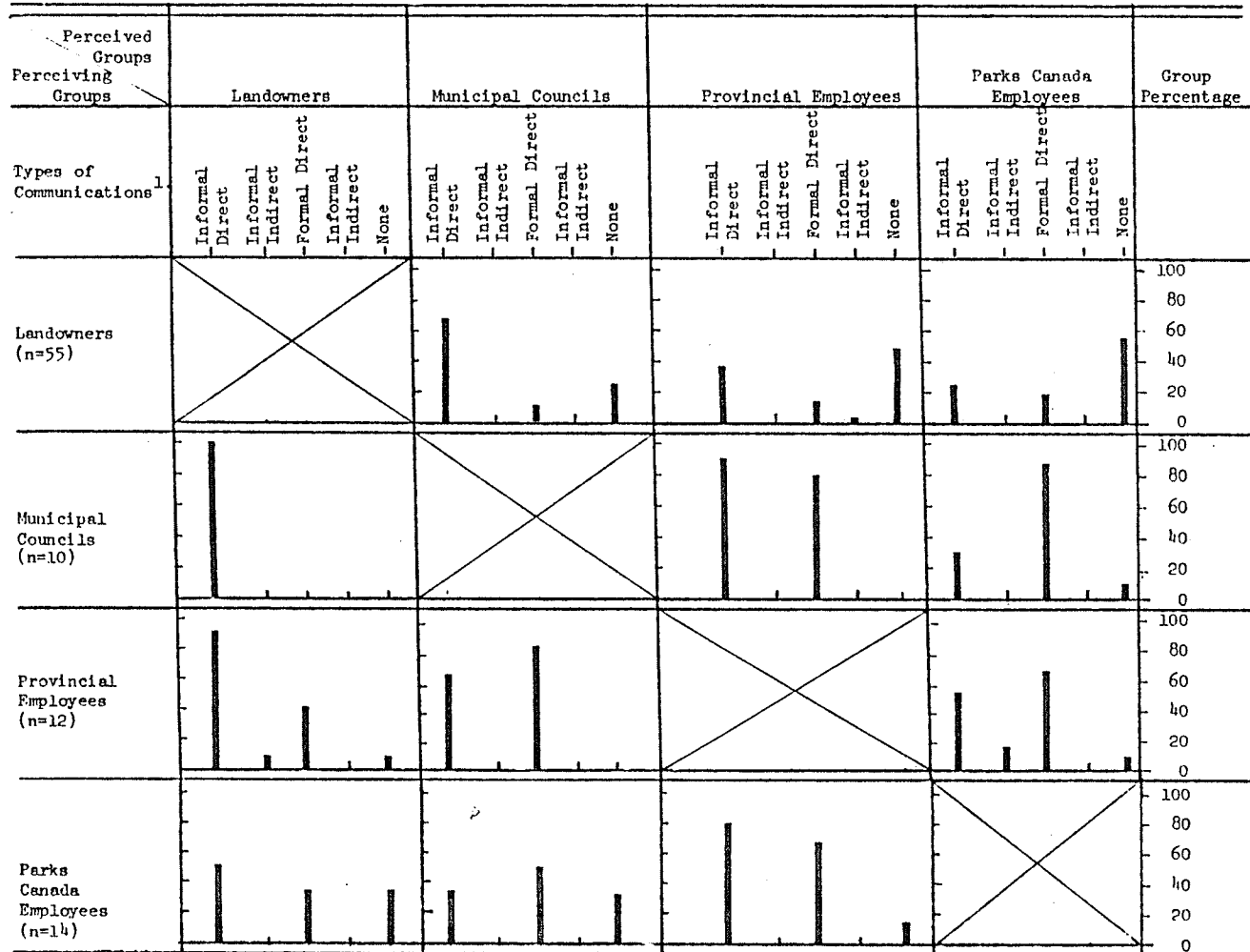
were defined as consisting of briefs, letters, studies, attendance at organized formal meetings (public or otherwise), and formal inter-governmental staff meetings. Indirect communications were defined as messages sent through another individual or group. Direct communications were defined as messages communicated in person, at public meetings or in written form. Responses suggest that landowners use informal-direct communication with most groups (Figure 8). Two-thirds of landowners approached municipal councils, one-third approached provincial employees, and one-fourth approached Parks Canada employees in an informal and direct manner. Twenty-four percent of the landowners indicated that they do not communicate with municipal councils, while 49 percent and 56 percent did not approach provincial and Parks Canada employees, respectively.

Municipal councils commonly utilize both informal and formal direct communications with other groups. All council communication with landowners is of the informal-direct type. While nine of the ten councils communicate in an informal-direct manner, eight also use formal-direct types of communication with provincial employees. Three councils communicated through informal-direct means and nine used formal-direct channels of communications with Parks Canada (Figure 8).

Provincial employees also use informal and formal direct communication styles. Ninety-two percent of the provincial employees indicated that communication with landowners was informal and direct and 42 percent also utilize formal and direct communications with landowners. Some provincial employees had had no communication with landowners. A high percentage of provincial employees indicated that

FIGURE 8

INTER GROUP COMPARISON OF PERCEPTION REGARDING TYPES OF COMMUNICATIONS USED



1. Since multiple responses were permitted, summation of data within each cell may exceed 100%.

they use formal and direct channels of communications with municipal councils, while two-thirds also communicate informally. More than half rely on informal-direct communication with Parks Canada, while a greater percentage use formal direct methods.

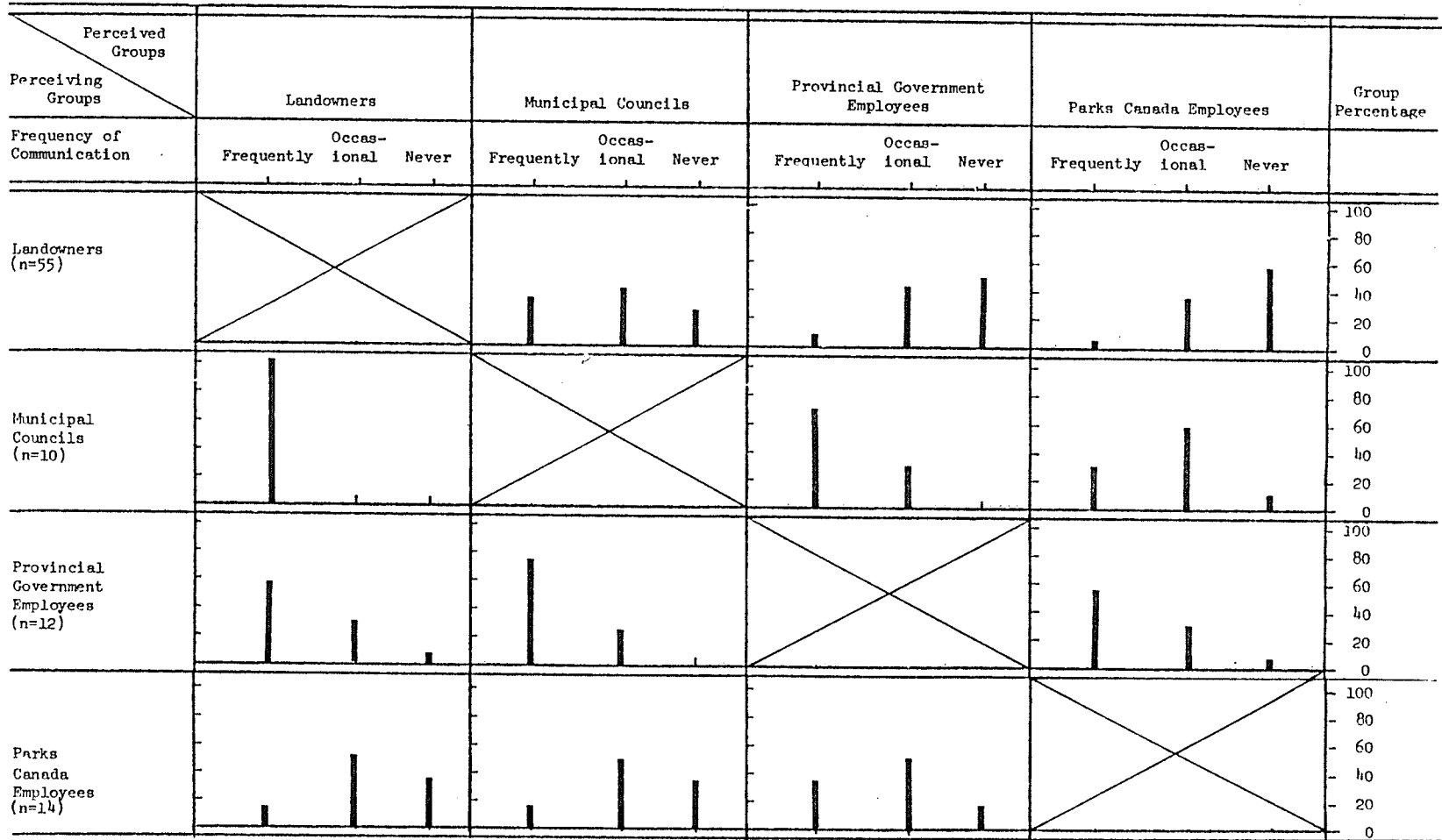
Parks Canada employees used formal and informal direct communication. Perhaps more importantly, a substantial number indicate that there is no communication with the other groups. Fifty percent and 36 percent of Parks employees use informal and formal direct communications, respectively, with landowners, but another 36 percent had no communication with landowners. Thirty-six percent use informal communication with municipal councils, 50 percent maintain formal direct communication, and 36 percent state that there is no communication with councils. Most Park employees use both formal and informal direct communication with provincial employees. Only 14 percent of Parks Canada employees do not communicate with provincial employees.

As quality and type of communication channels used reflect the state of contact between various groups, so too does the frequency with which groups communicate. Figure 9 displays group perceptions concerning the frequency of direct communication between groups. Contact was categorized as being frequent, occasional, or non-existent.

Nearly all landowners communicated occasionally or frequently with municipal councils. About half communicated occasionally with provincial employees, and half had no communication with the provincial government. Similarly, more than half of the landowners do not communicate with Parks Canada.

FIGURE 9

INTER GROUP COMPARISON OF PERCEPTIONS REGARDING FREQUENCY OF COMMUNICATIONS



All municipal councils state that communication with landowners occurs frequently. Seven of the ten councils frequently communicated with provincial employees, while the remaining three councils suggested occasional contact. Although one council had no communication with Parks Canada, six have occasional contact and three have frequent contact with Parks Canada.

Nearly 60 percent of the provincial employees note frequent communication with landowners while a third stated that contact is occasional. Three-quarters had frequent contact with municipal councils and one-quarter had occasional contact. One-third of the provincial employees described contact with Parks Canada as occasional and nearly 60 percent as frequent.

Responses by Parks Canada employees were similar. A few Park staff had frequent communications, half had occasional contact, and one-third had no contact with landowners and councils. Half of the Park employees had occasional communication with provincial employees while one-third had frequent contact and a few had no contact.

Each group was asked to identify what might be done to improve communication (Table 8). Although nearly one-quarter of landowners, municipal councils, and provincial employees had no suggestions as to how communication might be improved, a minority suggested that changed attitudes, increased lobby efforts, public relations officers, and the Park interpretive program might serve this purpose. "More meetings among groups to discuss problems" was the most common suggestion given by all groups (35 - 43 percent) for improving communications.

TABLE 8

## GROUP SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVING COMMUNICATIONS

Group Suggestions <sup>1</sup>	Landowners (n=55)		Municipal Councils (n=10)		Provincial Government Employees (n=12)		Parks Canada Employees (n=14)	
	No.	% <sup>2</sup>	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
	More meetings among groups to discuss problems.....	19	35	4	40	5	42	6
Increased lobby efforts.....	5	9	-	-	2	17	-	-
Need to change attitudes and people presently involved..	4	7	-	-	2	17	-	-
More studies of situation.....	3	5	-	-	1	8	-	-
Public relations person (Ombudsman) to look after concerns.....	3	5	2	20	-	-	-	-
First correct negative impacts of Park.....	2	4	-	-	-	-	1	7
More control given to local Park staff fo make decisions.....	2	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nothing can be done.....	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
No suggestion for improvement.....	12	22	2	20	3	25	1	7
No response.....	7	13	-	-	-	-	-	-
Need to involve Parklands Regional Development Corporation.....	-	-	2	20	-	-	-	-
Park Interpretive program will promote Park and improve communications.....	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	29
New policy statements re regional planning will improve ability of Park to problem solve and communicate.....	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	21

1. Since multiple responses were permitted, sums within columns may exceed 100%.
2. No. - Number of Responses, % - Percentage of Total Group Members.

Riding Mountain Liaison Council

Increased contact between groups was most frequently suggested as a method of improving communication between groups. To examine if increased group contact could be facilitated, group members were asked to respond to the Riding Mountain Liaison Council (RMLC) model (a win-win conflict management model).

Acceptance of the RMLC model was not universal (Figure 10), with representation on the council being the most contentious issue among all groups. More than half of the landowners surveyed initially responded that the RMLC was a positive or very positive solution while a few were against the concept. Landowners, however, felt that the numbers of representatives and conditions of group representation, as designed, were inadequate. Approximately half agreed with the need for a mediator, administrative secretary and legal advisor.

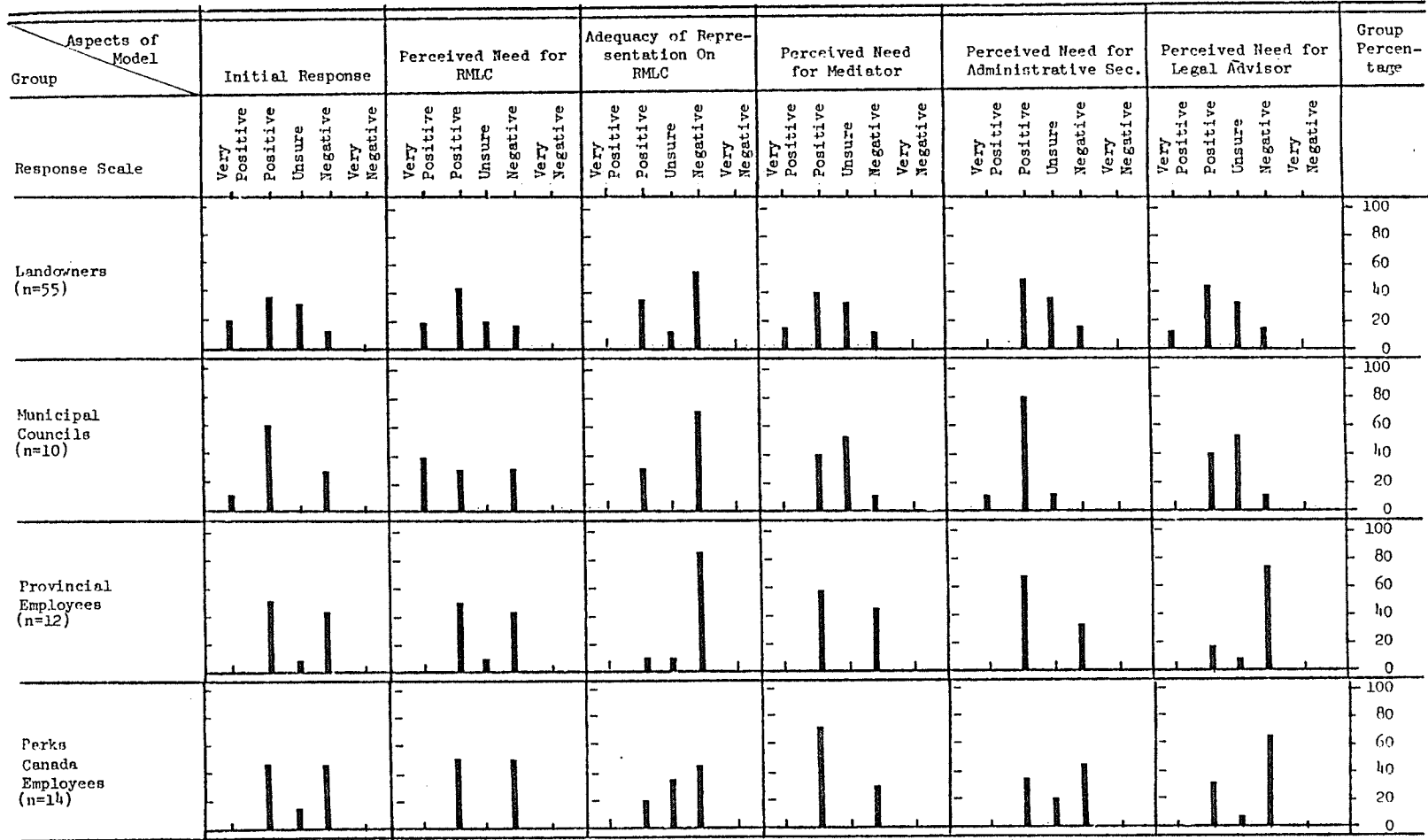
Municipal Councils heavily endorsed the need for the RMLC and the general concept of the model. Seven councils initially responded positively or very positively to the RMLC concept and the need for such a council. The majority of councils, however, responded negatively to the proposed balance in group representation. Half of the councils were unsure of the need for a mediator and legal advisor, but 90 percent saw the need for an administrative secretary.

The opinion of provincial employees was evenly divided in terms of positive and negative responses to the RMLC concept. Most did not agree with the method of representation proposed, and three-fourths saw no need for a legal advisor. A majority were in favor of a mediator and an administrative secretary.



FIGURE 10

GROUP RESPONSES REGARDING THE RIDING MOUNTAIN LIAISON COUNCIL



As a group, Park employees were also divided on the RMLC concept. About one-quarter were in favor of proposed group representation arrangements, but one-third were unsure and nearly half were opposed. Most Parks employees were in favor of the mediator's role on the RMLC, but only a third were in favor of retaining an administrative secretary, and still fewer favored retaining a legal advisor.

An open-ended appraisal of the RMLC's positive and negative features was also permitted. The most common reply regarding its positive aspects was the opportunity provided for discussion. More than a third of the landowners, 90 percent of the municipal councils, 17 percent of the provincial employees, and 43 percent of the Park employees identified the RMLC as a potential forum and opportunity for group discussions (Table 9). A small percentage of respondents from each group specifically identified the RMLC as a method of developing a better understanding between groups. A substantial percentage of those interviewed (43 percent of landowners, 10 percent of municipal councils, 83 percent of provincial employees, and 36 percent of Parks Canada employees) gave no response concerning positive aspects of RMLC.

Comments concerning the negative aspects of the RMLC were more numerous. The main problem areas identified by the four groups included lack of authority, difficulties in selecting the appropriate number and types of representatives, and cost and time factors. The lack of authority on the part of the RMLC to institute change or carry out its actions was identified by 26 percent of landowners, 60 percent of municipal councils, 42 percent of provincial employees, and 36 percent of Parks Canada employees. Problems concerning representation

TABLE 9

## GROUP RESPONSES REGARDING POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF RIDING MOUNTAIN LIAISON COUNCIL

Comments <sup>1</sup>	Landowners (n=55)		Municipal Councils (n=10)		Provincial Government Employees (n=12)		Parks Canada Employees (n=14)	
	No.	% <sup>2</sup>	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<u>Positive Comments</u>								
Provides a forum and opportunity for discussion.....	21	38	9	90	2	17	6	43
Don't know.....	9	16	-	-	-	-	-	-
No response.....	23	43	1	10	10	83	5	36
No positive aspects of RMLC.....	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Opportunity for all parties to develop better understanding of each other.....	-	-	2	20	-	-	3	21
<u>Negative Comments</u>								
RMLC lacks authority to institute change.....	14	26	6	60	5	42	5	36
Attitude, quality, quantity, and turnover of representation will negatively affect RMLC.....	14	26	10	100	3	25	9	64
Too costly.....	10	18	8	80	-	-	3	21
Take too much time, need fewer representatives.....	3	6	8	80	-	-	-	-
Municipal representatives would have least amount of power..	6	11	-	-	-	-	-	-
Could create more conflict between groups.....	3	6	-	-	-	-	-	-
May not meet often enough.....	2	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
May overlap with jurisdiction of their governments and agencies.....	2	4	-	-	2	17	1	7
Don't know.....	13	24	-	-	-	-	-	-
No need for RMLC.....	2	4	2	20	2	17	6	43
No shortcomings.....	7	12	-	-	-	-	-	-
No response.....	-	-	1	10	-	-	-	-
Parks Canada reluctant to get involved.....	-	-	-	-	1	8	2	14
Local people will demand immediate action.....	-	-	-	-	1	8	3	21
Parks Canada will not change policy.....	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	14
Lack of local support.....	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	7
Local conflicts on priority of issues.....	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	7
Inaccessibility of administrative secretary.....	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	7
Personal dislike of advisory groups (ineffective).....	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	7

1. Since multiple responses were permitted, sums within columns may exceed 100%.
2. No. - Number of Responses, % - Percentage of Total Group Members.

were identified as the difficulty of selecting the quality (referring to their ability to transmit and receive information and attend meetings), and quantity (referring to the number of representatives from each group) of group representatives. The difficulty in selecting representatives with flexible attitudes and a willingness to remain as representatives for extended periods of time also was mentioned by groups. These concerns were noted by 26 percent of landowners, 100 percent of councils, 25 percent of provincial employees, and 64 percent of Park employees. Most municipal employees felt that the RMLC would be too costly, and some Park employees and landowners agreed. Councils also noted that the cost of the RMLC would be high in terms of time required to ensure its proper functioning.

Two of the municipal councils, 17 percent of provincial, and 43 percent of Parks Canada employees indicated that there was no need for the RMLC, while only 4 percent of landowners expressed this opinion. Some Park and provincial employees felt that the RMLC would build local expectations and create a local demand for immediate action from Parks Canada. Concerns such as jurisdictional overlap of RMLC with other agencies and governments, Parks Canada's refusal to change policy concerning Park management, lack of uniformity in opinion as to the priority of issues, and personal dislikes of advisory groups also were mentioned as factors likely to reduce the usefulness of the RMLC.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### DISCUSSION

#### Introduction

The goal of this research is to document the extent to which differing perceptions exist among the study groups and contribute to regional dissatisfaction with RMNP. Data presented in Chapter Three documented the nature of Park impacts and described group perceptions regarding negative and positive impacts, solutions, and responsibility for mitigating or preventing adverse effects. The manner in which groups interact was described and the existence of communication barriers noted. Reactions to the concept of a liaison council were presented to provide a discussion base concerning methods of overcoming communication difficulties and conflict. Information is now compared and contrasted to determine the extent to which poor communication, misperception and conflict have hindered resolution of resource problems associated with management practices in the Park.

#### Park Impacts

##### Wildlife

The variety and degree of group responses indicate that beaver and elk problems are the major wildlife impacts sustained by residents in the region surrounding RMNP. A high percentage of individuals from each group describe beaver damage as consisting of the damming of waterways, resulting in the flooding of crops, land damage, and loss of time through hours spent removing beaver and beaver dams (Table 1). The flooding of grass meadows in the Park

by beaver was identified by landowners, councillors and provincial employees as contributing to the movement of elk from the Park onto surrounding agriculture lands. Similarly, the flooding of timber areas is believed to increase the amount of deadfall and reduce elk habitat and movement in the Park, also contributing to the presence of elk on neighboring agricultural land.

This view is corroborated in part by current literature. Dagg (1974) indicates that flooding caused by beavers not only kills trees situated in the flooded areas but also trees close to beaver ponds as a result of higher water tables. The flooded areas remain infertile for tree growth for several years after the beaver pond is gone due to  $SO_2$  trapped in the soil. Dagg (1974) also notes that beaver selectively cut aspen-willow, leaving spruce and pine which alters forest characteristics and wildlife habitat. Whether or not this alteration in habitat results in elk migration onto surrounding farmland is unknown.

Beaver activity also was believed to augment run-off from the Park during heavy rains, adding to erosion problems. In 1975, heavy rains in the Park were thought to have caused the collapse of beaver dams and ponds, greatly adding to the volume and momentum of water flowing from the Park. Severe erosion and property damage resulted from these flash floods.

Most Park employees were aware of the problems, but many qualified their comments by noting that "a number of complaints occurred at some distance from the Park", implying that beaver activity not related to the Park beaver population may be occurring

in the region. Concern regarding the effects of beaver flooding within the Park (distraction of timber and grass meadows), and the perceived effect of this flooding on elk populations and migrations, received only minor mention by Park employees. Further differences in awareness relating to beaver impacts existed concerning damage to roads and culverts. While a high percentage of provincial employees and municipal councils noted this type of beaver damage, no mention of road or culvert damage in the surrounding region was made by Park employees. Similarly, concern regarding a potential tularemia outbreak within the Park beaver populations, and the spread of this bacterial disease outside of the Park (affecting the livelihood of many trappers in the province), was noted only by provincial employees. The possibility of the spread of tularemia to other animals and to man (Dagg, 1974) was noted only by provincial employees.

The difficulty in controlling beaver flooding through private efforts was noted by landowners and provincial employees, while the benefits of water retained in beaver ponds was mentioned by a few landowners and municipal councils. Apparent differences in awareness of the extent and type of impacts caused by beaver suggest a lack of complete awareness among groups as to the exact nature of beaver impacts on the surrounding region.

The survey sampling technique used would underestimate the actual numbers of landowners affected by beaver problems. While it may be tempting to point to the high percentage of landowners that do not have beaver problems as proof that beaver complaints are exaggerated, it must be noted that landowners, council members, and

provincial employees may have serious concern regarding beaver despite the absence of direct beaver damage. Thus, while 58 percent of the landowners may not experience direct beaver damage, they could hold strongly negative views regarding beaver depredation. Conversely, some of the landowners who did report beaver problems expressed a willingness to suffer beaver damage for the sake of retained water or because an aesthetic value was placed on beaver activity on their land. Therefore, a simplistic interpretation of the expressed opinions could be misleading.

Elk depredation constitutes a major wildlife problem (Table 1), as witnessed by comments from all groups noting damage to crops, hay, grain bins, and fences as a consequence of elk migration and feeding on private land surrounding the Park. This appears to be the only major point on which substantial agreement occurs among the four groups. Landowners and council members refer to the present licensing of elk hunters as unjust due to the fact that landowners suffer the damage yet seldom get the opportunity to hunt. Provincial and Park employees made no mention of this point.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, landowners and council members noted that elk hunters cause property damage. Instances of stray rifle shots through farmyards and buildings, torn fences by trespassing hunters, and high hunter concentrations along the edge of the Park (creating danger for hunters) were

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1. Under present provincial hunting programs, hunters in Manitoba apply for an elk hunting license. A set number of licenses are drawn at random from all license applicants.



noted by landowners and councillors but were not mentioned by provincial or Park employees. Conversely, nearly one-third of Park employees indicated that present elk damage compensation through the provincial government adequately treats this issue.<sup>1</sup> Nearly 30 percent of Park employees felt that landowners received compensation for elk damage through hunting opportunities and poaching, a view not expressed by other groups. Although most landowners had not directly experienced elk damage, many were concerned for those farmers with elk problems. As with beaver impacts, the comments concerning elk damage describe a variety of impacts and opinions regarding elk depredation and hunting. In some cases, these comments show consistency among groups, and in other cases views and opinions are conflicting.

Group comments related to bear damage showed a high degree of consistency among all groups on all issues. Approximately equal proportions of all groups identified damage to crops and granaries. Although all groups were involved, the proportions identifying bear damage to beehives varied (20 to 60 percent of the different groups).<sup>2</sup> Similarly, groups differed somewhat in their identification of bear attacks on cattle. Although only a small percentage of landowners

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1. The Manitoba government compensates farmers for a portion of the damage suffered. Landowners are encouraged to use the compensation to prevent further occurrence of such damage.
  2. The relatively high percentage of provincial employees responding to this issue may be explained by the fact that the provincial government has recently developed a compensation program for apiarists suffering depredation from bears.

(18 percent) mentioned this impact, an even smaller proportion of provincial and Park employees did so.

Comments concerning wolf and coyote depredation were restricted to attacks on livestock, and a rather large percentage of landowners and councils indicated that no problem existed. It may be that the impact of wolf and coyote is minimal because fur prices are high for both animals (hence reducing populations and providing a financial return on any animals caught), and there is little suitable terrain within the Park to support coyote populations.

#### Resource Extractions

While wildlife impacts directly influenced farm operations, concerns related to resource extraction within the Park have become an issue because local and provincial government perceptions of what constitutes good resource management conflict with Park policy. Comments concerning the use of timber forests (Table 2) within the Park show the greatest diversity of group perception and awareness. The majority of landowners, municipal councils and provincial employees perceive present Park policy as creating a waste of resources and potential jobs. They perceive the ban on timber harvesting as contributing to forest fires, the spread of disease and insects, and the reduction in the amount and type of suitable wildlife habitat in the Park. A minority of landowners even suggest that present Park policy has developed as a result of a lumber company lobby that wishes to reduce the availability of cheap Park timber in favor of its own more expensive lumber supplies. While one to two-thirds of provincial and Park employees identify the

cancellation of past timber harvesting rights as the cause of local discontent, one-quarter of provincial employees and a half of Park employees do not feel that use of timber is an issue. The differences in perception and awareness of timber concerns are greater than those relating to other issues.<sup>1</sup>

Although some differences exist between groups regarding the use of hay meadows in the Park and related impacts on the surrounding region, more unanimity of perceptions and opinions exist on this issue than with use of timber. While 20 to 30 percent of all groups stated that grazing and haycutting in the Park was not an issue,<sup>2</sup> 30 percent of landowners and councils indicated that it was. Similarly, roughly a quarter of the landowners, councils, and provincial employees believe elk depredation, beaver activity, and cancellation of hay cutting in the Park are related. Past hay harvesting is thought to have provided elk with a supply of grass in the fall, thus reducing the amount of elk migration onto surrounding farmland. Similarly, the flooding of grass meadows in the Park by beaver was believed to reduce elk grazing areas, thus forcing elk onto surrounding farmlands. Also, the cancellation of hay cutting

- 
1. Present Park policy allows the natural processes of regeneration, death and decay to manage the forests of the Park. However, local groups and provincial employees believe that the buildup of over mature tress and deadfall, and coniferous forests is detrimental to wildlife populations such as elk. While Park staff may agree that over mature forests hinder wildlife movement and reduce other types of wildlife habitat, over mature forests are seen as natures way of regulating wildlife populations.
  2. Landowners were either too far from the grass meadow areas of the Park or did not wish to damage their machinery on the rough Park terrain. Other landowners had access to community pasture and saw no need to gain access to the Park.

privileges is thought to have created negative feelings as indicated by 40 to 60 percent of provincial and Park employees. Although senior levels of government are aware of local disenchantment regarding grass harvesting in the Park, the perceived reason for this attitude is seen as relating to the cancellation of a privilege rather than concerns regarding increased elk depredation, perceived resource waste, or overgrown meadows contributing to fire potential in the Park.

Groups also volunteered concerns on issues not included in the survey. The use of gravel resources in the Park was mentioned by two municipal councils, with one council interested in using gravel from the Park for road constructions, and another objecting to Parks Canada buying scarce gravel resources in their municipality for use in reconstruction of Highway #10 through RMNP.<sup>1</sup> Buying of municipal gravel resources was seen as increasing the cost of road construction within the Park, and depleting limited reserves within the municipality. Ultimately the municipality would have to buy gravel, increasing the cost of road construction and repair in the municipality. This impact was not mentioned by provincial or Parks Canada employees.

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1. Due to Park policy which prevents resource extraction in national parks, Parks Canada cannot use gravel found within its boundaries for road construction or deadfall in the Park as firewood for its picnic sites.

Public Use and Miscellaneous Concerns

During interviews other problems such as access to the Park, fire burning permits and water control were added to the list of Park impacts (Table 3). An impact mentioned by a few landowners and municipal councils was the closure of the Grandview to Rossburn road through the Park. The travel distance between the two communities through the Park is approximately 35 kilometers, while current routes are approximately 120 kilometers in length. The road closure affects travel and commerce between the communities, and the inaccessibility of areas south of the Park to Grandview is thought to have been a contributing factor in the cancellation of plans to establish a rapeseed crushing plant in that town. Closure of this access road was sited as a reason why local people find it difficult to use the Park.

Landowners and councils mentioned various provincial fire control measures outside of the Park as a nuisance and cause for irritation. Under provincial law, landowners within three miles of the Park are required to obtain burning permits for the burning of fields, scrub piles, ditches and garbage. Municipalities bordering the Park are required to monitor and control burning in the municipality. As noted by landowners, obtaining a burning permit is troublesome due to difficulties in contacting Park Wardens or Conservation Officers. Also, burning permits are issued with a limited time duration (one to two days) and the permit may expire due to delays caused by weather or other circumstances before the landowner can complete the required burning. Councillors in two municipalities expressed frustration with

provincial legislation requiring them to monitor and control the use of fire in the municipality. Monitoring all fire uses in the municipality is difficult and puts councillors in the uncomfortable position of having to watch and regulate neighbors and friends.

Councillors and landowners noted that they are required by provincial law to assist in the protection of the Park, but the Park had no similar responsibility to them in terms of wildlife control. Also, although no one disagrees with fire prevention measures, it was felt that if local people can be held responsible for fires outside of the Park causing damage inside the Park, they should have some input into the management of the Park forest so that the fire potential of the Park can be minimized. Despite the fact that fire control legislation around the Park is a provincial enactment, little frustration was directed toward the provincial government. Rather, anger was focused on the Park and this issue was grouped with all other concerns relating to Park impacts.

Landowners consider impoundment of cattle straying into the Park unfair, especially since they have no recourse against Parks Canada when wildlife stray onto private land. Cattle impounded are released to the owner upon payment of a fee. While Park staff confirm that impoundment occurs, it is reserved for cases where cattle from the same landowner are repeatedly found in the Park. The impoundment and release fees are intended to act as an incentive for landowners to maintain control over livestock. While some merit can be found in Parks Canada's method of keeping livestock out of the Park, the resulting impression which has been generated in the minds of local

people is that Parks Canada will impound all cattle that stray into the Park regardless of whether or not it is a first-time occurrence. In total, few people mentioned impoundment as a concern.

The lack of control of run-off water from the Park was noted by several landowners, councils and provincial employees. Present Park policy prohibits the clearing or stabilization of stream beds or banks as this is seen as undue interference by man in the natural process of the Park. The result of this policy is seen as contributing to flash floods and erosion within the Park and along streams and creeks on adjacent private lands. Erosion within the Park also was believed to contribute to siltation of Lake Dauphin, apparently reducing recreational and sport fishing pursuits on the Lake. Debris from the Park is also blamed for plugging culverts and bridges and contributing to the wash-out of roads and highways. Only two Park employees expressed concern over run off from the Park and their description of the resultant damage was not as extensive as that of other groups.

The attraction of buying land close to the Park for cottage sites and other recreational developments was mentioned by two members of the Park staff and one municipal council. As more people purchase land close to the Park, demands are being placed on municipalities to provide better road service, water and sewage facilities. This adds to the taxes of permanent residents. Although it is premature to say that new developments are detrimental, they do force a municipality to make immediate adjustments.

While concerns relating to development pressures, cattle impoundment, fire control, and the Grandview to Rossburn road were not expressed by large percentages of any group they appear to have a cumulative effect on peoples' perceptions of the impact of the Park. Although an individual may have only a drainage concern related to run-off from the Park, one concern adds to and amplifies the collective perceptions that the Park adversely affects the surrounding region. At the same time, many of the above concerns were not identified by provincial or Parks Canada staff, indicating that perceptions and awareness varies among groups, and in some cases are totally absent.

#### Positive Impacts

Survey responses show that landowners and municipal councils feel the region derives few, if any, benefits from the Park while Parks Canada employees feel the Park generates major regional benefits (Figure 3 and Table 4). Provincial employees identified benefits as minor, while landowners and councils noted that potential recreation benefits are negated by locations, travel time, vacation preferences, and Park regulations. The location of limited major access roads and the closure of the Rossburn-Grandview road have apparently created difficulties in gaining access to the Park. People from the western and southeastern ends of the Park described distances to Park entrances as being too great to warrant a day trip to RMNP. People from these areas preferred to frequent local or provincial resorts or parks that were closer.

Similarly, the choice of RMNP as a recreational location is dependent on the length of holiday time an individual may have. While



a farm family may not travel to the Park for a one day excursion, they may not travel to the Park for a week's holiday either. As noted by one council, if a landowner does take a week's holiday in the summer there is a greater likelihood that the holiday will be spent out of province than in familiar surroundings. While location and vacation preferences limited landowner recreational use of the Park, some farmers also stated they would not use the Park because of negative feelings they held as a result of wildlife damages and differences relating to resource use in RMNP.

In the opinion of some local people, local use of the Park is discouraged by the inconvenient requirement that a hiking permit be obtained for any excursion from private land into uncontrolled areas of the Park. One-third of the landowners and half of the municipal councils surveyed held this opinion (Table 4). Stories abound of families and friends being sent out of the Park for lack of a permit, or for picking mushrooms and berries, which is illegal in national parks. Since some local residents do not realize that it is illegal to pick mushrooms and berries in the Park, the impression exists that these regulations are meant to keep local people out.

Local residents also believe that horseback riding is discouraged in the Park. This perception prevails because of the requirement that riders carry hay with them so that the horses will not eat grass in the Park. This regulation was confirmed by several Park Wardens who noted, with some annoyance, that they, too, were required to take hay with them when they patrolled the Park on horseback. Thus, through Park policy, regulation, and vacation patterns

a local perception exists that RMNP does not provide recreational benefits.

Provincial employees viewed the recreation opportunities in the Park as a minor benefit, citing facilities at Clear Lake and access to hiking trails as recreation opportunities. Provincial employees did not mention local concern regarding apparent restrictions on access or any of the other limitations noted by local people. Nearly all Park employees believed that the Park provided major recreational benefits to the surrounding region, citing the presence of lakes, hiking trails, and the Wasagaming townsite as evidence of recreation opportunities. No mention was made of local residents' feelings that access is limited.

The differences in perception among groups are striking, suggesting not only a lack of understanding by local people of the reasoning behind certain Park regulations, but also a lack of understanding on the part of Park and provincial employees as to what factors are perceived by others as limiting the recreational benefits of the Park.

Landowners and councils did not perceive benefits from tourism because tourist traffic is concentrated on major highways and at entry points to the Park. Therefore, only Dauphin, Onanole, Erickson and McCreary were seen as areas that would benefit. Although it was noted that McCreary did benefit from the Mount Agassiz Ski Hill in the Park, councillors objected to crediting Parks Canada with this benefit. McCreary councillors stated that Park staff objected to the initial construction of the ski hill and to the expansion of the

facility for the Canada Winter Games in 1979. Although tourism benefited selected areas, increased tourist traffic was credited with helping to increase the demand for improvements to major roads in the area. Since roads had been upgraded to handle the increased tourist traffic, local people had benefited.

While 91 percent of provincial staff felt tourism provided a benefit to the region, most saw benefit as minor. Although a smaller percentage (57 percent) of Park employees saw the Park creating a tourism benefit for the region, all Park employees who did so, saw the benefit as major. In their description of tourism benefits, neither provincial nor Park employees made reference to tourist travel patterns or the distribution of tourism benefits. Once again, perceptual differences among the different groups exist in fact, as well as degree.

The responses of different groups concerning increased employment opportunities mirrored the pattern of responses concerning recreation and tourist benefits. Landowners and councils saw no benefits, provincial employees saw minor benefits, and Park employees saw major benefits. While landowners and councillors could occasionally identify one or two individuals in the district who had received employment from the Park, their employment was for a short period and, therefore, was not seen as contributing significantly to the economy of the area. In contrast to the local view of the economic benefit of the Park, senior staff in RMNP indicated \$1.7 million was spent in 1979 on the wages of RMNP employees (many of whom lived outside of the Park). While it is clear that opposing perceptions exist, it is

impossible to determine what economic impact the Park has on the region without conducting a more detailed economic analysis. However, a study by the Canadian Outdoor Recreation Research Committee (1975:70) revealed the regional economic effects of several federal and provincial parks as follows:

Thus, outdoor recreation developments, namely parks, have provided some employment opportunities and improved income for local people in rural Canada. But it is fair to say that many Park developments have not had the economic impacts that were once expected from them. In essence, parks can only supplement and complement existing economic activities in rural areas. In many cases, they have not acted as growth centers for regional economic development in depressed areas of Canada. Thus, the considerations of the role of a park in influencing the economy of a local area or border region should take place within the context of overall regional economic planning.

Caution must be used concerning any statements regarding the economic benefit of RMNP or the surrounding region. Comments regarding the benefits of enhanced hunting opportunities around the Park received equal response from landowners, councils and provincial employees. However, the majority of comments from Parks employees considered the hunting opportunities to be a major benefit. Local opinion was that deer hunting was better in areas removed from the Park and that elk hunting licenses seldom, if ever, were issued to local people. Parks staff regarded hunting opportunities to be better surrounding the Park due to the presence of larger wildlife population in the Park and the emigration of animals into the surrounding region. Also, Park staff viewed the local residents' opportunity to poach elk and moose as a benefit of living close to the Park, in spite of the fact

that poaching is an offense subject to fines and property loss. Because Park staff viewed poaching as a benefit, it is understandable that a high percentage of employees noted hunting as a major benefit despite the fact that all landowners do not receive elk licenses.

While over half of the councils, provincial and Park employees identified trapping of animals originating in the Park as a benefit for the region, Parks Canada staff were the only group to rate this as a major benefit. Again, Parks staff cited the abundance of fur bearing animals within the Park as the main reason for trapping as a benefit. While some landowners trapped during the winter to supplement income, the majority did not, and, when speaking of trapping benefits, usually referred to individuals in the area who made their living solely by trapping. Thus, any benefits that may result from trapping may not be accruing to a large percentage of landowners. Several reasons why landowners do not trap include lack of skill, interest, available time, or suitable habitat nearby to support fur bearing wildlife populations, and low fur prices.<sup>1</sup>

Comments concerning the change in benefits over the last 10 to 15 years reveal that Parks Canada employees are the only group that felt benefits had increased. Other groups noted increases in wildlife depredation, cancellation of resource use privileges, and closure of roads through the Park as reasons why benefits have

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1. It should be noted that while fur prices have risen dramatically in recent years, lack of skill in fur preparation and trapping greatly reduces the price of furs.

decreased. Parks Canada employees referred to increasing budgets (thought to have spin-offs for the local economy) and increased land prices for farmland close to the Park for cottage developments. While half of the Parks Canada employees and one-quarter of the provincial employees commented on the benefits of increased land prices, only one council and 12 percent of the landowners responded similarly.

The low response rate from local people on this matter may be a result of the fact that land preferred for cottage development typically will be close to the Park, close to one of the four major Park entrances, close to major all weather roads, and forested. Therefore, a landowner three miles from the Park and twenty miles from a major Park entrance, with only cultivated land, will not experience an increase in the value of his land due to cottage lot development pressure. Also, any increases in land prices close to the Park may not be seen by prospective young farmers as a benefit, as this will greatly increase cost of establishing themselves as farmers.

A similar percentage of councils, provincial and Park employees felt that water supplies from the Park were a benefit. Negative aspects of water management cited included floods, flood debris, and erosion problems. Perceptions regarding water, therefore, were divergent and likely related to individual variation in needs, or past experiences.

The benefit of the Park noted most often by landowners was aesthetic value. The scenery, presence of wildlife, and tranquility of the Park setting all were seen as beneficial. Municipal councils,

however, were not unanimous in recognizing aesthetic values. While 40 percent expressed aesthetics as a benefit, an equal number saw no benefit whatsoever. Two factors noted by councils as detracting from aesthetic value were the presence of overgrown and decaying forests, and the fact that along the southern and western borders of the Park the terrain did not offer the same spectacular view found along the eastern and northern Park borders. Aesthetic value was noted by twice the number of Park employees as provincial employees.

Group perceptions regarding the positive impact of RMNP show a tendency for landowners and municipal councils to view the benefits as largely non-existent or as being minor. While provincial employees hold a more positive view of Park benefits, the benefits were most often seen as minor. Contrasting sharply with the other three groups, the majority of Park employees identified major benefits for the surrounding region.

While differences in perception obviously exist, it is important to consider both the negative impacts and the benefits perceived to exist. Although Park employees were aware of some negative impacts, the perceived major benefits were seen as offsetting negative affects. From the perspective of landowners and councillors, not only are a greater number and variety of negative impacts perceived to exist, but also the benefits of the Park (as seen by Park employees) are considered either minor or non-existent. In addition, landowners and councillors believe that benefits have decreased in recent years.

## Attitudes to Park Impacts

### Negative Park Impacts

A variety of attitudes may exist towards the same type of negative impacts. Individuals who commented regarding the various Park impacts can be categorized into one of four groups. The first group consists of individuals who do not have wildlife or resource related problems and who do not view these issues as problems. The second group is comprised of persons that do not have Park related concerns, but, for various reasons, view the impacts of the Park as definite issues. While it may appear that this group's concerns are unjustified, it should be pointed out that many individuals in our society are encouraged to develop an awareness and concern over issues that do not affect them directly. To ignore the attitudes of individuals in this group would be an oversight.

The third group is comprised of individuals who experience wildlife problems, but, because of their value system, do not view the situations as intolerable or frustrating enough to necessitate corrective action. Several farmers interviewed placed a high value on the aesthetics of having wildlife move freely on their property and were not prepared to have the wildlife removed despite the fact that damage occurred. The fourth group consists of individuals that experience wildlife or resource related concerns and view problems as intolerable and in need of correction. By the nature of the situation and their attitude, individuals in groups one and three do not demand the same attention as individuals in groups two and four.



Although problems related to beaver depredation have received attention recently, more landowners were concerned about non-harvested timber in the Park (Figure 4). In general timber, beaver, and elk concerns were most frequently identified by landowners, councils and provincial employees as very serious or serious problems which demand immediate action. The more extensive concern with timber harvesting than beaver flooding may exist because flooding problems are restricted to farmers living close to the Park, and along water channels. Any landowner aware of Park timber resources and in need of lumber, rails, or fenceposts, however, may question the present management of Park timber. The intensity of concern expressed results from a set of values that promotes the use and conservation of resources rather than preservation. A basic assumption of all agricultural practices is that resources are to be produced and used efficiently in a manner that provides a sustained or increased yield. As these assumptions are the antithesis of present Park policy, it is not surprising that 87 percent of the landowners expressed concern about present timber management in the Park.

The chronic, persistent nature of beaver flooding generates intense negative feelings toward beaver. Landowners described at length the frustrating and difficult job of removing beaver and beaver dams from their land. Although dynamiting, shooting and trapping removed the beaver and dams, other beaver migrated downstream and rebuild the destroyed dam. It was not uncommon for a farmer to remove beaver and dams from the same site daily. If culverts were plugged by beaver, the backup of water made removal of debris

impossible from the high water side and dangerous from inside of the culvert due to water pressure. The fact that one-third of the landowners in a random sample indicated that beaver flooding was a "very serious" or "serious" problem indicates common concern.

Chronic hay and crop depredation, and aggravations associated with hunting licenses and hunters, are the main reasons for landowners' hostility towards elk. An insight of the hostility toward elk depredation can be gained from a story related by landowners, councillors, and provincial employees regarding the slaughter of an elk herd. It is suspected that a number of farmers banded together several years ago to kill elk that frequented certain farm fields. While it was thought the killing of the elk was the work of poachers, the elk were shot and left to rot in what was believed to be an act of desperation regarding elk damage.

Landowners, councillors, and provincial employees also pointed out that a large number of landowners were posting their land against elk hunting in protest over elk damage, licencing procedures, and hunter damage. Several provincial employees felt that if wildlife populations were controlled inside the Park, people would not be as resentful. In part, poaching was seen by provincial employees as a way of getting even with the Park. Also, it was feared that the longer the conflict situation exists with the Park, the greater the potential for increased community support and protection of poachers

(Kimber, 1978).<sup>1</sup> The killing of elk to protect crops and property and the posting of land give a definite indication of landowner anger and frustration.

Although bear damage was not as widely cited as reason for concern, nearly one in three farmers viewed bear damage as "serious" or "very serious" in nature. While bear control does not involve the same frustrations as beaver control, damage can be costly. Although crop damage is a common problem, attacks on cattle and beehives are more serious. Compensation exists for damage to beehives, but it covers only a portion of the costs of replacing hives, and may have to be used to prevent future occurrence (buying fencing material). Because compensation for bear attacks on livestock does not exist, landowners are forced to take matters into their own hands. One farmer, who lived two kilometers from the Park, had shot three bears on his property during the month that preceded the interview. His rationale for doing so was based on previous experiences. When he had not bothered shooting bears, he later found that either he or his neighbor were missing cattle. As a result of these experiences, the farmer stated "Now I don't wait for trouble to happen. I just shoot them and save myself and my neighbor a lot of grief."

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1. Although poaching was viewed by some provincial and Park employees as a type of compensation, informal discussion with landowners and councillors indicated poaching was practised occasionally by a minority and extensively by a select few. Provincial employees pointed out that commercial poaching (active sale of wild game) presented a much greater threat than individual poaching. Commercial poaching was not thought to be common, nor was the present poaching effort seen as a threat to elk population.

Municipal councils expressed views similar to those of landowners, but concerns were more strongly stated by councillors. Greater intensity of concern may be attributed to several factors: (1) councillors are more aware than individuals of the regional extent of problems and damages, (2) councillors are more aware of regional costs of certain problems (e.g. removal of beaver dams from culverts and bridges), (3) councillors receive more complaints and questions owing to their accessibility at the local level, (4) people tend to discuss only the problems associated with the Park, (5) friends, neighbors, and relatives are often the people adversely affected by flooding and other problems, (6) most councillors are farmers and experience various problems directly, and (7) as junior governments, councils have less power to effect change, thereby increasing their feelings of helplessness and frustration. Thus, the regional impact of the Park presented by municipal councils, is probably a more encompassing description of the situation than the more personal view of a landowner, or the more impersonal view of provincial or Parks Canada employees. While concerns regarding beaver impacts was noticeably greater among provincial and Parks Canada employees than landowners, this awareness is, in part, due to the fact that the flooding problems caused by beaver are both acute and chronic. Also, attention has been drawn to problems associated with beaver by the persistent actions of Rossburn Municipality, and studies that have been conducted in the region (Rounds, 1980).

Provincial attitudes concerning Park impacts parallel responses of landowners and municipal councillors in terms of

frequency and intensity (Figure 4). This may be explained in part by the fact that provincial employees, landowners and councillors hold similar philosophies regarding the use of resources. Provincial employees also have been frustrated in attempts to control wildlife damage on provincial and private land, when the lack of population control within the Park is viewed as the cause of problems.

The most significant difference in attitudes is that between Park employee and other groups concerning regional Park impacts (Figure 4). While concern with beaver problems is high, all other impacts were seen as occasional problems or inconveniences but were not seen as requiring attention. Several factors may explain this situation. First, site-specific flooding or depredation have a greater impact on individuals involved than simple reports of such occurrences. Second, the organization of Parks Canada as a regional system effects regional staff awareness of the magnitude and nature of problems experienced at a given park. The Prairie Region of Parks Canada (in which RMNP is situated) encompasses an area from the Manitoba-Ontario border to the Yukon and includes Saskatchewan, Northern Alberta and the Northwest Territories. Many of the regional Park staff confessed a lack of in-depth awareness of specific Park-region interactions due to responsibilities in other parks. Third, the existence of provincial wildlife compensation programs were seen by some Park staff as an answer to concerns about elk or bear. Fourth, since resource use in national parks is not permitted, Park staff viewed concern related to resource use as a non-issue.

In all cases other than beaver-related impacts, Parks staff saw little reason for concern even though some impacts were known to exist. Conversely, significant portions of the other groups perceived problems as serious and in need of urgent attention. Differences in perception and attitude explain not only why tensions exist between groups, but also point toward the need for all parties to confer with each other to examine the substance and accuracy of their perceptions. This is a necessary first step in the development of mutually acceptable solutions.

### Solutions and Responsibility for Problem Resolution

#### Solutions

Solutions to problems suggested by the four groups reveal not only that groups favor different solutions, but also that values and perceptions differ (Table 5). Landowners, councillors, and provincial employees favored a controlled trapping program within RMNP by bonded trappers, while Park staff favored a federal-provincial cost shared program to remove problem beaver and dams on provincial lands.<sup>1</sup> The beaver control program being considered would provide funds for hiring work crews to remove beaver and dams from private property. Farmers having beaver problems would call a control office, and a work crew would be dispatched to the site. However, because the rate of beaver migration is high in the spring, and because they repair damaged dams quickly, a beaver and dam removal program will

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1. Federal-provincial negotiations are in progress to arrive at a cost sharing agreement that would cover the expense of hiring crews to travel the Park boundary removing beaver dams and unplugging culverts and bridges.

have to be flexible enough to meet recurring problems. To respond to calls late, or infrequently, may be as bad as not responding at all.

The utility of trapping beaver within the Park is based on several perceptions and facts. While some colonization has occurred outside of the Park, the Park is still perceived as the largest breeding ground of migrating beaver. For this reason, local people and provincial employees prefer population control within the Park. Also, trapping beaver outside of the Park is not necessarily effective as a method of controlling beaver depredation. If a farmer wishes to realize some economic benefit from beaver, trapping must take place in the late winter or early spring when pelts are prime. This means that a farmer must allow beaver to colonize his land during spring migration and must endure flooding or other inconveniences during summer so that he may harvest pelts in winter. A farmer must then decide if pelt prices are worth the personal inconvenience and loss of production from flooded areas. As well, a farmer must weigh the effects that leaving the beaver untrapped over summer will have on water supplies of farmers downstream, and of any flooding or problems this may cause neighbors.

To allow private trappers to remove beaver from private land is a solution that sometimes creates as many problems as it solves. Landowners are hesitant to permit trappers on their land for several reasons. First, some landowners prefer to have beaver on their land for aesthetic reasons or because ponds and dams result in water retention. But, while farmers with beaver may not mind their

presence, landowners downstream may be upset that flooding occurs. Second, trappers like to leave seed stock for the following year and so are reluctant to remove all beaver from a colony. Third, some trappers may abuse access privileges and cause damage to crops and property. Fourth, access to property may result in theft. Fifth, some landowners hesitate to allow native trappers on their land because of their personal biases. Sixth, disputes among trappers over previous and present access privileges have lead to difficulties for some landowners. Considering all factors, the effectiveness of solving beaver problems outside of the Park appear to be limited. Park staff firmly dismiss any suggestions of trapping within RMNP not only because of present Park policy, but also because of administrative difficulties. Surveillance for poachers would be complicated if trappers were allowed in remote areas, and trappers would have to be monitored to ensure that they were not trapping or poaching other wildlife. Deciding who would be permitted access and who would not may result in resentment among local residents. Finally, Park employees view the practice of trapping within the Park as creating a precedent for resource extraction in all national parks. Therefore, while trapping within RMNP might provide a solution, it appears unlikely that it would be instituted.<sup>1</sup>

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1. While Park staff alluded to information which suggested trapping within the Park would not control the beaver population, this information could not be obtained. The only information on this matter that was gathered suggested that selective removal of colonies near the boundary may stimulate population growth and emigration (Rounds, 1980).



While any measure taken to alleviate beaver problems will create administrative difficulties, it is also true, as provincial staff indicated, that allowing private beaver eradication to continue in the current manner is unlikely to foster a conservation ethic. As beaver problems persist and landowners trap and shoot beaver and destroy beaver dams, the animals become objects of resentment and hostility and are seen as a nuisance. If beaver populations decreased to low levels, it would take time and effort to re-establish local attitudes for protection and conservation. Hence, prolonged and acute wildlife problems may have the effect of fostering negative attitudes and a lack of appreciation of wildlife.

At present farmers are responsible for and must obtain a permit to remove problem beaver from their land, and municipalities are responsible for buying dynamite and removing beaver dams. While the provincial government use to be more directly involved, provincial staff presently have little direct involvement in beaver control.<sup>1</sup> Park staff remain somewhat skeptical of the extent and magnitude of beaver impacts, although actions are taken to moderate and investigate beaver problems associated with the Park. Park Superintendent, George Rochester, noted that beaver dams just inside the Park boundary were removed if they caused flooding outside of the Park, and assistance has been given for the removal of beaver dams up to

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1. Initially provincial staff live trapped beaver and removed problem beaver to other areas. As beaver problems become more numerous, the provincial government passed the responsibility onto landowners and municipalities.

one-quarter of a mile from the Park. If requested by farmers during drought, Park staff also will release water from beaver ponds to provide water for cattle. Past experiences with farmers dynamiting dams in the Park have prompted Park staff to provide these services.

While some Park staff would admit that beaver from the Park probably cause damage on adjacent private lands, the issue of providing assistance outside of the Park boundary was problematic. It is desirable from Parks Canada's standpoint to provide assistance for public relations purposes, but because the extent of the Park's influence is not known, it is difficult to know how far from the Park, and in what instances, assistance should be provided. Certain Park staff also fear that if assistance is provided, it may be seen as an admission that Parks Canada has responsibility beyond its boundaries: if precedence is established, damage caused by other wildlife, run-off and fires could cause future administrative problems. For these reasons, Park staff preferred that financial assistance (control programs or compensation) be given to the province to control beaver problems. However, Park staff arguments concerning the problem of setting precedences is somewhat in doubt, in light of the Superintendent's statement that assistance is presently given to farmers one-quarter mile from the Park.

Although the provincial government proposed the establishment of a buffer zone around the Park in the past, this solution did not receive much support. A buffer zone around the Park may solve many of the present wildlife problems, but such a solution is politically unfeasible. Acreages were purchased by the former New

Democratic government in an effort to establish a buffer zone in critical areas, but the idea became unpopular with some local residents who viewed this as increased government ownership of land, and the program was stopped by the present Conservative government. The opinion of establishing a buffer zone within the Park has been firmly opposed by Parks Canada. Thus, while various groups have reasons for preferring certain solutions, the proposals conflict, and no compromise has been found.

Although reduction in beaver population within the Park was favored by local people and provincial employees, the same solution was not recommended for elk. Rather, landowners and councillors favored changes to present hunting seasons and licensing procedures.<sup>1</sup> Conversely, provincial and Park employees felt that the present provincial hunting seasons and compensation programs for elk damage to crops were adequate. Although problems were noted regarding hunter safety and damage to property, no solutions were mentioned.

Few solutions were put forward concerning bear problems. While population control within the Park was suggested by councillors and a few landowners, most landowners, provincial and Park employees had no suggestions. Again, provincial and Park employees thought that compensation programs for damage to beehives was adequate. As with

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1. It was not suggested that every landowner be given a licence, but that those with elk damage be given preferential treatment when elk hunting licences are issued. This may mean that those with elk damage be placed in a separate draw for a certain number of licences, or that crop compensation payments would be waived if an elk licence was issued to a farmer.

elk damage compensation, however, local people do not consider partial compensation for damage a solution to the problem, but only a method of minimizing losses.<sup>1</sup>

Limited controlled extraction of timber and grass resources were solutions favored by landowners, councillors, and provincial employees to resolve resource extraction issues. Conversely, Park employees viewed resource extraction as forbidden under national parks policy. Because the farming community around the Park exists according to its ability to harvest resources, non-use or resource waste is perceived to be as bad as over-use. While use is preferred to non-use, landowners and councillors were careful to note that any use of Park resources should be regulated to ensure that the resource was maintained in a healthy state and not over-exploited. In fact, when asked if the Park should remain a park or be converted to agricultural land, local people firmly believe "the Park must remain as a park," since it was viewed as a necessary wildlife refuge. By using Park resources wisely, in a manner that stressed resource conservation (not preservation), local people and provincial staff believe healthy wildlife populations and vegetation would flourish in the Park.

Past experiences of resource harvest within the Park have given local people and provincial employees certain perceptions of the effect of resource harvesting. It is felt that past timber

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1. Only a portion (usually 75 percent) of the assessed damage is paid, on the grounds that a complete reimbursement of loss may encourage some to make fraudulent claims against the provincial government.

harvesting not only provided access roads into the Park's interior to aid fire fighting, but also that removal of deadfall and over mature trees decreased fire potential and encouraged new growth and wildlife habitat. The same reasoning was applied to removal of trees killed by fires. Park staff, however, were reluctant to permit local people to salvage burned timber as it was feared that this may result in deliberate setting of fires to gain access to timber resources.

Local people thought that hay harvest in mid-summer allowed meadows to produce a second growth of grass as a winter food supply for elk. They believe that non-harvested meadows produce over mature, coarse hay that contains little nutritive value for elk, and caused elk migrations onto agricultural land. These perceptions suggest to local people and provincial employees that present management techniques are neither beneficial for wildlife nor healthy for vegetation. Research efforts in these areas would provide useful data for discussions between groups.

Although national park policy does not permit resource extraction, exceptions have been made. At present, timber resources in Wood Buffalo National Park are used by native groups. The rationale for this exception is that natives traditionally relied on timber harvesting as a source of employment in the Park areas before it was designated a park. Similarly, hay harvesting occurred in Prince Albert National Park in 1977 when drought conditions seriously affected farmers' hay supplies.

Although these exceptions may provide grounds for mutually acceptable solutions to differences in opinion, other difficulties exist. The exceptions are not viewed as creating precedence for other

parks (ie. the management of Prince Albert National Park does not affect the management of RMNP today), and Parks Canada employees persistently declared that resource extraction in RMNP would effect the entire national parks system. While it would appear that precedents already have been set, permission to use resources in RMNP was not seen as a viable compromise by Parks Canada employees.

It is apparent that perceptual differences among groups exist not only regarding identification of problems and benefits, but also regarding solutions to problems. While perceptions differ concerning desirable solutions, the reasons why groups hold a particular view appear to be unknown or poorly understood by other groups. Park employees did not appear to be fully aware of the limitations certain solutions placed on landowners and councils, and local people were unaware of Parks Canada's motivations to preserve natural ecosystems.

Available literature concerning park-region interactions in North America and the world, reveals the tenuous position of national parks. Encroachment by development firms, resource industries, towns, and government agencies have caused tremendous damage to the forests and wildlife of many national parks in the United States ("Environmental Programs Face Tough Sledding", Conservation Foundation Newsletter, Nov. 1978). While it may be hard for local people to imagine a landscape destroyed by extensive timber harvesting and erosion, gaining such an awareness may help landowners and councillors to understand Parks Canada's reluctance to change policy. However, even though a greater appreciation of the other side's perceptions

may be helpful, efforts need to be made to develop solutions to land management problems that arise on land adjacent to Parks. Instead of constantly battling outside interests, national parks should be encouraged not to isolate themselves behind their mandates. As recommended in the National Parks and Conservation Study "No Park is an Island" (1979:9)...

In short, unless all levels of government make a concerted effort to deal with adjacent land problems in a coordinated manner, the National Park Service mandate to preserve areas within its jurisdiction in an unimpaired state for the benefit of future generations will be completely undermined. Efforts focussing on resource management within park boundaries eventually will be rendered meaningless by external forces. If our last pockets of wilderness, scenic grandeur, and historic heritage are treated as isolated islands, areas that are 'national parks' in the true sense will cease to exist.

The need for greater regional planning has also been highlighted in a Parks Canada discussion paper that emphasizes the importance of regional planning. Fay (1978:i) states that "Parks Canada has consistently recognized the necessity of integrating its holdings into their respective surrounding regions." In spite of this view, the preferred solution of Parks Canada employees to beaver problems was to view these as isolated occurrences that could be solved by financial assistance. Similarly, all groups proposed solutions to specific issues but ignored examining the entire scope of problems. Impacts sustained by residents adjacent to RMNP are not limited to beaver flooding, but rather include a broad range of issues in which differences in perceptions and attitudes compound the nature of the problems. A regional planning approach involving Parks Canada,

provincial and municipal governments may provide better long-term solutions to problems.

While a regional planning approach currently does not exist, appropriate federal policy statements have been written. Parks Canada Policy (1979:15) states:

Parks Canada will seek to integrate elements of the Parks Canada system with surrounding regions so as to have a positive social, economic and physical impact....By acting in a manner sensitive to local concerns and in close collaboration with all other government agencies, Parks Canada will strive to fulfill its mandate in ways which will be beneficial to, and ensure the best possible integration with, surrounding regions. Local communities and citizens cannot be asked to bear a disproportionate share of the costs of protecting and preserving the national heritage of all Canadians.

#### Responsibility

Parks Canada was identified by local and provincial groups as the group most responsible for solving problems (Table 6). Responsibility was placed on Parks Canada because other groups perceived problems as the result of Park management and policy. Management within the Park was seen as necessary because management outside of the Park provided only temporary solutions to problems. Local people and provincial employees viewed themselves as either incapable or powerless to affect the situation because implementation of necessary solutions was beyond their authority (Table 7).

Provincial employees felt that the provincial government had taken responsibility in the past concerning wildlife impacts. However, measures such as issuing beaver kill permits to farmers, extending trapping seasons, hiring trappers to remove nuisance beaver on a



limited basis, and empowering municipalities to remove dams had not been successful. Other measures, such as big game compensation programs and elk hunting seasons, had been initiated by the province to alleviate wildlife problems and were viewed as successful.

Parks Canada employees felt some responsibility had been taken by the organization to address certain problems (Table 7). Parks Canada had initiated a beaver management study within the Park and attended meetings in municipalities surrounding the Park. The presence of employees at meetings regarding the development of a Park master plan (1974-76), the Turtle River Watershed Board and local meetings with municipalities indicated that Parks Canada was concerned. Other action such as initiating a wolf study and involvement with the province in developing a beaver removal program outside of the Park was seen as Parks Canada's willingness to cooperate.

Parks Canada, however, was not willing to accept responsibility for problems beyond the Park boundary. Park staff found it difficult to know how far, where, and when Parks Canada should assume responsibility outside the Park. It was feared that actions may set precedents that would require Parks Canada to assume a role in the region far beyond its manpower, financial, or legal abilities. Budgetary cutbacks and staff reductions have hampered present park activities and would make added program responsibilities and development difficult to execute.

The National Parks Act (1930) does not provide Parks Canada with the legal mandate to provide money to landowners, other departments or governments. Funds to assist landowners or municipal

governments must come directly through the Federal Treasury Board, a process that was identified as unwieldy and time consuming. Parks Canada does not have a clear policy statement or set of guidelines to regulate the extent or methods by which it may become involved in regional planning activities. Although present policy alludes to the desirability and need for regional planning, Parks Canada has yet to develop a program to actualize these policy statements. Similarly, Parks Canada does not have authority to assume responsibility outside of the Park, since this is the province's responsibility under the British North American Act. The province clearly is responsible for wildlife management on provincial lands, as provided through provincial statutes.

Although Parks Canada is reluctant to assume responsibility outside of the Park, comments received from some Park employees indicate that a transition in attitude may be developing. As noted by one employee, "Parks Canada has tended to be somewhat of an isolationist. Although this attitude still persists, it is changing." While some employees still view the Park as an isolated island, others are beginning to see the Park as part of a regional setting and that there is a need to become involved if legislative, policy and financial arrangements permit. Comments from Park staff favoring multiple use areas in the Park, socio-economic studies to determine the impacts of the Park on the region, regional planning schemes, and policies that give greater recognition of local circumstances indicate individuals within Parks Canada are becoming more concerned. Although there is an indication some Parks Canada staff are concerned, action will only occur

when individuals act on concerns for the neighboring region and work toward the removal of legislative, policy and financial barriers that prevent Parks Canada from assuming a greater role outside of the Park. Strong regional perceptions identify Parks Canada as having an effect on, and a responsibility to meet in the neighboring region. To ignore these perceptions would reinforce the beliefs of others that Parks Canada does not care what effect the Park has on the region, chooses to ignore what is happening and hopes anger will pass, or is simply irresponsible.

#### Resource Use and Management

Attitudes regarding resource use and management of RMNP are reflected in solutions forwarded by groups. Landowners, municipal councillors, and provincial employees all preferred limited use of natural resources, while Parks Canada employees do not approve of resource extraction (Figure 6). Almost complete unanimity also exists between landowners, municipal councillors and provincial employees regarding perceptions of each others' preferences.<sup>1</sup> However, Parks Canada employees indicated only that other groups wished to use Park resources and could not describe whether desired use would be maximum or moderate commercial use, or limited personal use.

Since differences exist among groups regarding preferred use and management of Park resources, it is consistent that differences

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1. Exceptions existed with the landowner group where most landowners could not describe provincial employee preferences concerning resource use in the Park.

would also exist concerning group attitudes to present resource use and management in RMNP (Figure 5). Landowners, municipal councillors, and provincial employees not only disagreed with present management, but also held very negative attitudes toward Park policy. Parks Canada staff were generally aware of negative local attitudes to Park policy, but often dismissed the discontentment by stating "they don't understand what a national park is all about." Data herein suggests that local people do understand that national parks are areas where resources are preserved in their natural state and are allowed to evolve naturally with minimum human interference. The fact is, however, local people do not accept present Park policy and management as an effective method of maintaining the health and stability of Park vegetation and wildlife.

Landowners between 35 and 44 years of age held the most negative attitudes toward present use and management of Park resources (Table 12, Appendix Three). Park and provincial employees felt that older landowners held more negative attitudes to Park resources. In fact, however, the youngest and oldest age groups did not show an appreciable difference in attitude.

The significance of the age data becomes more apparent when contrasted with the common belief of Parks Canada staff that the younger generation will be more supportive of present Park policies. Parks Canada employees also believe that more local support for Park policy will develop as a result of interpretive programs in schools (Table 8). Since the negative attitudes of landowners are the products of adverse Park impacts and basic differences in philosophies

concerning resource management, it is unlikely that attitudes will improve if conditions that create the negative attitudes persist. If attitudes toward the Park will not substantially change in the adult population of the surrounding region, efforts of Park staff to change the attitudes of the grade school populations may not achieve the desired results. Difficulties in changing childrens' attitudes will be encountered because neither sufficient staff nor funds exist at present to conduct extensive education programs in all schools in the region. Finally, a child's attitude is moulded constantly by family, friends and community. It is optimistic for the Park Interpretive staff to believe that they can successfully compete with the negative community attitudes (toward the Park) to which school children are exposed daily.

#### Inter-Group Attitudes

The result of real or perceived losses sustained because of Park management practices and frustrations felt because of poor communications are evident in the attitudes which groups hold toward each other. The feelings which originated with property damage have been translated into hostile feelings towards Parks Canada, its staff, and its policies. Hostility has several unpleasant side effects. While few Parks Canada employees feel the present situation is serious enough to become concerned, the majority believe that serious consequences could result from prolonged, unresolved conflict. Consequences include such activities as increased poaching, vandalism, and fires being set in the Park. In fact, one warden stated that fires had been set in the Park in his area as a result of what was

termed "hostile feelings towards the Park." As well, the Park Superintendent referred to an anonymous telephone threat to drive a convoy of trucks on the closed Park road between Rossburn and Grandview to protest the road's closure.

The present situation between RMNP and the surrounding region has not only created tensions between groups, but also can be seen as having an effect on local attitudes toward the federal government. Landowners and councillors both refer to Parks Canada and the federal government with statements such as "They don't give a damn about anyone out west," or "They think all wealth flows from Ottawa, instead of to Ottawa." Comments of this sort indicate not only east-west and federal-provincial tensions, but also that the actions and attitudes of Parks Canada can aggravate broader tensions.

While group comments expose the present state of tensions, they do not reveal the cooperative spirit that once existed between the Park and the region, and which seems to have disappeared. Several older landowners reminisced about better past relationships with the Park. Past opportunities to harvest timber and hay in the Park provided a direct benefit to farmers and occasions for Park staff and farmers to communicate. The activity of going into the Park and meeting the Park Wardens (who would show local people where and how to cut the wood or hay), provided an opportunity for both sides to meet and develop a relationship based on mutual respect and understanding. This type of contact provided Wardens with an opportunity to practice resource extension education. Information on the condition of the Park and its wildlife could be shared. As well, an

opportunity existed to teach local people the need to preserve habitat on their own land and explain the fragile nature of wildlife populations and ecosystems. Under present conditions not only has the opportunity for building better relations been removed, but also it appears that the only occasion a Warden may have to talk to a farmer is in responding to complaints about Park wildlife or in discussing a poaching offense.

The deterioration in Park-region relations was recalled with regret by one farmer. Even at a young age, the farmer recalled having an interest in wildlife, and when he began farming, his interest grew. During harsh winters when elk populations were low and starving, the farmer would leave hay along the Park's edge for the elk. In better years, when elk herds had improved in health and numbers the farmer would take an animal. The Wardens knew the farmers took elk from the Park, but they also knew farmers suffered crop losses due to elk and looked after the elk during the hard years. This farmer recalled the Wardens saying "Only one elk per farmer, otherwise I'll be after you!" As the farmer recalled, "We respected them (the Wardens), we respected the elk and we respected the Park."

For this farmer, however, respect is gone. He related an incident which occurred sometime after the Park had been "shutdown", in which poachers killed an elk on his field. "They left most of the elk there to rot, taking only the hindquarters. The next day the Warden was out accusing me of poaching. Ever since then, I don't take anymore interest in wildlife." It would appear that what has been gained through more strict enforcement has also been lost in

terms of the interest and cooperation that existed between this farmer and the Park. Current Park policies apparently have created tensions and removed an important mechanism that, in the past, built and preserved good community relations.

### Group Communication and Attitudes

#### Communication Channels

The relatively high proportion of good to excellent communication reported between landowners and councillors (Figure 7) is a result of the fact that most councillors are farmers (Appendix Three). In turn, municipal councils attributed their good communications with the province to the fact that provincial employees were willing to meet with councillors and discuss problems even though, in many cases, it was known that the provincial government did not have the power to change management practises in the Park. Landowners and councillors viewed Conservation Officers as willing to make an effort to solve problem situations. Their presence at the local level in a role other than law enforcement appeared to engender a cooperative spirit.

Factors other than local exposure also affected perceptions of the quality of communications. Discussion with provincial and local groups revealed that the extent to which action resulted from communications affected their perception of the quality of communications with other groups. Thus, although a message was sent and received accurately, communications were still considered to be poor if the situation remained unchanged or if a satisfactory explanation of the



situation was not forthcoming. For example, it was noted by councillors that communications with the Park were good regarding arrangements for municipal support of any fire fighting efforts in the Park. At present, arrangements exist with RMNP whereby municipal caterpillars are on standby from spring to autumn for use in the Park.

However, the majority of landowners and councillors described most attempts to communicate with Parks Canada as "hitting a brick wall" or "talking to a dead uncle." References were made to a meeting in Rossburn in 1978 that was held with several municipal councils, provincial and Park staff specifically to discuss beaver problems. A comment frequently mentioned describing the meeting was "It was as though you were being made a fool of. They'd ask you for your opinion, and then just go ahead and do what they wanted to." Comments of this sort, and others referring to the meeting in Rossburn and the series of public participation meetings in 1974-76,<sup>1</sup> indicated that local people believed Parks Canada came to the meetings with plans already formulated, and with no intention of listening or making changes.

Provincial and Parks Canada employees have differing perceptions of the quality of communication between them (Figure 7). Difference may be caused by differing degrees of success that each group experiences in obtaining responses to requests. Provincial staff are frustrated at the lack of what they consider to be

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1. Community meetings were held in the rural areas surrounding the Park to receive input into the development of a Master Plan for RMNP.

appropriate responses from Parks Canada regarding concerns about wildlife damage. Parks Canada staff, on the other hand, appear to experience more success in gaining cooperative action from the province and municipalities. For example, the Park has secured provincial cooperation concerning municipal planning, fire protection and legislation, elk and bear depredation payments, joint Park-provincial poaching surveillance, and cooperation regarding highway routing and development around the Park. Also, the province cooperates extensively in other Parks Canada programs such as National Historic Parks (Lower Fort Garry) and ARC programs (Agreements for Recreation and Conservation) with the City of Winnipeg. Differing perceptions also may result from the neglect of the provincial government to send a strong formal communication of their concern to the federal government.

Another factor that affects local and provincial perceptions of the quality of communications with Parks Canada is the apparent inability of Park officials to effect policy and do nothing more than carry out orders and follow policy as dictated from Ottawa. However, comments received from Parks Canada staff indicated that local and regional staff can influence policy and the application of policy at a regional and Park level. As one employee pointed out "strategic policy is made between Ottawa and Winnipeg. Tactical policy is made between Winnipeg and the Park." In other words, Ottawa and Winnipeg offices establish the goals which national Parks are to achieve, Winnipeg and RMNP determine how and when these goals will be achieved. Another employee stated that, frequently, the Director of the Regional

Office (Winnipeg) will allow the Park Superintendent the freedom to fine-tune policy at the Park level. For example, it was stated that the decision to allow hay cutting in Prince Albert National Park in 1977 was taken by the Superintendent in consultation with the Regional Director.

The involvement and importance of local Park staff input into the development of Park policy became evident through observations made during interviews. It was apparent that Regional Parks Canada staff were less familiar than local staff with Park-region interactions. While it is understandable that the Park Superintendent and staff would have a better grasp of local situations, Regional staff comments constituted an admission that the Regional Office depends heavily on local Park staff for interpretation and assessment of local occurrences and concerns. This information flow is to be expected (considering the size and diversity of parks in the Prairie Region), and illustrates the manner in which Parks Canada retrieves, assimilates, and processes information.

Although overall policy is formally made on a national basis, local Park staff have the information and field experience necessary to help formulate national policy and to make decisions regarding the application of policy at the local level. The Park Superintendent is the key person to assess a situation at the local level. Thus, although local people have the impression that all policies are formulated in Ottawa, they may be moulded at a level much closer to the Park. Communication with a former Regional Planner (Prairie Region, Parks Canada) revealed that the development of the present national park policy was delayed when initial policy statements were rejected

by local Parks Canada staff in various regions. After local and regional staff input had been made and incorporated, a draft national parks policy was approved and circulated for comment.

The frequency and types of communication that exist among groups provides another method for assessment of relationships. The extent of informal-direct communication between landowners and municipal councils (Figure 8) was a result of the fact that both groups are part of the same rural community and share similar interests. Although the initial reason for a chance meeting between a landowner and a councillor may concern school taxes or roads, the discussion could include problems associated with the Park. The lack of communications between landowners and Park staff (Figure 8 and 9) could result from landowners having no concerns, but the intensity of discontent with Park use and management indicates otherwise. Two observations may partially account for infrequent communication. First, landowners assume that Parks Canada is aware of the impacts RMNP has on the region. Some landowners feel there is no reason to inform the Park of their concerns. The series of public meetings held in 1974-76 in conjunction with the development of the Parks' master plan gave landowners and councillors the impression that Parks Canada is aware of all of their concerns, because, as was often stated, "We told them about our problems at those meetings." Similarly, following a meeting held in Rossburn (1978) to discuss beaver problems, local people felt that Park staff were aware of the concerns of the region and that there was no point in raising the same issues, again and again. Failure to repeatedly reassert claims and issues, however

may also be interpreted by Parks Canada to mean that concerns mentioned were not very serious.

The second factor that may explain why landowners have not communicated extensively with Parks Canada may be found in their impressions of Parks Canada's responses to concerns. Replies from Parks Canada officials at public meetings left landowners and councillors with the impression that to communicate with Parks Canada was a pointless, frustrating exercise, as opinions and plans had been formulated prior to meetings. Similarly, Parks Canada staff viewed the Master Planning and Rosssburn meetings with disappointment. The responses from landowners and councillors appeared to be individual concerns or opinions, and were sometimes expressed in a hostile, unruly manner. Formal briefs usually were not presented, which made the concerns expressed confusing and unorganized. While a brief concerning beaver damage was presented to Parks Canada at the Rosssburn meeting, Park staff had doubts concerning the method and manner in which information had been collected and tabulated. Park staff also expressed surprise that few substantive comments were received from councils concerning the draft National Park Policy paper presented at the Rosssburn meeting. Although it is understandable that landowners feel it is pointless to speak, the result of not speaking, or of speaking in a disorganized manner may be self-defeating.

Whether landowners and councils perceive Parks Canada as being aware of the situation or not, definite action on an issue cannot be expected until the issue has been presented in a detailed, credible manner that outlines the extent, cost and number of people

affected. There are several reasons for detailing concerns in written form. First, formal communication in the form of briefs, reports or studies indicate that those involved are not expressing an idle concern but have invested time and effort in developing a formal presentation. Second, formal presentations indicate the number of people affected by a particular concern and allows others to rank the significance of various issues. Third, formal, written briefs ensure that the intent and specifics of a concern do not become lost or distorted during re-examination. Fourth, formalized written briefs allow local and regional staff (Parks Canada or the provincial government) to approach superiors with a specific, verifiable, local concern. Fifth, a written document gives others the opportunity to examine the nature of an issue before and after a public meeting, thereby allowing time to consider implications and possible actions. Finally, concerns framed in an organized manner develop credibility and can be forwarded to M.P.s, MLA's, members of the press and others that may assist in reaching solutions.

While informal communications may be appropriate at a local level, formal communication is necessary when meeting with senior governments. It is equally important to note that informal discussions with Park Wardens or Conservation Officers is not enough to ensure that the message has been heard in Wasagaming, Winnipeg or Ottawa. In situations where animosity exists between groups, formalizing concerns is the first step that must be taken to elicit formal responses. While municipal councils do use a formal-direct communications with Parks Canada, much of the communication is in the form

of motions made by councils at the annual convention of the Union of Manitoba Municipalities. Although such communication is necessary, it is not sufficient to ensure action.

While local groups should take responsibility for ensuring that concerns are presented frequently and in a credible manner, Parks Canada may need to examine their sensitivity to local concerns. People shouting at meetings, chronic grumbling from landowners and councils, and requests for action from provincial employees indicates that something, either perceived or real, is wrong. Even though concerns may not be articulated or presented in the form of a brief, an agency that is sensitive to its impact on and relations with its neighbors, should convey a willingness to listen and, if possible, modify adverse effects. After years of expressing concern in various forms at various forums, landowners, municipal councils, and provincial employees simply do not believe they have been heard.

#### Riding Mountain Liaison Council

The creation of the RMLC model was an attempt to discover whether or not a formal committee could lessen tensions between the Park and the region and resolve long-standing concerns.<sup>1</sup> As well,

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1. Several municipal, provincial and Park interviewees made references to the Turtle River Conservation Board as an existing mechanism which serves to bring different groups together. The Park Superintendent noted that the Board allowed Park staff access to local and regional opinion that was specific and organized. As well, reports published by the Board on water management problems in the watershed, allowed the Superintendent to put forward a stronger case to the federal government for assistance on water management projects that would benefit the Turtle River Watershed. Provincial sponsorship of the Board added credibility to its operations and opinions.

group responses regarding suggestions for improving group communications (Table 8) revealed that increased contact between groups was a crucial first step. While the RMLC was considered a beneficial way of bringing groups together to discuss issues, the shortcomings identified revealed several weaknesses that would undermine its functioning as proposed.

The most frequently mentioned weaknesses of the proposed RMLC were a lack of authority to institute change and overlap of authority with other government agencies. Clashes with sections of the Department of Natural Resources (Water Resources, Lands Branch, Wildlife Branch), the Department of Municipal Affairs, various watershed boards, planning districts, development corporations, and various municipal and federal offices, could prove frustrating and halt the entire operation of the Council. Further delays and disappointments could worsen existing conflict. As stated by one provincial employee, "people have been put off for so long that they want action now!"

All parties raised serious doubts regarding the ability of groups to select the quantity and quality of representatives required under the proposed council structure. Uneasiness surfaced about the numbers of representatives from different groups, but the ability and attitudes of representatives was a more serious concern. All groups identified the difficulty that municipal councils would have selecting individuals that were prepared to and capable of taking on the job of attending meetings and transmitting and gathering information on a wide variety of topics over a large geographic area.



Whether representatives from all groups could accurately and consistently perform these tasks would, of course, affect the functioning and success of the Council. As well, landowners and councillors questioned Parks Canada's ability to select representatives who would have the authority and desire to enter into Council discussions that would effect Park policy and operations. As was noted on many occasions, local people were not prepared simply to have policy statements read to them; they want policies changed.

Another factor that may limit functioning of the Council is the effect group conflict has on a representatives' ability to negotiate mutually acceptable solutions to issues. Literature on this point states:

Representatives of groups are put under pressure by their group to win. There are great pressures not to be objective or innovative or to seek the best solutions, but to win at any cost by parring, jabbing, and probing for weakness in the other group's proposal. Representatives who win are treated as heros by their group; the losers are often viewed by their own group as traitors (Likert and Likert, 1976:66).

Under present conditions it is likely that representatives from different groups would find it difficult to make concessions or listen openly to the suggestions and opinions of others. Due to time constraints, other responsibilities and variation in needed expertise depending on the nature of issues, a rapid turn-over in representatives might occur. Constant change would hamper the Council's ability to develop open, trusting relationships among members (a prerequisite for constructive discussion).

Financing travel of representatives, hiring of resource people and on-going expenses of the Council's operation were mentioned frequently as major obstacles. Not only would provision of funds be difficult to arrange, but also deciding which groups would provide money could be a major undertaking. Municipal councils and landowners feel that Parks Canada should fund the Council, as it is the Park that is perceived as causing the problems. On the other hand, Parks Canada employees reported budgeting restrictions and indicated that they do not have authority to contribute funds directly to other governments and agencies. Parks Canada employees did not feel funding of RMLC was a federal responsibility or a necessary priority deserving of funds.

A major factor limiting the feasibility of the RMLC model is the number of provincial and federal employees that saw no real need for the Council. Although not in the majority, a significant number of governmental employees did not favor RMLC because they felt that no strong issues existed to warrant its creation. Many felt that once the beaver issue is resolved, negative feelings will vanish. As long as this attitude prevails, discussions regarding the usefulness of the RMLC are pointless.

Another potential shortcoming of the RMLC model that was not mentioned by study groups is the possibility that the Council forum will diffuse the immediate anger and hostility of groups without really dealing with the issues causing the anger. Thus, although Council meetings may occur frequently, unless there exists a commitment by all groups to seek permanent solutions, the RMLC forum might

not necessarily result in action. Those groups desiring change would need to evaluate the content and direction of RMLC discussions constantly.

While the potential for negative results through inaction exists with the RMLC model, future developments could improve chances for success. Personnel changes in the Park and intervention by politicians at the federal and provincial levels may remove a number of barriers that could presently hinder the Council's operation. Finally, the emergence of leadership at the local level could organize discontent and effectively lobby for policy changes. Shortcomings of the RMLC model are evident. Before dismissing this or similar models as ineffective, however, the state of conflict must be understood and the results of not dealing with it examined.

#### A State of Conflict

The term "conflict" has been used to describe the relationship between RMNP (Parks Canada) and the surrounding region. However, the appropriateness and application of this term to present Park-region interactions needs to be examined in light of data presented. The difficulty in analyzing a conflict situation occurs in attempting to differentiate between cause and effect. The question arises whether poor communications cause conflict or conflict causes communications to deteriorate. Whether certain facts concerning Park-region interactions can be labeled as cause or effect may be immaterial. What is important is to identify those factors that are typically intertwined with conflict, and to watch for their emergence in group

and individual interactions.

The manner in which solutions were proposed by the four study groups is characteristic of what occurs in a win-lose conflict situation. As noted by Likert and Likert (1976:65), in a win-lose conflict situation...

judgemental and perceptual distortions occur and become progressively greater. The solutions of ones own group is seen as superior; the solution of the other group is seen as distinctly inferior. Even when measurable differences in the solutions demonstrate the superiority of one, the other group fails to perceive and accept them. Heightened conflict eliminates objectivity.

Landowners, councils, and provincial employees hold low opinions of Parks Canada's policy on resource preservation and cannot see the logic in allowing resources to be wasted. Parks Canada employees, on the other hand, do not understand why local people and provincial employees cannot permit one small portion of the province to be preserved for future generations despite regional inconveniences. The overwhelming support of Parks Canada employees for present Park policies, and their opposition to any changes in policy indicate rejection of solutions proposed by the other groups. The intolerance between groups (primarily between Parks Canada employees and the other three groups) regarding solutions to Park impacts, suggests a win-lose conflict situation.

Preferences displayed for particular solutions to problems are closely related to the values of each group. The comments and views of landowners, councillors and provincial employees reflect a utilitarian approach towards resource management and a distinct

dislike for the strict preservation of resources in RMNP. The values of Parks Canada employees concerning resource management in the Park, however, are directly opposed to those of the other three groups. While differences in opinion between groups need not lead to conflict, differences in values are more fundamental and often do result in conflict (Likert and Likert, 1976).

Perceptual distortion and error are usually associated with win-lose conflict. While it is difficult to determine whether perceptual distortion is a cause or a result of conflict, it can be said that "one of the most sinister consequences of a win-lose struggle is the sizable distortion it creates in the judgement and the perceptual processes of the opposing groups (Likert and Likert, 1976:61). Perceptual distortions or error exist among the study groups on a number of issues. While perceptions among groups were consistent in general, the specifics of a particular impact and the hardship caused to individuals and municipalities were at variance, particularly between Parks Canada employees and local people. Perceptions concerning the benefit of the Park to the regions differed greatly between groups, with Parks Canada employees perceiving considerable benefits accruing to the region and local people perceiving little or no benefit. Perceptual distortions within and among groups also exist on the subjects of group attitudes to negative Park impacts, solutions and responsibilities for problem solving, attitudes to resource use and management, and the nature of communication channels between groups.

Certain communication channels among the study groups showed similarities to those of groups in a win-lose conflict:

...the erroneous perceptions that each holds of the other are continued and further distorted by the absence of accurate and reassuring communications. Sometimes there is practically no communication between them. Often what communication takes place is biased. Anxieties stimulated by the continuing hostility and lack of communication lead to reveries which enlarge, exaggerate, and intensify the actual differences and produce even more hostile attitudes (Likert and Likert, 1976: 66).

Communications generally are non-existent between landowners and Parks Canada employees and discrepancies occur in group perceptions of the quality of communications with other groups. Councillors and provincial employees feel that communications with Parks Canada are fair to poor, while Parks Canada employees tended to hold a more positive view of communications. Discrepancies in group opinions on the issues do not necessarily indicate that one group is wrong and one group is right, but merely that group perceptions differ.

The change in Park policy concerning the use of Park resources and the present state of Park-region relations clearly shows that Parks Canada has attained its preference of resource preservations in RMNP. It is important to note that this has precluded the preferences of the other groups regarding resource use and management in the Park and has, in some cases, precluded group and individual preference for a livelihood free from adverse impacts, economic loss, and anxiety. The fact that Parks Canada has achieved its goal while local people and provincial employees believe their views have "lost out", is indicative of a win-lose conflict situation.

While factors discussed are important in terms of itemizing cause and effect relationships, the presence of group hostility confirms the existence of a win-lose conflict. Landowners and councilors, in particular, are hostile towards adverse Park impacts, and what they perceive as improper Park management and a total indifference by Parks Canada employees to their concerns. Hostility is displayed in the attitudes groups hold of each other, views on present resource management, and in their appraisal of the quality of communications with Parks Canada.

The presence of hostility not only identifies conflict but also helps to define the type of conflict. While issues such as closure of the Park to resource extraction and increase in beaver depredation have generated substantive conflict, the associated antagonism and poor relations that presently exist indicate that affective conflict has developed. The consequences of prolonged conflict result in...

hostile, resentful attitudes, especially on the part of the group experiencing the greater defeat, (providing) a fertile seedbed for the germination and growth of more bitter conflict. Every situation, subsequently, is viewed through hostile and suspicious eyes, and the intentions and motives of the opposing group are always suspect. ...Since there is no mechanism present for the correction of these mutually distorted views and since effective mechanisms are at work to continue and strengthen these distortions, hostile attitudes are always present below the surface. Any event, no matter how trivial, can trigger them into a first-rate conflictual outbreak (Likert and Likert, 1976:66).

## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

#### Summary and Conclusions

The results and discussion of this study generate several conclusions concerning the relationship between RMNP and the surrounding region, and the implications of allowing conflict to persist. Survey results reveal that cause and effect conditions associated with a win-lose conflict situation exist among landowners, councils, provincial and federal employees.

- 1.) Predetermined solutions to resource issues and positions regarding Park impacts are held by various groups to the extent that consensus among groups would be difficult.
- 2.) A basic difference in values and attitudes exists between Parks Canada employees and the other groups regarding the use and management of Park resources.
- 3.) Perceptual differences exist among groups regarding the nature of various negative Park impacts on the surrounding region, and the seriousness of these impacts.
- 4.) Communication channels with Parks Canada employees are viewed by the other groups as fair to poor.
- 5.) Present relations between Parks Canada and other groups are not good.

Therefore, it may be concluded that a win-lose affective conflict situation exists between Parks Canada and the other groups surveyed.

A comparative summary of group perceptions and attitudes reveals the following:

- 1.) Perceptual differences exist among groups concerning the specific



nature and extent of wildlife, resource extraction, and public use impacts of RMNP on the surrounding region. As well, the attitudes and perceptions regarding the significance of these impacts differed greatly among groups, particularly between Parks Canada employees and the other groups.

- 2.) Groups hold fundamentally opposing solutions concerning the resolution of problems. Also, differing perceptions exist among groups concerning responsibility for correcting difficulties between the Park and the region.
- 3.) Opposing attitude and values exist between Parks Canada employees and the other groups concerning the use and management of Park resources.
- 4.) Local groups and Parks Canada hold significantly different views of the presence and significance of benefits derived from the Park for the surrounding region.
- 5.) Perceptual differences exist concerning the quality of communications between Parks Canada and the other groups.
- 6.) Attitudes which groups hold of each other and perceptions which groups believe others hold of them, indicate that serious negative attitudes exist among groups.

Therefore, misperceptions, differing attitudes, and poor and imprecise communications effect Park-regional interactions. Since these factors are known to be both a cause and result of conflict, it can be concluded that they contribute to the conflict situation between RMNP and the surrounding region.

Substantive issues have contributed to conflict and communication difficulties between RMNP and the surrounding region.

These were identified as follows:

- 1.) Termination of landowner resource extraction privileges within the Park.
- 2.) Legal, policy, and financial limitations within Parks Canada that presently deter involvement beyond its jurisdictional limits.
- 3.) Differences in educational background among the four major groups effect attempts to communicate (Appendix Three).
- 4.) Parks Canada employees fear setting policy and management precedents in RMNP that would affect other national parks. This creates reluctance to consider suggestions opposing present Park policy.
- 5.) The structural organization of Parks Canada generates little contact between regional staff (Winnipeg Regional Office) and local individuals and groups, thus affecting awareness of local issues and impairing communication.
- 6.) Provincial administration of elk hunting licenses and big game depredation compensation payments to farmers are points of contention which add to conflict. As well, provincial legislation concerning fire control outside of the Park is a source of hostility.
- 7.) Wildlife depredation has been a chronic problem of sufficient magnitude to directly or indirectly involve a significant number of landowners, councils and provincial employees.

The proposed Riding Mountain Liaison Council had several potential limitations.

- 1.) People questioned the ability of groups to select the quality and quantity of representatives necessary to develop mutually acceptable solutions and ensure the on-going operation of the Council.
- 2.) A significant number of provincial and Park employees perceived a lack of a significant number of issues to warrant the establishment of a Council.
- 3.) The financing and time necessary to develop an effective working group may be difficult to attain.
- 4.) Legislative authority does not exist within the Council to institute change.
- 5.) The possibility of jurisdictional overlap exists between the RMLC and other agencies.

These limitations would inhibit the operation of the proposed Council. To conclude that the RMLC or similar models would be ineffective however, would be premature. Developments could occur which may make a win-win management approach possible.

#### Implications

Studies in psychology seem to suggest that when attitudes are strong, the possibility of prediction is strong. When they are weak, prediction is much more hazardous (Sewell, 1970:26).

Continuation of the present affective conflict situation has serious implications. The result of prolonged unresolved conflict may result in militant actions against the Park or Parks Canada

property and staff. Comments received from Park employees regarding the setting of fires in the Park, and threats of retaliation from farmers indicate that the potential for violence is real. The recent incident at Kouchibouquac National Park is an example of what can happen (Folster, 1980).

Prolonged instances of negative Park impacts may have adverse effects on landowners' overall attitudes toward wildlife. Comments from Conservation Officers, farmers and municipal councillors indicate that negative attitudes already exist in some individuals. Landowners control the amount of wildlife habitat on their land, and if they can be convinced to conserve habitat, the net effect would be indirect extension and support of present Parks Canada policy. As it stands now, farmers are developing a dislike for the word "preservation", and the result may be a lessened interest in wildlife conservation practices.

Parks Canada must rely on the cooperation and support of provincial governments and local people to permit the establishment of new national parks. A reputation of poor cooperation and adverse impacts on adjacent land will not encourage people to permit new parks to be established in their regions. For example, the establishment of a grasslands park in Saskatchewan (Val Marie National Park) may be stalled until appropriate assurances can be gained by the province, municipal councils, and landowners that the types of problems experienced by residents around RMNP will be avoided.

Solutions designed to deal only with the substantive nature of conflict may not achieve desired results. For example, although

the actual conflict caused by beaver flooding might have been alleviated years ago simply by controlling beaver populations outside of the Park, now that the conflict is both substantive and affective, the removal of the beaver problem may have no effect on people's negative attitudes toward the Park or wildlife. In affective conflict situations, misperceptions and poor communication perpetuate conflict. Therefore, affective conflict can continue and increase without the introduction of substantive controversies. Hence, hoping to cope with the anger by "letting it blow over" is ineffective, because the present conflict situation may be self-sustaining. The existence of latent conflict causes even minor problems to become full-scale problems and results in further entrenchment of group beliefs. This creates not only unpleasant working conditions, but also severely limits the potential effectiveness of future policies and practices of Parks Canada. The use of information and education to diminish conflict is ineffective when dealing with affective conflict situations. This has serious implications for hopes that the Park Interpretive program will be a useful tool in changing regional attitudes. Interpretive programs are likely to be effective in resolving conflict only if they are part of a broader resource extension program that is aimed at dealing with the present sources of anger, and is sensitive to the environmental perceptions and practices of others. "No aspect of a conservation program can progress faster than public acceptance and understanding" (Leopold, 1952).

As the provincial government receives more complaints regarding negative Park impacts, it may become less supportive of the

Park and withdraw cooperation in the areas of joint municipal-Park planning, wildlife compensation, and enforcement. As well, municipal councils may become more reluctant to provide municipal equipment to the Park for firefighting duties. In short, Parks Canada could lose provincial and municipal support and gain further opposition

Tension between the Park and the region also could cause federal politicians to become concerned about federal agencies contributing to traditional east-west and federal-provincial discord. Direct intervention in Park affairs by federal politicians may result in disruption of normal procedures and set new precedents.

The fact that landowners do not make a distinction between elk management within the Park and the issuing of elk hunting licenses implies that a non-factual association is being made between the two activities. The possibility exists that Parks Canada is the recipient of landowner hostilities caused by provincial laws (fire burning regulations and permits) and programs (elk licenses and big game compensation). This incongruity should be kept in mind when dealing with local perceptions. Clarification of provincial and federal responsibilities at the local level may correct misperceptions of Park and provincial management programs.

Although landowners and councillors use formal-direct communications with other agencies, they usually occur in public meetings. The use of formal written forms of communication are essential, as traditional forms of public contact (eg. public meetings) tend to be less effective in dealing with widespread hostility. This implies that attempts to deal with the type of conflict evident

between the Park and the region need to employ alternative methods of communication such as the use of a mediator or third party. A mediator could provide the necessary professional and support services, and conflict management techniques to address issues and feelings in a more positive manner. The use of consensus building techniques would be useful.

Any attempt to resolve present conflict has important implications for Parks Canada. As noted by Likert and Likert (1976:122-123, 323)...

In most conflicts, one party is somewhat stronger than the other and has the capability and opportunity of determining how the conflict will be waged. The stronger party can and usually does select whether to use a (win-win or win-lose) model of interaction for dealing with conflict. ...Since the use of the (win-lose) pattern intensifies a conflict, the stronger party, with the capacity to set the pattern should use the win-win approach. ...The principle of supportive relationships (win-win conflict resolution) is of no value, obviously, to those who wish to use win-lose confrontation or who wish to deal with a conflict by complete domination of their opponents and have the power to do so.

This implies that Parks Canada (which is in a stronger position relative to the other groups by virtue of their control over RMNP) needs to provide leadership in terms of initiating and setting the tone for future communications with the other groups involved. Failure to do so would simply perpetuate or worsen the present situation.

The present situation that exists between Parks Canada and the surrounding region is as well contradictory to recent Park policy

statements. Park policy states that "Parks Canada will seek to integrate elements of the Parks Canada system with surrounding regions so as to have a positive social, economic and physical impact.

...Local communities and citizens cannot be asked to bear a disproportionate share of the costs of protecting and presenting the national heritage of all Canadians." (Parks Canada, 1979:15).

Present inconsistency is a result of long-standing problems coupled with recent directives. To achieve stated objectives, Parks Canada will have to address old issues and overcome established resentment.

This research was designed to identify and evaluate the present issues and feelings of all parties directly affected by the regional impact of Riding Mountain National Park. There was no attempt to delineate blame for any given issue or group. Rather, the intent was to present the viewpoints of all interests as a base from which those directly involved could begin more meaningful discussion in an effort to reconcile matters of difference.



### Epilogue

Unfortunately, for the majority of cases at present, the relationship between (consumptive and non-consumptive uses) is usually one of coexistence, moving toward conflict - mainly because of an increase in (consumption) and the shrinking of natural areas. Could it be that, provided the objectives and way of operating are well understood on both sides, such relationships would eventually lead to a symbiotic relationship? Obviously, the attainment of such a goal should be attempted (Budowski, 1977:1).

The results of this study indicate that new avenues need to be explored in dealing with the conflict which surrounds the management of resources in RMNP. As indicated by Budowski, a symbiotic relationship (close association among groups for mutual benefit) may offer all groups the opportunity to derive benefits and minimize losses. To assume that the conflicts between the Park and the region are unresolvable or will disappear ignores the issue and the hope of improved relations through problem resolution. If we can learn anything from the natural environment, perhaps the ability to develop symbiotic relationships with our neighbors will be of utmost importance.

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APPENDIX ONE

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE: PARK - REGION INTERACTION

RIDING MOUNTAIN NATIONAL PARK/SURROUNDING REGION STUDY:  
QUESTIONNAIRE-PARKS CANADA

- 1) HAVE THE MUNICIPALITIES AND LANDOWNERS BORDERING THE PARK EVER HAD PROBLEMS REGARDING THE FOLLOWING LIST OF RESOURCES ASSOCIATED WITH RIDING MOUNTAIN NATIONAL PARK? PLEASE DESCRIBE THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF THESE PROBLEMS.

TIMBER FORESTS \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

GRASS MEADOWS \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

ELK \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

MOOSE \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

BEAVER \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

COYOTE \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

WOLF \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

BEAR \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

OTHER: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

2) WHAT DO YOU FEEL COULD BE DONE TO IMPROVE THE SITUATION REGARDING EACH PROBLEM? WHO DO YOU THINK SHOULD UNDERTAKE THESE STEPS?

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3) DO YOU VIEW THE PROBLEMS MENTIONED ABOVE AS BEING ISOLATED OR WIDESPREAD?

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4) WHAT DO YOU THINK ARE THE OPINIONS OF THE FOLLOWING GROUPS CONCERNING THE USE AND MANAGEMENT OF THE RESOURCES MENTIONED ABOVE?

A) LOCAL LANDOWNERS:

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B) MUNICIPAL COUNCILS:

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C) PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT:

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5) FOR LANDOWNERS AND MUNICIPALITIES BORDERING THE PARK, WHAT ARE SOME OF THE BENEFITS OF BEING CLOSE TO THE PARK? FOR THE PROVINCE? (RECREATION, EMPLOYMENT, SCENIC QUALITIES, HUNTING AND TRAPPING, AND FEDERAL GOVERNMENT DOLLARS)

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- 6) HAVE THE BENEFITS OF THE PARK FOR LANDOWNERS, MUNICIPALITIES AND THE PROVINCE INCREASED OR DECREASED OVER THE LAST 10-15 YEARS? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- 7) HOW DO YOU THINK THE LANDOWNERS, MUNICIPALITIES/PROVINCE WOULD ANSWER THE ABOVE QUESTIONS REGARDING BENEFITS? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- 8) HAS THE PARK CHANGED LOCAL LANDOWNERS, MUNICIPAL OR PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT ATTITUDES TO NATURE AND WILDLIFE? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- 9) HOW ARE CONCERNS/PROBLEMS BETWEEN THE PARK AND THE SURROUNDING REGION NORMALLY BROUGHT TO YOUR ATTENTION? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- 10) HOW DO YOU DEAL WITH THESE CONCERNS/PROBLEMS? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- 11) TO WHO DO YOU PASS THESE CONCERNS/PROBLEMS ON TO? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- 12) HAS PARKS CANADA EVER ACKNOWLEDGED RESPONSIBILITY FOR ANY OF THE RESOURCE PROBLEMS MENTIONED ABOVE OR THE EFFECT OF THE PARK ON THE SURROUNDING REGION? WHY/WHY NOT? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

- 13) WHAT ARE SOME OF THE CONSTRAINTS THAT MAY PREVENT PARKS CANADA FROM ACTING ON CONCERNS/PROBLEMS EXPRESSED BY LOCAL LANDOWNERS, MUNICIPALITIES OR THE PROVINCE? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- 14) DO YOU FEEL ANY MODIFICATIONS SHOULD BE MADE TO NATIONAL PARKS POLICY TO CORRECT THE EFFECTS OF THE PARK ON THE SURROUNDING REGION? WHAT SORT OF MODIFICATIONS WOULD BE NECESSARY? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- 15) WHO DO YOU THINK SHOULD SHARE IN THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR CORRECTING THESE PROBLEMS? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- 16) WHAT HAS BEEN THE RESPONSE FROM \_\_\_\_\_ REGARDING THE CONCERNS/ PROBLEMS WE'VE DISCUSSED?  
PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENTS: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
LOCAL LANDOWNERS: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- 17) WHICH INDIVIDUAL, OR GOVERNMENT, DO YOU FEEL HAS THE FINAL SAY AS TO WHETHER ACTION WILL TAKE PLACE REGARDING THE CORRECTION OF THESE PROBLEMS? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

18) WHO HAS THE RESPONSIBILITY/AUTHORITY TO DETERMINE THE EXTENT TO WHICH NATIONAL PARK POLICY WILL BE APPLIED TO A PARTICULAR NATIONAL PARK? (WHO IS RESPONSIBLE TO "FINE TUNE" NATIONAL POLICY AT THE REGIONAL/PARK LEVEL) \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

19) WHY DO YOU THINK THOSE RESPONSIBLE HAVE RESPONDED THE WAY THEY HAVE? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

20) WHAT ARE YOUR OPINIONS CONCERNING THE CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN PARKS CANADA AND \_\_\_\_\_

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

LOCAL LANDOWNERS: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

21) HOW MANY MEETINGS HAVE YOU HAD WITH LOCAL LANDOWNERS, MUNICIPAL OFFICIALS OR PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES CONCERNING THE EFFECT OF PARK RESOURCES? WHAT ARE YOUR IMPRESSIONS OF THESE MEETINGS? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

22) HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE PARKS CANADA'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE FOLLOWING GROUPS?

A) PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

B) MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

C) LOCAL LANDOWNERS: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

23) WHAT IS YOUR OPINION OF THE \_\_\_\_\_ AND THEIR VIEWS CONCERNING THE RESOURCE ISSUES WE'VE DISCUSSED?

A) PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

B) MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

C) LOCAL LANDOWNERS: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

24) IN YOUR OPINION, WHAT IS THE ATTITUDE OF \_\_\_\_\_ TO PARKS CANADA?

A) PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

B) MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

C) LOCAL LANDOWNERS: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

25) DO YOU HAVE ANY SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVING THE COMMUNICATIONS OF  
PROBLEMS AND SUGGESTIONS BETWEEN LOCAL LANDOWNERS, MUNICIPAL  
COUNCILS, THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT AND PARKS CANADA? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_



APPENDIX TWO

BRIEFING PAPER AND SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

RIDING MOUNTAIN LIAISON COUNCIL

RIDING MOUNTAIN LIAISON COUNCIL

Introduction

The Riding Mountain Liaison Council (RMLC) is the name given to a body that could be established to provide an ongoing and orderly flow of information and consultation between (a) municipalities bordering Riding Mountain National Park (RMNP), (b) the provincial government, and (c) the federal government (Parks Canada).

Objectives

- (a) Develop ongoing and effective channels of communication between the three constituents (municipal, provincial, and federal governments):
- (b) Develop a sense of mutual participation in the development of solutions and recommendations regarding local area problems and issues:
- (c) Develop an effective method of monitoring the application of federal, provincial and municipal policy, laws, and by-laws:
- (d) Make recommendations to the appropriate constituent(s) regarding problems in the application of their particular policy, law or by-law:
- (e) Develop an effective forum for consultation, decision making and conflict management with all three constituent groups.

Creating the Council

In order for the Riding Mountain Liaison Council to be

established, certain requirements must be fulfilled. First, a commitment must be made by all constituent groups in a manner that explicitly states the benefits each party expects for itself and the other members. The commitment would reflect the manner in which constituent groups will cooperate. This spirit of cooperation would be codified in a Document of Intent and would be signed by all parties. Second, a working budget would enable the Council to employ the services of an agency or group of individuals to form the Decision Management Group, as described below. Third, a set of operating guidelines must be developed to outline: (a) a yearly meeting schedule, (b) meeting procedure and (c) a system for distributing information and receiving agenda items.

#### Liaison Council Structure and Operation

The proposed Council's structure and operation would consist of (a) the Liaison Council membership, and (b) the Decision Management Group (illustrated by figure over).

#### Membership

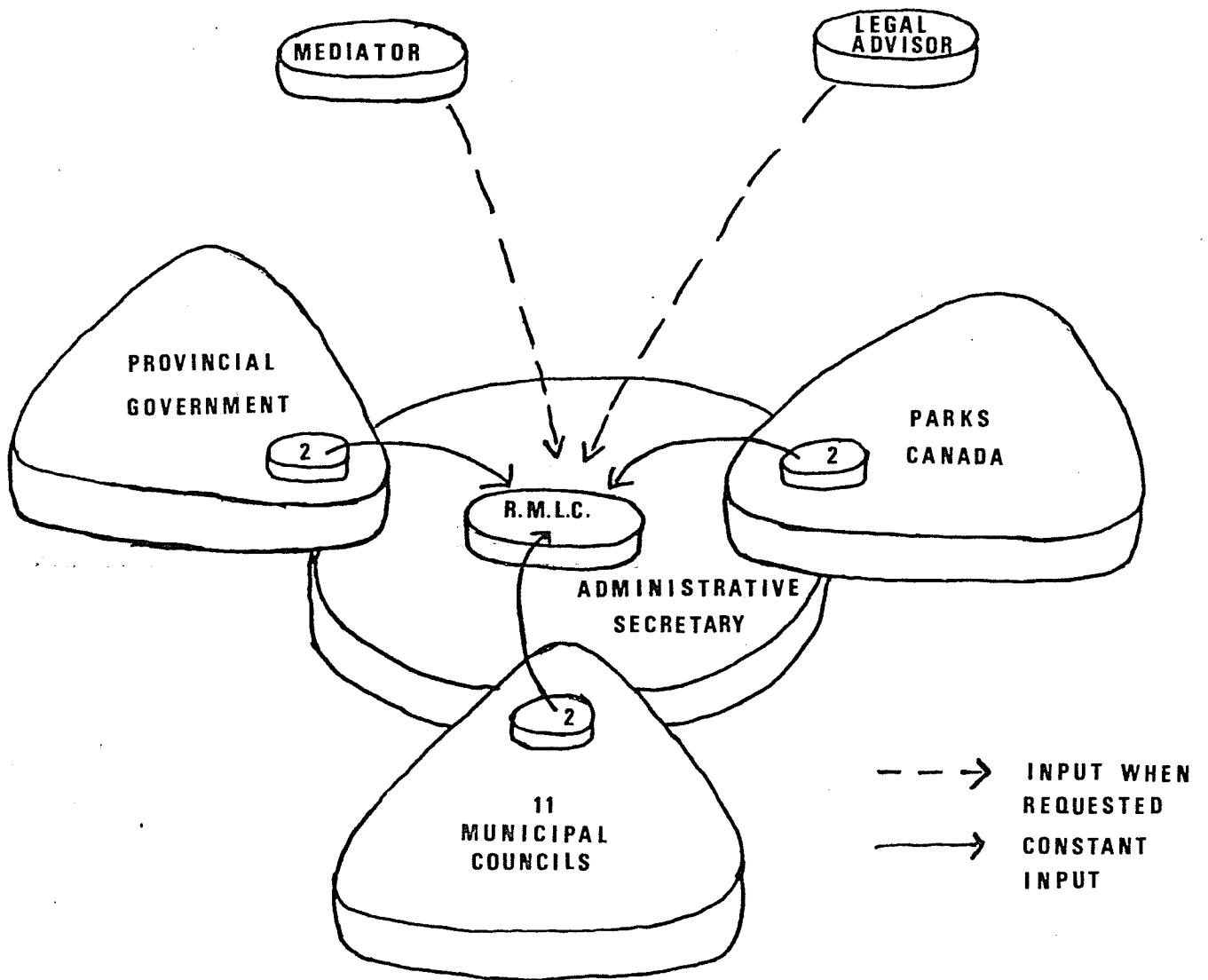
##### Municipal Councils

It is suggested that two members be elected to the Liaison Council from the eleven municipalities bordering the Park. These members would be elected for a two year rotating term and have full voting rights and power. The remaining nine (9) member municipalities have ex-officio status, enabling them to have access to

FIGURE 11

DIAGRAM OF THE PROPOSED RIDING MOUNTAIN LIAISON COUNCIL

# RIDING MOUNTAIN LIAISON COUNCIL



Council information and to attend regular Council meetings. Their input at such meetings would be regulated by the Council Mediator.

Provincial Government

It is suggested the Government of Manitoba would appoint two members to the Liaison Council, one of whom would be a Regional Manager in the Riding Mountain Park area, and the other member being an appointee of the government. Both members would have full voting rights.

Parks Canada

It is suggested that Parks Canada appoint two members to the Liaison Council, one of whom would be the Park Supervisor for Riding Mountain National Park and his official appointee. Both members would have full voting rights.

These six municipal, provincial and federal representatives would form the official Liaison Council.

Decision Management Group

It is recognized that the good-will of members of the Liaison Council will enhance the communication and decision making function of the Council. It is also recognized that due to: (a) differences in opinion and philosophy, and (b) gaps and overlaps in jurisdiction, conflict will eventually result which will be difficult to resolve.

To ensure that the Liaison Council functions, the services of a Mediator, Legal Advisor, and Administrative Secretary are

suggested. These positions do not have voting or veto power in the Council.

Mediator

The position of the Mediator would be a part time position. The Mediator would assist groups and individuals to communicate clearly and address conflict, to ensure effective Council functioning. The Mediator would be impartial and act as a resource to all Council members.

The Mediator would facilitate:

- (a) information exchange: sharing of feelings and fact
- (b) mutual awareness: each party fully understands and is aware of the background of each other's position
- (c) problem resolution: efforts to resolve problem or find acceptable compromise to problem.

Resolving problems may follow one of several patterns:

- (a) full agreement and collaboration on a solution
- (b) partial agreement: compromise on some but not all aspects of the problem
- (c) no agreement possible: however recommendation is made by Council to a higher legislative authority (ie) that a particular act/law be changed
- (d) no agreement possible, until further information is obtained
- (e) no agreement possible: problem has possibility of being resolved via court system
- (f) no agreement possible and no possibility of legal recourse.

The mediation process would only identify the reasons why the problem cannot be resolved at present. Therefore, it becomes the choice of the complainant to accept the situation 'as is' or seek other avenues of action.

Legal Advisor

The Legal Advisor would provide expert legal interpretation and guidance on contentious issues before the Council. The Legal Advisor, like the Mediator, would be hired on an "as needed" basis by the Council.

Administrative Secretary

The Council will require an Administrative Secretary to conduct its day to day business. The Administrative Secretary would:

- (a) record the decisions, discussions and/or recommendations of the Liaison Council and distribute same to the membership;
- (b) establish the agenda for regular quarterly meetings of the Liaison Council and call for the meeting of the Liaison Council;
- (c) establish an official procedure including filing, bookkeeping, telephone and correspondence;
- (d) receive issues for inclusion to the agenda of the Liaison Council;
- (e) encourage, wherever possible, constituents to informally reach agreements outside of regular Liaison Council sessions;
- (f) research and develop, where necessary, background information

- on issues placed on the agenda of regular Council meetings;
- (g) communicate directly with the Legal Advisor and Mediator on agenda items before Council. In this way their dual functions will be used to the optimum in Council deliberations;
  - (h) communicate with others outside the immediate constituent parties, as directed by the Council.

#### Working Relationship of Council and Decision Management Group

For the Council to reach its objectives, it is important that all representatives perceive and receive equal treatment in all discussions. Establishing such an atmosphere would be the joint responsibility of the representatives from the three levels of government. Legal, mediation and administrative services are merely aids to the process of consultation and decision making. The Council may find it necessary to develop appeal procedures to deal with stalemated issues that may bring the Council work to a halt.

#### Examples of Council at Work

##### Example One

Farmer has particular problem and cannot gain satisfaction from private discussions with municipal council. Problem appears to be beyond municipal jurisdiction. Concern forwarded to Administrative Secretary who gathers background information regarding problem and informs Mediator and Legal Advisor to become involved in problem. Concern brought to the meeting of Liaison Council.



Information presented; legal opinion is given; group discussion follows during which an informal agreement is reached between farmer and government concerned to share the cost of the problem. Problem resolved.

Example Two

Municipality has a concern which it would like discussed at Liaison Council meeting. Administrative Secretary reviews problem and decides that informal discussions between the federal government and the municipality may resolve problem. After a series of informal discussions and the sharing of information the municipality decides the problem can be resolved outside of mediation. Problem resolved.

Example Three

Provincial government has a problem getting information regarding local opinions on proposed local land-use practices which may affect the Park. The general problem statement is put before the Council for discussion. The Mediator acts as a group discussion leader and the Legal Advisor provides basic legal information as required. After the discussion it is decided that municipalities will gather opinions from local landowners for the provincial government. As well the Federal government agrees to assist the provincial government in examining the impact of rural land use practises in the Park.

Example Four

The Park staff is about to take some action within the Park which may affect local landowners. The Park wishes to find

out whether the planned action will have any adverse effects on the municipalities around the Park. The proposed plan of action is presented to the Council with the necessary background information and legal advice. From the discussion, Park staff discovers an alternative plan of action would be as effective and more acceptable to the municipalities involved. Problem is resolved.

QUESTIONS REGARDING RMLC

1) DO YOU FEEL THERE IS A NEED FOR A COUNCIL OF THIS SORT?

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2) WHAT ARE YOUR OPINIONS REGARDING THE OBJECTIVES OF THIS COUNCIL?

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3) WHAT ARE YOUR OPINIONS REGARDING THE MEMBERSHIP STRUCTURE OF  
THE COUNCIL?

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4) WHAT ARE YOUR OPINIONS REGARDING THE ROLE OF THE MEDIATOR ON THE  
COUNCIL?

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5) WHAT ARE YOUR OPINIONS REGARDING THE ROLE OF THE LEGAL ADVISOR  
ON THE COUNCIL?

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6) WHAT ARE YOUR OPINIONS REGARDING THE ROLE OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE  
SECRETARY ON THE COUNCIL?

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7) DO YOU THINK THAT THIS COUNCIL WOULD HELP SOLVE SOME OF THE PROBLEMS BETWEEN THE PARK AND THE SURROUNDING REGION? WHY/WHY NOT?

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.....  
\_\_\_\_\_  
.....

8) DO YOU THINK THAT THIS COUNCIL WOULD BE ABLE TO ACHIEVE ITS OBJECTIVES?

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9) WHAT DO YOU THINK COULD BE SOME OF THE WEAKNESSES OF THIS KIND OF COUNCIL?

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.....  
\_\_\_\_\_

10) WHAT DO YOU THINK COULD BE SOME OF THE STRENGTHS OF THIS KIND OF COUNCIL?

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.....  
\_\_\_\_\_

11) DO YOU THINK THAT YOUR MUNICIPAL COUNCIL WOULD SUPPORT THIS KIND OF COUNCIL?

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\_\_\_\_\_

12) DO YOU THINK THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT WOULD SUPPORT THIS TYPE OF COUNCIL? WHY/WHY NOT?

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\_\_\_\_\_  
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\_\_\_\_\_  
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13) DO YOU THINK THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WOULD SUPPORT THIS TYPE OF  
COUNCIL? WHY/WHY NOT? .....

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APPENDIX THREE

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION ON PERSONS INTERVIEWED

## Introduction

Standard demographic data such as age, education level, years in the municipality, land tenure and occupation were collected to determine possible relations between groups characteristics and attitudes. These are presented for each of the four survey groups: landowners, municipal council members, employees of the provincial Department of Natural Resources and employees of Parks Canada.

## Landowners

The survey zone consisted of a three mile study zone bordering the perimeter of the Park (Figure 1). Property ownership maps indicated a total of 1434 landowners within the study area. The distribution of landowners is shown in Table 10. The 55 landowners randomly selected for interviewing comprised four percent of the population in the study area (range from two percent to seven percent by municipality).

Landowners interviewed were fairly evenly distributed through the first four age ranges, but only four respondents (seven percent) were in the 65 to 74 year age range. Sample size per municipality(s) was too small to permit conclusions about age dispersment in the various municipalities. Three-quarters of those interviewed were married (Table 11).

A high proportion (64 percent) of landowners had grade school educations, and 24 percent had high school education. Only six landowners had attended a university or technical institution. These

TABLE 10

## LANDOWNER DISTRIBUTION IN STUDY AREA

Rural Municipality Local Government District*	Landowners Per RM Or LGD Study Area	Landowners Selected Per RM Or LGD	% Landowner Per RM Or LGD
RM Boulton	98	5	5
RM Rossburn	143	5	4
RM Silver Creek	69	5	7
LGD Park	264	5	2
RM Clanwilliam	84	5	6
RM Rosedale	143	5	4
RM McCreary	118	5	4
RM Ochre River	107	5	5
RM Dauphin	170	5	3
RM Gilbert Plains	121	5	4
RM Grandview	117	5	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>1434</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>4</b>

\* Abbreviated: RM - Rural Municipality  
LGD - Local Government District



TABLE 11  
LANDOWNER SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

Characteristics	Landowner Age					Marital Status		Education					Years as Landowner					Years in Municipality						Years As Farmer					Size of Farm (Sections Owner/Rented)														
	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	Married	Single	Grade School	High School	Tech or Trade	University	1-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	1-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	1-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	1/2	3/4	1	1 1/2	1 3/4	2	2 1/2	3	4	4 3/4				
Grandview	1	2	2	-	-	4	1	4	1	-	-	-	3	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	2	-	-	3	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gilbert Plains	1	1	1	1	1	3	2	4	1	-	-	-	3	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	1	-	-	1	2	2	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dauphin	-	2	1	1	1	5	-	1	2	2	-	1	2	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	1	1	1	-	3	1	-	1	-	-	3	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ochre River	3	1	-	1	-	3	2	3	1	1	1	3	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	2	1	-	-	1	2	-	2	1	-	-	-	1	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
McCreary	2	1	-	1	1	3	2	3	2	-	-	1	2	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	2	-	-	2	1	2	1	-	-	1	-	2	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rosedale	1	-	3	1	-	5	-	4	1	-	-	1	1	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	3	1	-	1	1	2	-	1	-	2	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Clanwilliam	3	-	1	1	-	3	2	2	2	-	1	2	2	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	1	1	1	-	2	1	1	-	1	-	1	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
LGD Park	1	-	3	1	-	4	1	4	-	1	-	1	1	2	-	1	-	-	-	2	1	1	-	1	1	-	3	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Silver Creek	-	1	1	2	1	5	-	3	1	-	1	1	1	-	2	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	2	1	1	-	1	2	-	1	-	2	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rosburn	-	3	1	1	-	4	1	4	1	-	-	2	1	-	2	-	-	1	1	-	3	-	-	-	1	2	-	2	-	-	1	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Boulton	2	-	1	2	-	3	2	4	1	-	-	3	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	2	-	-	1	1	3	-	1	-	1	-	-	2	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	14	11	14	12	4	42	13	36	13	3	3	15	17	8	8	5	2	4	5	9	14	7	11	5	12	13	14	9	5	2	6	13	11	9	6	4	2	-	2	-	1	-	1
Percentage	26	20	26	21	7	76	24	64	24	6	6	27	31	15	15	9	3	7	9	16	26	13	20	9	21	24	26	16	9	3	11	24	20	16	11	7	3	-	3	-	2	-	2

results indicate the potential for misunderstandings on technical matters between resource managers, planners, technicians and landowners. Since more extensive educational backgrounds typically exist in the professional groups, care must be taken regarding the use of terms and concepts when communicating with landowners. This does not imply that landowners do not have the ability to understand information or learn new concepts, but rather that lack of familiarity with concepts and terms can cause communication barriers and misunderstandings. As well, expectations need to be revised regarding the degree and sophistication with which landowners may present opinions and comments, particularly in a public forum. While a well-prepared brief may be expected from a group of professional planners, it would be inappropriate to expect similar expertise from a group of landowners. Again, experience and background, and not mental ability, is the limiting factor.

Information concerning years as farmers, years in the municipality and years as landowners suggest a farm community that is relatively stable with a moderate component of young farmers. Eighty-four percent of the landowners had resided in the municipality for 21 years or more. A relatively high percentage (58 percent) of those interviewed had become landowners in the last 20 years. These data suggest that the majority of those interviewed have grown up in the district and remained in farming in their municipality. Therefore, those interviewed possessed a broad background of experience with the area that extends over many years. Newcomers into the area or to farming were not common.

Average farm size was approximately 260 hectares (one section). None of those interviewed held total acreages of less than 130 hectares (half a section), although property maps indicated that smaller holdings exist around the Park. Few (ten percent) of those interviewed held acreages of 520 hectares (two sections) or more. The largest farm was 1235 hectares (four and three-quarters sections).

An attempt was made to determine whether a correlation existed between the intensity of negative feelings toward the Park and the age of the landowners. (Table 12). Expressed attitudes were numerically weighted (+2 = very positive, +1 = positive, 0 = indifferent, -1 = negative, -2 = very negative) in order to evaluate the intensity of attitude held by respondents in each age group. The 14 landowners in the 25 to 34 year age group held a cumulative attitude value of -12, yielding an age group mean value of -0.86. The result of similar calculations for the other landowner categories revealed group mean values of approximately -1.00. A comparison of all age group means shows that respondents in the 35 to 44 year category hold the most negative attitude ( $\bar{x} = 1.36$ ) toward present Park management policies.

#### Municipal Councils

Ten of the 11 municipal councils which border the Park were interviewed. The municipality of Rossburn declined an interview. However, personal meetings with the Council members and a subsequent

TABLE 12  
 LANDOWNER AGE VERSUS ATTITUDE TOWARD  
 PRESENT USE AND MANAGEMENT OF PARK RESOURCES

Age Group		Attitude Scale/Index					Sub-Totals	Group Mean $\bar{x}$
		Very Positive (+2)	Positive (+1)	Indifferent (0)	Negative (-1)	Very Negative (-2)		
25-34 yrs.	no.	-	1	3	7	3	-14	-0.86
	index	-	+1	0	- 7	- 6	-12	
35-44 yrs.	no.	-	-	-	7	4	11	-1.36
	index	-	-	-	- 7	- 8	-15	
45-54 yrs.	no.	-	-	3	9	2	14	-0.92
	index	-	-	0	- 9	- 4	-13	
55-64 yrs.	no.	1	-	2	5	4	12	-0.92
	index	+2	-	0	- 5	- 8	-11	
65-74 yrs.	no.	-	-	1	2	1	4	-1.00
	index	-	-	0	- 2	- 2	- 4	
TOTAL:	no.	1	1	9	30	14	55	-1.00
	index	+2	+1	0	-30	-28	-55	

radio interview<sup>1</sup> with Reeve John Mitchell confirmed the existence of similarities with other municipalities regarding Park impacts, attitudes, and perceptions of the Park.

A total of 52 reeves and councillors were interviewed in the ten municipal councils contacted (Table 13). Forty-eight of the reeves and councillors were farmers, and had resided in the municipality their entire life. Recent membership to council (one to five years) accounted for 42% of council membership. It was noted that the position of reeve tended to be held by individuals with 10 to 20 years experience on council. These facts suggest that councils are closely tied to the farming community which they represent and are aware of local problems. As well, the fact that council members reside in municipalities adjacent to RMNP would suggest a familiarity with the Park-region interactions that have occurred over the years.

#### Provincial Employees

Sixteen employees of the Provincial Department of Natural Resources were interviewed. The sample included employees whose jurisdiction and authority were local, regional and provincial, although separation was not total in some cases because of the size of area involved. For example, a local conservation officer's territory may extend from Neepawa to Onanole, or from Russell to Shoal Lake. All interviewees' jurisdictions included RMNP.

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1. CBC Radio Winnipeg, Jim Rae interview with Reeve John Mitchell Feb. 25, 1980, 1:40 to 1:47 p.m.

TABLE 13

## MUNICIPAL COUNCIL CHARACTERISTICS

RM LGD	Council Membership			Occupation			Years On Council					Years In Present Office					Years In Rural Municipality				
	Councillors Interviewed	Reeves	Council Total	Farmer	Retailer	Retired	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-Over	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-Over	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	Life
Grandview	4	1	5	5	-	-	4	-	1	-	-	4	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	3
Gilbert Plains	6	1	7	6	1	-	3	2	1	-	1	3	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	7
Dauphin	6	1	7	5	1	1	3	1	-	-	3	3	1	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	7
Ochre River	4	1	5	5	-	-	3	1	-	-	1	4	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	5
McCreary	3	1	4	4	-	-	1	-	1	1	1	1	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	4
Rosedale	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Clanwilliam	4	1	5	5	-	-	3	1	-	-	1	4	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	4
LGD Park	5	1	6	6	-	-	3	3	-	-	-	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	5
Silver Creek	6	1	7	7	-	-	2	2	2	-	1	2	2	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Boulton	4	1	5	4	1	-	-	-	3	1	1	-	2	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Subtotals	42	10	52	48	3	1	22	10	9	2	9	25	11	10	-	6	0	1	2	1	48
Total	52			52			52					52					52				

Employees were distributed across age categories between 31 to 55 years (Table 14). Although a noticeable proportion had only a few year's experience in their current jobs, the vast majority had from 11 to 25 years total related job experience with the government.

#### Parks Canada Employees

The sample of Parks Canada employees was constructed to include persons representing a variety of positions within Parks Canada's administration and, therefore, a variety of perspectives on the Park and its impact on the surrounding region.

Park employees were younger and tended to be grouped in the 25 to 35 age range (Table 15). This trend was matched by a high proportion of Park employees who are relatively new to their job and to government service. The group interviewed at the local level ranged more widely in age and length of job tenure.

The terms local and regional have special significance to the National Parks system. Local refers strictly to Riding Mountain National Park and regional refers to the Prairie Region. Those with regional positions view Riding Mountain National Park as one component of their overall responsibility, whereas those working at a local level view Riding Mountain National Park as their primary focus.

TABLE 14

## PROVINCIAL EMPLOYEE CHARACTERISTICS

Characteristics Job Territory	Age							Years In Job							Years In Government							Total
	25-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	51-55	56-60	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	
Local*	-	2	-	1	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	1	1	-	2	-	-	-	1	1	-	4
Regional*	-	-	3	3	1	1	-	3	2	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	3	-	1	8
Provincial*	-	1	-	-	-	3	-	1	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	1	-	3	-	-	4
Subtotals	-	3	3	4	1	4	1	6	2	2	1	4	1	-	2	-	3	2	7	1	1	
Total				16							16						16					16

\* Local - Conservation Officers

\* Regional - Resources Services Supervisors, Provincial Fur Manager, Provincial Wildlife Biologists, Area Superintendent (Water Resources), Regional Managers.

\* Provincial - Manager Conservation Authority (Water Resources), Director of Resource Management Sector (Water Resources), Director of Engineering and Construction (Water Resources), Wildlife Program Coordinator.



TABLE 15

## PARKS CANADA EMPLOYEE CHARACTERISTICS

Characteristics Job Territory	Age							Years In Job				Years In Government						Total
	25-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	51-55	56-60	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	
Local*	2	2	-	3	1	-	2	6	3	-	1	1	3	1	2	2	1	10
Regional*	3	2	-	-	-	1	-	6	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	6
Subtotal	5	4	-	3	1	1	2	12	3	-	1	7	3	1	2	2	1	
Total	16							16				16						16

\* Local - Park Wardens, Area Managers (RMNP), Chief Park Warden, Assistant Park Superintendent, Park Interpreters, Park Superintendent.

\* Regional - Interpretive Planner (Prairie Region), Regional Park Planner, Cooperative Planner, Chief of External Liaison, Wildlife Resources Officer, Assistant Director of Operations.